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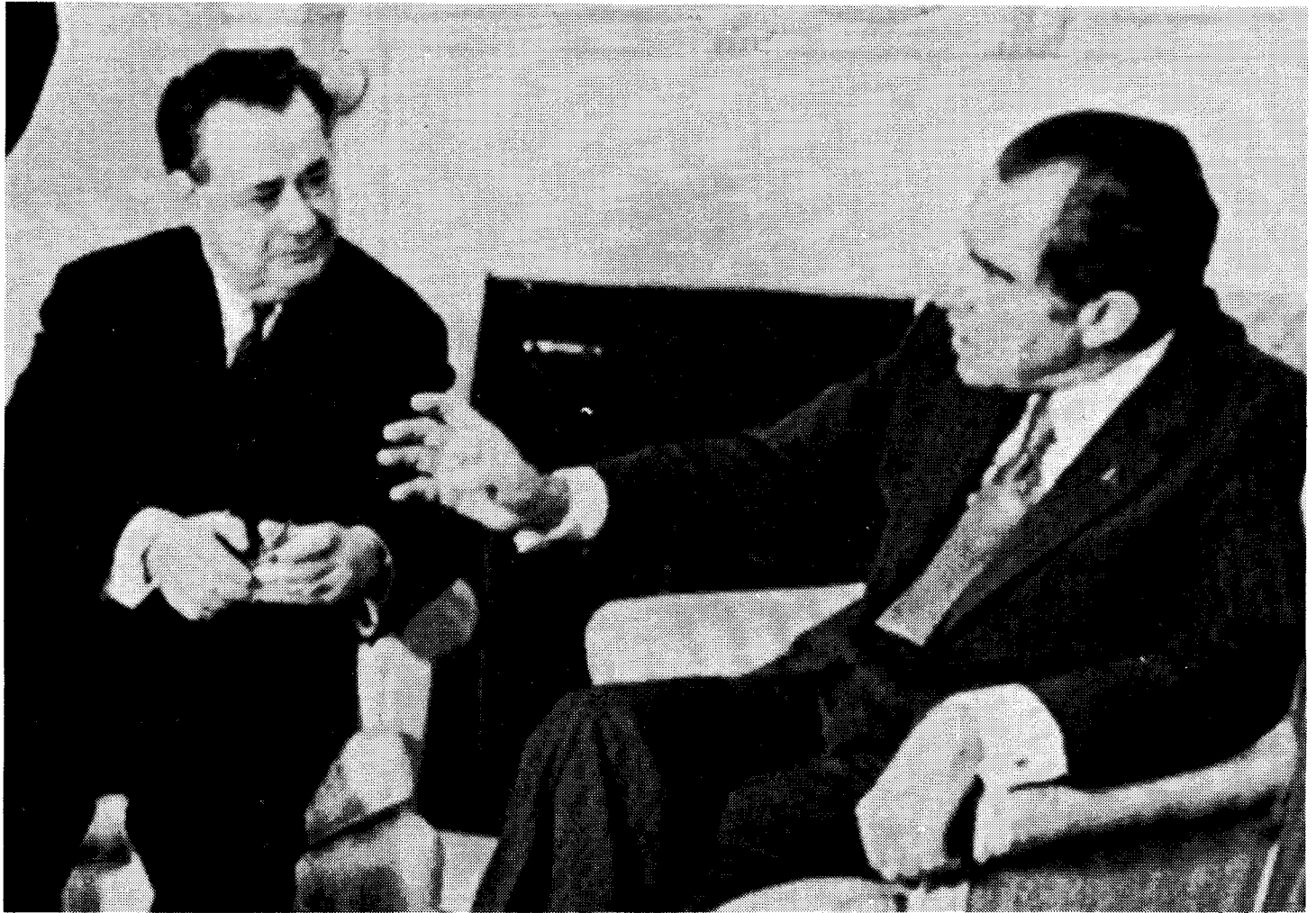
the Americas

Vol. 10, No. 20

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May 22, 1972

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SOVIET TRADE MINISTER Nikolai S. Patolichev, overlooking U.S. blockade of North Vietnam, meets in "cordial atmosphere"

with Richard Nixon May 11. Kremlin statement on same day did not assert Soviet right to supply Hanoi.

United Press International

Kremlin Treachery Sets Stage for New Escalations of War

Court Overturns Contempt Ruling

The U.S. government was dealt another setback in its conspiracy case against the Chicago Seven on May 11 when a three-judge panel of the United States Court of Appeals for the Seventh District overturned contempt-of-court convictions of the defendants and their lawyers. The convictions resulted from the trial of the seven defendants and Bobby Seale, Black Panther party leader, on charges of conspiracy to incite riots at the 1968 Democratic party national convention in Chicago.

While the court unanimously overturned the convictions and severe sentences imposed by Judge Julius Hoffman, it left the contempt charges pending. There will thus be a new trial on these charges before a new judge.

The court did not rule on convictions of five of the Chicago Seven on charges that they had crossed a state line with intent to incite a riot and had delivered inflammatory speeches toward that end. These convictions are still under appeal.

After the trial, which lasted from September 24, 1969, to February 18, 1970, and which cost the government \$2,000,000, all seven defendants were acquitted of conspiracy charges. All except John Froines and Lee Weiner were found guilty of crossing state lines to incite a riot.

Conspiracy and incitement-to-riot charges against Seale, whose case was separated from the others, were later dropped.

The other defendants were Dave Dellinger, Rennie Davis, Thomas Hayden, Abbie Hoffman, and Jerry Rubin.

Many of the contempt citations were brought against the defendants when they protested the high-handed behavior of Judge Hoffman, who ran his court like a despot. The contempt sentences he imposed ranged up to twenty-nine months and sixteen days for Dellinger and forty-eight months and thirteen days for defense lawyer William Kunstler. Half of the contempt charges against Kunstler and Leonard Weinglass, another lawyer, were dropped by the court. □

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

EDITOR: Joseph Hansen.

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

MANAGING EDITOR: Allen Myers.

COPY EDITOR: Lawrence Rand.

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

BUSINESS MANAGER: Reba Hansen.

ASSISTANT BUSINESS MANAGER: Steven Warshell.

TECHNICAL STAFF: H. Massey, James M. Morgan, Ruth Schein.

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

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

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

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

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

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Kremlin Treachery Encourages New Escalations

By Allen Myers

MAY 15—Richard Nixon's May 8 announcement of a massive escalation of the Indochina war constituted a reckless slap in the face to the Soviet Union and, indirectly, China. The mining of North Vietnamese harbors created, for the first time in the war, a situation in which Soviet and Chinese ships were threatened with destruction if they attempted to bring supplies of any kind to North Vietnam.

Soviet ships have in the past been damaged and, according to some reports, sunk by U.S. air raids on Hai-phong. But while dangerous, such incidents always permitted the Soviet bureaucrats the face-saving alternative of accepting Washington's explanations that the damage was "inadvertent."

The mining of North Vietnam's harbors had been repeatedly considered and rejected by Nixon's predecessor precisely because of the danger of touching off a nuclear war with the Soviet Union. For this reason, Nixon's order to his generals to go ahead and mine the harbor created an international crisis.

"Is Nixon mad?" asked the Swedish Social-Democratic paper *Aftonbladet*. "Is he trying to bring about the final collapse of the whole world?"

Capitalist governments, while more diplomatic in their language, were generally critical of the escalation. Almost the sole exception was the British government, which endorsed the new aggression as "inevitable."

According to press reports, the fears of a Soviet-U.S. military clash were shared by high officials in Washington. In a May 8 dispatch from Washington to the *New York Times*, Bernard Gwertzman wrote:

"It was clear that the Nixon Administration, in seeking to prevent a confrontation with the Russians, was trying to keep the Nixon visit to Moscow alive. But the furor expected to develop in coming days is regarded here as sufficient to cause the Russians to cancel the trip or at least ask that it be postponed.

"What was less certain and the cause of *considerable concern* here was whether the mining and the threat to Soviet shipping would lead to a *Soviet military response*." (Emphasis added.)

For three days, as hundreds upon hundreds of U.S. planes bombed North Vietnamese ports, rail lines, hospitals, and river dikes, the Soviet Communist party Political Bureau considered its response to the escalation. The delay was sufficient to create reports that there was serious disagreement in the ruling bureaucracy.

Whatever the truth behind such reports may be, on May 11 the Soviet leaders came out crawling on all fours. The official statement issued in Moscow, while verbally criticizing Nixon's actions, was more remarkable for what it did not say:

1. It did not reassert the right of the Soviet Union to continue supplying material aid to the Vietnamese revolution.

2. It did not encourage international antiwar demonstrations against Nixon's genocidal aggression.

3. It did not warn of any possible countermeasures that would be taken if Nixon refused to deactivate the mines.

The Soviet bureaucrats decided instead that it was more important to assure that this war criminal would visit Moscow as previously scheduled.

A cancellation of Nixon's visit—if not much stronger measures—had been widely predicted in the immediate aftermath of the May 8 speech. At a press conference the next day, presidential adviser Henry Kissinger found it necessary to assure reporters that the escalation "did not involve an unacceptable risk" of a military clash with the Soviet Union. He went on to hold out the bait of potential diplomatic and trade deals to the Soviet bureaucrats:

"I am not, of course, able to predict what the Soviet reaction will be. Whatever it will be, I can only affirm that as far as we are concerned, we still believe that a new era in East-

West relations is possible, and as far as we are concerned, we will place no obstacles in its way, but, rather, we will pursue it with the same intensity as before."

Nixon's "new era in East-West relations" is a reference to the illusions he has hoped to sow with the summit meetings in Peking and Moscow. Not the least of the purposes involved in these propaganda journeys is the expected benefit to Richard Nixon's chances of reelection in November.

In addition to the treacherous statement issued May 11, the Soviet bureaucrats provided at the same time another indication of their eagerness to welcome Nixon to Moscow and thus to help him in his campaign for reelection. The expectation behind this "strategy" is that Nixon will show suitable gratitude for this assistance—an illusion that is not likely to last beyond November (if he is reelected).

Moscow's campaign contribution came in the form of a "courtesy call" at the White House by Nikolai S. Patolichev, Soviet foreign-trade minister and a member of the Communist party Central Committee. The Nixon administration summoned reporters and photographers, who had not been previously informed of the call for fear that it would be demonstratively and embarrassingly canceled.

The meeting was held in a "cordial atmosphere." It covered such pressing subjects as comparative linguistics. Nixon was heard to observe that Russian is an easier language than Polish. He demonstrated his mastery of the former by pronouncing the word "druzha"—"friendship."

"On his way back to the Soviet Embassy," Gwertzman reported in the May 12 *New York Times*, "Mr. Patolichev was asked by a newsman whether Mr. Nixon's visit to Russia was 'still on.'

"'We never had any doubts about it,' he said through an interpreter. 'I don't know why you asked this question. Have you any doubts?'"

Presumably to avoid creating any

doubts about their ability to smile while being kicked in the pants, the Soviet bureaucrats remained completely silent about the fact that at least two more Soviet freighters had been damaged by U. S. bombing raids on Haiphong. The Soviet government maintained its silence even after the incident had been reported by Hanoi and after an Agence France-Presse correspondent had reported that four crew members had been wounded, two of them sufficiently seriously to cause "anxiety" to their doctors.

(The Chinese government complained May 9 that two of its ships in North Vietnamese waters had been bombed and strafed by U. S. planes on May 6 and 7. The Chinese protest was described by Reuters as "unusually muted for such an occasion.")

The Soviet belly-crawling lent weight to the views of some bourgeois commentators that Moscow had been warned in advance of Nixon's decision to escalate the war. In a May 10 editorial, for instance, the *Washington Post* said:

"Now, it is just barely possible that the fix, so to speak, is in, that the President has a secret commitment from Moscow once again to exercise on Hanoi some of that 'constructive influence' he said Moscow had exercised in April. In return, Mr. Nixon might offer the Kremlin certain boons, say, in SALT [strategic arms limitation talks] or trade. . . ."

It is more likely, however, that Nixon simply counted on Moscow and Peking to respond to his new escalation in the same way that they had to earlier provocations of U. S. imperialism.

Nixon is well aware that the ruling bureaucracies are a counterrevolutionary, not a revolutionary force. The parasitic ruling castes have no desire to see the spread of the world revolution, which tends to undermine their control over their own countries. The clearest evidence of the real intentions of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies is provided by the manner in which aid to the Vietnamese revolution has been doled out with an eyedropper since 1965. Even according to the statistics given out by Washington, combined Soviet and Chinese military assistance to North Vietnam in 1971 amounted to *less than one-fiftieth* of what the U. S. government spent on the war in the same period.

The privileges of the ruling bureau-

TASS Reports What Nixon Didn't Say

Nixon's speech May 8 announcing his blockade of North Vietnamese ports seems to have caused more than one kind of political problem for the Kremlin, since the pro-Moscow Communist parties have centered their campaign for "peace in Vietnam" around the demand for a "negotiated settlement."

Here is what Nixon said about "negotiations":

"We now have a clear hard choice among three courses of action: immediate withdrawal of all American forces, continued attempts at negotiation, or decisive military action to end the war.

"I know that many Americans favor the first course of action—immediate withdrawal.

"They believe the way to end the war is for the United States to get

out and to remove the threat to our remaining forces by simply withdrawing them.

"From a political standpoint, this would be a very easy choice for me to accept."

A TASS dispatch about the speech was tucked away on the next to last page of the Soviet party organ *Pravda*. It reported:

"President Nixon delivered a speech over radio and television on the situation in Vietnam. He declared that the U. S. was now facing 'a clear hard choice among three courses of action: immediate withdrawal of all American forces, continued attempts at negotiation, or decisive military action to end the war.'

"R. Nixon admitted that the majority of Americans favored the first course, that is, negotiations."

cracies are, however, dependent on the existence of the Soviet Union and China as workers states. There is a line beyond which the aggression of imperialism threatens the interests of the ruling cliques.

This is the reason why Washington has escalated the Indochina war a step at a time, always pausing to assess the reaction in Moscow and Peking before proceeding further. It is disagreement over where this line lies—and the pressure of the international antiwar movement—that is responsible for the rift over the war in the U. S. ruling class.

Prior to Nixon's May 8 escalation, this rift had been temporarily papered over, with Nixon's ruling-class critics waiting to see if "Vietnamization" might prove successful. The blockade of North Vietnam, however, brought the disagreements to a new pitch. One of the sharpest expressions of this was provided by a May 10 editorial in the *New York Times*.

"The mining of the harbors of North Vietnam," the paper's editors wrote, "poses a direct challenge to the Soviet Union and other arms suppliers to Hanoi that could quite possibly escalate into a confrontation between the world's two great superpowers. Only the gravest threat to the security of the United States could justify such

a challenge, as was indeed the case in the Cuban missile crisis. But Vietnam is not Cuba; and there is no conceivable American interest at stake in Indochina today as there was in Cuba to warrant the risk—and the escalation—the President has so clearly undertaken. . . .

"The President's risky action Monday evidently signals a decision to intensify and enlarge American military involvement in the war from sea and air, with all the attendant risks accompanying such escalation. The President is in fact leading the country down precisely the road—though by different means—that President Johnson did in 1965. The difference is that President Nixon has the benefit of these last seven years' experience. Yet, like the Bourbons, he seems to have forgotten nothing and learned nothing."

The editorial looked like the opening of a campaign against Nixon's strategy. But the next day the Soviet rulers relieved the tension by rolling over and playing dead, and the *Times's* campaign was suddenly muted.

On May 11, the U. S. Defense Department reported that five ships had left the Haiphong harbor since Nixon's speech. Four of the ships were Soviet, and the fifth, which is regis-

tered in Hong Kong, was believed to be chartered by the Chinese government.

There nevertheless remains a very real possibility of an incident that could touch off an even larger military conflict.

A Pentagon spokesman reported that ships remaining at Haiphong included twelve from the Soviet Union, five from China, three from Hong Kong, three from Poland, two from Cuba, one from East Germany, and five from Somalia.

On the night of May 13, Moscow radio announced that eight Soviet freighters were en route from Black Sea ports to North Vietnam. The broadcast made the point that these ships were not carrying weapons, describing their cargo as "fertilizers, agricultural machines, food, clothing, and medicine."

The broadcast is likely to be seen in Washington as a plea not to interfere with the freighters and thus force the Soviet bureaucrats into canceling Nixon's visit or some other retaliatory action. But the effect of such a plea is to give *de facto* recognition to a blockade against military cargoes and thus to encourage Nixon to begin considering his next escalation.

The air war against the peoples of Indochina has already reached an intensity that almost defies comprehension. The explosive power carried by the giant B-52 bombers is particularly staggering. Their effect was described in the May 3 *New York Times* by Raphael Littauer, a physicist who coordinated a study of the air war conducted by scientists at Cornell University:

"They carry over 100 bombs each, to a total of 30 tons, and shed them rapidly from a close-formation flight at high altitude. The bombs explode in dense pattern covering, for a typical mission of six planes, 1.5 square miles with 150 tons of explosives. Such a B-52 box of distributed tonnage is lethally effective. It is easy to calculate that the blast overpressure will exceed 3 PSI (pounds per square inch) everywhere within the pattern, enough to knock down any residential structures other than reinforced concrete. Six hundred points will be hit directly by bombs, and all locations in the area will be within 125 feet of such a hit.

"By way of comparsion, the Hiro-

shima [atomic] bomb covered 6 square miles to 3 PSI—just four times the area of the B-52 pattern."

The total April 16 raids on Hanoi and Haiphong included enough B-52s to equal three-fourths of the destructive power of the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima. That figure does not include the bombs carried by the hundreds of fighter-bombers that participated in the raids.

Every day, Littauer calculated, B-52s fly the equivalent of ten six-plane missions over Indochina. That represents a force two and a half times as great as the Hiroshima bomb.

