

Intercontinental Press

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WHY NIXON DID IT



GIAP: On anniversary of Dienbienphu, predicts victory in battle against U.S. imperialism.

**U.S. Women Demand
Right to Abortion**

**How Quebec Government
Broke General Strike**

Chile:

**Reaction Opens Offensive
Against Allende**

How to Recognize an 'Urban Guerrilla'

Argentina's military rulers published a communiqué on April 26 purporting to inform Argentines on "how to recognize an urban guerrilla." The vagueness and wide applicability of the criteria the regime uses to determine who is a guerrilla might be merely ridiculous were it not for the well-earned reputation of its police for brutality and ruthlessness in their efforts to root out opposition.

According to the document, guerrillas "are new neighbors, usually a couple, who have lived in your neighborhood for less than a year. They are young and do not associate with their neighbors.

"In most cases, they are well-mannered and polite. Their hairdos and their attire are normal, not hippie style. Generally, they have no children or, if they do, the latter are less than five years old. They do not receive visits from older people. No one knows their parents or where they work."

According to the military rulers, guerrillas "go about their errands in a normal way" during the day and "are only active at night."

Having thus described the allegedly typical Argentine urban guerrilla, the army advised the population not to "be satisfied with simply looking." □

May Day in Israel

A May Day demonstration in Jerusalem organized by the far left and the Sephardic Black Panthers was attacked by police, according to the May 3 *Le Monde*. Several dozen young people were reported hurt, and dozens were arrested. A few policemen were said to have been injured.

Also on May Day, about 100 U.S. citizens residing in Jerusalem demonstrated against the Vietnam war.

Perhaps more to the liking of the Zionist government was another demonstration—of about 100 persons recently arrived in the land of milk and honey from the Soviet Union. They marched through the streets denouncing the international working-class holiday as a "symbol of communist aggression." □

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Why Nixon Did It

By Allen Myers

Why did Nixon do it? In his May 8 speech, the president of the United States said that he had issued his orders in the interest of achieving "peace." In reality he was deliberately running the risk of precipitating World War III.

That was the plain meaning of his decision to mine all the harbors of North Vietnam, to bomb all the supply lines—both rail and road—up to the border of China, and to confront the Soviet government with an ultimatum to completely abandon Hanoi and the National Liberation Front.

Even as Nixon spoke to the American public and the world, his orders were being carried out.

U.S. planes dropped mines, set to become activated in three days, at strategic points along the entire coast of North Vietnam. Massive bombing forays were carried out over broad reaches in North Vietnam.

In past escalations of the war, Nixon has usually left a face-saving avenue of retreat in case the response from Peking and Moscow or the U.S. public proved to be more vigorous than the Pentagon strategists calculated. Invasions and bombing raids were described as "of limited duration," permitting Nixon to pull back when the likelihood of political loss began to outweigh the possibility of military gain. This time Nixon left no such escape hatch.

Nixon's decision to escalate the war to a new, qualitatively more dangerous level is a product of political desperation. His reasoning is self-apparent.

1. The war issue has emerged as the key issue during an election year in which his incumbency in the White House is at stake. He is faced with the choice of admitting defeat in Vietnam and immediately withdrawing all the U.S. armed forces or of achieving victory through a military miracle. Nixon decided that it was a lesser evil to stake everything on coming up with a miracle.

2. Nixon was elected on the prom-

ise of ending the war in Vietnam. "I have a plan," he said. The plan turned out to be "Vietnamization." In reality this was his answer to the enormous pressure exerted by the antiwar movement both nationally and internationally. By successive withdrawals of ground troops, he hoped to keep the opposition to the war at a low level until after the election. The policy of "Vietnamization" proved bankrupt in face of the offensive launched under General Giap.

Instead of recognizing the utter failure and collapse of "Vietnamization," Nixon decided to "re-Americanize" the war.

3. The failure of "Vietnamization" shows that the base of the Saigon regime is completely eaten away. It would collapse at once with an American withdrawal. By the same evidence, the National Liberation Front has won the battle for the "hearts and minds" of the population in South Vietnam.

Nixon refuses to admit this because of what it would do to his campaign for reelection. He hopes to cover up the political reality by escalating the war, using the pretext of an "invasion" of North Vietnamese troops in the civil war.

4. A more basic reason for Nixon's course, as he himself has explained, is the effect of a victory of the National Liberation Front throughout the colonial world. While the "domino" theory to which he appeals has been discredited, it nevertheless remains true that an American withdrawal would give fresh encouragement to anti-imperialist movements on all continents.

5. Perhaps the strongest reason for Nixon's desperate effort to hang on in Indochina is the vast natural resources of this area. Imperialist France fought tooth and nail to hang on to them. As the inheritor of the French empire, U.S. imperialism is fighting even more ferociously for them. It should be added that since 1965, the international oil cartels have discovered that Indochina has oil re-

sources that are even greater than those of the Middle East.

* * *

With the loss of Quangtri May 1, Richard Nixon was put on the spot as never before in the three and a half years during which he has directed the Indochina war for American imperialism. The obvious failure of "Vietnamization" immediately created prospects of new escalations. "Options" mentioned in the press included intensified air raids on North Vietnam, the reintroduction of U.S. ground troops in the South, and even the possibility of a landing on the coast of North Vietnam.

Speaking May 7 at ceremonies marking the eighteenth anniversary of the Vietnamese victory over the French at Dienbienphu, North Vietnamese Defense Minister Vo Nguyen Giap predicted the defeat of U.S. imperialism as well:

"The Vietnamese people have defeated the neocolonial invasion war of the Eisenhower administration. We have defeated the special war of the Kennedy administration. We have defeated the partial war and destructive war of escalation of the Johnson administration. We are now defeating and definitely will defeat completely the war of Nixon—defeat completely all the adventurous and cruel escalations of the United States imperialists."

Since March 6, the total number of U.S. warplanes in the Indochina theater has more than doubled. The May 6 *New York Times* reported that the number of B-52s has gone from 80 to 140, and the number of fighter-bombers from 400 to 900. Where there were previously three aircraft carriers, there are now six, and the number of men aboard the carriers and other ships in the Tonkin Gulf has jumped from 15,000 to 41,000.

The May 4 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* provided ominous information about troop movements that has not been made public by the Nixon administration:

"According to well-informed sources, 1,200 soldiers from the Americans' Clark base in the Philippines have been sent to Vietnam for 'temporary duty.' Most are maintenance personnel from the 405th tactical fighter-bomber squadron. 250 other soldiers are to insure the defense of Danang.

The special status of these troops allows them not to be counted as part of the American forces officially allocated to the South. On the other hand, an undetermined number of marines stopped over in the Philippines — en route to Vietnam — on April 21. A battalion of 500 more marines had been sent to Danang prior to this. More than 1,000 ground troops, among them 200 members of helicopter crews, have left Okinawa by sea. These soldiers are not counted as part of the American army in Vietnam either. It has also been learned that 900 airmen have left the base at Yokota in Japan for Thailand. At Yokota, *training exercises in the handling of nuclear weapons are going on. . . .* (Emphasis added.)

Nixon laid the diplomatic basis for new escalations by once again calling off the Paris talks at the session of May 4. Another factor in this decision must have been the insecurity created in Saigon by reports that secret negotiations were already concerned with the question of replacing Nguyen Van Thieu.

On May 1, Nixon began preparing U.S. public opinion for the bombing of the dikes in North Vietnam, an action that would cause widespread flooding and possibly thousands of civilian deaths. Speaking to a group of businessmen in Texas, Nixon called the dikes "a strategic target and indirectly a military target," and added:

" . . . as far as the targets in North Vietnam are concerned, we are prepared to use our military and naval strength against military targets throughout North Vietnam, and we believe that the North Vietnamese are taking a very great risk if they continue their offensive in the South."

At a NATO meeting in Brussels May 5, Secretary of State William Rogers added similar threats of bombing of civilian areas.

Nixon — and Johnson before him — has never been concerned about the civilian casualties caused by the bombing of Indochina, except for the worldwide revulsion created by such raids. But the threat to drop even the pretense of restricting bombing to military targets was clearly designed to prepare the way for a massive escalation of the air war.

Rogers used the same NATO meeting to renew publicly Nixon's campaign to pressure the Soviet bureau-



ANOTHER SUMMIT

Herblock, in the Washington Post

crats into reducing the material aid provided to North Vietnam. Hopes for success in this campaign must have been greatly increased by the Kremlin's criminal inaction after the April 16 raids.

An article by William Beecher in the May 3 *New York Times* revealed for the first time that a Soviet freighter in Haiphong harbor had been sunk during those raids. It had previously been reported only that four Soviet ships had been damaged. Rather than respond to Nixon's attacks by increasing Hanoi's defenses and warning that it would defend Soviet ships, the bureaucracy attempted to conceal the sinking of the freighter.

Such appeasement simply encourages Nixon to escalate further. In the May 7 *New York Times*, Max Frankel described some of the "options" open to Nixon. These include "the systematic destruction of North Vietnam's populated regions;" an invasion of North Vietnam by U.S. marines; and deliberate attacks on Soviet freighters and the mining or blockade of Haiphong harbor.

Frankel described these moves as "last-ditch options," for use in case "Hanoi's armies cannot be stopped from carving up South Vietnam and destroying Saigon's forces." But in many parts of South Vietnam, Thieu's army was busy destroying itself in

panicked flight and large-scale desertion.

In the May 3 *New York Times*, Sydney H. Schanberg described the flight of the puppet army troops from Quangtri:

"Thousands of panicking South Vietnamese soldiers—most of whom did not appear to have made much contact with the advancing North Vietnamese—fled in confusion from Quangtri Province today [May 2], streaming south down Route 1 like a rabble out of control.

"Commandeering civilian vehicles at rifle point, feigning nonexistent injuries, carrying away C rations but not their ammunition, and hurling rocks at Western news photographers taking pictures of their flight, the Government troops of the Third Infantry Division ran from the fighting in one of the biggest retreats of the war.

"No one tried to stop them: their officers were running too."

"Many of the retreating troops," Schanberg added, "are not even stopping in Hue, which is about 40 miles south of Quangtri, but are continuing on, taking their rifles, artillery pieces, tanks and armored cars with them."

On the night of May 2, those troops who did stop in Hue burned down the city's central market. Schanberg reported that they had engaged in "a wild and drunken gunfight" with a unit of Thieu's marines.

The situation as seen from Washington was sufficiently serious for the Nixon administration to raise publicly the idea of sending in U.S. marines. There are presently about 5,000 marines on ships in the Gulf of Tonkin. On May 5, Pentagon spokesman Jerry Friedheim suggested that they might be used—to "protect withdrawing American forces," of course.

Despite the Nixon administration's propaganda about Soviet assistance to the Vietnamese freedom fighters, it is obvious that the rout of Thieu's army is not due to its being outclassed in weaponry, as the *New York Times* admitted in a May 7 editorial:

"Present official efforts to explain the South Vietnamese setbacks in terms of the North's unexpected strength in armor and artillery serve only to perpetuate a policy of self-deception. Both of the opposing military forces have been equipped by military superpowers and the South is, in addition, supported by American air and naval

strength. One crucial difference is leadership; another is in the will to fight."

Writing from Saigon in the April 29 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Benjamin Cherry added some details about the liberation forces' sources of supply:

". . . it is now apparent that the conventional nature of the offensive has been very much exaggerated. For a start, if Hanoi really did throw its troops out into the open to face the tender mercies of American airstrikes, as the [Saigon] Government claims, the offensive could not have continued as long as it has. Moreover, enormous publicity has been given to the destruction of large numbers of North Vietnamese tanks. Yet several Vietnamese officers who have come in from the field claim that many if not most of the tanks used by the other side are American models, presumably captured over the past two years in Cambodia and Laos. One lieutenant-colonel even said many of the 'tanks' have been revealed as jeeps camouflaged with cardboard to look like the real thing. . . ."

It appears that throughout South Vietnam, the puppet army is being decimated as much by desertion as by actual battles. Officers and enlisted men both are showing an understandable refusal to die for Thieu and Nixon.

In a series of articles in the May 2-4 *New York Times*, Craig R. Whitney described the situation in Binh-dinh Province. Since the abandonment of the town of Hoaian on April 19, the Saigon army's 40th Regiment, normally consisting of 3,000 men, had been reduced to one-fourth of its strength. About 30 percent of the unit was listed as casualties, and more than 40 percent as deserters. Whitney noted the "astonishment" of an American "adviser," who said, "When the chips were down the district chief went off in a jeep with his refrigerator along with the commander of the 40th Regiment."