"Territories under enemy control," Littauer wrote, "are subjected to sustained bombardment to deny the enemy the fruits of his victory—the population resources he has come to control. An uglier phrase for this is *scorched-earth policy*. An unspeakable price is exacted from the people of Indochina in return for 'saving' them."

As Guerrillas Attack Pnompenh

Protest Murder of Cambodian Students

A serious crisis for the regime of Marshal Lon Nol has been touched off by student struggles in Pnompenh. The protests began with the shooting of several students by police on April 27. Students claim that several were killed, although the government denies this, speaking of "only nine persons wounded."

"Several thousand university and high-school students are occupying the independence monument on which they have placed symbolic coffins and crepe," reported *Le Monde* May 3.

As the protest demonstrations continued, the students picked up support from a section of the Buddhist clergy and a large part of the population of Pnompenh.

Le Monde reported May 5 that according to Pnompenh police, within the preceding few days two persons had been killed and nineteen wounded, among them eight policemen, in bomb and grenade attacks in the city.

On the night of May 5, a fierce battle raged in the southern part of Pnompenh after an antigovernment commando group of about 100 well-armed men made its way into the

(Emphasis in original.)

Littauer was describing the situation *before* the latest escalation. Some of the terrible possibilities for the future were mentioned by columnist Anthony Lewis in the May 13 *New York Times*:

"If mining Haiphong does not work in the sense of making the North Vietnamese accept Mr. Nixon's terms—and almost no informed person thinks it will—what will this President do next? Bomb the Red River dikes to flood North Vietnam? Use B-52's to turn Hanoi into a salt plain? Use nuclear weapons?"

"Nothing can be excluded. The possibilities may sound fantastic now, but even a little while ago so did mining Haiphong. And each step makes the next easier."

The question that remains is, how much of Indochina must be destroyed before the Soviet bureaucrats show as much understanding of reality as the bourgeois commentators? □

city. The attack, in the vicinity of the U.S. embassy and the official residence of Lon Nol, was "the most violent yet carried out against the city," according to *Le Monde* May 7-8. "The attackers appear to have come from their more or less inviolable 'sanctuary' at Saang, thirty kilometers to the south. In any case, they were able to pass through Pnompenh's defense perimeter without any difficulty."

Official estimates were that twenty-one guerrillas and twenty-nine pro-government defenders and civilians were killed in the fighting.

Shellings of the city and its airport have continued since the commando raid. In the south and southeastern parts of Cambodia, the government has been dealt important setbacks by liberation forces, having lost control over sixty kilometers of the highway between Saigon and Pnompenh and over the rich rice-growing lands in the region. The province of Kampot, adjacent to the South Vietnam delta, is now almost entirely under the control of liberation forces. □

U.S. Swept by Antiwar Demonstrations

By David Thorstad

President Nixon had hardly finished his speech May 8 announcing the mining of North Vietnam's harbors before antiwar protests began throughout the United States. The anger of the protesters and the scope of the demonstrations had not reached such a scale for two years. The Associated Press called them "the most turbulent since the 1970 protests over the U. S. invasion of Cambodia."

The rallies, picket lines, sit-ins, marches, teach-ins, and student strikes multiplied during the days following Nixon's speech. Mass demonstrations were held in cities all across the country on Saturday, May 13. In addition to protesting the new escalation of the war and demanding that the U. S. get out of Southeast Asia, the demonstrations publicized the call for a march on Washington, D. C., on May 21 issued by the National Peace Action Coalition, the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, and other antiwar groups from around the country.

The outrage of the protests was reflected in a march in New York on May 10 that grew from around sixty persons when it began on the Upper West Side of Manhattan, to 2,500 when it reached Times Square a couple of hours later. The same day, over 2,000 persons demonstrated outside the New York offices of the International Telephone & Telegraph Corporation to protest its involvement in the war and to accuse Nixon of risking World War III in order to protect the profits of corporations like ITT.

Vice President Spiro Agnew was picketed by antiwar protesters in Honolulu, Hawaii, the same day. "The night before," reported John Darnton in the *New York Times* May 11, "when he arrived to address a fundraising dinner at the Ohio Fairgrounds in Columbus, his limousine was pelted with rocks and potatoes."

Some protesters took their anger to the steps of Congress, where a demonstration of 300 chanting young

people prompted officials to close the House of Representatives visitors' gallery May 10.

An estimated 200 Vietnam veterans barged into the United Nations on May 9. Two days later, seventeen persons chained themselves to seats in the visitors' gallery of the UN.

Despite the fact that most of the demonstrations have been peaceful, if angry, some 2,000 persons have been arrested in the U. S. since they began, and many persons have been injured or wounded by police.

In a number of cities, protesters spontaneously took to the streets, stopping traffic to dramatize their demands. During the morning rush hour in Chicago on May 9, for instance, a group of protesters abandoned their cars on the Eisenhower Expressway, causing a massive traffic jam.

In Albuquerque, New Mexico, two students were wounded when state police opened up with tear gas and buckshot on a crowd of about 300 persons who were blocking a freeway. One of the wounded, Carolyn Babb Coburn, was struck in the abdomen and chest and was listed in serious condition. Two days later, Albuquerque police wounded thirteen more protesters by firing birdshot at them from shotguns.

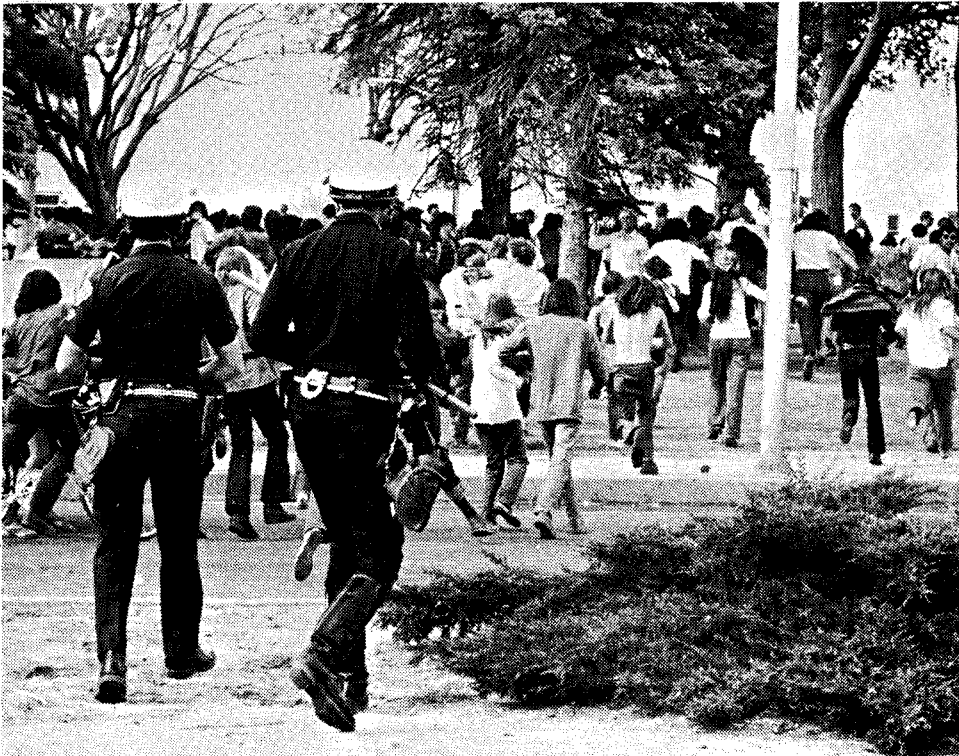
Coburn is a first-year law student at the University of New Mexico, and was covering the demonstration for the student newspaper at the school. "She wanted to go into police work," her mother told the *Albuquerque Tribune*. She also said she "counted 40 pellets" in an X-ray of her daughter's chest.

In Berkeley, police attempted to break up a crowd of thousands of protesters May 9 with nightsticks and "ricochet" guns that fired hard rubber pellets.

At the University of Minnesota, in Minneapolis, 200 National Guardsmen were called onto the campus May 10, where more than 2,000 students had taken over a street running through the campus.

On May 11, 500 of the 1,000 persons who took part in an early morning demonstration blocking the entrance to the Westover Air Force Base near Chicopee, Massachusetts, were arrested. Among them was John William Ward, the president of Amherst College.

The same day, two U. S. senators



POLICE ATTACK antiwar demonstrators in Albuquerque, New Mexico, May 10 as protests against escalation in Indochina swept U.S.

and twenty-one members of the House of Representatives filed a suit in federal court calling for an injunction to stop Nixon and other administration officials from carrying out mining of North Vietnamese harbors.

A number of colleges went on strike to protest the escalation of the war. At Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois, for instance, a majority of the students voted in a referendum on May 10 to go on strike. Hundreds of students immediately fanned out into the surrounding community to publicize a rally that evening. The rally was attended by more than 8,000. A teach-in two days later drew between 5,000 and 6,000 persons.

The high point of the protests thus far has been the nationwide demonstrations on May 13. Tens of thousands took to the streets all across the country that day.

The largest march was held in Minneapolis, where 25,000 took part in a nine-mile march to the state Capitol in Saint Paul in spite of rain. The protest received broad support, including the endorsement of the state's governor and lieutenant governor, and the Democratic Farmer-Labor party, the name the Democratic party goes by in the state.

In New York, 10,000 participated in a rally in Central Park following a march from Times Square. Before beginning the march, demonstrators surrounded the Times Square military recruitment center with a mass picket line, chanting: "One-point peace plan: U. S. out of Vietnam!"

Following a week of demonstrations throughout the state of Colorado, 7,000 marched and rallied at the state Capitol in Denver on May 13. A broad spectrum of speakers addressed the crowd. They included an activist in the Chicano organization Crusade for Justice; Joan Fulks, Socialist Workers party senatorial candidate; and R. Marvin Stuart, Bishop of the Methodist Churches of Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, and Montana.

In Chicago, eight to ten thousand people marched through the downtown "Loop" area to Grant Park.

Initial reports from other cities indicated the following turnouts: Seattle, 2,500; Boston, 3,000; Philadelphia, 2,000; Washington, D. C., 2,500; and Atlanta, in the rain, 500. □

Chile

Break Up Pro-Vietnam Demonstration

By Jose Valdes

Santiago

On April 21 some 500 persons participated in a street demonstration here. The action was taken in conjunction with the international mobilization in solidarity with the struggle of the Vietnamese people. The march included student brigades of the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria [Revolutionary Left Movement], the Frente Revolucionario [Revolutionary Front], the Partido Comunista Revolucionario [Revolutionary Communist party], Núcleos de Izquierda [Left Nuclei], and some rank-and-filers of the Unidad Popular [Popular Unity].

The march had three objectives: (1) To protest the presence in Chile of Robert McNamara, the "brain" of the escalation in Vietnam. (McNamara was attending the third United Nations Trade and Development conference being held in Santiago.) (2) To protest the presence in Chile of Luis Echeverría, the president of Mexico, who was involved as a member of the previous government in the Tlatelolco massacre. (3) To solidarize with the actions of the Tupamaros and of the PRT-ERP [Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores-Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo] and to condemn the brutal repression of the Uruguayan and Argentine proletariat.

When the demonstrators, headed by Luis Vitale, the leader of the Frente Revolucionario and candidate for the post of rector in the elections being conducted at the University of Chile,* neared the building where the UN conference was being held, they were attacked by the police. Tear-gas grenades were thrown at them.

Some of the demonstrators managed to reach the door of the building where they burned an American flag.

* According to a dispatch from Santiago, Chile, published in the April 30 *Le Monde*, the votes cast for the various candidates for rector of the University of Chile in the April 27 elections were as follows: Edgardo Boeninger, 51.81%; Felipe Herrera, 43.82%; Andres Pascal Allende, 3.43%; and Luis Vitale, 0.92%.

The police thereupon became even more violent. Luis Vitale was beaten on the head and over the kidneys. He was handcuffed, jailed, and later sent to the Posta Central [emergency hospital].

Five other demonstrators were likewise arrested, among them Jorge Palacios of the Partido Comunista Revolucionario.

All those detained were released some hours later owing to pressure on the Unidad Popular regime from the student vanguard.

The only organization of the revolutionary left to protest the police attack was the Frente Revolucionario. The other organizations preferred to maintain silence rather than criticize the Allende regime.

The April 22 issue of the Santiago daily *La Prensa* gave the following account of the demonstration and police attack:

"Two American flags were burned by members of the MIR and the Socialist party as they marched in front of the UNTD conference protesting the bombings being carried out by the U.S. in Vietnam. The incidents occurred a little after the noon hour and the Carabineros had to disperse the demonstration with tear-gas grenades. When the demonstrators took refuge in the central building of the Catholic University, the chairman of the Plenary Assembly had to suspend the session because of the tear gas in the hall. The members of the MIR and Socialist party, who had reached the very stairs leading to the UNTD conference, carried red-and-black flags and the emblems of the SP. The group of about 150 persons proceeded to burn an American flag. The Carabineros proceeded to launch some projectiles and the group had to flee toward Portugal Street. There they burned another U.S. flag and then disbanded.

"Many of the delegates came out onto the stairs to watch the incident. Minutes later they returned to the hall, handkerchiefs to their faces, trying in-

effectively to keep away the strong gas.

"In order to avoid new incidents, Carabineros with special helmets and shields were stationed at the building.

"A number of persons were injured and various extremists were detained. Among them was Luis Vitale, a professor at the University of Chile and a candidate for the post of rector.

He suffered injuries to the head.

"Professor Vitale announced late last night that today at 11 a.m. he would hold a press conference at the Casa Central of the University of Chile to report on the police attack and to explain why he was protesting the U.S. bombings in Vietnam and why he opposed the Third Conference of the UNTD." □

Shout Defiance to the End

Turkish Regime Hangs Three Guerrillas

By Jon Rothschild

Just before dawn on May 6 Deniz Gezmis, Yusuf Aslan, and Huseyin Inan—three young members of the Turkish People's Liberation Army (TPLA)—were executed by the Turkish government.

Convicted last October 9 of having been involved in various guerrilla actions aimed at overthrowing the Cevdet Sunay regime, the three had become known around the world as an international campaign sought to save their lives.

The government tried every means of breaking the prisoners, from torture to a promise of reprieve in exchange for declarations of "repentance." But nothing worked. "I die with honor," Aslan told witnesses assembled at the hanging, "but you die many times over with dishonor. I have served my people, but you are flunkies for the United States."

Gezmis and Inan shouted slogans at their executioners: "Long live Turkish independence! Death to imperialism! Long live Marxism-Leninism! Long live the workers and peasants!"

The last attempt to win freedom for Gezmis, Aslan, and Inan occurred on May 3, when four youths said to be members of Dev Genç (Revolutionary Youth) hijacked a Turkish airliner to Sofia, Bulgaria. They threatened to destroy the plane and kill the passengers unless the government agreed to release a number of political prisoners, including the three TPLAers.

One of the hijackers left the plane to negotiate with the Turkish ambassador to Bulgaria.

The hijackers postponed their dead-

line twice and advanced several additional demands: that the ban on strikes in Turkey be lifted, that all peasant debts to the Agricultural Bank in excess of 2,000 Turkish pounds be canceled, and that these demands be broadcast on Turkish radio and television.

The government, apparently quite willing to sacrifice the lives of the plane's crew and passengers, refused to bargain. On May 4, in an attempt to avert injury to the hostages, the Bulgarian regime offered the hijackers political asylum in exchange for surrender. Realizing that further negotiations were hopeless, the four agreed.

On May 4, inside Turkey, Kemalettin Eken, chief of the Turkish gendarmerie and the fifth-ranking general in the armed forces, was seriously wounded in a submachine-gun attack outside his Ankara residence. Another officer and two soldiers were also shot, in an action widely believed to be an attempt to kidnap Eken and then exchange him for Gezmis, Aslan, and Inan.

On May 7, the day after the executions, five bombs exploded at various places in Istanbul.

Turkish citizens in Europe protested the executions in other ways. The Union of Turkish Students in France published a statement saying the three had been "coldly assassinated because they fought against American imperialism for national independence."

In Frankfurt, West Germany, some 300 Turkish workers demonstrated against the executions, breaking windows at the Turkish tourist agency.

In Munich windows were broken at the Turkish consulate. In Stockholm, some thirty Turkish and Swedish students occupied the Turkish embassy.

The Sunay regime is preparing to meet the continued unrest in Turkey with more repression. "Chief of the general staff General Memduh Tagmac and three service commanders discussed a series of stiff measures with President Cevdet Sunay," Sam Cohen wrote in the May 9 *Christian Science Monitor*. "General Tagmac also summoned six martial law commanders and instructed them on their course of action. . . ."

"Observers believe a crackdown on leftist university professors, students, and intellectuals will follow soon."

The crackdown, which in fact is already under way, is by no means restricted to alleged terrorists. According to a May 4 Reuters dispatch from Istanbul, thirteen persons were sentenced May 2 to prison terms of up to thirty-six years for conspiracy to overthrow the regime. The prosecutor did not attempt to link the defendants to any particular leftist group, but simply claimed they had attended secret meetings in which Marxist theories were discussed.

But in spite of the intensity of the repression, the Sunay regime has been unable to crush all resistance, a fact that has had serious reverberations on the parliamentary level. On April 17, Premier Nihat Erim resigned his post. Twelve days later Suat Hayri Urganlı, a long-time government bureaucrat, was named as Erim's replacement and charged with forming a cabinet that would be "above politics."

On May 13 Urganlı came up with a proposed twenty-four-member cabinet including representatives from the four major political parties. But Sunay rejected the list. The country thus entered its second month with no cabinet.

Parliamentary politics received another jolt on May 8, when Ismet Inonu, a former aide to Kemal Attaturk and a central figure in Turkish political life for more than fifty years, was ousted from the leadership of the Republican People's party (RPP).

The fight to remove Inonu was led by Bulent Ecevit, who is considered a "leftist" in the RPP. For the past year he has been building a faction based on "Kemalist" reformism and

has criticized Inonu for being too conciliatory toward the present regime.

Fearing that Ecevit would obtain control of the apparatus at the regular party conference scheduled for July, Kemal Satir, leader of the RPP right wing, convinced Inonu to call a special conference. Hervé Boiron, in an article published in the May 10 *Le Monde*, suggested that Satir hoped to gain the secret backing of the military, utilize the current repressive wave, and oust Ecevit. But the plan backfired.

Italy

Fascist Charged With Bombing Is Freed

Italian fascist Pino Rauti was ordered released from jail without bail on April 24. Rauti, who is a leading figure in the Italian Social Movement (MSI—Movimento Sociale Italiano) and one of its candidates in the May elections, was arrested near the end of March together with two other fascists under suspicion of having helped plan a series of bombings in 1969 in which sixteen persons were killed. (See *Intercontinental Press*, April 24, p. 469.)

Rauti was ordered released for "lack of evidence." As he left the prison in Milan, he was greeted by Giorgio Almirante, the general secretary of the MSI.

According to a report in *Le Monde* April 26, it was testimony by Rauti's coworkers at the Rome newspaper *Il Tempo* that led to his release. They testified that he had been in Rome on April 18-19, 1969, and thus could

By a 709-507 vote, delegates rejected Inonu's policies, and the latter was forced to resign.

Boiron described the vote as an RPP shift to the left at the very time the regime has decided to move decisively to crush what is left of democracy in Turkey.

Clearly, the RPP will not be an effective vehicle for preventing the imposition of a military solution to social problems in Turkey. But the turmoil in the RPP reflects a deeper popular discontent. □

not have been in Padua taking part in a meeting to plan the bombings.

The freeing of Rauti contrasts sharply with the barbaric treatment of the anarchist Pietro Valpreda, who has been in jail for more than two years under indictment for the same bombings. Although the only "evidence" against him is the testimony of one man—now dead—and in spite of the arrest of the three fascists on the basis of much more solid evidence of their guilt, Valpreda is still imprisoned.

Moreover, in Rauti's case the authorities have chosen to believe his alibi, whereas in the case of Valpreda they have not only discounted testimony but have also charged his mother, a sister, his grandmother, and a great-aunt with false testimony in corroborating his alibi that he was home in bed with influenza on the day of the bombing. □

Continued Protests Against Mandel Ban

In its April 24 issue, the West German daily *Die Welt* reported a speech by Peter von Oertzen, minister of education of Lower Saxony, at the state university in Hannover:

"An incredible mess and a great injustice," is what Minister of Education von Oertzen called the banning of Marxist professor Ernest Mandel. "We would be happy if he could come here [to Lower Saxony] to teach."

The February 28 order banning Mandel from West Germany has also been protested by prominent persons in Canada.

In December Mandel spoke at a number of universities across Canada. The committee that organized his tour, reported the Canadian socialist bi-weekly *Labor Challenge* in its May 8 issue, has sent the West German government a petition protesting the

ban. Among the signers were: Professor Melville Watkins, a leader of the Waffle caucus of the New Democratic party; Ian Lumsden, editor of *Close the 49th Parallel*; Robert Albritton, Department of Political Science at York University; José Nun, a prominent Latin-American writer with the University of Toronto Department of Political Economy; and Professor Abraham Rotstein, editor of *Canadian Forum*.

Among other things, the Canadian statement said:

"We, the undersigned, protest the decision of your government to bar Ernest Mandel from entering the Federal Republic of Germany.

"This action, in our opinion, violates not only Ernest Mandel's freedom to travel and lecture in Germany, but the freedom of the German people to hear his views. . . .

"The freedom to hear different ideas and political viewpoints is, as the *New York Times* commented, 'a vital ingredient of free assembly and free speech itself. . . .'

"Your decision to bar Mandel from West Germany arouses concern over the policy of your government on academic and intellectual freedom, in particular on the rights of socialist and Marxist thinkers to freely participate in the intellectual life of the German people. Having banned Mandel the person, how far are you from banning Mandel's books and articles?"

Labor Challenge noted: "The initiators of the Canadian protest statement have appealed for further signatures and for donations to defray the costs of their project. Copies of the statement are available from Phil Courneyeur at 334 Queen Street West, Toronto 133, Ontario." □

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Imperialists Greet Common Market Vote

By Gerry Foley

The most authoritative voice of U. S. imperialism seemed to have no doubt about the political meaning of the four-to-one vote in Ireland May 10 in favor of joining the Common Market. In an editorial May 12, the *New York Times* wrote: "The result in Ireland . . . constitutes an eloquent rebuke to both factions of the Irish Republican Army, which had campaigned against entry by trying to restoke old nationalist fears and prejudices. On the strength of its victory, Mr. Lynch's Government may now even act a bit more vigorously against I. R. A. terrorism across the border, thus helping restore stability to Northern Ireland."

The Dublin premier, it seems, is a man after the *Times's* own heart: "We are not lost in the mists of a Celtic twilight," said Premier Jack Lynch in predicting that the Republic of Ireland would vote decisively to join the European Common Market." At the time of the Easter uprising of 1916, this organ of big capital interpreted the act that began the war of independence as expressing some peculiar Irish "hatred of life." Irish nationalism, the centuries-old tradition of resistance to class society and imperialist exploitation, was regarded by the *Times* as a quaint superstition, like believing in Banshees or "little people."

But in its May 12 editorial, the *Times* expressed a willingness, to sympathize after a fashion, with Irish "national" aspirations:

"Over the long run, the move to join an enlarged European Community could also be a step toward Irish unification. As both Britain and Ireland give up a measure of sovereignty inside a larger entity, the border between Eire and Ulster will inevitably diminish in importance. Ireland is already so inextricably linked to Britain, which takes two-thirds of its exports, that it had no practical alternative to joining the Community if Britain did.

"Irish voters have recognized reality, signified their readiness for dramatic change, and opted for a future that could include unification as well as greater prosperity."

Thus, it seems that the *Times* is quite prepared to consider a separate Irish government "realistic" as long as Ireland itself remains bound hand and foot to the imperialist system. Because of its history and strategic position, this small island has been rather a large headache for both of the biggest imperialist powers. In editorial after editorial over the past three years, the



LYNCH: Willing to pay price to avoid "vow of poverty."

Times has voiced its concern over the situation in Ireland and offered earnest advice to its British imperialist friends about how to handle it. At the same time, it has been silent about dramatic upsurges in far larger countries. Now the authoritative spokesman for U. S. capitalism seems to think it sees "light at the end of the tunnel." After all, if the Irish people were willing to abandon all hope of achieving economic independence from imperialism, that would remove an old sore.

The class society that the British and American imperialists have inher-

ited was formed and tempered in the subjugation of Ireland. The extinction of the last spark of rebellion in Britain's oldest colony would, thus, be great reassurance that "everything is for the best in this best of all possible worlds." The chiefs who held the state at bay for centuries, the revolutionary idealists who sacrificed themselves to keep the spirit of resistance alive, and Marxist revolutionists like James Connolly who gave a complete and modern expression to this tradition would be replaced by obsequious hotel-keepers with just the right amount of Irish "colorfulness," and by "disciplined" cheap labor.

Ireland's religious difference from the rest of the English-speaking world, which represents historically the refusal of the Celtic people of Ireland to be assimilated into Anglo-Saxon class society, would be made into an even more tangible asset for the imperialists. Writing in the April 24 *New York Times*, Michael Stern noted:

"Labor costs are low in Ireland, principally because her scale of social insurance benefits is low. Though wages are roughly comparable with wages in Britain—the average weekly earnings in manufacturing are \$78 a week compared with \$80 a week in Britain—employer-paid contributions to welfare payments are low compared to, say, the 50 percent contribution required of employers in France. This gives Ireland the lowest total labor cost per hour of any common market country. . . ."

The backwardness of social welfare in the formally independent part of Ireland is largely a result of the power of the Catholic church, which does not want the state to become a competitor in the field of "charity" and at the same time gives its "divine" sanction to the rapacity of the reactionary Irish petty capitalists.

In one respect at least, the optimism of the *Times* editorial was probably justified. The referendum did show that all important sections of the Irish ruling class and its apparatus favor subordinating the country to the international monopolies. The writers recognized this when they interpreted the vote as a repudiation of the militant nationalists. The dominant forces in Irish society are apparently united in their desire to get rid of the "troublemakers" and accept a junior partnership with British imperialism.

With the capitalist class more or

less united in support of joining the Common Market, the "yes" vote in the referendum was not very surprising. Under these circumstances, a "no" vote would have had almost revolutionary implications.

On the other hand, if the opposition to the Common Market came essentially from the extraparliamentary left, the 20 percent vote against membership is not necessarily insignificant. The importance of this vote depends on the consciousness of the minority opposing entry. If 20 percent of the Irish electorate has learned that the bourgeoisie is pro-imperialist and determined to sell the country to the international monopolies, then the referendum represents a giant step forward. If hundreds of thousands of Irish people have moved closer to an understanding that only a socialist revolution can achieve the national aspirations of the Irish people, then the capitalist class in Ireland has suffered a disastrous defeat. With the inherent instability of capitalism and the weakness of the social order in Ireland in particular, no bourgeois government could look forward to a very bright future facing a revolutionary minority of that size.

Furthermore, the "yes" vote itself is probably deceptive. For example, public opinion in the South seemed almost unmoved by the nationalist upsurge in the North. And suddenly the Derry Massacre on January 31 touched off huge demonstrations and a general strike. Then, only a few weeks later the Official republican movement found itself almost totally isolated by a negative public reaction to its bombing of the British paratroop base in Aldershot, England.

In a country as small and weak as Ireland and so close to the center of imperialist power, it is not surprising that the nationalistic feelings of the people are expressed in such a contradictory way, flaring up suddenly and then dying away to embers just as rapidly. In these circumstances, it is hard for the people to see real hope of victory, and rebellion can easily seem a futile, symbolic protest. It was this feeling Lynch was apparently playing to when he said: "To vote no would be asking the people of Ireland to adopt a vow of poverty for the future."

Within the context of the capitalist system, there seems to be no way to escape the vise that is crushing the

life out of the Irish nation. Since the decisive sectors of the capitalist class and their apparatus were behind the campaign for joining the Common Market, it was clear (except to dogmatic Stalinist apologists for the "national" bourgeoisie) that there was no perspective for an independent capitalist Ireland, not even in the "short run." Nor were the capitalists likely to accept even the most well-meaning "left" advisers like the Stalinist-educated Roy Johnston, who told them that their interests lay in another direction than they themselves believed. Moreover, if the masses of the people remained under the ideological influence of the capitalist system, it was reasonable to expect them to accept the capitalists' version of what was "best for business."

On the other hand, the chances for defeating the Common Market and what it represents would be greatly increased if masses of people, especially the young workers, came to understand that an international revolutionary struggle can create a new kind of world system where economic development would meet the needs and aspirations of all peoples, including small nations. If even a minority of the masses understood this, any sudden upsurge in the national struggle or a wave of industrial conflicts would threaten to touch off an explosion that could sweep away the whole imperialist and repressive system in Ireland and seriously damage the international capitalist system itself.

If the vanguard understood clearly that it is fighting alongside revolutionists throughout the world against an international system that not only frustrates the hopes of the peoples but by its logic condemns all of humanity to destruction, they would be more willing to fight even partial struggles. Pragmatically limiting its objectives to what seems possible in the context of Ireland, on the other hand, can paralyze the revolutionary vanguard. In the modern era, even reforms are usually the by-products of revolutionary struggles.

It is the fighting capacity of the revolutionary forces that will determine to what extent the capitalists will be able to force the workers and small farmers of Ireland to pay the price for Common Market membership. The EEC is simply a further development of the monopoly capitalist system that is already crushing the Irish nation.

The Treaty of Rome, for example, forbids signatory states to subsidize economically disadvantaged regions. But the Dublin government has already dealt the West of Ireland a heavy blow by cutting off the rural dole.

The Brussels bureaucracy may appear to have some of the attributes of a supergovernment, but there is no Common Market army or police. The repressive forces in Ireland remain the same—the British and Free State army and police. It is apparent, moreover, that despite the provisions of the Treaty of Rome the separate governments still respond to the political pressures in their own countries.

Thus, the effect of the anti-Common Market campaign depends not so much on the absolute size of the "no" vote, but more on the success of the forces involved in explaining the real meaning of the Irish capitalists' policy to masses of people and in projecting the only realistic alternative—an international struggle for socialism.

The main force opposing the Common Market, as the May 12 editorial in the *Times* indicates, was the republican movement, in particular the Official republican movement, since the Provisionals have given priority to their military campaign in the North. In the next few weeks, the Official republicans will probably be drawing up their balance sheet of the campaign. From a realistic point of view, they have no reason to be discouraged.

It seems obvious, however, in the aftermath of the referendum that the main job facing revolutionists in Ireland is to explain the need for socialism "in the short run" in order to achieve the aspirations of the Irish people. Propaganda and agitation centering on the concrete issues raised by EEC entry and the process it reflects will probably be a large part of this. But the struggle against national oppression in its more obvious forms, which is led by the Catholic minority in the North, also has a socialist dynamic, since it runs head-on into the social underpinning of capitalism in Ireland.

As the reaction to internment and to the Derry Massacre confirmed, when the masses move into struggle against British imperialism they will automatically turn to economic forms of fighting. At that point, in order for the struggle to be led to victory, the

masses will have to be able to see that this kind of action can be carried all the way to create a new kind of system. And, in the position in which the Irish people find themselves, they will have to see this in the context of an international struggle in which they are not left to fight imperialism alone.

Obviously revolutionists outside Ire-

land have a considerable part to play in this, especially since the Irish people have fought an isolated struggle for centuries. If mass movements supporting the cause of the Irish people can be built in the imperialist countries, it will be much easier for revolutionists in Ireland to convince broad layers of the population that imperialism can be defeated. □

Great Britain

Labour Party Sweeps Local Elections

London

The provincial local government elections at the beginning of May provided little comfort to the Tory government. "Within two hours, the political map had undergone a swift change of hue," wrote the *Guardian* May 5, "with Labour now firmly in the town halls of 26 major cities and a similar number of towns, and with a number of others out of Conservative control. Two years ago the only city left in Labour's hands was Sheffield."

According to the May 6 London *Times*, the gains for Labour amounted to 985, and their losses to only 15. For the Tories the opposite was the case: 15 and 843 respectively. The Liberals, and especially the Independents, were also hard-hit in the borough elections.

The results were the second best for Labour since the second world war—exceeded, but only by 2 percent, by last year's landslide victory in the local elections. Labour now controls sixteen of the twenty-two largest (over 200,000 population) provincial cities. This is the second show of strength for Labour in the two years since the Tories took national office.

It seems likely that this massive Labour victory will prove a further obstacle to the Conservative government, which even before the local elections had been faced with threats of non-cooperation at the local level in its housing, education, and local government policies.

At the national level, these results are an indication of widespread dissatisfaction with Tory policies, and particularly with unemployment and

inflation, which have mounted since they took office.

The electoral gains for Labour also coincide with a series of direct confrontations between the government's Industrial Relations Act and the organised trade-union movement.

The Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), the largest union in the country, recently was fined a total of £55,000 on two charges of contempt of the government's National Industrial Relations Court. In accordance with the Trades Union Congress [TUC] general policy of non-

cooperation, the TGWU initially refused to appear before the court to defend itself in connection with Liverpool dockers' boycott of a container lorry firm. The first fine was £5,000. A further fine of £50,000 was leveled against the union, which the union's executive agreed to pay after consulting with the TUC.

The dockers themselves, however, have not eased their militancy in connection with the boycott. According to the May 5 *Times*, only one of ninety-eight delegates at a conference of the TGWU the day before spoke against a resolution giving twenty-eight days notice of a national dock strike. Although the delegates, representing all of Britain's ports, left with official instructions to ensure normal working during the twenty-eight day period, there is little likelihood of that happening.

At a London meeting the next day, the unofficial National Docks Shop Steward Committee, which has been organising the boycott, announced that they had no intention of lifting the ban on certain unregistered companies that are "threatening the very existence of the registered dock worker." The committee represents dockers in London, Liverpool, Southampton, Preston, Manchester, and Hull. □

Cyprus

Pro-Makarios Minister Forced to Resign

Efforts to bring about a reconciliation between Cypriot President-Archbishop Makarios and pro-Athens-junta leader George Grivas appear to have failed.

Grivas and Makarios met secretly on March 26 and agreed to a political truce. But, according to the May 9 *Le Monde*, sources close to Grivas have reported that—for unexplained reasons—the agreement has been terminated.

The Grivasite newspaper *Patris* resumed its campaign for Makarios's resignation in its May 6 issue.

The Holy Synod, which in March demanded that Makarios resign his temporal position, is expected to meet soon to decide what to do in response to Makarios's rejection of that demand.

On May 5 Foreign Minister Spyros Kyprianou, a long-time close associate of Makarios, resigned from the government, claiming his action had been forced by the Greek government.

Kyprianou issued a statement saying that at the weekly meeting of the Council of Ministers, Makarios "announced his definite decision to reshuffle the Government in the first fortnight in June." He further said that Makarios "made it clear the reason for the reshuffle of the Government is the insistence of the Government of Athens, which is primarily aimed at the removal of the undersigned from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs."

Reasons of self-respect, Kyprianou stated, compelled his resignation. Makarios, he said, "showed understanding toward" the resignation. □

Strikes, Demonstrations Mark May Day

[The following article is translated from the May 6 issue of *Rouge*, weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

May Day in Spain was preceded by an intense period of mobilization in support of the Vietnamese offensive.