"Much the same thing happened north of Kontum on April 24," Whitney added, "when North Vietnamese troops drove thousands of soldiers from the 22nd Division headquarters at Tancanh with little resistance. The division commander, Col. Le Duc Dat, was believed killed or captured, but an authoritative American source said he turned up today

[May 3] at his home in Saigon."

A Saigon government official in the province gave Whitney the following explanation of the liberation forces' successes:

"When the Communists were here before, from 1945 to 1954, the people didn't have much to eat or good clothes on their backs but morally they were happy, because the Communists brought justice to this land for 10 years, not the corruption we have here now."

Some of the more important gains of the liberation forces have been in small actions rather than in the well-publicized battles. Peter Osnos reported in the May 3 *Washington Post*:

"In the field, many advisers are even more discouraged watching the work of years of pacification, as well as military training, wiped out in a matter of weeks. This kind of erosion is evidently taking place not only where the big celebrated battles are being fought, but also in the quieter provinces, where the toll is in outposts instead of regimental bases."

Diane Jones reported in the April 29 *Far Eastern Economic Review* from Quangngai Province that "practically the entire province is under NLF control" although there have been no major battles in the area.

The liberated areas include the site of the 1968 Mylai massacre. On April 17, Jones wrote, the Saigon regime's planes bombed the resettlement camp where survivors of the massacre had been living.

Jones saw the political support being won by the NLF as perhaps the most important aspect of the liberation forces' offensive:

"It may well be that the real significance of the present communist drive is not in the big battles at Dong Ha and An Loc, but in the reconstruction of the NLF power base in rural areas throughout much of central Vietnam, if not the whole country."

It is that power base—people—that is the target of Nixon's escalation, both in South and North Vietnam. The policy of U.S. imperialism in Indochina remains what it has been since the beginning of the American intervention: the attempt to terrorize the population into submission. Until he is forced to withdraw all American troops, weapons, and "support," the terror—and the willingness to try increasingly dangerous measures—will continue to escalate. □

Bhutto, Gandhi Set Summit Talks

By Jon Rothschild

Pakistani President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi are preparing to try to put the pieces of the fragmented subcontinent back together again. On April 25, a seventeen-member Indian advance party arrived in Islamabad to negotiate an agenda for a Bhutto-Gandhi summit conference that is scheduled to take place sometime in May or June.

Chief Pakistani negotiator Aziz Ahmed greeted the Indian party, which was headed by Gandhi's top foreign affairs expert and former envoy to Bangladesh, Durga Prasad Dhar.

Ahmed and Dhar put on a good show for the reporters gathered at the airport. "I have come here with great humility and sincerity—not in a spirit to dictate—in a quest, genuinely, of peace," said Dhar.

He was asked if he foresaw any difficulties in the negotiations. "We shouldn't find any difficulties," he answered. Then, turning to Ahmed, he asked, "Do you foresee any difficulties?"

"No, I don't see any," said Ahmed.

The two delegations then spent the better part of a week discussing the lack of difficulties. On April 30, the Indians left Pakistan, and a joint statement announced that the summit would be held in New Delhi "toward the end of May or the beginning of June."

"When the Pakistani president comes, he will come as a friend," Dhar commented. "We will not treat it as a formal visit, but we will greet him with open arms like a brother."

The Ahmed-Dhar backslapping routine reflects adequately enough the mutual desire of the Pakistani and Indian ruling classes to reach some long-term accommodation that can initiate a new, stable political alignment in the subcontinent. At the same time, however, the bilateral goodwill-and-progress declarations sound somewhat hollow.

The May 6 *New York Times* reported that the Dhar-Ahmed talks, while establishing the "groundwork"

for discussions, failed to produce even an agenda for the summit. This was seen "as an indication of vast differences in approach."

The Indian side insists that it is negotiating a long-term, comprehensive agreement—one that would encompass (at least) the questions of Kashmir and Bangladesh. The Pakistanis are more concerned with "immediate" questions, the major one being the 70,000-90,000 (the figure varies according to the source) Pakistani prisoners of war still held by the Indian army since the Pakistani surrender in Bangladesh last December.

The Indian government insists that the Bangladesh regime must be involved in any negotiations on the subject of the POWs. Mujibur Rahman says he will attend no negotiating sessions with Bhutto until the latter recognizes Bangladesh, and Bhutto says he will not recognize Bangladesh until the Indians agree to return the POWs.

The consequent stalemate is expected to be resolved, James P. Sterba wrote in the April 30 *New York Times*, by having Rahman show up in New Delhi while Bhutto is there—allegedly to talk to Gandhi. This will be a stepping-stone to easing him into a tripartite conference.

But further obstacles exist. Bhutto has said repeatedly that if Rahman conducts war-crimes trials of those responsible for the slaughter of the Bengali people, any negotiations, with Bangladesh or India, are out of the question. Rahman, under massive pressure from the Bengali people, has promised to conduct such trials.

On the Kashmir question, a similar deadlock exists. Gandhi, riding on the crest of a wave of national chauvinism that her government fostered during last December's war, is unlikely to make any major concessions. Bhutto, whose political base in Pakistan is unstable, is expected to press for an Indian retreat in Kashmir in an attempt to regain some of the prestige of the Pakistani army, on whose

strength the state apparatus rests.

In recent weeks Bhutto has tried, with some success, to bolster his domestic position.

On April 13, after some horsetrading with his major opposition, Bhutto wrung a pledge supporting the continuation of martial law out of 104 of the 144 members of the Pakistani National Assembly. The next day, as the assembly opened its first three-day meeting, Bhutto delivered a 10,000-word address. At the end of it, he suddenly announced, to the astonishment of everyone, that he planned to abrogate martial law on April 21. The dazed assembly members promptly passed a unanimous motion of confidence in Bhutto.

The next item on the agenda was the presentation of Bhutto's proposed "interim constitution." Again, the delegates were in for a surprise. Although he had promised to institute a parliamentary system, Bhutto instead proposed a presidential arrangement—one in which the president (that is, Bhutto) is not responsible to the legislature and can be ousted only if he violates the law.

In addition, although a whole series of democratic rights are written into the constitution (a novelty for Pakistan), the "state of emergency" declared during the India-Pakistan war remains in effect—and democratic rights therefore remain suspended.

So while martial law was ended on April 21, the state of emergency persists. So far, nobody has been able to cite any difference between the two.

The opposition in the assembly controls a maximum of forty votes. It was presented with the alternative of approving the interim constitution or voting to continue martial law. The chief opposition leader, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, who heads the Pathan-based National Awami party, appeared confused by Bhutto's change of mind. The opposition abstained, and the interim constitution was approved unopposed.

It remains to be seen how "interim" this document will be. A twenty-five-member commission was instructed to produce a permanent constitution before August 1, when the assembly will meet next. According to the terms of the interim constitution, the assembly is given until August 1973 to discuss, amend, and approve the permanent draft. There will be no presidential elections before that time; Bhutto will

rule basically by fiat. He also retains the right to dissolve the assembly if

he should become dissatisfied with its work. □

The Only Structure Working—Except for Police

Bangladesh Assembly Begins Operations

The Constituent Assembly of Bangladesh, whose convening had been stalled by Prime Minister Mujibur Rahman until a sufficient degree of "law and order" had been established, finally met on April 10. The body is composed of 421 of the 449 candidates who had been elected to the national and provincial assemblies in the December 1970 elections. Yahya Khan's refusal to allow those assemblies to meet was a factor in triggering the Bengali national liberation struggle.

All of the delegates are affiliated to Rahman's Awami League. The two 1970 winners who were not members of the Awami League defected to Pakistan during the war of independence. Eight others were killed by Yahya's troops; sixteen were expelled from the Awami League (and barred from the assembly) on charges of having collaborated with the occupation; two died of natural causes between 1970 and 1972.

Rahman has made it clear that he wants the body to draw up a British-style parliamentary constitution, an outcome that seems assured by the one-party nature of the body.

But Westminsterism, which works poorly enough in Britain, is hardly suited to conditions in Bangladesh. The establishment of parliamentarism Rahman-style—that is, at least so far, a parliament with no opposition party—will require more than the work of an assembly. Despite the ravaged condition of the countryside, and the continuing paralysis of industry and transportation, maintenance of peace and quiet remains Rahman's top priority.

According to the April 23 *New York Times*, the government has dispatched "police and military forces on a wide front," supposedly to curb a vast crime wave.

"Law enforcement authorities announced this week," wrote *Times* correspondent Robert Trumbull, "that

more than 2,000 armed reserve police were being assigned to rural districts to curb rising threats to law and order. An official said that rural policemen were instructed to visit every settlement in their areas every few weeks and to organize village anti-crime units."

The most widespread crime in Bangladesh today is smuggling, which, according to Trumbull, "has become almost a way of life along the 1,300 mile border with India." This way of life has been in large part created by the government itself. Nothing has been done to crack down on offenders, many of whom are themselves government officials. The regime has disarmed the most militant sectors of the population, who could have ended smuggling in short order. Bureaucratic inefficiency and careerism have blocked both the restart of industry and the distribution of food, thus creating the conditions of scarcity in which smuggling thrives.

Less than one-third of the 130 in-

dustries that were government-owned under the Yahya regime—they are now administered by the Bangladesh Industrial Development Corporation—have been put back into operation. This fact is especially shameful, since the majority of these factories (some of the most important in the country) were left untouched by the Pakistani occupation army. The government Planning Commission, in charge of reconstruction, has spent most of its time haggling with the civil service about personnel appointments.

Enough food to prevent massive starvation in the coming weeks has been imported into Bangladesh, but much of it remains in warehouses—it is easier to distribute policemen than food to country villages.

In face of the nearly complete paralysis of his administration, Rahman has developed a somewhat unusual slogan. "In speech after speech," wrote Lee Lescaze in the April 15 *Washington Post*, he asks his listeners: "Are you willing not to demand anything from me for three years?"

Not exactly designed to create great enthusiasm. So far, most crowds have responded by shouting "Yes!" But if the economic and social situation in the country does not soon improve, the population, which sacrificed more than 1,000,000 people in the struggle against national exploitation, is likely to find other than verbal ways of expressing its new answer. □

Ceylon

'United Front' Divided Over Witch-Hunt Bill

The passage of reactionary witch-hunt legislation by Ceylon's ruling "United Front" coalition has occasioned sharp conflicts in the popular front and in the Communist party, a junior partner in the government.

When the Criminal Justice Commissions Bill was passed April 5, it had the support of the two other parties in the coalition, the bourgeois Sri Lanka Freedom party (SLFP) led by Sirimavo Bandaranaike and the ex-Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja party (LSSP). But of the CP's six members in parliament, only one voted in favor and four either abstained or were absent. The sixth, Housing Min-

ister Pieter Keuneman, took advantage of his post to be outside the country on an official junket.

The Criminal Justice Commissions Bill establishes secret tribunals to try youths accused of participating in last year's rebellion. (See *Intercontinental Press*, April 24, p. 453.)

Bandaranaike responded to the CP's position by suspending from the government parliamentary group the four members who had abstained: Sarath Muttutewegama, Aelian Nanayakkara, M. G. Mendis, and S. A. Wickremasinghe, the CP's president. The four were ordered to provide a written "explanation" of their failure to vote with

the government majority.

Perhaps to remind the CP of who was boss, the government also denied Wickremasinghe an exit permit for a scheduled visit to Rumania. This decision was reversed April 22, allowing him to depart the next day.

The April 27 issue of the weekly *Ceylon News* reported that a "heated session" of the CP Central Committee on April 20 had stretched into the early hours of the next morning as members debated what action to take against the MP who had violated the party's instructions and voted with the government. Keuneman, who is also the party's secretary-general, won a majority for "censure" at an "inner party level."

Keuneman's motion was reportedly opposed by a faction favoring suspension or expulsion of the wayward MP. This faction included Wickremasinghe.

The Central Committee also decided that the four MPs who had abstained should refuse to provide the explanation demanded by the government group and that none of the party's members would attend the group's meetings until the situation was resolved.

Meanwhile, the *Ceylon News* reported, there was continued "intense speculation" that Bandaranaike would reshuffle her cabinet to make room for J. R. Jayewardene, parliamentary leader of the right-wing United National party (UNP). Rumors of such a move have been current for several months. (See *Intercontinental Press*, February 14, p. 144.)

A possible stumbling block to the rumored cabinet reshuffle is the question of how much of the UNP Jayewardene can bring with him. A faction of the party led by former Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake has been attempting—so far unsuccessfully—to discipline Jayewardene for his public comments friendly to the United Front. On April 17 Jayewardene won an injunction from the Supreme Court restraining Senanayake and other party officials from taking action against him. □

The Malthusians

Indonesian government family-planners have decided that families should be limited to no more than three children. In conformity with this decision, government employees, who could formerly draw rice rations for as many as ten children, can now get rations for only three.

Former Ghanaian President Is Dead

Kwame Nkrumah, former president of Ghana and one of the major Bonapartist leaders of the "Bandung era," died of cancer April 27 at the age of sixty-two.

Born in a mud-hut village in what was then the British colony called the Gold Coast, Nkrumah was educated in a Roman Catholic mission and later attended universities in the United States and Great Britain.

In 1947 he helped found the United Gold Coast Convention, an organization aimed at achieving national independence. He was imprisoned by the British colonial authorities, but was freed after his party swept an election in 1951.

In 1957, when Ghana became the first African country to win its independence in the postwar era, he became prime minister.

For all its pretensions of socialism, the Nkrumah regime kept Ghana strictly within the limitations of capitalism and the British Commonwealth. The regime increasingly became a vehicle for spreading the cult of Nkrumah. "The earth trembled and the trees shook [and] there was rain in Accra, which had not seen a drop of water for a long time," read an official report of one of his speeches.

In 1966, while Nkrumah was visiting Peking, his government was deposed by a military *coup*. He fled to neighboring Guinea, where President Sekou Toure proclaimed him "co-president."

Nkrumah had been seriously ill for several years and was being treated in Eastern Europe. Some reports said his death occurred in Bucharest. □

Kremlin Prepares Show Trials in Ukraine

By Ted Harding

Oxford

Preparations for the trials of the dissidents arrested in the mid-January KGB [secret police] raids in the Ukraine are being carried out in an atmosphere reminiscent of Stalinist terror in the 1930s, according to reports emanating from dissident circles in the Ukraine. Those arrested have been denounced by official propaganda as "agents of foreign imperialism," "traitors to the fatherland," and by other familiar denigrations. Evidence suggests that the dissidents will be tried in groups, rather than as individuals, in a series of show trials.

More of the approximately 100 arrested in January have been identified. Among them are: Ivan Hel', locksmith; Vasyi Stus, poet; Mykhailo Osadchy, journalist; and Mykola Plakhotnyuk, physician.

Ivan Dzyuba was detained in the January raids but later released. Author of *Internationalism or Russification?*, a Marxist-Leninist condemnation of the Stalinist nationalities policy, he has been expelled from the Ukrainian Writers' Union, according to an announcement in the Soviet press (*Radianska Ukraina*, March

3). He is reported to be under house arrest.

In April, Anatoly Rechetnyk, a thirty-five-year-old Ukrainian lecturer on dialectical materialism at the Sverdlov Tekhnikum, was arrested by the secret police for defending Solzhenitsyn in an open letter to *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, according to the latest reports.

The KGB demanded that Rechetnyk retract his letter; when he refused, he was dismissed from his teaching post, arrested, and sentenced to imprisonment after a closed trial. The length of his sentence is not yet known.

Rechetnyk, a former Communist party member, was popular for his lectures, in which he criticized the turgid methods used to present Marxism in Soviet schools and for his attacks on local party officials.

The Soviet bureaucracy, unrelenting in its use of repression against what it rightly judges to be an ever growing circle of persistent opposition, has ordered another series of raids in the Ukraine. Only three of those arrested in this latest KGB swoop have been identified. They are: V. Rohynsky, Luba Seredniak, and Leonid Kovalenko. □

First Student Demonstrations Since 1967

The fifth anniversary of the coup d'état by the Greek colonels was marked in Athens on April 21 with the first student protest demonstration since 1967. Approximately one hundred students chanted "Long Live Democracy" and sang the Greek national anthem in downtown Athens.

"The student demonstration echoed a growing reaction in the universities, where students are pressing for the right to elect union leaders in the place of those imposed on them by the Government," reported the *New York Times* April 22.

The demonstration was broken up by some 200 policemen, who claimed the protesters were singing forbidden songs. At least fifteen persons were arrested. Among them was the vice president of the previous parliament, Iakovos Diamantopoulos, who was brutally hit on the head by police. He was released several hours later.

According to an Agence France-Press dispatch from Athens, leaflets were distributed there on April 20 and 21. They were signed "Front of Antidictatorial Organizations."

Several persons were arrested for distributing leaflets demanding "Freedom and Democracy" outside the cathedral where dictator George Papadopoulos was attending a special mass in honor of the junta's anniversary, reported the Danish daily *Politiken* April 22.

On the night of April 20, five bombs were planted in various parts of Athens and Piraeus. One bomb destroyed a car owned by the American consul in Athens. Credit for the explosion was claimed by the resistance organization AAA.

Student agitation continued in the days following the April 21 protests. On April 27, some 400 striking physics students marched from their campus in suburban Goudi to the main university building in downtown Athens, according to a report in the *New York Times* the next day. The students were protesting discrimination in examination procedures.

"Today's demonstration came after a week of student agitation highlighted by a strike of 2,600 students at state engineering schools in Athens and

Salonika," reported the *Times*. "The students are pressing the Government to redefine by law their professional status. . . ."

"The march today was all the more significant as it was in open defiance of martial law, which is still in force

300 Attend Belfast Meeting

Republican Clubs Hold Public Conference

In a challenge to British Secretary of State for Northern Ireland William Whitelaw, the Official Irish Republican Clubs held an open conference in Belfast April 23. Attended by 300 people, the meeting was held only yards from the Hastings Street police and army posts.

"Today, we start by declaring Republican clubs as being active," said Ivan Barr, chairman of the Six County Republican Clubs executive, "active in the public eye. We are coming back into the open and we intend to stay there. We are exercising our democratic right and we now wish to see if Mr. Whitelaw is prepared to use the Special Powers Act."

The Republican Clubs are illegal under the Northern Ireland Special Powers Act. By moving to open political activity, the republicans hope to force Whitelaw either to enact the ban or to recognize them as a legitimate political movement. The republicans have functioned only underground since August 1971, when internment without trial was introduced in Northern Ireland. Neither the army nor the police made any attempt to prevent the conference from taking place, Martin Cowley reported in the April 24 *Irish Times*.

Tomás Mac Giolla, head of the Official Sinn Féin, told the delegates that the republicans were going to assert their right to free political organization. "We are a political organisation dedicated to the task of organising the mass of the Irish people, North and South, against British capitalism

in the areas of Athens and Salonika, where more than 90 per cent of Greece's 80,000 students live."

Police tried once to disperse the illegal march, but the students managed to continue until they reached the university. There were no reported arrests.

In addition to the demonstrations, petitions demanding elections in student bodies are circulating and have been signed by hundreds of students.

in Ireland and imperialism in Ireland."

The conference spent four hours debating policy on such questions as the Common Market and the bombing campaign of the Provisionals.

Mac Giolla called for the extension to the northern six counties of the referendum on Ireland's joining the Common Market, and a resolution calling on the people of the South to vote "No" on the question was adopted.

Barr charged that the Provisionals' bombing campaign "provided the opportunity for the British Army to escalate their terror tactics to the stage where innocent civilians were and are being murdered in the streets.

"The main aggressive force has been the British Army. The people's resistance has, at all times, been defensive and the Republicans have acted with the people, although they face internment, torture, or death." Barr reiterated the republicans' demand for total withdrawal of British troops and administration from Ireland.

But more important than the actual proceedings at the conference was the fact that it took place at all. This time, at least, Whitelaw decided not to challenge the republicans' right to conduct an open meeting. □

Spaced Out

Apollo 16 astronaut Charles Duke, before blastoff: "It's a love of country for me. I am proud of the country. I'm sort of straight American in my outlook."

How Quebec Government Broke General Strike

By Phil Courneyeur

MAY 1—The massive general strike of Québec's 200,000 public sector workers lasted eleven days before the Liberal party government of Robert Bourassa smashed it April 21. Bill 19, rushed through the National Assembly in an all-night sitting, deprives the workers of the right to strike for two years and empowers the premier to decree a new contract if they do not settle with the government by June 1.

In the days preceding this draconian legislation, the courts had handed down vicious prison sentences and fines on the leaders of the hospital unions that had defied back-to-work injunctions. Thirty workers, most of them women, have been sentenced to up to six months in jail and fines of up to \$5,000.

On May 4 the three key leaders of the Front Commun (Common Front) of the public workers will face trial on charges of inciting workers to defy the law. Louis Laberge, president of the Québec Federation of Labor; Marcel Pepin, president of the Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux [CSN—Confederation of National Trade Unions], and Yvon Charbonneau, president of the Corporation des Enseignants du Québec [CEQ—Québec Teachers Corporation], face possible jail terms of one year and \$5,000 fines if convicted.

This was the biggest strike in Canadian history, mobilizing one-third of the organized labor movement of Québec in a massive confrontation with the provincial government—the national government of the Québécois. The strikers' key demand for an across-the-province \$100 minimum wage for public workers, if victorious, would set the pace for the 600,000 workers in Québec—in both public and private sectors—who now earn less than that amount.

Across the country provincial governments, taking their lead from the federal cabinet, have tried to enforce wage guidelines on public workers in order to restrict wage increases of the whole labor movement. With this in

mind, the Bourassa government followed a carefully worked-out strategy designed to intimidate, demoralize, and smash the strikers. This included a massive propaganda offensive that exploited workers' justified resentment of their overtaxation by blaming high taxes on civil servants' wages.

On the night of April 21, with Bill 19 looming over their heads, the leaders of the Front Commun recommended to local unions and the membership that they defy the law and continue the strike. Of the 45 percent of the membership who were able to vote in the few hours available, 65 percent voted to stay out. The Montréal daily *Le Devoir* commented that it was the biggest move for civil disobedience since the Québécois refusal to be conscripted during the second world war.

The Front Commun leadership, however, felt that this vote did not give them a sufficient mandate to continue the strike against Bill 19. Reversing their position, they urged the strikers to return to work.

The 65,000-member Montréal Council of the CSN responded with a call for a general strike of all unions, in public and private sectors, on May 1. While the Front Commun leadership did not adopt this call, saying they "lacked the time to prepare the strike," they did not exclude the possibility of another strike. They have called for votes in the union locals to give them a mandate for another strike if necessary.

But the trade-union leadership is divided. On April 27 three of the five members of the CSN national executive denounced Pepin for "risking possible violence" by urging defiance of the law. Later the three reversed their position and endorsed Pepin's stand at a meeting of the CSN confederal bureau.

Why did the Front Commun find itself outmaneuvered by the Québec government and uncertain of its support within the ranks of labor?

The public workers' strike was a political challenge that the capitalist

state could not accept without a fierce struggle, using all its resources. Yet the Front Commun leadership gravely underestimated the political power and tenacity of the Bourassa government and failed to develop a political strategy aimed at mobilizing the entire working population in support of its struggle and to turn back the government's political offensive.

Such a strategy would have included the holding of mass assemblies of the strikers, the launching of a daily strike newspaper to counter the propaganda of the government and the bosses, the organization of mass demonstrations before the National Assembly and in each region, an appeal to the unions in the private sector for a solidarity strike, and the strengthening of picket lines with citizen support, especially from students.

These measures were projected by the Québec Trotskyist movement during the strike. They are included in an analysis of the struggle in a statement by the national bureau of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSO). This was published in a special strike issue of the Québec Trotskyist paper *Libération*.

But the Front Commun leadership had no unified political strategy. They relied almost exclusively on the work stoppage to pressure the government. Their trade-union weekly, *Québec-Press*, which covered the news of the strike with vacuous and speculative articles, actually carried—without rebuttal—a glossy supplement in its March 12 issue bought by the Québec government to advertise its case against the public workers' demands!

Most seriously, the strike lacked a political voice. The bourgeois Parti Québécois (PQ) failed to reciprocate the sympathy and support that the labor leadership has given to its nationalist positions. The PQ held the view that the strikers should go back to work.

During the strike PQ leader René Lévesque stated, "Of course, if one is not to be narrow-minded, one must

be sympathetic to the cause of the workers in our society, but in the conflict in the public sector we must not forget that the PQ will perhaps find itself as the boss at the negotiating table. . . . We must strike a balance between the demands of the workers and the possibility that the PQ might be in power during the next negotiations."