At the University of Barcelona, the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria [LCR—Revolutionary Communist League] and the Partido Comunista de España [PCE—Communist party of Spain] issued a joint call for a week of action April 15-22. The call concluded: "The Versailles world assembly for peace in Indochina and the Fourth International have called for the organization of an anti-imperialist week of support to the peoples of Indochina April 15-22. Here, we call upon all students to rally in force to this struggle, to make our contribution to the success of this week, to demonstrate our rejection of imperialism and our support to Vietnam and to the peoples of Indochina. Down with imperialism! Long live socialism!"

The LCR capped this week with a clandestinely planned demonstration of 500 in Barcelona, which the Bandera Roja group had refused to join on the excuse that such a demonstration requires long preparation. Other demonstrations also took place, notably in Tarrasa.

In Madrid, preparation for May Day was marked by the April 24-29 strike of construction workers. Despite the repression—especially the preventive arrest of militants—60,000 workers walked out, mostly during the first two days.

The strike-call leaflet (put out by the strike committee of North Madrid, which is composed of Workers' Commissions, the LCR construction committee, the PCE, the democratic women's movement, the JC, and independent groups) made this appeal:

"During the strike, we must form assemblies—at the building-site and area level. We must discuss what must be done, elect delegates' committees charged with implementing the deci-

sions of the assemblies, form picket squads to extend the strikes to other sites, organize self-defense marshals—armed to the extent possible—to defend ourselves against police and civil guard attacks. . . . 400 pesetas a day! A forty-hour week! Thirty days paid vacation! Full pay in case of accident! For a security commission controlled by the workers' assemblies! Dissolve the repressive bodies—greys, civil guards, BPS! Free the prisoners! For the right to strike, to meet, to assemble, to associate, and to demonstrate!"

Quebec Workers Seize Radio Stations

Strikes Protest Jailing of Union Leaders

"What's our complaint? Why are we striking? I guess the answer is that we're tired of being pushed around, and now finally we're pushing back."

This is how one Québec striker explained the wave of wildcat strikes that have swept the province since May 9. The strikes began when several thousand workers walked off their jobs to protest against one-year prison terms imposed on three trade-union leaders on May 8. The leaders—Louis Laberge of the Québec Federation of Labor, Marcel Pepin of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, and Yvon Charbonneau of the Québec Teachers Federation—surrendered in the city of Québec on May 9 to begin serving their terms. They had been sentenced for defying a back-to-work court order in the eleven-day strike of public employees in Québec during April. The strike was broken on April 21 when emergency legislation was passed forcing the strikers back to work.

According to the *New York Times* May 10, some 2,000 demonstrators were on hand in Québec city to protest the jailing of the union leaders as they turned themselves in.

Tens of thousands of workers throughout the province have participated in the wave of work stoppages, affecting schools, hospitals, newspa-

pers, mines, construction projects, and government offices.

On Friday, April 28, strikes took place in Barcelona, Pamplona, Madrid, and Biscay. In Barcelona a united assembly was held at Catalance Square. The LCR's intervention groups led a part of the rally in a demonstration. Other demonstrations were planned for May 1, but we do not yet have detailed reports on them. They were organized in the big cities and in Basque country at the call of the PCE, the ETA [Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna—Basque Nation and Freedom], the LCR, and other groups, depending on the location.

In Madrid, as they were leaving the subway, about fifty LCR militants armed with bicycle chains and iron bars ran into the police. There were no arrests. □

pers, mines, construction projects, and government offices.

On May 11, protesters snarled rush-hour traffic in Montréal by sprinkling nails on one of the bridges leading into the city and by blocking several lanes of another bridge with a burned-out automobile. "The nails flattened about two dozen tires, delaying commuters for hours," reported *New York Times* correspondent William Borders. "The police held up traffic on the other bridge while they gingerly searched the abandoned car for booby traps."

In the industrial port of Sept Iles, 500 miles north of Montréal, a regional railroad line was closed by strikers. The city, reported Borders, was "virtually besieged by the demonstrators, who blocked roads into town, burned several police cars and took over the radio station."

The Sept Iles radio station was not the only one taken over by strikers in order to publicize their grievances. Nearly a dozen stations have been taken over briefly, Borders reported in a dispatch from Saint Jérôme May 12. On the local station there, he said, strikers "broadcast what they termed revolutionary music and theories. The police finally forced them out of the studio, and the owner has temporarily closed the station." □

Why I Joined the Fourth International

[The May 1 issue of *The Red Mole* reports that Robin Blackburn and Quintin Hoare, who are members of the Editorial Committee of the *New Left Review*, recently applied for membership in the International Marxist Group, the British section of the Fourth International. The Political Committee of the IMG accepted their applications after detailed political discussion showed that they were "in fundamental agreement with the programme of the Fourth International and the work of its British section."

[The following interview with Robin Blackburn appeared in the same issue of *The Red Mole*.]

* * *

Question. You have applied to join the British section of the Fourth International. What led you to this decision?

Answer. For some time I have been convinced of the necessity for revolutionary political organisation. I began to think in this way when I studied the results of the agitation at the LSE [London School of Economics] and the attempts to convert the RSSF [Revolutionary Socialist Student Federation] into an autonomous revolutionary student movement. I increasingly came to conclude that the limitations of spontaneism and movementism could only be overcome by organisation based on clear political ideas.

Obviously the wave of spontaneous social revolt that swept across the capitalist world in the sixties was immensely positive: it helped to break the impasse of organised left politics by bringing new forces and new tactics into play. It exposed in a dramatic manner many new or forgotten contradictions and antagonisms in capitalist society and this led to the discovery or re-discovery of valuable methods of agitation and struggle. For large numbers of young people the political formulas which had guided the social democratic and Communist parties were thoroughly discredited. But it is absolutely clear now that these movements did not throw

up the organisation or program necessary for a revolutionary assault on capitalist society. Too often they had no perspective for uniting the different oppressed and exploited groups which capitalist society divides and sets against one another. Too often they ignored or denied the central role which the direct producers—the working class—would have to play in creating any new set of social relations.

This also meant that they tended to abstract the question of revolutionary violence from the building of new institutions of proletarian power fully representing all sections of the exploited and the oppressed. As for myself I came to realise that faith in spontaneous revolt and denial of the necessity for revolutionary organisation and institutions of dual power really amounted to faith in the spontaneous self-destruction of capitalist society and denial of the role of consciousness in the revolutionary process. I became convinced that both the Lenin of *What Is to Be Done?* and the Lenin of *State and Revolution* were indispensable starting points for building a revolutionary movement. But clearly the last thing that a commitment to Leninism requires is a refusal of the great opportunities for the strengthening of revolutionary practice made possible by the experience of the various movements of social revolt which have sprung up in the last few years.

Both in its theory and in its practice the Fourth International has shown the ability to take up and develop the new possibilities of revolutionary practice and integrate them within the perspective of scientific socialism and a workers' revolution. The sharpening of the class struggle in Britain and the new openness to revolutionary ideas among political militants makes building the nucleus of the revolutionary party in this country both a practical and an urgent task. The framework of the International enables this to be done drawing on the lessons of the struggle for socialism in other countries and open to the scrutiny of revolutionary militants who have an experience which is needed to complement our own. I

think this is essential if we are to break with the narrowness and backwardness of Marxist politics in Britain; the hold of Labourism on the working class can only be broken if the revolutionary left rids itself of its traditional insularity and economism. Part of the reason for my decision to apply for membership of the Fourth International is that I have seen its sections in operation in such different contexts as Eastern Europe and Latin America as well as in Britain. I know that if the socialist movement in the advanced capitalist countries is not based on full solidarity with the fight against imperialism in the third world and the struggle against the bureaucratic usurpation of workers power in the non-capitalist sector of the world, then this can only undermine the force and integrity of its own struggles.

The reason that the Fourth International has played such a significant role in fostering international solidarity is that it is able to understand the political relation between these struggles in the light of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution and his scientific insight into the nature of the Soviet Union. Those who have rejected or abandoned these perspectives have been unable to respond adequately to the development of revolution in Cuba and Vietnam. They have been unable to grasp the contradictory, dual nature of the Soviet Union which has consistently sought to dampen down or crush revolutionary initiatives where it can, but at the same time is forced to provide vital material sustenance to Vietnam and Cuba because of its objectively antagonistic relation to the capitalist world. Denial of one or another of these aspects leads either to violations of the need for solidarity against imperialism or to the disasters, betrayals and apologetics which result from accepting the line of the Soviet leadership.

At one time the Chinese criticism of the Soviet Union and the experience of the cultural revolution seemed to provide an implicit criticism of Stalinist structures and politics. But the events of the last year have underlined that this is not the case: the manner of the successive changes in the Chinese leadership demonstrates the absence of revolutionary democracy in the Party and State and the attempt to represent the Soviet Union

as a capitalist power has been used to justify deficient solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution and cynical violations of internationalism in Bengal, Ceylon and the Sudan. I believe that the Fourth International is a rallying point for all revolutionary militants who understand the importance of internationalism.

Q. Have your views on the Labour Party changed over the last year or so?

A. The discussion which followed my article *Let it Bleed* has certainly led to a development and modification of my view on this question. In my article I underestimated the significance of the Labour Party's institutional links with the Trade Unions. I think I was right to insist that the Labour Party did not furnish the political organisation of the working class in the traditional manner but I failed to make the distinction between the Labour Party as an organisation and Labourism as an ideology. The position of the former within the working class has weakened very much more than the position of the latter. At a time when the trade unions become by far the most important vehicles of workers' struggle, recognising the continuing strength of social democratic ideology is of great importance.

Q. What role in the revolutionary movement do you believe is played by a journal such as New Left Review?

A. During the ten years or so in which I have been an editor of the *NLR* its aim has become, with increasing clarity, that of encouraging the development of Marxism in Britain and the other British-speaking areas it reaches. Given the traditional weakness and isolation of Marxist thought in this milieu we knew that it was essential for us to insist on the richness and scope of Marxism and its relevance to every aspect of building a revolutionary movement. We translated the writings of Gramsci, the young Lukacs, and Debray; we carried discussions of new developments in psychoanalysis and anthropology; we published original analyses of the *Grundrisse* and the oppression of women; and a series of studies in the Marxist interpretation of British history and society;

we also published some forty accounts by workers of how they experienced their work situation; and there were articles on the background to revolution in Algeria and Cuba and books on the trade unions and the student revolt.

NLR also revealed unquestionable traces of a number of major deviations to be found on the left in the sixties, at different conjunctures: illusions in social-democracy or passivity towards Stalinism, uncritical Third Worldism or Sinophilism. These were generally sporadic or limited weaknesses, not ones which governed the main dynamic of the *Review*. More serious and persistent was over-estimation of the importance of purely theoretical work, divorced from the practice of class struggle. However, the development of the *Review* through these various episodes was an evolution to the left—gradually away from centrist to revolutionary politics. The year 1968 was for us, as for many others, a turning point. Since then, *NLR* has taken clear and sharp stands on the great, decisive questions of international class struggle: the Tet offensive in Vietnam, the May events in France, the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, the Polish workers' revolt, the Chinese counter-revolutionary intervention in Pakistan and Ceylon. The dynamic of the *Review* has thus been constantly leftward.

There has been less eclecticism and more open confrontation of basic issues in the history and theory of Marxism. I think this can be seen in the assessments recently published on the Frankfurt School, Althusser

and the young Lukacs, in the articles by Lucio Colletti and in the conclusion of the debates on Trotsky and the structure of contemporary imperialism. The *Review* has been and I hope will remain open to free discussion of any important development in revolutionary theory or the revolutionary movement; its aim remains the propagation of revolutionary ideas and culture unencumbered by the absurd notion that this merely consists in laying down the correct line.

I think it very important that this work should continue but at the same time I know that as far as I am concerned it is imperative to extend and deepen my political practice. A growing awareness of the deficiencies of Maoism and spontaneism has helped to decide what form this political commitment should take. Whatever the value, or at times necessity, of isolated theoretical work it certainly must always be enhanced by the lessons and experience of political practice whenever this is possible. I now hope to become in the fullest sense a militant of the Fourth International. In particular I hope to integrate my political and theoretical work and overcome the dangerous separation from which it has suffered. I am pleased to have found myself in agreement with the Fourth International in believing that this need in no way prevents me from continuing to contribute to the work of the *NLR* despite the fact that many of my comrades on the editorial committee have different perspectives and priorities from myself. □

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Launch 'Socialists for Labour Campaign'

By Hugh Fyson

[The following article is reprinted from the May 2 issue of *Socialist Action*, a revolutionary-socialist biweekly published in Wellington.]

* * *

The Labour party has lost every election from 1949 onwards, with the sole exception of 1957. This should be cause for serious Labour supporters, especially delegates at the 1972 annual conference, which opens May 8 in Wellington, to take a critical look at the policy and electoral strategy that the party leadership has followed over these years.

Part of Labour's stock-in-trade excuses for persistent electoral failure is the argument that the newspapers favour National. This is indeed true, but it does nothing to explain this failure in view of the massive support that swept Labour to power for the first time in 1935.

Back in those days, Labour's programme was one of far-reaching social reform; it stood in sharp contrast to the dead-end conservatism of its opponent, the Liberal-Reform coalition—predecessor of the National party. Since then, Labour's electioneering has been choked with petty criticisms of National, too obscure for most people to understand, and avoiding the basic issues. As a perpetual fence-sitter, the Labour party appears in the eyes of many potential supporters to be incapable of the bold action expected of a Labour government.

Labour has not retained its large bloc of support because of any radical, positive, or relevant programme or activity—these qualities have been virtually nonexistent. Hundreds of thousands keep voting for it because it remains the party of the labour movement, the political arm of the trade unions; because of the memory of what Labour did for people years ago—building the "welfare state"; and because of popular resentment at continuing misrule by the National party.

Workers also realize that they will

get a somewhat better deal from a Labour government than they do from the present Tory government. The organic link of the trade-union movement with the Labour party means that it cannot be quite as reactionary as the business-dominated National party if it is to retain trade-union support.

Though the Labour party still has the word "socialism" in its aims and objectives, it has never at any time challenged the fundamental pillars of the capitalist system. Though some party members may still think of the party as the bearer of a socialist tradition, the leadership does not. The mildly left-wing planks in the party's policy are but pale reflections of pressures from its working-class and radical supporters.

The record of the party since the last annual conference provides fresh confirmation of this analysis.

The Labour leaders have supported in principle the idea of a wage-freeze, differing from National only over techniques and emphasis. They criticised the government's handling of the waterfront container dispute, but from the same standpoint of being against the watersiders, and for industrial "harmony" at all costs. And during the government's fight with the seamen, the Labour leaders took the position that the government had failed to move strongly enough: in other words, they attacked the government *from the right*.

The fact that the Labour party is linked organisationally, and in most people's minds, with the industrial labour movement is an embarrassment to the right-wing party leaders. They capitulate before National's accusation that they are unable to control their own supporters—workers engaged in active struggle for the improvement of their wages and conditions.

The annual conference of the Federation of Labour is convening just prior to the Labour party conference; a key task facing the delegates will be to demand that the Labour party

leaders fall into line and fully support workers' struggles.

The last few years have seen the marked growth of mass movements around specific issues, independent of the Labour party—opposition to the Indochina war, opposition to sporting contact with South Africa, and women's liberation. On some of these questions the party's policy is, on paper, a progressive one. But the party leadership has sought to minimise the direct support given these movements by the party. Kirk and the top leadership refused to endorse last year's mobilisations against the Indochina war, despite conference votes in favor of the immediate withdrawal of New Zealand troops, and despite significant support for the mobilisations from individual MPs, branches, and Labour Representation Committees.

The rottenness of the party leadership that is only too obvious to most young radicals has led to a widespread rejection of the party as a means through which and by which the mass protest movement can be built. The party has the appearance of a simple, monolithic structure dedicated almost exclusively and for all time to the pursuit of a basically right-wing policy.

If, however, socialists and other radical-minded people are to reach wider audiences than they have to date, the Labour party cannot be bypassed. Like it or not, Labour remains firmly entrenched as *the* mass political organisation of the working class in New Zealand. And it is also an inescapable fact that few extensive reforms, let alone any socialist revolution, can be made without the mobilisation of the workers in the centre of the struggle.

Workers continue to support the Labour party even though they know little of its "policies"; for them the Labour party is their party against National, the party of the bosses. The Labour party reflects the workers' level of understanding of themselves as an exploited class, and their loyalty to the party is therefore very deep-seated. No would-be revolutionaries who remain outside the Labour party and in opposition to it will be able to decisively influence the development of the political consciousness of the working class from reformist to revolutionary conclusions.

A primary task of socialists, then, in

relation to the Labour party, is to build a left-wing opposition to the leadership within the party. This is not a task that can be accomplished overnight; it is a long-term task, but a beginning should be made now.

The question then becomes: where to begin. The only political tendency that has this perspective at the present time is the Socialist Action League (SAL). At the January 1971 plenum of the National Committee of the SAL, a "Socialists for Labour Campaign" was projected. The campaign will be launched at the forthcoming Labour party conference; at that time, Kirk will be making his big bid for united, uncritical support from the membership.

The Socialists for Labour Campaign will be built around the slogan of "Labour to Power in 1972"; it will involve support for the official slate of Labour candidates and will not run its own candidates in any electorate.

Socialists-for-Labour activists will work along with other Labour campaign supporters in door-to-door canvassing, especially in areas of traditionally strong working-class support for Labour, and where many students live.

The Socialists for Labour Campaign will be the alternative Labour campaign; on all basic points of policy it will differ markedly from the official campaign. Prominent among the demands of the Socialists for Labour Campaign will be: an end to the wage-freeze and all other restrictive laws against trade unions; strict price and rent control; the immediate implementation of equal pay for women workers; repeal of all anti-abortion laws; the immediate withdrawal of all New Zealand military, political, and economic support for the U. S. aggression in Indochina; withdrawal from ANZUS and SEATO; an end to all sporting contacts with apartheid South Africa and the cancellation of the 1973 Springbok tour; an absolute prohibition on the raising of Lake Manapouri; and nationalisation under workers' control of all major industries, transport facilities, and financial institutions.