While the fate of the strike was being debated in the National Assembly, not a single deputy rose to defend the strike.

The April 26 statement of the LSO national bureau summed up the major lessons of the struggle:

"The general strike in the public and parapublic sector is over for the moment, but the Front Commun is in no way broken. Bill 19 succeeded in breaking the strike, but it constitutes a permanent challenge to the labor

movement rather than a defeat. The struggle of the Front Commun must continue against Bill 19, for the right to strike, and to win our vital and minimal demands. The struggle must continue to free the unionists convicted for violating the hospital injunctions. . . .

"To avoid demoralization among the Québec workers, the Front Commun must do more than just consult its members on Bill 19. It must undertake a massive solidarity campaign among the union members in the private sector and among the students. . . .

"The main task now facing the labor movement is to continue the struggle by all means possible. On the political level this implies necessarily the creation of a political arm of the Québec workers, the launching of a mass labor party." □

cuted as spies; and the building of the FBI into a powerful political police.

Although the political nature of the FBI is determined by the needs of the U.S. ruling class, Hoover also put his personal stamp on the agency. FBI employees are not allowed coffee breaks, for example, and women employees are not permitted to smoke on the job. Another personal touch was what the *New York Times* called his "lifelong practice of entertaining Attorneys General and Presidents with spicy details about the secret lives of famous people."

The "spicy details," like much of the information and misinformation accumulated by the FBI, were frequently the product of illegal telephone-taps and other forms of electronic snooping. "Evidence" acquired in this manner often proved more valuable in Congress than in the courts—particularly when members of Congress were the subject of the spying.

With the radicalization of recent years, Hoover became an increasing embarrassment to the U.S. ruling class, and occasionally members of Congress would publicly suggest that it was time for him to retire. But Hoover, who regarded himself as indispensable to the salvation of the United States if not of the world, remained at his hidden microphones.

Nevertheless, he may have seen the handwriting on the wall when the jury in the trial of the Harrisburg Seven recently refused to credit a paid FBI informer's fantastic "evidence" about a "conspiracy" to kidnap Henry Kissinger. It should not even be excluded that the verdict may have contributed to Hoover's death: What sort of red-white-and-blue patriot would want to go on living in a country where innocent people are allowed to go free? □

U.S.A.

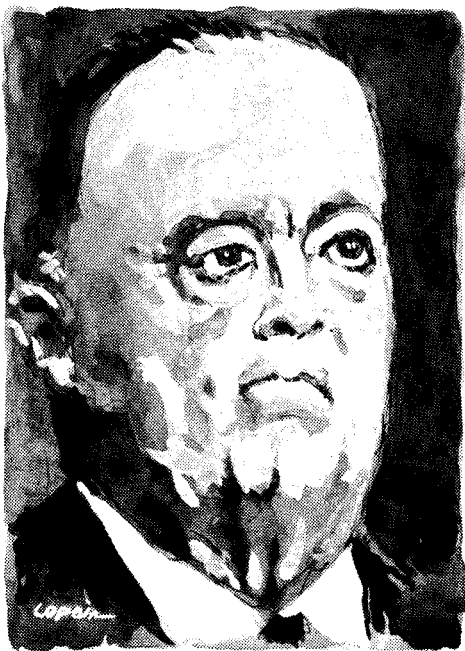
J. Edgar Hoover—55 Years of Snooping

FBI director J. Edgar Hoover died on the night of May 1-2 at the age of 77, ending a life of single-minded devotion to reaction.

Even as a high-school student debater, Hoover fought anything progressive, distinguishing himself by arguing against women's suffrage.

After considering entering the ministry, the young Hoover finally decided that God had called him instead to enter the field of "law enforcement." As a lawyer in the Justice Department, where he went to work in 1917, he was responsible for planning the 1919-20 "Red raids" of Attorney General Mitchell Palmer, during which thousands of "subversives" and "aliens" were jailed or deported. During this same period, Hoover established his first network of informers and assembled a card file on 450,000 "radicals." The use of spies and provocateurs and the compiling of secret dossiers on individuals were to remain lifetime preoccupations.

In 1924, he was appointed director of the FBI. His achievements during the next forty-eight years included the accumulation of 200,000,000 fingerprint files; the establishment of a net-



J. EDGAR HOOVER

work of thirty-five computer systems permitting the exchange of information with police departments all over the country; the frame-up of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were exe-

Historical Vision

The Maoist Communist party of New Zealand has decided not to put up candidates in the 1972 general elections. In reporting the decision, the March 1 issue of the party's weekly, *People's Voice*, explained that the CP general secretary ". . . referred to discussions he had with Mao Tsetung in which Mao had pointed out that since Lenin had written 'Left-Wing Communism' (in which he advocated Communist work in the parliaments of the day), imperialism had systematically used parliament to corrupt Communist Parties; and that generally where there had been Communist Members of Parliament the Parties had become revisionist."

U.S. Women Demand Right to Abortion

During the first week in May Richard Nixon took some time out from his pressing schedule of strategy meetings on how to conduct the slaughter in Indochina to intervene in the debate going on in the New York State Legislature on the question of abortion laws. In 1970 New York passed one of the most liberal abortion laws in the United States, permitting abortion on request up to the twenty-fourth week of pregnancy.

In the present session of the legislature a bill has been introduced that would repeal the 1970 law and re-institute the previous statute (passed in the nineteenth century) prohibiting all abortions except to save the life of the mother-to-be.

The campaign for repeal of the present law is led by the Catholic Church. On May 6, Cardinal Cooke, head of the New York City Archdiocese, announced that he had received a letter from Tricky Dick himself. It said, in part:

"Recently I read in *The Daily News* ["New York's Picture Newspaper," according to its masthead, a widely read rag specializing in crime news, Hollywood gossip, comics, sports, and red-baiting] that the Archdiocese of New York, under your leadership, had initiated a campaign to bring about repeal of the state's liberalized abortion laws. Though this is a matter for state decision outside federal jurisdiction, I would personally like to associate myself with the convictions you deeply feel and eloquently express.

"The unrestricted abortion policies now recommended by some Americans, and the liberalized abortion policies in effect in some sections of this country seem to me impossible to reconcile with either our religious traditions or our Western heritage. One of the foundation stones of our society and civilization is the profound belief that human life, all human life, is a precious commodity [sic!]-not to be taken without the gravest of causes."

Many people have suspected for some time now that Nixon drew his conception of Western culture from *The Daily News*. (The day massive bombing attacks on North Vietnam were resumed, that paper carried a

page-one headline reporting that the local baseball team had appointed a new manager.)

Nevertheless, even the most experienced observers of Nixon's political career could not help but find some cause for surprise in the great leader's pronouncement. Nixon's statement of concern for humanity is of course beyond comment. But his reference to human life as a "precious commodity" was an assertion of uncommon candor.

The president went on to say that church officials' decision "to act in the public forum as defenders of the right to life of the unborn is truly a noble endeavor."

Aside from the unprecedented interference of the president of the United States in a state legislative debate, the latter remark provides an interesting, if only implicit, comment on the Catholic Church. As the guardian of the next world, that institution is supposed to be nonpolitical in the present one. It is consequently tax-exempt. Just one of those laws that the chief guardians of law and order ignore, in this case with the explicit support of the president.

The effect of Nixon's action on the legislative vote is not yet known. But on the same day that Cooke revealed the letter, some 1,500 women and men demonstrated in New York City against all laws restricting the right of abortion. Sponsored by a wide

range of organizations and built under the slogan "Abortion: A Woman's Right to Choose," the action was part of a series of demonstrations in more than a dozen cities in the United States called by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition. The size of those actions ranged from 150 to 500, with the average being about 250-300.

The disclosure of the presidential letter on the New York abortion law came just one day after Nixon rejected two central recommendations of his own Commission on Population Growth. That body had urged the repeal of all laws restricting the right to abortion, citing "the freedom of women to make difficult moral choices based on their own personal values, the freedom of women to control their own fertility, and finally, freedom from the burden of unwanted childbearing."

The commission also recommended the widespread dissemination of birth control information and devices, especially to teen-agers.

The latter proposal, said Nixon, "would do nothing to preserve and strengthen close family relations."

He went on to express his trust in the American people, saying they would make "sound judgments that are conducive both to the public interest and to personal family goals." He said he still believed in "the right of married couples to make these judgments by themselves."

The press made some effort to figure out exactly what the man was talking about. Apparently he meant that although contraception should not be available, married couples should choose whether or not to have children. Single people should avoid being confronted by the problem. □

Feliciano Again Facing Trial in New York

Carlos Feliciano, the Puerto Rican independentist facing charges of bombing and arson in New York City, withdrew his plea of guilty to the relatively minor charge of "reckless endangerment" on May 3. The change of plea came after Bronx District Attorney Burton Roberts reneged on an agreement he had made with the defense.

Last March 23, Roberts agreed to drop the major charges against Feliciano in exchange for the guilty plea.

(See *Intercontinental Press*, April 10, p. 378.)

At the time, Roberts assured the defense that he would make no objection to any motion on sentencing. Feliciano had already served seventeen months in prison while awaiting trial, and the defense expected that the sentence would be less than that. Feliciano would thus be discharged immediately.

Also, Roberts agreed that there would be no continuation of prosecu-

tion or sentencing in Manhattan, another New York borough where Feliciano faced charges.

But shortly before the scheduled date of sentencing, Roberts revealed that he would ask for a five-year jail term for Feliciano. Manhattan Assistant District Attorney John Fine at first denied knowledge of any agreement, then later said he would accept the guilty plea only if Feliciano were sentenced to six years in prison, the maximum penalty for "reckless endangerment."

Because of the state's violation of the agreement, Feliciano withdrew his plea at the court session at which sentencing had been scheduled. His trial on the original indictment will begin on May 9.

In a statement released to the press, the Carlos Feliciano Defense Committee denounced Roberts' action and explained the reason for Feliciano's change of plea:

"Exhibiting the kind of hypocrisy, dishonesty and racism which has destroyed any possibility of 'justice' in this country for a political prisoner, Manhattan Assistant District Attorney John Fine, his superior Frank Hogan and Bronx District Attorney Burton B. Roberts have completely double-crossed Carlos Feliciano. . . .

"John Fine, his boss Frank Hogan and Bronx D.A. Burton Roberts changed their position 3 times, lying about this 'deal' in an attempt to make Carlos serve *more* time than the 17 months he already served in lieu of bail. This extra time would, in at least a psychological way, detract from the tremendous victory won in the dropping of charges." □

Puerto Rican Defense Organized

Representatives of a number of Puerto Rican political and defense organizations announced April 14 the formation of El Frente Unido pro Defensa de Presos Politicos Puertorriqueños (United Front for the Defense of Puerto Rican Political Prisoners). Groups participating in the united front are Coalición Puertorriqueño (Puerto Rican Coalition); El Comité (The Committee); Machete; Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño (Puerto Rican Socialist party); Resistencia Puertorriqueña (Puerto Rican Resistance); Young Lords party; Hartford, Connecticut, Defense Committee; and the defense committees for Eduardo Cruz, Carlos Feliciano, and Humberto Pa-

gán.

José Pagán, organizing coordinator of the new group, announced, "This united front will form the base for a forum that will better help in the defense of our political prisoners in that it will encourage the formation of defense committees and aid them in developing their tactics of defense, also providing them with necessary information and resources."

The united front plans as one of its first activities a campaign to win a general amnesty for the nationalist prisoners of 1950 and 1954. The address of the front is Box 3, Planetarium Station, New York, N. Y. 10024. □

Makarios Confirms Meeting With Grivas

Strikes Spreading Among Greek Cypriots

While conflict between the Athens junta and the Cypriot government seems to have abated temporarily, the Makarios government is now being pressed from another direction—developing economic discontent that has resulted in a series of strikes.

During the last week of March, bank employees throughout the island walked off the job. Bank owners responded with a lockout.

The banks have remained closed for four weeks, and other sectors of the economy have already been seriously affected. Only the Turkish-owned banks are open, and these are not used by the Greek majority of the population.

The schoolteachers' union conducted a two-day work stoppage after the government rejected their demands for salary hikes. The union has threatened to call a strike of unlimited duration if the regime does not reconsider.

Other civil servants have advanced similar demands for increased wages, and the government fears that if it yields to the teachers, the strike movement may spread throughout the public service sector.

A possible explanation for the sudden reticence of the Athens junta,

which in February publicly demanded that Makarios reorganize his regime to include pro-Papadopoulos elements, was provided by the Cypriot progovernment newspaper *Eleftheros Cosmos* on April 27. President-Archbishop Makarios officially confirmed in an interview published in that paper, that he had held a secret meeting during March with George Grivas, the pro-junta rightist who has been organizing "underground" armed cells in Cyprus.

Markarios added that another meeting was "not excluded." □

Just Plain Folks

Upstarts planning to move in high society would do well to study the reminiscences of John Gorton in order to avoid *faux pas*. Gorton, the former Australian prime minister, was quoted in the *New York Times* as recalling an outing on the royal yacht with the British royal family in 1970.

Someone suggested that it would be "rather fun" to throw everyone into the water. "Prince Philip was thrown in," said Gorton, "and then Princess Anne. . . . I was sitting beside the Queen. I was about to throw her in, but I looked at her and there was something in the way she looked back."

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Ask United Front Against Death Penalty

The Argentine Socialist party (PSA —Partido Socialista Argentino) headed by Juan Carlos Coral has called on all political parties and the trade union movement to form a united committee against the government's plans to introduce the death penalty and against proposals to institute 'special' prisons for political prisoners. The call appeared in the April 26 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the PSA launched following a working agreement with the Partido Revolucionario de Trabajadores (*La Verdad*).

"Repeatedly nearly all Argentine political parties and the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor] have made statements opposing the prevailing repressive system," the PSA states. "We must understand that today, in view of the imminent danger that the death penalty will begin to be applied or that certain prisoners will be subjected to living conditions that involve their physical and moral annihilation, it is incumbent upon all of us to go beyond statements to action by setting

up the aforementioned committee."

In an accompanying article, *Avanzada Socialista* explains that the "possible application of the death penalty hangs over the head of many persons who are being held under suspicion of being terrorists. In addition, newspaper accounts report that the government is considering setting up 'special' prisons for suspected guerrillas." The possibility is being discussed of transferring prisoners to the deserted Isla de los Estados on the edge of the Antarctic Ocean off Tierra del Fuego.

On April 20, law 19582 was introduced to the effect that persons subject to trial (that is, who have not yet even been found guilty!) "can be held in places that the Executive Power decides on for this purpose."

The thinking of the government, according to *Avanzada Socialista*, is that it will attempt to get away with imposing the death penalty, but that if there is too much of a popular uproar before the condemned are executed, "it will hold in reserve a system that is no less effective but that is more 'quiet' than the firing squad."

Women's Oppression Debated

The special oppression of women under capitalist society is a topic that is being discussed by the left in Argentina, reports the April 26 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*.

A few weeks earlier, it noted, several political organizations cooperating in the military government's plan to hold elections next year (the plan is referred to as the GAN, Gran Acuerdo Nacional—Great National Agreement) held a meeting that took up the question of the situation of women in society. Among the groups that participated were the Peronist movement, the MID (Movimiento de Integración y Desarrollo—Movement of Integration and Development), the UCRI (Unión Cívica Radical Intransigente—Uncompromising Radical Civic Union), and the Communist and Pop-

ular Conservative parties.

The meeting, however, revealed no intention on the part of the participating groups to take up seriously the fight against women's oppression, observed *Avanzada Socialista*. One of the spokeswomen at the meeting was Nelly Casas of the MID, whose reactionary position on the question was made clear in a television interview a few days prior to the meeting. Also participating in the interview was a staff member of *Muchacha*, described as a "magazine that represents the most combative layer of youth and that is endeavoring to organize a militant feminist movement." The following exchange between the two occurred:

"*Muchacha*. There can be no doubt

that women suffer a special oppression.

"*Nelly Casas*. Those of us women who have led rich and very active lives and have worked like men feel far removed from a situation that would be qualified as one of oppression. I have been a worker, I have been a rural teacher, I paint my house, I take care of my kids—in other words, things a man does. Besides, I am a man's equal economically speaking: I pay taxes, I work, I am active. . . . The term oppression is too strong.

"*Muchacha*. A woman who enjoys a privileged status in relation to women as a whole cannot take her own situation as a criterion for evaluating the situation of all the rest. . . . I would ask a telephone operator, for example, why all her superiors are men and if she in fact does not consider herself discriminated against."

At another point, the following dialogue took place:

"*Muchacha*. There are fewer possibilities for women on the job. In some strikes, for example, they are given smaller wage increases.

"*Nelly Casas*. Negotiating committees are elected at internal elections. As a political activist, I would like to ask, 'How many women go to the meetings where the members of these committees are elected?'

"*Muchacha*. The other day I was talking with a working woman about this and I asked her: 'Why is it that most of those who take part in union activities are men?' She replied: 'Do you think that a married woman who works eight hours, spends another two coming and going, has to go and pick up a child she has left with a neighbor or her mother when she gets back, and then has to clean, wash, iron, and cook—do you really think she has the same opportunity as her husband to take part in union activity?'

The spokeswoman for the GAN not only "denies the existence of female oppression," observed *Avanzada Socialista*, but she "ignores the injustices that prevent women from developing

their trade-union and political consciousness."

The Argentine Socialist party, it concluded, "calls on women, as one of the social layers that suffer unjust ex-

ploitation, to organize themselves independently in order to push for their demands, and at the same time to struggle for socialism, which will do away with all social injustices." □

acceptable attack on the political rights of both our members and our organization, the national committee stated.

It noted that the party "carries on its activities in a public and legal fashion" and that it "is certain to fulfill in the near future the requirements laid down by the law 19.102 in order for it to gain recognition as a national party."

The statement concluded as follows:

"We must be allowed the full exercise of our political rights. We demand full freedom of expression and guarantees that we will be permitted to freely sell our press—our weekly *Avanzada Socialista* and our monthly *Los de Abajo*—as well as to freely distribute any propagandistic or educational material that the party deems necessary or desirable to publish.

"The party must have clarification on whether it is going to be able to participate in the electoral process with full political rights and on an equal basis with the other political parties."

The statement is signed by Juan Carlos Coral. □

PSA Protests Attacks by Police, Army

The Argentine Socialist party (PSA — Partido Socialista Argentino) issued a statement April 17 denouncing repeated instances of harassment by police and the army. The statement was adopted by the party's national committee and sent to Minister of the Interior Arturo Mor Roig. The text was published in the party's weekly paper, *Avanzada Socialista*.

The purpose of the statement was to demand that the government order an end to the harassment and that the party be allowed to carry out its activities with full respect for its legality and constitutional rights.

The first part of the statement de-

tails seven specific instances in which the authorities have violated the party's rights and impaired its ability to function. They include raids on party headquarters in various cities, following which party workers going about their business have been held by the police up to several days and in some cases beaten, and the detention of persons selling *Avanzada Socialista*.

In one instance, police broke into the Socialist Center in Rosario April 8 and picked up more than 100 members, whom they held in custody for more than twenty hours.

"Such acts on the part of the police and military forces represent an un-

Chile

Reaction Opens Offensive Against Allende

Santiago

The right-wing march here on April 12¹ was the culmination of an offensive by reactionary forces that began months earlier. It was carried out on all levels of society, from mass organizations to parliament and the courts. This offensive demonstrated the total failure of the reformist schemes that envisage the working class in Chile taking power through elections and by using the bourgeois state apparatus.

The economic problems arising out of the change in relations of production in the countryside, the production boycott carried out by the industrialists, and the implementing of a policy of increasing the population's buying power as a way of spurring in-

dustries to operate at full capacity (which succeeded last year), were hardly the reasons that prompted the right wing to step up its offensive aimed at toppling the government through constitutional means and with the support of the masses.

The "March for Freedom" was the high point of a whole process the purpose of which was to demoralize the government. This process was carried through in synchronized fashion by imperialism and by the two branches of state power not controlled by the Unidad Popular [Popular Unity]: the legislature and the judiciary. They did this with the aid of business organizations—the Sociedad de Fomento Fabril [Society for the Encouragement of Manufacturing], the Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura [National Agricultural Society], the Cámara Chilena de la Construcción [Chilean Chamber of Construction], etc. Both the legislative and the ju-

dicial powers attempted to demonstrate to the people that the Unidad Popular governs but does not rule, while the business organizations devoted themselves to publishing aggressive statements against the government in *El Mercurio* (the daily newspaper owned by Agustin Edwards, a leader of the opposition to Salvador Allende).

The judiciary, never overly concerned with concealing its commitments to the ruling class, freed all those involved in the recent attempted coup d'état organized by extremists in league with General Roberto Viaux (who was responsible for General Schneider's murder prior to Allende's inauguration), although the government had all the goods on them.

In parliament, the right went along with the executive branch's bills, from salary readjustments for public employees to the proposed budget, until it culminated its offensive with the con-

1. This so-called March for Freedom was organized by the opposition and was attended by about 200,000 persons.—*IP*

stitutional reform law, which takes away from the government the possibility for any initiative in the economic field. The reform prohibits any nationalization, seizure, or intervention of industries, and in addition requires that all industries taken over after October 14, 1971, the date the reform was introduced, be returned to their owners. The fact that the take-overs up till the present have not, with rare exceptions, occurred as a result of a sharpening of the class struggle in the factories or seizures of the plants by the workers, but of decisions by the state, means that a mere constitutional reform law will leave the government without any possibility of carrying through its program of nationalization.

At the same time, in the United States Chilean holdings were frozen, forcing payment of part of the debt to Anaconda. The intervention of the working class—which showed its determination to defend the government and its willingness to struggle in its April 18 march²—together with favorable external factors such as the revelation of the ITT documents and the holding of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in Santiago, prevented the North Americans from carrying out their threat not to renegotiate the foreign debt. The government's victory on this is due much more to the 500,000 persons who took to the streets on April 18 than to the months of negotiations in the Paris Club.

Mobilization of the Right

The 200,000 persons who paraded on April 12 demanding the expulsion of all foreigners from the country (mainly Bolivians, Brazilians, and Uruguayans, according to Christian Democratic President of the Senate Patricio Alwyn), making jokes about those who hope to bring down the government through legal means, and openly referring to confrontation, were not mobilized only by slogans about freedom, democracy, and the food supply. It has been a few months since the Christian Democracy, having assumed the leadership of reac-

tion in Chile, decided, as a representative of the industrial bourgeoisie, to organize into a unified mass movement all those layers whose interests were in contradiction with Unidad Popular by eliminating possible conflicts between the various groups.

Its main effort has been to combine parliamentary work with work at a rank-and-file level with the aim of weakening the mass organizations controlled by the left, doing away with their representative character, or forming parallel organizations. A cadre school is training youth who are active in the Mothers' Associations, Neighborhood Associations, Peasant Councils, and in the University. Its work is aided by the UP's general policy of demobilization.

The Christian Democracy's offensive took the form of refusing to take part in the elections to the Chilean Student Federation [FECH—Federación de los Estudiantes de Chile], controlled at present by the Communists, and of creating a series of parallel mass organizations: the University Front [Frente Universitario], a group parallel to the FECH; FRENAP [Frente Nacional del Area Privada—National Front of the Private Sector]; the Union of Women for Democracy [Unión de las Mujeres por la Democracia]; the Union of Small Stockholders [Unión de los Pequeños Accionistas]; the Union of Free Journalists [Unión de los Periodistas Libres]; FRENATI [Frente Nacional de los Trabajadores Independientes—National Front of Independent Workers], an organization parallel to the CUT [Central Unica de Trabajadores—Workers Central Union]; and the Peasants Central Union [Central Unica Campesina], formed in an effort to prevent the Peasant Federations from affiliating to the CUT, which would have made the latter more broadly representative and increased its field of operation. Although FRENAP is the only one of these organizations to really function, there has nevertheless been a long process of organizing and mobilizing groups opposed to the government. This process found concrete expression in the "March for Freedom."

Basic to the offensive by the right were the conciliationist policy of the Unidad Popular—which has frequently pulled back, avoiding any confrontation with the right and putting a brake on mobilizing the masses—and

the economic problems that arose as a result of the boycott by the industrialists and the government's weak agricultural policy of sticking to a reform that the peasants find unsatisfactory and that does not meet the needs of the country. The "Chilean road to socialism" amounts essentially to standing the role of the masses on its head and relying on the bourgeois apparatus: The masses are mobilized in order to back the executive branch's actions or to facilitate work in parliament. In this way the masses are denied the right to lead the process under the guidance of the vanguard parties. The struggle is being pursued mainly in parliament and the courts, not in the factories, in the countryside, or in the streets.