The Socialists for Labour Campaign will strive to involve as sponsors and active supporters a combination of young people who have recently been brought into radical politics through the antiwar, women's liberation, and

anti-apartheid movements, and sympathetic trade-unionists and other Labour party activists.

As much as possible the campaign will utilise mass activity and demonstrations. For example, pickets and demonstrations could be organised to tie the Labour party campaign in with the antiwar, anti-tour, and abortion-law-repeal movements, and there could be protests at the unfair treatment of Labour in the press. Posters, buttons, leaflets, meetings, etc. will be used to the fullest.

The campaign will provide an outgoing field of activity in support of Labour which will be attractive to radical young people, without in any way compromising them with the right-wing reformism of Kirk and Co.

Through the Socialists for Labour Campaign it will be possible for socialists to mount greater pressure on the party leadership to support mass movements outside the party—the antiwar movement, women's liberation, and opposition to the 1973 Springbok tour.

It is young people who are providing the basis for criticism within the party. At the last conference, the only report in any way critical was the youth report, which assailed the leadership for failing to support the opposition to the All Black tour of South Africa and failing to get in behind the 35,000-strong April 30, 1971

antiwar mobilisation. At the youth conference, which takes place just prior to the main conference, left wingers will have a chance to discuss and plan tactics and rally support for intervention in the main conference.

The Socialist Action League has had previous experience in electoral work in support of Labour. Last year the SAL ran a candidate for mayor of Auckland when the Labour party refused to put up a candidate. The campaign supported and complemented that of the Labour party slate for the Auckland City Council. The official party policy of supporting the incumbent mayor, Sir Dove-Myer Robinson, who does not belong to the Labour party, was not popular with many Labour party members and supporters. Running on a socialist programme, the SAL candidate won 4.5 percent of the vote, and over 15 percent in some solid Labour areas of the city.

The SAL's Auckland mayoralty campaign was but a short one, and in only one city. The Socialists for Labour Campaign will be a nationwide effort, and will involve considerably greater investment of time, money, and other resources. The mayoralty campaign in 1971 showed the potential for a socialist campaign in support of Labour; the Socialists for Labour Campaign in 1972 can tap this potential and advance the struggle for socialism in New Zealand. □

400 Attend Auckland Meeting

Conference Sets Antiwar Demonstrations

More than 400 people attended a New Zealand-wide antiwar conference held at Auckland University April 22-23. Organized by the Auckland Mobilisation Committee Against the War in Indochina, the conference called for a national mass mobilization against the war July 14.

The night before the conference, nearly 1,000 marched on the U.S. consulate in conjunction with the worldwide antiwar protests on April 22.

The conference included a broad cross section of the New Zealand antiwar movement—Labour party supporters, pacifists, activists from the

major antiwar organizations and student groups, members of the Socialist Unity party, the Communist party, the Auckland Progressive Youth Movement, the Wellington District of the Communist party, the Socialist Action League, and the Auckland and Wellington Young Socialists.

The conference was nearly unanimous in reaffirming the perspective of organizing mass actions around the central demand of immediate withdrawal of all "allied" forces from Indochina.

The women's and Polynesian workshops both proposed the building of independent contingents for the July

14 mobilizations, and the Labour party workshop discussed ways of drawing that party into the actions. The trade-union workshop proposed that antiwar trade unionists seek the endorsement of the Federation of Labour for the demonstrations.

The central demands for July 14 adopted by the conference were:

"Immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S., N.Z., and allied

forces from Southeast Asia.

"An immediate cessation of the bombing of Indochina.

"An immediate end to all N.Z. political, military, and economic support for the war.

"Immediate withdrawal from SEATO, ANZUS, and all other military pacts.

"Self-determination for the Indo-chinese people." □

Interview With Jaya Vithana

The Struggle Against Repression in Ceylon

[Jaya Vithana is a member of the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International. The following interview is reprinted from the May 1 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Sydney. The interview was obtained while Vithana was on a speaking tour of Australia.]

* * *

Question. Could you describe the repression that the coalition government launched on March 16 last year, especially its effects on the left and on the working class?

Answer. Well, in reality the repression last year started not on March 16 but much before that. On March 15 an unknown group of people, called the Mao Youth Front, attacked the American Embassy. This was a deliberate and well-planned act of provocation which was subsequently used as a justification for the imposition of a "state of emergency" and the arrest and detention of over 500 militants, mostly members of the JVP (Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna).

In the three weeks that followed, the police put into operation what I would call a "search and destroy mission," intimidating, assaulting, arresting, and detaining people whom they suspected as being members of the Peoples' Liberation Front, or the JVP.

This continued until April 4, when in dire desperation the rank-and-file members of the JVP launched a counterattack. They attacked a number of police stations throughout the island. The government then retaliated by imposing a twenty-four-hour curfew and

initiated a major offensive. For the next three weeks the army and police went on a rampage; a large number of houses were burnt down, and people were subjected to inhuman torture. In the beginning the working class was confused. Partly, this was due to the fact that the Communist party (Moscow) and the LSSP, Lanka Sama Samaja party, participated in the Bandaranaike coalition and supported these repressive measures of the government. But most sections of the working class did not believe the government version of the events. Moreover, even those layers of the working class who knew the true facts were too scared to take any action. One can understand the traumatic effect of indiscriminate arrests, assaults, and murder of suspects; and the effect of completely disorienting the working class.

Q: What in your opinion was the aim of repression at the time, as it seems to have been launched in the countryside to begin with?

A. Well, it is clear that the purpose of the repression was to get rid of what the government considered a revolutionary leadership or nucleus, which might have intervened against repressive forces of the state in a confrontation between the working class and the state. The government expected such a confrontation because they were contemplating the imposition of heavy burdens on the mass of workers. The government had promised the World Bank that it would introduce a number of austerity measures, and it was only on the basis of these

promises that the World Bank was prepared to extend further loans to the Ceylon government.

Furthermore, the external debt of the Ceylonese government was already about \$582 million and it could not even meet the service charges due on these loans. Therefore the repression was a necessary prerequisite for the imposition of massive economic burdens on the mass of people.

Q. Considering the overwhelming support given to the Bandaranaike government by the Soviet, Chinese, Yugoslavian and capitalist governments, what effects has this had on the JVP and on the proletariat?

A. Obviously it confused the working class. As you know, it was the most incredible popular front ever formed against a few hundred youth armed with rusty shotguns and a few hand bombs.

The response of imperialist countries was to be expected, but the role of the bureaucracies of the workers states reinforced the confusion in the working class. At least for a short period of time the government succeeded in deceiving the masses. It is a different story with the JVP. The role of the great helmsman of China, in particular, has forced them to reassess their policies. However, more backward members of the JVP might succumb to Buddhist Sinhala chauvinism.

Q. Beginning in March this year, the government launched another wave of repression. What effect has this had on civil liberties and on basic rights, such as the freedom to organize, publish, etc.?

A. Well, even before the government initiated certain repressive acts this year the question of freedom to organize and publish did not exist anyway, because the emergency regulations which were promulgated last year had already taken away these rights.

This year the government has attempted to intimidate those sections of the working class who were beginning to move against the government in an organized manner. Furthermore the Human Democratic Rights Organization and the Ceylon Mercantile Union by their propaganda had been able to draw attention to the illegal and arbitrary acts of the government,

as for instance in the case of P. C. Gunasekera, brother of a member of parliament, who opposed the government.

Faced with the growing opposition of the masses the government introduced two bills in parliament which would further restrict the rights of the people.

The Criminal Justice Commission Act empowers the government to establish kangaroo courts, akin to Hitler's People's Courts. Under this law they have the power to hold secret trials, to permit confessions obtained by means of torture to be adduced in evidence. There is no right to appeal against a decision made in these courts.

Furthermore these powers could be exercised not only against the 16,000 detainees held in custody at present, but also in any situation which could be considered as a widespread breakdown of law and order; this means a strike by any section of the workers could also be construed in this way and these powers exercised. The other bill the government has tabled in parliament takes away the rights of an individual to challenge its courts' arbitrary and illegal acts, such as illegal arrests.

Since March 20 this year the police have begun to arrest trade unionists and young people once again. In our opinion, all these acts are designed to intimidate the working class, because last year's budget, although it imposed certain economic burdens, did not help resolve the economic crisis. Therefore the government has once again gone back to the World Bank, cap in hand. I think the purpose of the present wave of repression is to maintain a climate of terror.

Q. The coalition government has recently decided to change the constitution in order to extend the life of the present parliament until 1978. What repercussions in general, in your opinion, will it have?

A. The new draft constitution which will be passed very soon will be no different from the existing constitution; it will maintain and preserve the capitalist property system and it will incorporate into its main body the repressive laws that existed in the past, such as the Public Security Act and so on. Elections will not be held for another seven years and thus the present government, which was elected two

years ago, will have a life of nine years. After a certain period the masses will realize that there will be no constitutional means of changing the government, which will have an important effect on the consciousness of those sections of the working class who have still not broken completely with coalition politics.

Q. Could you describe the measures taken by the government against the Tamil minority and its reason for doing so?

A. Well, you see, there are no particular measures that are taken against the Tamil minority by the present government. It just maintains the discriminatory measures of past governments, including the last Bandaranaike government, against the Tamil minority.

For instance, the Tamils in Ceylon do not have the right to use their language as an official language; therefore Sinhala is the official language and Tamil is only used in a very limited way. Secondly, the plantation workers of Indian origin have been deprived of their citizenship and presently the government is implementing the horse-deal, made between Madame Bandaranaike and late Indian Prime Minister Shastri, whereby they agreed to deport 500,000 plantation workers to India; and this was done without consulting these workers.

In the last few months attempts have been made to whip up anti-Tamil hysteria by exploiting a statement made by a representative of the Tamil bourgeoisie calling for a Yal-Desh, that is, like Bangladesh. However, I do not think in the present period this is going to work because at the moment chauvinistic propaganda has very little effect, and I think the action of JVP militants last April has substantially changed the consciousness of the Sinhala masses.

Q. What is the present relationship between the various parties in the coalition government?

A. Well, as you know, after the events last year in March and April, the only political force that opposed the government's repression consistently was the Lanka Sama Samaja party (Revolutionary) [LSSP(R)] and the CMU [Ceylon Mercantile Union]. Throughout the last year the CP and

the LSSP leaders were even more aggressive in their attacks on the JVP than Madame Bandaranaike. However, the consistent propaganda carried out by the LSSP(R) and the CMU had the first important impact in October when one member of the government coalition who is an SLFP [Sri Lanka Freedom party] member crossed over to the opposition.

This helped to galvanize mass opinion. Differences which existed within the CP have now come into the open. Their trade-union wings seem to have gained the majority within their party. When the Criminal Justice Bill was tabled in parliament, it was the CP paper, which is called "Truth," which openly campaigned against the bill and called it a fascist bill. I think this bill helped to tip the balance in favour of the opposition within the CP, and the Central Committee of the CP decided to oppose the bill.

During the voting the CP split, one member voting for the bill and others abstaining. I think what we will see in the near future is a split in the CP, and the majority of the CP will be expelled from the coalition government. At the same time, the section led by J. R. Jayewardene seems likely to join the government.

Though the LSSP MPs still support the coalition, within its trade-union wing there has been a growing opposition. Two of their major trade unions, the General Clerical Service Union as well as the Ceylon Federation of Labour, both led by staunch procoalition supporters, attacked the Criminal Justice Commission Bill. I think, in my opinion, the tide is beginning to turn against the government and we are beginning to see the fruits of our consistent opposition, which we carried out under very dif-

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ficult conditions last year.

Q. In the present state of repression, what do you think can be done by comrades outside of Ceylon?

A. Well, I have already indicated the situation today; that is, I think the tide has begun to turn against the government.

We should see the beginning of a proletarianization within the society in the next period when the mass movement develops. The government will try to destroy it by increasing the repression. At the moment this process is still developing at a very slow pace. The mass of the workers have not yet completely broken with their illusions regarding coalition politics; of class collaborationist and popular frontist politics.

However, once the movement picks up momentum, the flood tide of working class struggles will challenge the capitalist state and capitalist property system. When the mass movement reaches a certain point we should see the intensification of repression. The government will try to arrest or eliminate the leadership of the mass movement. With the passing of the Criminal Justice Commission Bill, the government may try to bring to trial some of the 16,000 people who are held in jail today without trial. They may try to have some kind of show trial.

In this situation the comrades outside Ceylon, both in the International and sympathetic to it, can play an important role; firstly, by giving publicity to the repression through campaigning, however small-scale; by trying to publicize what is going on in Ceylon and also the role played by the respective governments.

Secondly, the comrades can raise money, because these people who are brought to trial will need a lot of legal assistance and most of these people in jail are people who are the sole breadwinners of their families.

Thirdly, I think it is important for the comrades to try to organize some kind of international intervention of, say, leading trade-unionists when these trials come up so that it would embarrass the Ceylon government. It would be much more difficult for the Ceylon government to justify in the face of world public opinion these kangaroo courts which the government hopes to establish in order to bring these prisoners to trial. □

De Silva: Starve Prisoners' Families

During the parliamentary debate on the Criminal Justice Commissions Bill — which gives the Ceylonese government the right to bring political prisoners to trial without bothering to present any evidence against them — one of the more illustrious leaders of the "United Front" government expressed some displeasure at the fact that some persons in Ceylon were opposed to victimizing the families of the prisoners.

According to press reports, Minister of Plantation Industries and Consti-



DE SILVA: Enemies everywhere, especially hungry children.

tutional Affairs Colvin R. de Silva referred to an organization that "had even said that the time had now come for them to collect money to bring relief to the families of the insurgents in custody." The renegade ex-Trotskyist compared this to the action of people who collected money to help wives and children of foreign enemy soldiers at a time when their country was at war.

De Silva was apparently referring to the Civil Rights Movement, which answered his comments in a statement printed in the April 27 *Ceylon News*. The group "has in fact set up a Relief Fund to aid families of persons who have been rendered destitute by the breadwinner being taken into cus-

tody under the emergency regulations. We must point out that these persons are suspects who have still to be convicted of any offence; that at least 4,500 of them, according to the statements of the Minister of Justice, have in the Government's own view committed no offence whatever; and that in any event their wives and children are not responsible for anything they have done or are alleged to have done."

The Civil Rights Movement pointed out that one of its cases involved a family of seven children, ranging between four and eighteen years of age, who have been left destitute for one year while both parents remained in custody.

"We must further point out," the statement continued, "that the Government itself has accepted the principle that dependents of persons taken into custody in connection with the insurgency should be aided if they are destitute, since the Ministry of Social Services has started a scheme for this purpose."

The Civil Rights Movement expressed the belief that "nobody whose natural human feelings have not been completely blunted will want innocent wives and children to suffer for the actions or supposed actions of their husbands or parents."

The statement concluded by noting that de Silva's comments apparently do not reflect the official view of the regime. It should be remembered, however, that natural human feeling is not the United Front government's most notable characteristic. □

How to Create a Non-Issue

"In 1968, Lloyd J. Kantor, one of the college students who worked for the election of Richard M. Nixon, assured skeptical friends that his candidate would stop the war. Nixon was elected, but the war continued, and Kantor was drafted. He went to Vietnam. There he lost both hands, both feet, one eye, and part of his hearing. Shortly afterward, President Nixon let it be known that, in his view, the war was no longer an issue. But it was to Kantor. The hospitalized youth sent a letter to the White House, making use of his 1968 Nixon-campaign stationery — and never received a reply." — *Saturday Review*, April 22, 1972.

Pachman Released After Frame-Up Trial

Ludek Pachman, the former Czechoslovakian chess champion who was arrested last January 10 in the latest wave of repression in that country, was released from custody May 5 after a two-day trial on charges of having committed "subversion" and "defamation of Czechoslovakia abroad." He is believed to be the first well-known oppositionist to be tried and freed since the "normalization" began.

The court sentenced Pachman to two years in prison, but subtracted six months from the term because of his poor health, and credited the eighteen months preventive detention he had already served.

According to the Paris daily *Le Monde*, the charges against Pachman stemmed from a 1971 radio interview and a document he signed in 1969.

Last August, Pachman was interviewed by Radio Hilversum, a Dutch station. During the interview, he discussed the case of Vladimir Skutina, a journalist who had just been sentenced to four years and two months in jail. Hence the charge of "defaming Czechoslovakia abroad."

In August 1969, Pachman signed the "Second 2,000-Word Manifesto," an opposition statement released on the first anniversary of the Soviet invasion. He was arrested immediately after publication of the manifesto and held in prison until October 1970.

Pachman and seven other signers were charged with "subversion," but at the last minute the trial was postponed. Pachman was then transferred to a "psychiatric clinic," where he spent several months.

The May 4-5 trial was officially declared to be a "public" one, but only Pachman's wife and six "workers" who had been issued special cards for the purpose were allowed into the courtroom.

Pachman had conducted two hunger strikes while in prison—the reason for his poor health—and an international campaign had been waged to demand his release. Just before his trial he had been transferred from prison to a hospital. The Husak regime apparently did not want to run the risk of having so famous a prisoner die in jail, and thus decided to

release him.

But the freeing of Pachman can in no way be seen as a loosening up of the "normalization." The day after Pachman's release, Husak delivered a speech to the "central group" of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia. The occasion was the twenty-seventh anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia from Nazi occupation.

"Wide layers of the [Czechoslovak] population," Husak told his armed guarantors, "follow with sympathy

2,200 Journalists Fired Since 1968

More than 1,200 journalists in the Czech Republic were dismissed from their jobs in the wake of the Warsaw Pact invasion of August 1968. Josef Valenta, the new president of the Union of Czech Journalists, revealed the figure in Prague April 24. In a speech to the group's convention, he said that 255 of those expelled were "aggressive deviationists" and 150 were their "fellow travelers," according to a report in *Le Monde* April 26.

The Danish daily *Politiken* reported on the same day that "It is thought that in the Slovakian section of the country, around 1,000 journalists were dismissed. Thus the total for the country as a whole would seem to be 2,200 persons—out of 4,000 journalists, radio and TV personnel working in the profession at the time the Soviet-led armies moved into the country."

The dismissed journalists have not been allowed to return to their profession, and most have had to find unskilled jobs.

Valenta told the 272 delegates representing the 2,700 members of the union that there were plans to turn the union into a federal organization with affiliated associations in the Czech and Slovak republics.

In another development in Czechoslovakia, Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party, denounced reports that he had given a secret speech last October in which he expressed sharp crit-

and love the activity of the central group of Soviet troops, regarding the Soviet soldiers as friends and the best allies aiding the defense of their national freedom, the independence of the Czechoslovak state, and the common interests of the socialist camp."

As if this were not enough, the premier went on to compare the 1945 Soviet advance against the Nazi army with the 1968 invasion. "The revolutionary conquests of the Czechoslovak workers being threatened, the USSR and other socialist countries came to restrict and squelch the activity of the counterrevolutionary forces, thus according their internationalist aid to the Communist party and the people of Czechoslovakia." □

icism of various Communist parties. (See *Intercontinental Press*, February 28, p. 198.) On April 19, more than two months after extracts of his speech were published in *Le Monde*, he dismissed the reports as "lies." Assertions that he disapproved of the policies of the Hungarian, Polish, Yugoslav, and other parties were, he charged, "lies created out of whole cloth" by the Western press. □

It Does Sound Inspired

Presumably to prove that the U. S. public loves Chiang Kai-shek even if Richard Nixon is willing to exchange him for a suitable price in Indochina, the Government Information Office in Taipei released the text of a poem addressed to the Generalissimo by an admirer in Memphis, Tennessee. The *Far Eastern Economic Review* quoted the poem as follows:

*Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek
You make a pretty picture from my
deck,
My gang loves you a bushel and a
peck—
Even a gentle hug around the neck.
I am pleased to know you live in our
world.
You are an inspiration what man can
be.
Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek inspires
poetry and songs
A toast to you Generalissimo to correct
some wrongs
I hope you may overcome your foes
Who have surrounded and impounded
a multitude of ugly woes.*

Chiang's police must have impounded several of the rhymes. □

Into the Streets Against U.S. Imperialism!

[The following statement was issued by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International on May 10.]

* * *

The American decision to blockade the ports of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and to destroy its lines of communication with China opens up a new and extremely dangerous stage in imperialist aggression in Southeast Asia.

The failure of the policy of "Vietnamization" is now obvious. The Puppet Thieu's army is disintegrating. The powerful antiwar sentiment in the United States and among the GIs blocks the Pentagon from imposing the American fantasy of "Vietnamization" on the revolutionary Vietnamese fighters.

In this situation Nixon, speaking for the section of the American bourgeoisie that has decided to prevent the victory of the Vietnamese revolution no matter what the cost, might be tempted to use every means the air war places at his disposal in an effort to stop the revolutionary offensive: first the blockade, then the destruction of the big cities, then the bombing of the dikes—which would amount to a veritable act of genocide—then the use of tactical nuclear weapons.

By embarking on such a policy, which could lead to the brink of a third world war, American imperialism is also hoping that conservative reflexes will come into play in the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies and that they will increase their pressure on Hanoi to accept a diplomatic compromise that would cheat the Vietnamese revolution out of the ground victory within its reach. The reaction to the new crimes that the imperialists are committing and preparing to commit in Southeast Asia must be immediate and must reflect the utmost determination.

The working masses will never agree to let the spokesman for the Texas oil men prevent the peoples of the

world from fighting for their national and social emancipation by issuing arrogant decrees backed up with weapons of extermination.

Into the streets to force an immediate halt to the bombings, the lifting of the blockade, and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. armed forces from Southeast Asia! Into the streets to proclaim our unyielding support to the heroic Vietnamese people and our determined opposition to the counterrevolutionary aggression of American imperialism!

Demand complete unity in action between the USSR, the People's Republic of China, and all the workers states in order to break the block-

ade of Hanoi and Haiphong.

Prepare for even stronger responses, for refusals to transport and produce weapons, ammunition, and matériel for the American armed forces in order to harass them in every part of the world in case of a new escalation.

Support the antiwar movement in the United States, which can play a decisive role in stopping the criminal aggression of the Pentagon.

Nixon's action reveals desperation. We must submit imperialist policy in Southeast Asia to continuous blows! By doing so, we will be helping to bring about the victory of the Vietnamese revolution! □

Jiri Pelikan Describes Growing Czechoslovak Socialist Opposition

[The following interview with Jiri Pelikan was obtained by Jacques Meyrand. It appeared in the April 12-19 issue of the Paris weekly *Informations Ouvrières*, the official weekly of the Fédération des Comités d'Alliance Ouvrière (of Lambertist orientation). Jiri Pelikan, now in exile, was elected a member of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Czechoslovakia at the famous underground congress of August 1968. At present he is one of the leaders of the Socialist Movement of Czechoslovak Citizens.

[The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Informations Ouvrières. In terms of mass struggle and organized forces, where does the Czechoslovak resistance stand today? What is its strength?

Jiri Pelikan. The Czechoslovak resistance to normalization is above all a truly popular movement in the sense that a majority of the population has

not accepted the reality of the occupation, but opposes it in all kinds of ways.

The occupiers were able to control the party apparatus, the police, the army, and the union leadership. By expelling half a million comrades and eliminating all those who disagreed, they succeeded in neutralizing a large number of militants. But they have not succeeded in obtaining the support even of a minority of the working class and the population.

In this sense Josef Smrkovsky was right when he said in an interview that "more than 90 percent of our people are opposed to the present regime."

This does not mean that the masses who are opposed, the mass of the population, represent the active opposition. On the contrary, the majority of the population express their disagreement through passive forms of opposition: refusing to work with the occupiers; refusing to support the leadership group; there are spontaneous demonstrations at sporting events, at theaters and movie houses; people

boycott the newspapers, the radio, television, etc.

This is understandable: the repression hits out at all who openly oppose the regime. Only the activist minority can organize open and active resistance. This resistance is expressed through different organizations or movements, such as the Movement of Czechoslovak Citizens, the Jan Palach Group, or the Civil Resistance. There are also numerous organizations that arise for a brief period and then disappear.

Here we have a big problem. Can we, today, reconstruct a Czechoslovak communist party that would oppose the occupation and normalization, thus saving the prestige of the KSC [Komunistická Strana Československa—Communist party of Czechoslovakia]? Discussions that have taken place up to now have answered in the negative, given the fact that the KSC has been much discredited among the Czechoslovak workers—not only because the normalization was carried out in its name, but because its leaders accepted the August 1968 *diktat*—and also because of the errors it has committed and the deformations it has justified for the past twenty years, since coming to power.

All this has saddled the KSC with an onerous heritage difficult to overcome—a heritage that would weigh heavily on an illegal communist party bearing the same name. Moreover, a communist party has certain organizational principles, such as democratic centralism, which would give the police an opportunity to destroy it.

But a basic problem is posed in the country. Our comrades are aware that a struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy, for real socialism, is linked to the struggle for national independence. For that, a united front of communists, or former communists, and noncommunist citizens is needed. Before 1968, for example, many young people did not want to join the KSC; not because they were not communists, but because they identified the KSC with careerism.

All this explains why we have chosen movements structured so that groups and individuals can join them spontaneously, movements that count on and are based on the initiative of the members themselves.

To be sure, we are dealing here with a transitory situation. Discussion

is going on about the organizational forms needed by the opposition. I am confident, I feel sure, that inside the country the best form will be found.

I should note that *Rude Pravo* and the official Czechoslovak press have said that the internal opposition movement is directed by us from abroad. This is a maneuver, and also a mistake, on the part of the regime. The regime wants to hide the fact that the opposition has deep roots inside the country, popular roots, that it exists and is developing. We abroad consider ourselves an integral part of the opposition inside the country.

To summarize, it cannot be said that the Czechoslovak opposition is a well-organized movement with a well-defined political orientation. It is a spontaneous movement, but one that finds suitable forms for fighting the occupation.

What is so important is that for the first time in an Eastern country under the control of the Stalinist bureaucracy there exists a mass, socialist, Marxist opposition. An opposition exists in other countries—the USSR, even in the RDR [RDA—German Democratic Republic?], in Hungary, and in Bulgaria for example. But in these countries it is a matter of a few people ready to go forward, but without an open mass base. In Czechoslovakia this deep-rooted base exists. This is why the repression there is more brutal, but at the same time is an integral part of the repression throughout Eastern Europe.

I.O. How does the Soviet communist opposition express its solidarity with the Czechoslovak opposition?

Pelikan. The Soviet *samizdat* continuously expresses its solidarity with the Czechoslovak people, just as the Czechoslovak opposition is in solidarity with the *samizdat* militants. But we have to find specific forms of expression for this solidarity.

I.O. What is the balance sheet of the repression in Czechoslovakia? What trials are being prepared? Can you explain how these trials work?

Pelikan. The repression in Czechoslovakia is nothing new. It began in 1969, hitting especially General Prchlik, Vladimir Skutina, and other comrades, like the Petr Uhl group of nineteen young militants. These cases are known. But there are also

hundreds, perhaps thousands, of unknown persons—young schoolteachers, worker militants of the party or the trade unions—who have been arrested and sentenced, often to terms of one to four years in prison. Most often they are sentenced for "crimes committed against the USSR" or for having "violated the law."

The trials take place in small towns. They are secret; there is no publicity at all. Although no statistics had been given, the Czech minister of justice nevertheless declared that in 1970 there had been 1,800 trials. He expressed satisfaction that severe sentences had been given and that there was no appeal.

Husak intends to limit this repression to unknown persons and not to sentence them explicitly for the views they expressed in 1968. But the assurance he gave the French Communist party is hypocritical. Skutina, Prchlik, and Lederer were clearly sentenced because of their 1968 views.

Today, the new wave of arrests (November-January) is directed against those I call the "brains of the Prague Spring"—against [Jaroslav] Sabata, [Milan] Huebl, [Alfred] Cerny, members of the Central Committee elected in August 1968; against the historians [Karel] Bartosek and [Karel] Kaplan; against the journalists [Karel] Kyncl and [Jiri] Hochman; against people who had prepared the Prague Spring before 1968 and against those who participated in drafting the major documents of 1968.

The aim of the projected trials is to create fear, to break the opposition and the resistance. On the other hand, the arrest of Valerio Ochetto and the expulsion of the journalist [Ferdi] Zidar* were attempts to isolate the Czechoslovak opposition from the outside world.

The way these trials work recalls those of the 1950s. For a period varying between six months and a year

*Valerio Ochetto, an employee of Italian radio and television, was arrested last January 17 and accused of serving as liaison between Czechoslovak exiles and oppositionists inside the country. He was expelled on February 5. Ferdi Zidar, a former editor of the Italian Communist party newspaper *L'Unita* and now secretary of the International Organization of Journalists, was expelled from Czechoslovakia during the first week of February.—IP

here is what happens. First of all, the accused are presented in the press as "revisionists," as "Zionists," as "Trotskyists." They are called upon to make a self-criticism. If they do, they are denounced as guilty. If they do not, they are isolated and sentenced.

An atmosphere aimed at discrediting them is created. Some of them are accused of being "Jews," or else of being "common thieves," so that severe penalties can be imposed. Then come the trials—and at the same time the regime tries to break the prisoners in jail.

But these days it is very difficult to make militants confess to things they did not do. In the 1950s, the arrested Communists were not oppositionists—or only potentially so. Today, they are real oppositionists who mean to defend themselves politically. Until now, the courts have presented the trials as not being political or ideological in nature, but as based on "violations of the law."

The leadership wants to bring to trial and sentence Sabata, Huebl, and the others as a test case—to see how Czechoslovak and international opinion will react.

If the reaction is not sufficient, if there is no foreign reaction, if the opposition is not broken, then there is great fear that the trials will continue and will strike at those leaders of the Prague Spring who have refused to make a self-criticism.

On the other hand, the present leadership would rather not bring charges against Dubcek, Smrkovsky, or Kriegel because of their fear of international solidarity and the fact that the prestige of the latter might be increased.

I. O. Husak has had to retreat several times. How did this come about? What must be done today in the international workers' movement to make him retreat still more and release the prisoners?

Pelikan. During the 1950s the whole

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communist movement, except perhaps the Trotskyists, accepted the trials. Today it is very different. A part of the communist movement, if not the leadership, no longer accepts the charges and is rising against the trials, but not openly like you.

This is one reason why the repression has been checked. Husak must reckon with this international reaction. Moreover, if the Communist parties ask Husak for assurances, it is because of pressure from their ranks.

Today, this pressure must be increased by all possible means—to explain that the repression in Czechoslovakia is not a mistake or a tragic misunderstanding, but a logical consequence of the Stalinist bureaucratic system.

To fight this bureaucratic system that discredits socialism, solidarity is needed—a solidarity that must extend to all social layers, but especially to the workers, the youth, and the progressive intellectuals. Because the Prague Spring was not just the business of intellectuals, and the repression is not, as some may think, directed only against intellectuals. It touches very many ordinary youths and workers.

I. O. What do you think of the idea of rapidly putting together a commission of inquiry that would allow for the permanent mobilization of the democratic and workers' movements against the normalization and could do everything in its power to go to Moscow and Prague?

Pelikan. All forms of intervention are positive and are appreciated in the country. Public positions are taken and there are also personal interventions. Which are most effective? Delegations to embassies, solidarity meetings, articles in the press are important. The idea of a commission of inquiry is also a good one, because it symbolizes the stake the workers' movement has in defending the persecuted in Czechoslovakia. But the problem is how to do it.

First of all, such a commission should not limit its concern to persecuted communists, but should come to the defense of all, except obvious fascists and counterrevolutionaries, which also exist in Eastern Europe.

The commission must be as broad as possible, including communists, so-

cialists, trade unionists, independents. It should extend itself to the international level.

Even if it can't go to Prague, information on and histories of the persecuted must be collected. During trials it should try to send observers, find lawyers, cooperate with other organizations like the democratic jurists, Amnesty International. . . .

I. O. In Paris on March 13 you spoke of the possibility of forming an "information center." What are the proposals of the socialist opposition on this question?

Pelikan. There is no great difference between a commission of inquiry and an information center, because all these initiatives move in the same direction; except for the fact that an information center would be more limited than a commission of inquiry.

I. O. Where does the assembling of people against the normalization stand on the European scale, especially in Italy?

Pelikan. The initiatives taken in France have not occurred in Italy; mainly because of the particular position of the Italian Communist party. Nor has *Il Manifesto* taken any initiative. But after the elections it may be possible to form a support committee.

I. O. Do you have any special appeal to address to the readers of Informations Ouvrières and Jeune Révolutionnaire, who are proud of the fight they are waging in France against the normalization?

Pelikan. I would like to thank the comrades of *Informations Ouvrières* and *Jeune Révolutionnaire* for their acts of solidarity and for publicizing the facts. It is a moral encouragement for all of us to see that comrades are interested in the problem. We hope they will continue to support us.

I say this because we think that the struggle against the normalization in Czechoslovakia is not just the business of the Czechoslovak people, but a part of the worldwide struggle for socialism.

Because the normalization is an obstacle, a brake, not only for Czecho-

slovakia, but for the revolutionary movement in other countries like France.

We follow your struggle in the same

spirit of solidarity and sympathy, and we think that by struggling against the normalization we are also participating in your struggle. □

piring imperialism. Such "propaganda" must appear even more dangerous than the imperialist bombs in Indochina, for the Kremlin has tolerated those more easily than it does Bukovsky.

[A picture also emerges of the life of oppositionists in Moscow and the atmosphere of Bukovsky's circle. Most notable is their sharp interest and awareness of developments elsewhere in the "socialist fraternity"—Poland, China, Czechoslovakia.

[Finally, the ambivalent behavior of the witnesses speaks volumes as to the moral pressure exerted by the activists struggling for real Soviet democracy. The prosecutor is so anxious to dismiss these activists as a "pitiful handful" that she even quotes from "anti-Soviet" bourgeois sources. But the witnesses who represent the "Soviet average citizen" in this drama are often plainly embarrassed and eager not to implicate Bukovsky, even though he speaks for only a "pitiful handful."

[The translation of this transcript was done for *Intercontinental Press* by Marilyn Vogt. Footnotes and explanatory material in brackets are by the translator.]

* * *

Transcript of the Bukovsky Trial

[With this issue, we begin serialization of the complete transcript of the trial of Vladimir Bukovsky, which was held in Moscow January 5, 1972. Bukovsky was sentenced by the court to seven years imprisonment and five years in exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." His real "crime" was to have exposed to the world the bureaucratic regime's policy of interning political dissidents in insane asylums.

[According to Amnesty International, Bukovsky's subsequent appeal to a higher court was rejected, and he was transferred in late February to Vladimir prison, notorious for its harsh regime. His friends fear for his life because of the heart condition from which he suffers.

[The full Russian transcript of the trial first appeared in the West in the March 9 issue of the Paris publication *Russkaya mysl*. Although long excerpts appeared in the London *Times* on February 7, and shorter excerpts have appeared in numerous other publications, this is the first complete English translation, as far as we know. For an English translation of Bukovsky's final statement to the court, which supplements and summarizes the present document, see *Intercontinental Press*, January 31, p. 111.

[Great credit is due Aleksei Tumerman, the Soviet dissident who has openly proclaimed responsibility for compiling this transcript—at obvious risk to himself.