The plan for reactivating the economy by redistributing income and thereby stimulating an increase in production wore down for two main reasons: previously unused industrial capacity was utilized to the highest degree last year, requiring new investments this year that were not made, and the right was able to organize the industrialists—from the owners of small family enterprises to the monopolists—and bring about an open boycott of production. There are shortages in everything from cigarettes and shoes to camera film and food. The government's great enemy in the middle layers of society is the meat lines on Fridays, the only day meat can be bought. In Chile these layers are class conscious and have clearly chosen to make an alliance with the bourgeoisie in order to maintain their differences with members of the proletariat, whom they look down on.

Demoralizing the Masses

The policy of the Communist party of keeping the working class in a demobilized state is the policy that holds sway within the Unidad Popular. The CP, which is better organized and which has a perfectly functioning bureaucratic machine, counts on Salvador Allende's support to carry the day with its line of conciliation toward the bourgeoisie and of negotiations with Christian Democracy. In the process, it avoids any demonstration that might lead to the collapse of bourgeois institutions.

The Socialist party, which received 700,000 votes in the April 1971 elec-

2. This march of some 500,000, mostly workers and students, was the Unidad Popular's response to the April 12 "March for Freedom."—IP

tions as compared to 400,000 for the Communist party, is in no position to impose a more consistent policy, because of the fact that it has various tendencies within it ranging from supporters of guerrillaism to reformists. Although the SP's positions are generally correct, it is prevented from playing a vanguard role by its internal disorganization, its members' lack of discipline, and a whole tradition of impotence.

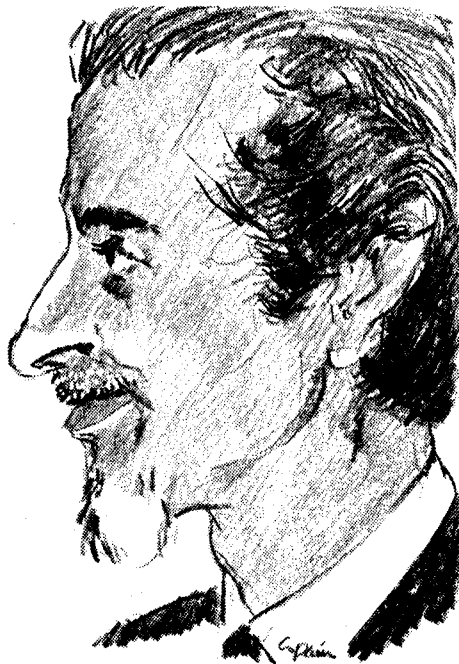
In the discussions in El Arrayán, right after the O'Higgins-Colchagua-Liñares elections in which the left won 8 percent fewer votes than it did in April last year, the Socialist party made two demands on the government in an attempt to take the offensive and to assume leadership of the Unidad Popular: (1) that the voting power within the Unidad Popular be weighted in proportion to the number of votes each party had received in the elections, and (2) that the cabinet posts be reassigned to reflect this. The Socialists gave the government until the end of March to respond. However, there has still been no response, and the matter has not been brought up again. The system of equal voting that currently prevails means that the five non-Marxist groups hold decision-making power over the "Marxist" parties (the CP and the SP).

In spite of the absence of a revolutionary party that could offer the working class a concrete alternative, a transitional program, and the proper tactics and strategy for taking power, and that could mobilize and organize the class for the final showdown, the Chilean working class has demonstrated, albeit sporadically, that it is not pleased with the UP's conciliationist policy. It is beginning to escape from the control of the reformist parties and to put forward its own independent positions. Here are a few examples.

Near the end of last year, a general meeting of the workers at the nationalized Sumar textile plant decided to fire thirty-eight workers who were accused of cooperating with the former bosses to sabotage production. All thirty-eight of the dismissed blue- and white-collar workers were active in the Christian Democracy. Without consulting the Sumar workers, Salvador Allende negotiated their rehiring with the Christian Democratic party. In exchange, the CD would not sup-

port a constitutional indictment against Minister of the Interior José Tohá brought by the National party.³ Allende himself announced this decision at a mass demonstration. At this very demonstration, however, workers in the industry distributed a leaflet stating that they would not accept the agreement made by the government. And they did not. To this day the thirty-eight dismissed workers at Sumar have not returned to work.

But the indictment of José Tohá was handled in the same way. As the in-



JOSE TOHA

dictment was being voted on in the Chamber of Deputies, thousands of construction and textile workers, students, and activists of the Socialist party, MAPU [Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria—Movement of United People's Action], the Christian Left, and the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left] gathered in front of the Chamber at ten in the

3. Toha was accused of not doing anything to dissolve "armed groups of the far left that are placing the security of the nation in danger." The Chamber of Deputies voted to censure him on January 6, thereby suspending him from the cabinet. Allende retaliated by assigning him a new portfolio as defense minister. The Senate then convicted him of the charge in impeachment proceedings on January 22. — IP

morning to demonstrate their support for the minister and demand that the indictment be dropped. At six in the evening, the mayor of Santiago, Jaime Concha, told the crowd that Salvador Allende requested that they go home because the deputies were complaining about the pressure that was being exerted upon them. Spontaneously, the crowd ridiculed the mayor and refused to leave. "This is what we came for—to exert pressure," they replied.

Minutes later, a new order came from Allende: They were to go to the presidential palace, and there he would address them. The response came immediately: "Let him come and talk to us here." The demonstrators remained in the street until one o'clock the following day, when the voting ended.

In the Hirmas textile works, a general strike and occupation of a few plants led to the dismissal of the president of the union, a Communist, who had reached an agreement with the managers of the nationalized industry on a wage increase behind the backs of the ranks. The workers demanded that they be allowed to take part in the negotiations and to discuss the increase in a general assembly.

And when Salvador Allende decided to hand the Ceresita paint factory back to its former owners, the workers marched in a CUT demonstration several days later with the sign: "We support the government, but we will not give back the industry."

Role of the MIR

Within this picture of the Chilean left in a state of ebb, of the absence of a revolutionary party that could lead the working class in taking power, of a growing demoralization in the government, and consequently among the sectors that support it, the only group that appears as an alternative is the MIR. Nevertheless, it is an empirical group, without democratic centralism, without a program, and which risks taking ultraleftist positions. It develops its policies as concrete situations compel it to, and it follows no general line of action. Still, it is the only movement to wage relentlessly an ideological battle against reformism, denouncing it at every turn. Its state of unpreparedness in the face of the current ebb leads it

to adopt ultraleftist positions by telling the masses what their tasks are but without ever indicating what concrete steps must be taken to achieve them. Its present slogan—"Dissolve parliament"—is not accompanied by any program of struggle capable of leading to this goal.

In spite of this, it is possible that layers that are disillusioned with reformism may come together around the MIR in order to form a revolutionary party. The MIR's main base of operation is in the countryside, with the MCR [Movimiento Campesino Revolucionario—Revolutionary Peasant Movement], among the working class in small industries with the FTR [Frente de Trabajadores Revolucionarios—Front of Revolutionary Workers], and in marginal sectors especially among squatters and *cesantes* [unemployed workers who find only odd jobs] with the FPR [Frente de Pobladores Revolucionarios—Front of Revolutionary Squatters].

In the countryside, the MIR is a leading force, it is the strongest left-wing group, and it is the only one with an agrarian program that to a great extent reflects the demands of the peasants: to lower the cut-off point on land that can be expropriated from 80 hectares to 40 hectares; an end to the right to reserve lands (presently the landlord keeps his house and reserve lands proportionate to the size of his estate); inclusion of *afuerinos* [rural workers who are employed only during harvest time] as permanent workers in the new agricultural organization; and across-the-board expropriations, that is, without compensation and including machinery, livestock, seed, etc.

The FTR, which was formed as a tendency within the CUT, puts forward its own program within the CUT with the backing up to now of the Christian Left and sections of the Socialist party. The program calls for democratizing the CUT so that all workers, not just those who are unionized, can take part in its elections; reform of the law on forming unions (at present there must be twenty-eight workers in a factory before a union can be formed); CUT independence from the government; workers' control in factories under state control; and the formation of watchdog committees in private factories.

In spite of the fact that the MIR plays a vanguard role to a certain

extent, it is not sufficiently rooted in the working class (which is controlled by the Communist and Socialist parties) to be able to lead the proletariat.

The chances of a military coup d'état are remote, but every day the chances seem greater that the government may lose mass support and be toppled by legal means, although such an overthrow would never be carried out peacefully. The demonstrators in the

"March for Freedom" shouted their demands for confrontation with the UP, which is not in a position to take the offensive. The demoralization of the working class, which is rendered impotent by the bureaucracy of the reformist parties, is what makes an attempt at a coup only a question of time. More than ever before, the absence of a Bolshevik party is being felt in Chile. □

Right Wing Wins Chile University Election

The Chilean opposition scored a significant victory in the university elections on April 27. The opposition's slate was headed by the former rector of the University of Chile, Dr. Edgardo Boeninger, who had been forced to resign under pressure from the left last year. Boeninger received nearly 52 percent of the votes, while the Unidad Popular candidate, Felipe Herrera, received 43.8 percent.

Although the opposition won only a narrow majority on the 100-member university council, for the first time both the council and the rector are in the opposition camp.

This electoral setback to the Allende regime followed on the heels of the three other successive defeats for its candidates in congressional by-elections. "I will not say that the result of the election at the university is unimportant," Allende told a news conference.

Andrés Pascal Allende, the candidate of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) and a nephew of President Allende, received 3.4 percent of the vote. Another far-left candidate, Luis Vitale, received less than 1 percent.

Eighty-two thousand students, professors, and university officials voted in the election.

The MIR denounced Herrera, a former director of the Inter-American Development Bank, as a representative of imperialism. It refused to withdraw its own candidate despite pressures from the Unidad Popular to do so.

One of the MIR's candidates, Daniel Moore, in an interview in the April 25 issue of the weekly magazine *Punto Final*, explained that the MIR saw little difference between Herrera's program and Boeninger's. A candidate

like Herrera not only could not unite the left, he said, but would actually sow confusion. "We reiterated our proposal to the UP and Vitale that all candidates withdraw, that a unity proposal be drawn up based on a revolutionary program capable of solving the crisis in the university by taking its control and its orientation out of the hands of the right wing. Unfortunately, our proposal fell on deaf ears. We will not take responsibility for the consequences."

One effect of the vote in the university elections would appear to be a strengthening of the opposition in its clamoring for a plebiscite on the constitutional change parliament recently adopted. The bill would reverse a number of nationalizations and require congressional approval for any future ones. Allende has vetoed the measure.

"I am ready to call a plebiscite," Allende told Marcel Niedergang of *Le Monde* on the eve of the university election, "but not in order to defend myself for having allegedly violated the Constitution. This is a stupid charge. My government rigorously respects the Constitution and the law, as they [the opposition] well know. I have already repeatedly said that when we call a plebiscite, it will be on clear and precise themes: for the dissolving of Congress or for participation by the workers. . . ."

Allende has warned that if attempts are made to override his veto of the constitutional reform he may call a plebiscite to dissolve Congress.

"If we go to a plebiscite," he told a May Day labor rally in Santiago, "we will scratch the earth for votes and we will win." □

Lenin in History: Two Ways to Write Biography

Lenin by Michael Morgan. Ohio University Press, Athens, Ohio. 236 pp. \$8.75. 1971.

On Lenin: Notes Toward a Biography by Leon Trotsky. Translated by Tamara Deutscher. George G. Harrap & Co., London. 204 pp. £1.00, \$2.60 paper. 1971.

It would be unfair and unproductive to demand of Michael Morgan—or any other contemporary scholar—that he match the vividness of portrayals of Lenin by those who knew him personally. This is doubly true when the observer is a writer of Trotsky's talents. There is, nevertheless, some insight to be gained by a comparison of these two very different works.

Trotsky's sketches of Lenin were, as the title of the volume indicates, not intended to present a finished biography of the Bolshevik leader but to provide first-hand source material for some future historian. In his foreword, Trotsky expressed the hope that he might himself be that future biographer. The clarity of the portrait in *On Lenin* is a reminder of the loss involved in the fact that Trotsky did not live to fulfill that hope.

This new translation is the first time that *On Lenin* has appeared in English in some forty-five years. The last previous edition claimed to be an "authorized translation" without indicating *who* had authorized it, and, according to the present publisher, it was of singularly poor quality—containing such absurdities as a description of Lenin making the sign of the cross during a moment of tension.*

As originally published in Russian, Trotsky's book covered only the period of his collaboration with Lenin

in 1903 and the year and a quarter from mid-1917 until approximately the first anniversary of the October Revolution. The translator has, fortunately, added two additional essays: a criticism of Gorky's eulogy of Lenin and a remarkably vivid and moving review of an anthology of children's writings on Lenin.

While the intent of Trotsky's book is evident even from its title, the purpose of Morgan's effort is not so evident. Given the already extensive writings on Lenin and the fact that the major events of his life are either common knowledge or easily accessible in standard reference works, a new biography would seem to require some justification. One would expect it to dispute commonly accepted interpretations, to reveal little-known facts, or to offer new insights into the subject's character.

Morgan's *Lenin* does none of these things, although it does have the merit of being considerably less vindictive than the offerings of most non-Marxist academics. He even displays a certain sympathy for Lenin's positions, although seldom complete agreement with any of them.

Morgan's book might perhaps serve as a moderately useful introduction for readers who have not studied any of Lenin's major writings, provided that Morgan's summaries of them and of the Bolshevik attitude and program are not taken overly seriously. While Morgan attempts to be fair, he sometimes displays a really startling misunderstanding, such as the assertion that according to Marxist economic theory machines are able to produce surplus value.

To take another example, Morgan, like many bourgeois scholars, professes to see a contradiction between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the "withering away of the state." He seems totally unaware of the fact that no serious Marxist has ever claimed that the proletarian dictatorship and the complete dying away of the state coincide in time. He is familiar with the argument advanced by Trotsky in 1903 that the proletarian dictator-

ship is the first in history that is a dictatorship by the majority, but Morgan feels that this does not resolve the "contradiction," in part because it "would have been cold comfort to the bourgeois feeling the rough edge of the dictatorship!"

In his description of the differing perspectives of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, Morgan inadvertently provides an even more telling insight into the limitations of bourgeois scholarship in dealing with social phenomena:

"The Mensheviks thought that Russian history would follow more or less the path of German history since 1870, and therefore the history of the Russian Social-Democratic Party would follow more or less the path of its opposite number in Germany. . . . The Bolsheviks thought this an illusion. In Russia the autocracy was too strongly entrenched, as the events of 1905-7 had proved, and would remain strong enough to prevent capitalism developing a liberal-democratic form of state, as it had done in Western Europe, even in Germany. . . . It was not then clear which analysis was right. Nor is it now. For the First World War cut clean across the pattern of history and made it a matter for argument, even now, how the pattern would have developed had the war not occurred."

Those addicted to fruitless pursuits may, indeed, argue interminably about what would have happened if the first world war had not occurred. But that is no defense of the assertion that the war was something akin to an earthquake, an inexplicable natural force that "cut clean across the pattern of history."

The first world war was an inseparable strand of the pattern of history discerned with such remarkable foresight by Lenin, Trotsky, and the Bolshevik party. The accuracy of their vision was confirmed in 1917 by history itself. Does Morgan imagine that the Bolsheviks based their analyses on utopian assumptions of an era of international peace?

A "pattern of history" that is con-

* The "Publishing History" provided by Harrap adds its own elements of confusion. It states that the "authorized translation" appeared in 1925 with a "publisher's note claiming that the book was one of the principal causes of Trotsky's exile"—an obvious absurdity since Trotsky was not exiled to Alma-Ata until 1928.

stantly being interrupted by historical events is a poor pattern indeed. One may suspect that it is not a pattern at all, but a shamefaced attempt to ignore the pattern sketched by Marx and Engels.

What Morgan's view really boils down to is the "great man" theory of history: Lenin was able to direct the revolution because of personal characteristics, and the political perspectives on which he based his actions are of secondary or tertiary importance. Trotsky, on the other hand, goes straight to the real source of Lenin's greatness. He shows us, not a Lenin standing outside of and acting on the historical process, but Lenin *in* history:

"A clear and scientific system, dialectical materialism, was indispensable for the historical sweep of his action; it was indispensable, but it was not sufficient. What was needed too was that deep creative force which we call intuition: the ability to judge events rapidly, at a glance, to distinguish the essential from the trivial, to fill up imaginatively the missing parts of the picture, to think out other people's thoughts to the end, and in the first instance the enemy's thoughts; to combine all these disparate elements into one totality and to strike a blow straightway while the very 'idea' of the blow was still shaping itself in one's mind. This is the intuition of action. This is what we call in Russian true sagacity."

Trotsky writes of Lenin as the embodiment of the Russian proletariat. This is not, as Lionel Kochan asserts in an obtuse introduction, a "truly mystical concept," but an insight into the historical forces that shaped the Russian working class and its greatest leader. Lenin, Trotsky observes, even reflected the proletariat's peasant origins in his physical appearance:

"Outside the Smolny Institute a monument has been erected to another great figure of the world proletariat: Karl Marx stands there on a plinth of stone in a black frock coat. This is only a detail, of course, but even in one's imagination it is impossible to put Lenin into a black frock coat. . . . That Marx was not inclined to foppishness is all too obvious to anybody who has the slightest idea of his work. But he was born and grew up in a different national-cultural background, he breathed a different air, as did other leading figures of

the German working class, rooted not in peasant villages, but in guilds and corporations and in an elaborate urban culture following upon the Middle Ages."

Trotsky's ability to sketch the dialectical interaction between historical

forces and Lenin's personal characteristics shows us how biography ought to be written. It is regrettable that Michael Morgan did not devote greater study to *On Lenin* before beginning his book.

—David Burton

New Paper of Canadian Abortion-Coalition

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

* * *

"*Spokeswoman* is a brand new paper! It is written and produced for you—all of you working to build the abortion law repeal campaign, or think you might want to work in it, or just want to keep in touch," says the ad in the April-May issue of the publication of the recently formed Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws.

This new voice for the cross-country movement for a woman's right to safe, legal abortion demonstrates that this movement is fast becoming a powerful political force in this country. The editorial sets out to tell readers just what the repeal movement stands for: "Above all we stand for life." It attacks the hypocritical stand of the opponents of the repeal movement who pretend to be concerned about human life, and it challenges every Canadian to become involved in the campaign to repeal the laws.

All eight pages of the new paper are packed full of reports, speeches, and actions of the movement. The last page is a poster for May 1-6 Petition Action Week and the center spread features reports and speeches of the recent Winnipeg conference which launched the Canadian Women's Coalition and the *Spokeswoman*. One of the speeches printed in the *Spokeswoman* is the statement of Harriet Christie of the United Church of Canada. She explains her organization's stand for repeal and states:

"Our belief in the worth of persons, in the right to full life, in the capacity of women to make responsible decisions, leads us to join you in urging the Canadian government to remove

all reference to abortion from the Criminal Code. . . ."

The paper reports on the international movement for the right to abortion, on the recent victory of 17 abortion repeal referendums held on campuses in Canada, and on the May 1-6 Petition Action Week. It reports that over 44,000 Canadians have already signed the repeal petition and expresses optimism about reaching the goal of 75,000 by May 6. The petitions will be presented to the federal government by a delegation from across the country on Mothers Day weekend.

Another article exposes the latest declaration by the latest spokesman for the enemies of women, Ontario coroner David Marshall, who claims that the "liberalized" abortion laws are creating "a false sense of security" about abortion. He used the death of Valerie Bissessar last September—from an injection of an excessive amount of fluid following an abortion induced with saline solution in the 17th week of pregnancy—to attack the small gains women have made in the struggle for the right to abortion.

But the *Spokeswoman* exposes the restrictive laws as the guilty party—not the women seeking abortions. It asks why did Valerie Bissessar have to wait until her 17th week of pregnancy before she was cleared by the hospital board for a therapeutic abortion. It says that repeal of the laws is the only effective measure to prevent the deaths of women like Valerie Bissessar.

Spokeswoman offers first-class subscriptions for \$1 for 7 issues and \$2 for 15 issues. [The paper's address is Box 5673, Station A, Toronto, Ontario.] The paper also welcomes contributions in the form of articles, pictures, suggestions, and cash.

—Linda Blackwood

Intercontinental Press

Rumanian Writer's Appeal to Ceausescu

[The Rumanian writer Paul Goma, whose book *Ostinato* was banned in Rumania last year, has been expelled from the Communist party (CPR), of which he has been a member since 1968. He is reported to be under threat of expulsion from the Writers' Union as well.

[Before being notified of his expulsion, Goma appealed directly to party leader Nicolas Ceausescu twice—once last year, and again on February 11, 1972. No response to his appeals has thus far been made.

[The following major excerpts from the second appeal were published in the April 30-May 2 issue of *Le Monde*. The footnotes are *Le Monde*'s. Translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

I, the undersigned Paul Goma, writer, member of the Rumanian Communist party, addressed a statement to you dated December 17, 1971 (registered under the number 147 877).

However, this document has been prevented from reaching you. That is why I find myself compelled to return to this matter. . . .

In my statement I pointed out the real reason why my novel *Ostinato* was banned. The reason lies not in the nature of the book (which was favorably recommended by literary people and long-time party members, and which was accepted by the publishing house) but in a slander directed against me. . . .¹

Confident that you were aware of neither the slander nor the unjust reprisals that have been taken against me in your name, I sent you the December 17, 1971, statement.

Not only has this statement been kept from reaching you but, in ad-

1. Here Goma is alluding to a charge that he had referred to earlier in his statement and that had been brought against him in June 1970. An editor of the publishing house *Cartea romaneasca* (The Rumanian Book) at the time asserted that Goma had taken as a model for two characters in an earlier novel entitled *Usa* (The Door) Mr. Nicolas Ceausescu, general secretary of the party, and his wife Elena.

dition, those who are systematically "uninforming" you are on the verge of bringing about my expulsion from the RCP, my expulsion from the Writers' Union, the cancellation of my work contract at the magazine *Romania Literara*, and (why not?) my arrest and sentencing.

I respectfully wish to inform you that I have no intention of abandoning this struggle, however unequal the match may be; that I will utilize all the testimony, every proof at my disposal, and every means—including those deemed illegal—in order to bring out the truth and in order to defend not merely my status as a member of the party and the Writers' Union, but also my freedom; and that I will fight until I have regained the rights as a citizen and a writer that have been taken away from me.

I have thought, acted, and written as a Communist. The party asked for realist literature from me—I wrote realist literature. The party asked me to write for and about contemporary man, both his good sides and his darker sides—I wrote along these lines. In a courageous and responsible way, the party disclosed the abuses that had been committed and gave assurances that they would not be repeated—I wrote, in a responsible way, about certain abuses and illegal practices, and I did so much less violently than you yourself did on numerous occasions. The party asks its members to tell the truth—I told, I tell, and I shall always tell the truth, even if this truth proves embarrassing for some.

But never, under the pretext of party discipline or under the pretext of "temporary needs" will I agree to lie, to state that it is I who have been mistaken (when it is those very persons who are asking me to make such a statement who are mistaken), or to make a self-criticism . . . for errors made by those who are asking me to make one. This is the way I look at being a Communist.

At a party meeting during which Comrade Dumitru Popescu, secretary

of the CC [Central Committee] of the CPR, proposed that I be expelled, I showed that the responsibility for the scandal stirred up by my book did not lie with me but with those who at first decided not to publish it and then to give it free publicity for the benefit of the German publisher.

In the course of this meeting, Comrade Dumitru Popescu said: "I have not read this book, but the comrades had good reason to turn it down."

I proved at this meeting that the comrades who turned down this book were in fact none other than—Comrade Dumitru Popescu himself. . . .

Thus we find ourselves in the very situation that the party, on your initiative, has on many occasions condemned and that it has promised would not occur again. This situation amounts to violation of the most elementary legal and human norms; punishment for a mistake that was never made; punishment before a charge has been verified and tried; punishment on the basis of an irresponsible statement by an irresponsible person; punishment inflicted on the victim of injustice and not on those who committed the injustice.

I am a free citizen, and I will not allow anyone to interfere with my civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution. I am a writer, and I will not allow anyone to interfere with my rights (in my case, I would say duties) as a writer, as a sincere and responsible recorder of the epoch in which I live. I am a Communist, and I will not allow anyone to cast aspersions on my honor as a Communist.