[The difficulties in making this record can be judged from the following description by *New York Times* Moscow correspondent Hedrick Smith:

"Officially (Bukovsky's) trial was an open one, but his friends were barred and only his lawyer and sister were given access. His mother was called by the prosecution as a witness, preventing her from hearing the other proceedings. Under such conditions, Mr. Bukovsky's dissident friends acknowledged omissions in the transcript

they compiled. But they insist that it faithfully conveys the trial's flavor and general proceedings."

[Smith, who apparently had a look at a copy of the transcript being circulated in Moscow, refers to its compiler in the plural. Perhaps others aided Tumerman, while he agreed to take responsibility alone.

[Tumerman's name is a relatively new one among Soviet dissidents. The first mention of him we have seen was in the *Chronicle of Current Events*, Number 19, dated April 30, 1971. He was one of a group of Soviet Jews who conducted a sit-in in the offices of the Soviet attorney general in March 1971, demanding an open trial for groups of Soviet Jews then under arrest in four cities.

[In April 1971, Tumerman was sent to a psychiatric hospital, where he was held for several weeks until being released under his parents' guardianship. On April 28, 1971, he wrote an open letter from the hospital, naming the doctors who were forcibly detaining him.

[Tumerman was also one of the forty-three Soviet citizens who in early January endorsed an appeal in Bukovsky's behalf from the Initiative Group in Defense of Human Rights in the USSR to United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim. An English translation of that document appeared in *Intercontinental Press* (April 24, p. 472), in which A. Tumerman was mistakenly listed as Yu. Tumerman.

[Readers will find much of interest in the trial transcript. First, there is a close-up view of Stalinist frame-up techniques in operation.

[Second, there appears a statement of the Kremlin's latest theory to justify repression. As socialism advances and grows stronger worldwide, the prosecutor argues, it is more and more necessary to suppress differences at home, since "anti-Soviet propaganda" is the last desperate recourse of ex-

On Compilation of the Transcript

This document constitutes a stenographic record of the trial of Vladimir Bukovsky, which took place in Moscow on January 5, 1972.

The possibilities open to me in composing this document were such that I cannot assert that this document is a verbatim record of the trial. In particular, the indictment, the statements of the prosecutor and the defense attorney, and the text of the verdict are presented here in abbreviated form.

It is my conviction, however, that there are no errors of substance in this document that would distort what was said in the courtroom to even the slightest degree.

Since, in compiling this document, I did not inform anyone of my intention to send it to the International Association of Jurists, as well as to Western news correspondents and press agencies for publication, I alone bear full responsibility for it.

I feel that there is no need for me

to comment on this document in any way.

Aleksei Tumerman
4 Gubkin Street, Apt. 52
Moscow

The trial of V. K. Bukovsky took place on January 5, 1972, in Moscow in the Lyublino District Court (14 Yegoryevskaya Street).

The judicial inquiry was held as part of the regular session of the Moscow City Court: the judge was [Valentina] Lubentsova; the prosecutor, [Aza] Bobrushko; the people's assessors, [Nikolai] Kondakov [a fitter] and [Lev] Shlykov [an engineer]; the defense attorney, [Vladimir] Ya. Shveitsky; and the court stenographer, Osina.

The following witnesses were summoned to the court by the defense:

1. J. Peipert [James A., of Associated Press]

2. A. Waller [Andrew, Reuters bureau chief]

It turned out that subpoenas had not been sent to these two persons. During the pretrial investigation, they had given testimony favorable to Bukovsky.

Witnesses called by the prosecution were:

3. V. A. Shushpanov

4. A. E. Nikitinsky

5. Bychkov

6. Tarasov

7. N. I. Bukovskaya

(On several occasions prior to the trial, N. Bukovskaya had requested that she not be asked to serve as a witness since she knew nothing about the affairs of her son and she preferred to be present in the courtroom throughout the proceedings. But, it was precisely her presence in the courtroom that the judicial authorities did not want.)

INDICTMENT returned after preliminary investigation into the case of V. K. Bukovsky, born 1942, resident at 3/5 Furmanov Street, apartment 59, Moscow

1. During 1970-71, V. K. Bukovsky engaged in systematic distribution of anti-Soviet material of a slanderous nature, gave foreign correspondents slanderous information defaming our state and social system, namely that in the Soviet Union sane people are

placed in prisonlike psychiatric hospitals where they are subjected to various types of torture. He also had in his apartment various anti-Soviet materials of a slanderous nature.

Evidence of these charges is as follows:

a) Clippings from the foreign newspapers *Washington Post*, *San Francisco Examiner*, and *Daily News*, found in Bukovsky's apartment with articles of slanderous nature defaming the state and social system of the USSR and having headings "A Russian Who Fights Against the System," "Soviet Dissident Speaks," "Russian Heretic Tells of Horrors of Madhouses — Prisons for Dissenters."¹

b) A film, which was shown by the American television company CBS on July 28, 1970 entitled "Voices of the Russian Underground" and the commentary on this film, featured in various foreign newspapers ("Film Secretly Shot Shows Struggle is Possible Inside Russia" and others); and also radio broadcasts on Radio Liberty, Voice of America, and BBC in Russian with commentary on this film.

c) A notebook belonging to V. K. Bukovsky, in which the telephone numbers of foreign correspondents accredited in Moscow were listed.

2. On the basis of testimony by V. A. Shushpanov, a former employee of the department for foreign relations of the Moscow Patriarchy, V. K. Bukovsky is accused of having conducted anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda during several meetings with Shushpanov; of having asserted that in the USSR sane people are confined in mental hospitals, where inhuman treatment is administered to them; also of having asserted that personal freedom and freedom of speech and the press do not exist in the Soviet Union; also of having had conversations with Shushpanov for the purpose of persuading the latter to utilize his official missions abroad for the illegal importation of a duplicating machine in order to set up an underground press and print anti-Soviet *samizdat* materials.

3. On the basis of testimony of [Arnold Eduardovich] Nikitinsky, a customs inspector at Sheremetyevo Airport and a former schoolmate of V. K.

Bukovsky, Bukovsky is accused of carrying on anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, declaring that in the Soviet Union there is no personal freedom and that sane people are confined in mental hospitals in our country because they are dissenters; he also tried to persuade Nikitinsky to take advantage of his official position to help him arrange the illegal importation into the USSR of portable printing equipment by getting it through customs inspection at Sheremetyevo Airport. Bukovsky's intention in this regard was to organize an underground press for the distribution of anti-Soviet *samizdat* materials. On the basis of the testimony of Nikitinsky, Bukovsky is accused of illegal possession of two issues of the anti-Soviet newspaper *Possev* which he showed to Nikitinsky. (Proof: the handwritten testimony of Nikitinsky and the taped record of Bukovsky's juridical confrontation with him.)

4. On the basis of testimony by the servicemen Bychkov and Tarasov, Bukovsky is accused of conducting anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda in February (March) 1971 in a cafe at the Kursk railroad station; of declaring that the existing system in the USSR does not serve the needs of the Soviet people; and also of giving them his phone number and the telephone number and address of A. P. Astrachan, and of proposing to Bychkov and Tarasov to pass on information by means of these numbers. (Proof: telephone numbers of Bukovsky and Astrachan in the notebooks of Bychkov and Tarasov.)

5. V. K. Bukovsky is accused of having met with the Belgian citizen Hugo Sebreghts on March 28, 1971, at the apartment of V. Chalidze, Sebreghts having come to the Soviet Union as a tourist on the instructions of the anti-Soviet Flemish Committee. Hugo Sebreghts had instructions to meet with Bukovsky, for which purpose the Flemish Committee gave him Bukovsky's telephone number, which he had written in his notebook in conventional symbols. At the meeting at Chalidze's, Bukovsky gave Sebreghts two anti-Soviet documents of a slanderous nature—the *Chronicle of Current Events* Number 17 and (Yakir's) *Open Letter to the Twenty-fourth Congress*, which were found on Sebreghts when he was searched. (Proof: the finding by criminal-inves-

1. It has not been possible to locate the English-language originals of these articles. The titles are therefore retranslated from the Russian.

tigation specialists in comparative printing and lettering that the document found in Sebreghts's possession and the documents of an analogous nature found in Bukovsky's possession were typed on the same machine.)

Bukovsky's Motions to the Court at the Opening of the Trial

1. The first point of the indictment has not been defined concretely, that is, there is no indication of exactly what materials of an anti-Soviet and slanderous nature were distributed nor of how they were distributed; nor of which materials found in Bukovsky's apartment are considered anti-Soviet and slanderous. In addition, there are no documents involved in this case that support the charge of systematic distribution of slanderous materials. None of my friends or acquaintances have been questioned in this matter. Nor is there any basis for considering any of the materials sent to the West as being slanderous or anti-Soviet. In view of the foregoing, I request the court to define Point One of the indictment concretely if it finds sufficient basis for this in the materials of the preliminary investigation. Otherwise, the case should be sent back for investigation.

2. If the first motion is denied, I request the court to summon the following persons as witnesses who can confirm the truth of my statements to Western correspondents — consisting of my [filmed] interview which I gave to correspondents Holger [Jensen] and [William] Cole about the illegal confinement of sane people in mental institutions. These persons are [Sergei] Pisarev, Parkhunov, Petrov, Schults, [Zinaida M.] Grigorenko, [Ivan] Yakhimovich, [Mikhail] Naritsa, and A. Fainberg.

3. I declare that the comments on my interview, those cited under Point One of the indictment and which were written not by me but by various Western correspondents, cannot be used to incriminate me because I cannot be made responsible for what these correspondents chose to say in their commentaries. For example, in the indictment the word "torture" was used, whereas I have never used this word either in writing or in speech.

In view of the above, I request the court to remove the commentaries referred to from the indictment.

4. I request the court to remove from the indictment the episode involving the Belgian citizen Hugo Sebreghts because the latter is not at the present time in the Soviet Union and cannot be summoned to testify in the court, while his testimony in the preliminary investigation is extremely contradictory. For example, among the materials in this case are two records of interrogation of Hugo Sebreghts, the contents of which contradict one another.

In one of them H. Sebreghts states that the two documents found in his possession when he was searched — the *Chronicle of Current Events* and the *Open Letter to the Twenty-fourth Congress* — were given to him by someone he did not know. In the other he states that I gave them to him. Both statements of interrogation were written, not by Sebreghts, but by the investigator, in Russian, which Sebreghts does not know. But his signature is on both of these documents. I was not allowed a personal confrontation with Sebreghts. Therefore, in my opinion, the investigation has not established sufficient grounds for asserting that I am guilty on this point.²

6. Since, on the basis of Article 18 of the Procedural Code of the RSFSR [Russkaya Sovyetskaya Federativnaya Sotsialisticheskaya Respublika — Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] all court examinations are to be open and since my case does not involve the criteria stipulated by this article as the basis for a closed trial, I ask the court to immediately allow into the courtroom all my friends and acquaintances, and also all other citizens who wish to be present at the proceedings.

7. During the investigation, when a gross violation of Article 201 of the RSFSR Procedural Code was committed by the investigator, citizen V. Korkach, and I was not granted a lawyer, I appealed to the chairman of the [Moscow] lawyers' collegium, Apraksin, requesting that they assign me attorney D. I. Kaminskaya in accordance with Article 201. To this I received a negative reply, with the

2. Presumably because of a technical error, Bukovsky's fifth motion does not appear in the transcript. It is apparent from the text below, however, that the motion asked the calling of Valery Chaldize and Aleksandr Yesenin-Volpin as witnesses.

statement: "Attorney D. I. Kaminskaya cannot be assigned to the defense since she does not have clearance for secret judicial proceedings." I was informed of this statement and it had my signature on it. However, subsequently, this document was removed from the evidence and replaced by another, which no one brought to my attention and which does not have my signature on it. This fact verges on official fraudulence and I request the court to have the original document restored and kept with the records of this case.

8. During the investigation, I sent nearly twenty complaints to various official bodies. (He lists the offices addressed and the dates of mailing.) Fifteen of these were never answered, and the complaints are not on file among the records in this case. I request the court to make these complaints public and include them in the documents of this case.

The judge addresses the prosecutor and defense attorney: Do you regard the defendant's motions as justified and in order?

Prosecutor: I consider Bukovsky's motions either to be unjustified or to have no direct bearing on the case.

Defense: I support the motions of my client and I have two additional motions which I ask the court's permission to present.

Judge: Proceed.

Defense: First of all, I ask the court to summon as a character witness for my client Comrade [Vladimir] Maksimov, for whom Bukovsky recently worked as a literary secretary.

Second, I ask the court to summon Comrade G. Podyapolsky as a witness. This witness was questioned in the preliminary investigation in regard to whether Bukovsky had distributed certain materials, and can give testimony on this subject that is important for my client.

The court deliberates.

The following decision is then rendered.

The court denies all of the motions except one, Bukovsky's eighth, which is partially granted. Seven of the fifteen complaints cited by Bukovsky are hereby entered as documents in the case.

The court cannot summon Petrov, Pisarov, Parkhunov, Naritsa, Yakhimovich, Schults, Z.M. Grigorenko, and A. Fainberg as witnesses because these are mentally ill persons and their

testimony could not be considered valid.

The court considers that the first point in the prosecution's case is sufficiently concrete.

The court denies Bukovsky's motion that Chalidze and Volpin be summoned as witnesses as they have no connection with the case.

The court did not consider Bukovsky's motion about the public nature

of the trial since the proceedings are open to the public—there are people in the courtroom. Consequently, the motion is not valid.

The court does not consider it necessary to file the reply written by Apraksin, chairman of the lawyers' collegium, since this document has no bearing on the case.

The court grants in part the motion by Bukovsky that his complaints be

brought in as evidence for the defense and hereby orders seven of the complaints to be added to the case records.

The court denies the request to summon V. Maksimov as a witness because V. Bukovsky did very little work for him, and views it as unnecessary to summon G.S. Podyapolsky as a witness since he has no bearing on the case.

[To be continued.]

A Contribution to the History of the Trotskyist Movement

The Fourth International

By Pierre Frank

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

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Chapter 7: The Turn in the World Situation (The Year 1968)

The composition of the congress held in late December 1965 reflected the influx of youth that had revitalized the sections. The accentuation of this phenomenon in the following years was to pose a good many new problems. We have reached the point at which our history merges into current politics.

It was the war in Vietnam that contributed, in the most conclusive and decisive fashion, to the turn in the world situation that had been ripening beneath the surface apathy, beneath Europe's political stagnation, beneath the reformism that followed "de-Stalinization" in the workers states. As Marx said, revolution, that old mole, was inexorably burrowing away, so that one fine day the ground, thus undermined, might cave in.

Other phenomena also operated in a direction equally favorable to the turn in the situation, for example China's "cultural revolution," despite the extravagant forms that it often took. The announcement of the Ninth Congress of the Chinese CP showed that the "cultural revolution" basically aimed at replacing a bureaucratically ossified party by another party, bureaucratic too, but more active. One of the ways this operation had been effected was through mass mobilizations against the old apparatus. But how many in the capitalist countries saw only these mobilizations and were thus encouraged to revolutionary action!

An international phenomenon, the activation of students in the capitalist countries, was a premonitory sign of this turn in the world situation. Up to then, only students in the underdeveloped countries participated in mass struggles; there was really nothing surprising about this in the colonial revolution, where students have always played a substantial role. But students entering the political arena in developed capitalist countries was a new phenomenon, which had no comparable precedent in history—not even in the bourgeois revolutions. Particular circumstances in each particular country played their part in this phenomenon; since the latter was international in scope, however, it had to have a common objective basis. For the first time—and this in a by-and-large affluent period—students, not in tiny minorities but in large masses, attacked university structures, then went on to attack the very social structures of capitalist society, independently of traditional leaderships. Various indications also pointed to an awakening of working-class youth (even if it were, for the moment, less marked than that of the student youth), with the same tendency toward finding their own path outside the control of the traditional labor leaderships. Finally, an even more unexpected and novel phenomenon appeared—a political awakening of adolescents in the high schools. The International immediately grasped the unusual importance of these developments among the youth.

The sections very rapidly found themselves engaged in propaganda and agitation in favor of the Vietnamese revolution. The aim of this activity was to organize vigorous demonstrations which, in contradistinction to the never ending petitions and timid measures of the peace movement, would have real impact and would be really effective. This could be done only by clearly establishing the difference between the demand for "negotiations" (which was formulated by this instrument of Moscow's peaceful-coexistence policy) and a revolutionary policy whose aim was victory for the National Liberation Front, victory for Vietnam.

The policy followed by China and its supporters, as confused as it may have been in many ways, also fa-

vored going beyond the Kremlin's satellite parties to help the Vietnamese revolution.

One of the most valuable contributions in furthering the revolutionary currents was Che Guevara's celebrated slogan, "Two, three . . . many Vietnams." He gave his life to make this slogan a reality, to engage the forces of imperialism on another front.

Trotskyist activists were always in the front ranks of the *ad hoc* groups organized in many countries, first in the United States and Japan, and then in several West European countries, for the purpose of bringing together into one broad, united front all who favored mass actions on the Vietnam question. Trotskyist activists were behind the first demonstrations for Vietnam in West Europe (Liège, October 15, 1966; the October 1967 demonstrations at the time of Che Guevara's death; the Berlin demonstration of February 21, 1968). They were in the thick of battle at Berkeley and are in the forefront of all antiwar actions in the United States. It is they who maintain the unity of the movement conducting the campaign in Great Britain, which brought 100,000 demonstrators out in the streets of London October 27, 1968.³⁶

On the heels of these actions for the defense of Vietnam, the Trotskyist organizations linked up with large layers of youth who, in their search for a revolutionary political program, were beginning to learn the truth about the October Revolution, the ideas of Lenin and Trotsky, the Trotskyist movement. The Trotskyist organizations (especially those in the West European countries and in the United States, which had suffered long and difficult years of debilitation) were rejuvenated and reaped the benefits of a recruitment larger than they had ever before experienced.