As I promised the Communists who accepted me into their ranks in August 1968, I will always tell the truth, and I will fight on the side of truth against any who try to distort it or deny it, no matter who they are and no matter what "temporary objectives" they might invoke.

I joined the Rumanian Communist party in August 1968 because in August 1968 the party spoke to me in the voice of Nicolas Ceausescu.² Because I believed Nicolas Ceausescu.

I want to continue to believe in the party and Nicolas Ceausescu. I do not wish to seek consolation in the

2. Goma is referring to the courageous and critical attitude taken by Mr. Ceausescu in August 1968 after the intervention in Czechoslovakia.

idea that some time in the distant future, perhaps after I am dead, justice will be done in my case. I do not want anything to do with a posthumous justice. I want the truth to be known today. I will fight for this truth until I succeed in bringing it to light. I am warning those who are preventing the truth from reaching you that if I receive no reply to this statement either, then I will find other ways to bring it to your attention—aware, of course, of all the risks involved.

I am sure to be successful.

For it is the party, through Nicolas Ceausescu, that taught me how. □

Protest U.S. Ban on Cuban Films

[The following letter was printed in the May 4 issue of the *New York Review of Books*. For a description of the Nixon administration's interference with the First

New York Festival of Cuban Films, see *Intercontinental Press*, April 3, p. 357 and April 10, p. 397.]

* * *

On March 25, at the doors of the Olympia Theater in New York, agents of the United States Treasury Department confiscated the Cuban film *Days of Water*, forcing the organizers of the First New York Cuban Film Festival to postpone screening some twenty-five films. A few days later, the Museum of Modern Art decided to cancel screenings of several Cuban films after being told by the Treasury Department that legal action would follow exhibition of unlicensed work.

Whatever the legal particulars of this case, it is not the place of the United States government to decide what Americans should or should not see or read or hear. A law which can be used for political purposes to keep Americans from seeing the art of a foreign country is an oppressive law. We object to political regulation over what works of art may enter and be exhibited in this country. We object even more strenuously to the use of that noxious power arbitrarily. We think it either sinister or absurd when access to foreign art can be turned off

and on like a tap to suit the government's current policy, when Americans are not allowed to see Cuban films only weeks after the president has been televised worldwide cheerfully applauding the Peking Ballet and after videotapes of the performance are broadcast in America amid choruses of official self-congratulation. At that point, an illegitimate power arbitrarily used begins to smack of outright thought-control.

The blockade of Cuba by the United States has been a foolish and destructive mistake. Apart from that, the art of *any* foreign country, whatever its politics, ought to be freely available to Americans whenever it is practically feasible. We protest the government's current policy toward Cuban film. We urge the immediate licensing of the films in the Cuban Film Festival for exhibition throughout the country. And we urge prompt enactment of whatever changes in the law may be needed to guarantee not only freedom of expression to artists but for the public, full freedom of access to their work.

Jay Cocks, Ricki Franklin, Jack Gelber, Richard Gilman, Nat Hentoff, Stanley Kauffman, Dwight Macdonald, Jonas Mekas, Annette Michelson, Andrew Sarris, William Wolf, Amos Vogel, Stephen Koch

A Contribution to the History of the Trotskyist Movement

The Fourth International

By Pierre Frank

[The following, tenth installment of our translation of Pierre Frank's *The Fourth International: A Contribution to the History of the Trotskyist Movement* completes the third and final section of Chapter 6: "The International Reunited." (Serialization started with our issue of March 13.)

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

The Campaigns of the International (The Second Congress After Reunification)

Internal difficulties and attacks of hostile groups were, fortunately, not the only matters claiming the attention of the united leadership of the International. The entire Trotskyist movement was engaged in increasing its ac-

tivities, consolidating the reunification and preparing for an expansion of the International.

The International undertook a campaign in defense of the imprisoned Polish revolutionists, two young leaders in particular, Modzelewsky and Kuron, who were spokesmen for left currents at the University of Warsaw. The International was responsible for the publication of their "Open Letter to the Polish Workers Party,"³⁴ which was the first programmatic document of the antibureaucratic revolution to come out of a workers state since the days of Trotsky and the Left Opposition. The International also publicized the positions of Communists who criticized, from the left, the Yugoslav Communist League's policies. For the first time in many a year, Marxist revolutionary thought was being formulated in places where Stalinism had exercised almost total domination, or where right-wing leaderships prevailed.

Moreover, the Fourth International was at various times able to publicize positions and documents coming from critical elements within the Soviet Union itself. Quite re-

34. Available in English, together with Isaac Deutscher's protest to Wladyslaw Gomulka and the Central Committee of the Polish Workers party, under the title *Revolutionary Marxist Students in Poland Speak Out*. Pathfinder Press, Inc., New York. —Translator

cently, the International brought the positions of a left current in Czechoslovakia³⁵ to the attention of world working-class opinion.

The Fourth International intervened in various ways in the Sino-Soviet conflict. All the sections utilized the opportunities available to them for influencing the crisis in the Communist parties. As their differences became exacerbated, the two leaderships, Soviet and Chinese, each accused the other of playing into the Fourth International's hands.

We have already mentioned the defense of Cuba. On this subject, it should be pointed out that the activity of Latin American Trotskyists contributed a great deal toward clarifying the Cuban positions on Trotskyism. In accordance with the decision of the world congress mentioned above, an international campaign was launched for the defense of Hugo Blanco, a Trotskyist militant and leader of the Peruvian peasants. After a somewhat slow start, this campaign attained considerable proportions. Declarations of solidarity arrived from all over the world; more and more meetings and demonstrations were held in numerous cities everywhere. This campaign was so strong that it reached the reformist trade-unions as well as organizations linked to the Communist parties. Never before had the International waged such a world campaign. Undoubtedly this campaign coincided with a development of the objective situation, first in Latin America and then in Vietnam, which assured it of a broader audience. At first this campaign resulted in several postponements of the trial—a trial at which Hugo Blanco defended himself in masterful fashion. The campaign succeeded in averting the death penalty that the court would most certainly have pronounced, considering the charges against Hugo Blanco, if world opinion had not been alerted and mobilized.

Finally, from the beginning of 1965, i. e., immediately following the Yankee escalation of the war in Vietnam, the International alerted all its sections, the entire vanguard, to carry out actions in support of the Vietnamese revolution.

Less than two years after the reunification, the decision was made to call a world congress. Represented at this congress, held in December 1965 with over sixty persons present, were twenty-five countries. The congress demonstrated that the reunification had been effectively consolidated, the centrifugal forces having been largely overcome. The organization was able to turn most of its forces outward and implement its policies under more normal conditions.

The congress gave top importance to the defense of Vietnam. On the heels of the serious defeats of the masses in Brazil and Indonesia, the congress forcefully proclaimed the need to counterpose a world strategy for socialist revolution to the global strategy of imperialism. It issued the following call for the defense of the Vietnamese revolution:

"Communists, worker-members of Communist parties, workers, youth, intellectuals of the workers states:

"Initiate and broaden your campaign to compel the Kremlin to end its shady and underhanded dealings with

the imperialist aggressor while it gives only miserly dribblets of aid to the heroic masses of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. By the millions raise the slogan, 'Planes, guns for the Vietnamese people!'

"Workers, poor peasants, militant nationalists in the semicolonial countries:

"Rise up resolutely against imperialism, strike against it everywhere at the same time. Take advantage of the fact that imperialism has engaged its main forces in Vietnam. Open up many new fronts, and strike down imperialism's lackeys and toadies wherever conditions are favorable.

"Workers of the entire world:

"Compel the leaders of all mass organizations, the leaders of all workers states that claim to speak in the name of socialism, to form an unshakable anti-imperialist united front, under whose devastating blows imperialism will be forced to retreat."

In addition to a political resolution dealing with several essential points, among others the crisis of leadership in the colonial revolution—which had resulted in a series of grave defeats—and the new oppositional currents that had appeared in the United States, several documents were discussed and adopted at this congress.

The development of West European capitalism and the tasks of revolutionary Marxists was the subject of one of these documents. This document analyzed in detail the development of the economic situation, which evinced different characteristics in different countries, and the contradictions of the Common Market. It stressed the trend toward a "strong state" and the obstacles countering the trend. It took note of the appearance of reactionary currents and racist tendencies exploiting the immigration of foreign workers, often dark-skinned, in several countries. The document pointed out the thoroughgoing degeneration of the Social Democratic and Stalinist leaderships and the danger of integration into the bourgeois state bearing down ever more heavily on the trade-union organizations. It pointed out further that in countries where the Social Democracy dominated the working-class movement, left tendencies made their appearance more often inside the trade-union movement, because part of the trade-union bureaucracy felt constrained to make a show of opposition in order not to lose all credibility with the workers. Finally, the document stated that, contrary to the thinking of numerous currents which maintained revolutionary positions theoretically but proved total skeptics concerning revolutionary possibilities in the present period, the contradictions of capitalism, even in the framework of neocapitalism, were such that defensive economic struggles of the masses could at certain times lead to offensive struggles to win transitional demands, and to a revolutionary situation with the appearance of organs of dual power. Starting with these considerations and taking into account the international situation, a specific transitional program for each country had to be formulated.

The document on "The Sino-Soviet Conflict and the Crisis in the International Communist Movement" started off by examining a question that had frequently been raised in various places: Was there a Stalinist phase in China (and, more generally, would there necessarily be such a phase in every backward workers state)? Replying in the negative, the document pointed out the differences

35. For documents in English from the Czechoslovakian left-Communist opposition, see *The Invasion of Czechoslovakia*, edited by Les Evans. Pathfinder Press, Inc., New York. — *Translator*

between Maoism and Stalinism, and reaffirmed Trotsky's view that Stalinism was a form of bureaucratization that would be unique, because it was due to a particular combination of circumstances—a combination that would never again occur in history. This document then proceeded to a detailed examination of pro-Peking parties and groups, on the one hand, and pro-Moscow parties and groups, on the other. A section of the text was devoted to Castroism.

Another lengthy document dealt with "Progress and Problems of the African Revolution." About ten years had elapsed since the old African colonialism had largely given way to new structures. The document distinguished three major sectors in Africa: where colonialism and racism still exist; where there is a distinct neocolonial structure; and where revolutionary transformations have taken place.

The first sector was essentially confined to the southern part of Africa. It did not pose any special theoretical problems, the important matter being the problems raised by the struggle, which would become exceptionally intense there.

In the second sector were to be found countries like Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, most of the former French colonies in West Africa, the Congo, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Somalia, etc. Nor did this sector pose any difficult theoretical problems. Its neocolonialist nature was perfectly clear, and the tasks of revolutionists could easily be formulated.

The third sector comprised countries like Ghana, Zanzibar, Guinea, Mali, Egypt, Algeria. Generally speaking, these are countries where independence had been won by mass struggle, or countries which had adopted anti-imperialist, sometimes anticapitalist, measures and which had been in the vanguard of the struggle against the colonial or neocolonial systems. A goodly portion of the document was devoted to describing what had happened in these countries, their development, their class structure, measures taken, etc. The document dealt with

the Algerian revolution at great length, with special attention to the Ben Bella experience and to the new situation that had been created just a few months before—the *coup d'état* of June 19, 1965, that had carried Boumedienne to power. In addition, the document pointed out the contradictions in these states and endeavored to formulate the conditions that would assure a mass upsurge capable of transforming these countries into workers states.

The document ended with a section devoted to perspectives and tasks, as well as to several essential conclusions. It highlighted specific characteristics of the African revolution: the existence of very backward sectors; the confrontation between disintegrating tribal structures and the social perspectives of the twentieth-century world; the extraordinary combined development that marks this continent. The document demonstrated that even where victory was assured by the presence of revolutionary Marxists, there would be no simple solutions to these problems without very substantial and unselfish assistance from the workers states. Such African countries would especially need the help of workers states created in the industrialized countries of Western Europe and North America. The document held it to be the duty of members of the International to help in the formation of African cadres capable of creating genuine revolutionary parties.

This document met with considerable discussion, especially the parts dealing with the Algerian revolution; characterization of the Ben Bella government; characterization of the regime in Egypt, etc. The document was adopted by the congress, although the latter felt that while the document could provide a good working basis, various questions needed further and more intensive study. It was therefore decided that discussion of this document should continue after the congress, and that the question of the African revolution would be placed on the agenda of the next world congress.

[To be continued]

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