36. Never did the position of the Socialist Labour League sectarians appear more pitiful than when they refused to engage in joint actions with "petty-bourgeois" groups. In the existing circumstances, this position reduced SLL activity to violent attacks against the Fourth International and its supporters, and to purely verbal denunciations of the reformist and Stalinist leaderships. It also led to the SLL's total isolation from the big mass demonstrations. Thus, after having sent several hundred British youth to Liege on October 15, 1966, in order to denounce the Fourth International, they abstained from participating in the October 27, 1968, London demonstration, perhaps the greatest mass demonstration held in England since the end of the war—the most spirited, at any rate. This anti-Vietnam-war demonstration was also, in effect, a demonstration of the left against the Wilson government's general policy; the SLL characterized the demonstration as a petty-bourgeois assembly and a "fraud!"

We do not care to act like scholastics, using and abusing quotations from on high; but with sectarians who follow the letter rather than the spirit of the law, it is often useful to let the classics take the floor. Let us hear what Lenin had to say in *"Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder*:

" . . . how is the discipline of the revolutionary party of the proletariat maintained? . . . First, by the class consciousness of the proletarian vanguard and by its devotion to the revolution, by its perseverance, self-sacrifice and heroism. Secondly, by its ability to link itself, to keep in close touch with, and to a certain extent, if you like, to merge itself with the broadest masses of the toilers—primarily with the proletariat, *but also with the non-proletarian toiling masses*. Thirdly, by the correctness of the political leadership exercised by this vanguard. . . ." (Emphasis in original.)

Thus, merging to a certain extent with nonproletarian masses is placed above correctness of political line. It took the daring of a Lenin to express this thought. What would our sectarians have said if these lines had been written by us, poor sinners that we are?

It was inevitable that such a phenomenon would provoke sectarian criticism: students, not workers, are being recruited, etc. Vanguard organizations such as those of the Trotskyist movement have no reason to abstain from being active and recruiting among a social layer where valuable intellectual forces, indispensable for the working-class movement, can be found. Aside from this fact, however, the generalized student radicalization in the developed capitalist states merited analysis because it was specific to a new social situation, different from what had hitherto existed.

Technological progress, the needs of the economy, new developments in the sciences—all this sparked a veritable explosion of the university population. So greatly increased was the size of the student body that a qualitative change took place in its social importance. At the same time, the position in society for which these students were being prepared was no longer what it had been. On entering the university—and even earlier, in high school—they became extremely concerned about the contradictions of capitalist society. They were even the first to be aware of the new contradictions in neocapitalist society. This phenomenon assumed exceptionally large dimensions in the United States, but the same tendencies appeared elsewhere. Henceforth there would be about six million students in the fortress of imperialism—a percentage of the population not very much lower than the percentage of farmers.

This student population is concentrated in university towns. Their studies are not preparing them—as was formerly the case for most college students—to fill their fathers' shoes, to take their older brothers' places as capitalists, industrialists, merchandisers, or petty-bourgeois professionals (doctors, lawyers, etc.). Gone is the hope of finding important and high-paying positions in big industrial plants, as so many technicians have done before. The new students are destined to become men who work for a living, exploited either by the big corporations or by the state. Part of the middle classes, these students are threatened with unemployment—just as workers are. And the numerous social layers of this student population are particularly sensitive to the other multiple contradictions of society.

The use that capitalism makes of their higher education (whether in the natural sciences with, for example, utilization of nuclear energy for military purposes; or in the social sciences for socially destructive purposes, such as man's exploitation of man), the monstrous behavior of capitalist society toward the most oppressed strata (colonial masses, Blacks, etc.), all this made students move beyond a critique of an educational system that was being "reformed" only to make it better able to fulfill its alienating functions. They moved on to criticize the underlying causes of the evils that were victimizing students themselves, as well.

The International had barely begun preparations for a new world congress (at which, besides the general trend of the world situation, very important specific problems such as the Chinese "cultural revolution" were to be examined) when a turn in the international situation took place—the biggest turn, in fact, since the end of the second world war.

The year 1968, which opened with the smashing defeat inflicted on the Americans by the Vietnamese Tet

offensive, will assuredly be a landmark in the history of the socialist revolution. Two events stand out. First of all, May 1968 in France: Triggered off by a student revolution, a general strike of 10,000,000 workers in its turn drew large sections of the petty bourgeoisie into an unprecedented challenge to the authority of the state, as well as to private ownership of the means of production and numerous other capitalist institutions. This was followed by a revolutionary upsurge in Czechoslovakia that, during the first week of Soviet military occupation, assumed a size and strength unprecedented in a workers state.

Several other events, smaller in scope but pointing in the same direction, should be added to these two, whose significance defies description.

(a) The crisis in U. S. imperialism's two-party political system—including a leadership crisis—evidenced in the presidential election (Johnson's abdication and the general lack of enthusiasm for both Nixon and Humphrey, neither of whom had any political authority).

(b) The crisis in the international Communist movement, Moscow having definitively lost its authority as "guide" in this long-time monolithic and extremely hierarchical outfit.

(c) The disgraceful bankruptcy of the British Labour party government, the strongest party of the international Social Democracy, which had strong hopes for it.

(d) The activation, after several years of relative passivity, of the Latin American urban masses. This included Mexico, a country considered by its bourgeoisie up to then as immune to Latin American-type revolutions.

These upheavals, the early outlines of which had been apparent for two years, particularly the entry into the lists of a new generation outside the control of the old bureaucracies, confronted the European sections of the Fourth International with the problem of changing their tactics. As soon as these phenomena appeared, the Trotskyist movement had undertaken certain tactical adjustments. This was particularly true in France at the time of the Algerian war, as a result of the working-class parties' position on the latter, but they were only partial adjustments. The size and scope of these phenomena laid the groundwork for the formation of currents to the left of the Communist parties, currents strong enough to become factors on the political scene in several countries. Thus, beginning in 1967, the European sections opened a debate on tactics, with a view to revising the entryism tactic. The open discussion on this point was oriented toward a change in tactic. Entryism was the price that had to be paid because of the disproportion that existed between the hegemony of the old leaderships and the weakness of the vanguard, practically incapable of going beyond the stage of a propaganda group. The possibility now existed of organizations being formed that, while still largely in the minority, could nevertheless exercise enough strength in given sectors to acquire importance on a national scale. Moreover, the entryist tactic had been established almost fifteen years earlier on the perspective, based on the relationship of forces of the time, that the crisis of the old leaderships would develop through the formation of left tendencies within those leaderships themselves. (See sixth installment, issue of April 17, p. 415.) Because of the

prolonged period of prosperity, leftists in the traditional organizations generally experienced the same slide to the right that the mass working-class movement underwent as a whole. In only a few cases did the contrary occur. For us, those few cases justify the old tactic.

While those who kept denouncing "entryism" ended up by withering away into sectarianism, it is sufficient for us, in view of May 1968, to point to the formation of the Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire [Revolutionary Communist Youth] as a result of its application within the Union des Etudiants Communistes [Communist Student Union]. The JCR constituted Trotskyism's most valuable contribution to the French May.³⁷ Let us not forget, too, that the SDS in Germany [Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund—German Socialist Student Union] arose out of the Social Democracy, which is the mass organization in that country.

37. May 1968 in France also allowed for an evaluation of the policies of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste. (This great opponent of entryism has followed a line similar to that of the British SLL on the question of Cuba and Vietnam.) During the greatest event in the history of the European class struggle since the end of World War II, the daily denunciations of this group, which accords the title "revolutionist" only to its own members, culminated in its abstaining from the confrontations with the forces of the bourgeois state. The OCI sounded the alarm each time and advocated retreat, in order not to be led into "a slaughter." On this I refer the reader to Daniel Bensaid and Henri Weber's *Mai 68, une répétition générale* [May 68: A General Rehearsal]. The authors of this book illustrate, in excellent fashion, how and why the OCI's sectarianism changed into active opportunism at the decisive moments, only to change back into sectarianism when the upsurge receded—an apt time for this group to indulge in denunciations.

While on the subject, I may be excused for adding a few lines that might seem of a personal nature but that concern part of the history of the Trotskyist movement. For lack of even a slightly serious criticism of the International's positions, this group attacks the author of the present work, generally in connection with prewar events. The gist of these attacks is contained in the collection entitled *Le mouvement communiste en France* [The Communist Movement in France] by a member of this group, Broue, who has added a number of asides to articles by Trotsky. The object of these additions is to give the impression that in 1935-38 Trotsky was, in essence, waging a struggle against the faction I belonged to, and that this faction bore major responsibility for the defeat of the June 1936 movement. There were at the time differences of opinion amongst Trotskyists, differences that were aggravated by the exit from the SFIO. [See third installment, issue of March 27, p. 338—*Translator*.] A split took place—amid very lively polemics. I do not intend to give the history of the 1935 split; to do that would require writing a pamphlet to explain the opinion I hold today on that subject, which has nothing in common with any sectarian, black and white approach. At any rate, to make believe that Trotsky's polemics centered around me is a far cry from reality. As to the other "accusation," it is pure and simple nonsense. Moreover, if that were the case, how explain the fact that Trotsky, despite the split, mentioned my testimony before the Dewey Commission as that of a "friend"? And even if I were wrong in 1935, what evidence would that be against my positions and those of the International today? Strange Trotskyists who resort to such an "argument"! Finally, Broue seems to have forgotten that I reunited with Trotsky. Had the former cared about writing a sound historical work, he would have researched the correspondence between Trotsky and me on this point, in order to treat the subject fully and to avoid giving a fragmented, incomplete, and thus necessarily erroneous picture of it. He would have noted that on this question Trotsky asked for neither a preliminary discussion on the causes of, and responsibility for, the 1935 split nor a "self-criticism" from me.

The 1968 turning point marked the end of the period of apathy; the end of political stagnation in the advanced capitalist countries, which had begun shortly after the second world war; the end of the period of reformism that had followed the first years of "de-Stalinization" in the workers states. This turning point marked the end of the period in which the world revolution had been carried forward almost exclusively by the colonial revolution, a fact that distorted the world revolutionary process considerably and resulted in a proliferation of numerous theories, reformist or revolutionary, that had one point in common: the alleged incapacity of the proletariat, especially in the advanced capitalist countries, to play a revolutionary role. The activation of the working-class masses in France and in Czechoslovakia, as well as the demonstrations in the large Latin American cities, delivered a mortal blow to all these theories. The distortions that the world revolutionary process was prey to for almost twenty years were on their way out.

Under these new conditions, theoretically and politically so much more propitious, the International made preparations for its 1969 world congress. Ninety-eight section delegates, fraternal delegates, and observers, from thirty countries, were present at this congress, held in April of 1969.

The principal documents adopted by this congress were:

- Theses on the new rise of the world revolution and an introductory report on these theses by Comrade Ernest Mandel, passed unanimously except for two votes.

- Resolution on the perspectives of the Latin American revolution, presented by Comrade Roca and passed by a two-thirds majority.

- Resolution on the "cultural revolution" in China and the report of Comrade Livio Maitan, who presented the resolution to the congress, passed by a very large majority.

- A resolution orienting the International's work in the immediate future toward the radicalizing youth and opening a discussion on the problems posed by this orientation, with a document presented by Comrade Albert.

The congress also unanimously adopted the outgoing United Secretariat's report on activities, presented by Comrade Mandel; a report on the finances of the International; and resolutions dealing with the situation of the movement in Germany, Argentina, Ceylon, and Great Britain. In Great Britain, where there had been no official section, the congress recognized the International Marxist Group as the British section of the Fourth International.

The theses presented to the congress on the new rise of the world revolution summarized in six main points the turn in the world situation that took place in 1968:

1. The imperialist counteroffensive, unleashed by American imperialism following the victory of the Cuban revolution, after having met with some temporary successes in Brazil, Indonesia, and in numerous African countries, had been stalemated by the heroic Vietnamese masses who recaptured the military initiative with the Tet offensive (1968).

2. The victorious resistance of the Vietnamese people coincided with a general slowing down in the economic growth of the imperialist countries, which sharpened the

social contradictions and intensified the class struggle in most of these countries.

3. May 1968 in France had reactivated the revolutionary upsurge in Europe.

4. The victorious defense of the Vietnamese revolution and the reactivation of revolutionary struggle in several imperialist countries gave the colonial revolution the possibility of surmounting the obstacles of the preceding phase and again gathering momentum.

5. Stimulated by the Vietnamese revolution and by the revolutionary crisis in France, the ripening of conditions for the political revolution in the bureaucratically degenerated or deformed workers states has already led to large mobilizations in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, and is at the doorstep of the USSR itself.

6. The appearance of a new, young vanguard on a world scale, largely independent of the traditional mass organizations, favors the solution of the central task of our era—*creating a new, revolutionary leadership of the world proletariat.*

The report on activities could justifiably record the important—in many cases, decisive—role played by the Fourth International's militants in the campaigns for the defense of the Vietnamese and Cuban revolutions; the defense of militants persecuted by the bourgeoisie (Hugo Blanco, the Peruvian revolutionists, the Mexican students) or by the bureaucracies of the workers states (the Polish comrades Kuron and Modzelewsky); the campaign for support of the socialist Arab revolution, etc. The activities report could also point to the considerable advances made by the Trotskyist newspapers and other publications throughout the world, and the extraordinary volume of editions and reeditions of Trotsky's works in many languages and in countries where they had never before appeared.

Most especially, the report had to evaluate the Trotskyist movement's participation in the May 1968 events in France. This participation had its climax at the world congress itself, as evidenced by the replacement of the Fourth International's French section: the Ligue Communiste, ten times larger and with immeasurably greater influence than the pre-May 1968 Trotskyist organization, would thenceforth constitute the International's French section.

Side by side with this striking advance, participants at the world congress reported on progress made practically everywhere. Leadership bodies of the International and its sections felt new blood coursing through their veins, supplied by young cadres expressing the high potential of the new generation in the ranks of the world socialist revolution.

The turn in the world situation was expressed not only in the composition and progress of the Trotskyist movement—it was not only confirmed in a general way, but it was also examined very carefully in the course of in-depth analyses in the tradition of the Trotskyist movement itself. To the usual outline of general tasks, the discussions added an exceptionally strong note that emphasized the principal result of this turn, i.e., the necessity of raising the International's activity to a higher level, a level demanded by the new situation: the organization would no longer content itself with participating in mass struggles by advancing its program; it would

now endeavor to intervene, at least in certain countries and on certain fronts of the struggle, with the object of playing a leading role in them. The question of the Trotskyist movement's making an eventual breakthrough on certain points, in and through action, thus constituted the thread of continuity in the main discussions of the congress—which were extremely lively.

During each of the discussions on the principal documents submitted to the world congress, it became apparent that the Trotskyist movement (after having tried for years to stem the Stalinist tide and then having witnessed revolutionary upsurges that did not throw off the bureaucratic yoke) for the first time in its history had possibilities for making a breakthrough by effectively proving, on a few, still limited class-struggle fronts, the validity of its program, no longer in a theoretical way but in action. The world congress showed that it was very aware of this new situation, of its implications, of the perspectives it offered for constructing a revolutionary-Marxist, mass International. It is obvious that such a turn cannot be taken just by voting at a congress, no matter how important that may be. The present period will demand of the International, of its sections, of the organizations connected with it politically, persistent day-in, day-out work to make such a turn a reality—as well as even closer ties among all the parties in the movement.

Shortly after the world congress, the Ligue Communiste registered a big gain for the Trotskyist movement through the extraordinary election campaign of Comrade Alain Krivine, the Ligue's presidential candidate. This campaign went far beyond the borders of France and made the International known to large sectors throughout Europe. Since then the Ligue has continued to be in the vanguard of the class struggles in France; its membership and influence continue to grow.

Most of the Fourth International's sections and the U. S. Socialist Workers party have grown since the Ninth World Congress, in an unequal fashion from country to country but very substantially nevertheless (certain sections have even increased tenfold). During this same period, organizations—which will become sections—have been created in many countries where the Fourth International had not been present before (Sweden, Luxembourg, Ireland); sections are being rebuilt in countries where circumstances had made them disappear (Spain) or had reduced them considerably (Switzerland, Mexico, etc.). These phenomena extend to countries like Japan, Australia, New Zealand. In Argentina the Revolutionary party of the Workers (Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores—PRT), political mentor of the Revolutionary Army of the People (Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—ERP), has begun an armed struggle, some of whose operations have won it renown and prestige throughout Latin America. In Bolivia the Revolutionary Workers party (Partido Obrero Revolucionario—POR), led by Comrade Hugo González Moscoso, was preparing for armed struggle. During the resistance to the Banzer *coup d'état*, about forty of its members, including Comrade Tomás Chambi, a member of the Central Committee, were killed in combat. Many others were wounded and imprisoned. The Fourth International is in the forefront of the struggle against the war in Vietnam, and is more and more active in class

struggles across the entire world.

The groups claiming to be Trotskyist but which are hostile to the Fourth International remain sects (Pablo, Posadas, etc.). The only two groups of any size—the OCI-AJS [Organisation Communiste Internationaliste—Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme] in France and the SLL [Socialist Labour League] in Great Britain, which together had formed an "International Committee" to "re-construct" the Fourth International—split in October 1971.

The progress made by the Fourth International could be seen concretely in two large demonstrations during 1970 and 1971. In November 1970, the International called a conference in Brussels, seat of the European Economic Community, at which it counterposed to the Europe of multinational trusts the slogan of a "Red Europe," a socialist Europe which alone can overcome the division between the Western and Eastern parts of the old continent. More than 3,500 enthusiastic people, most of them youth from all the countries of Europe, were present at the Brussels Conference.

The Fourth International issued an appeal for a demonstration to be held in Paris in May 1971 to celebrate the centennial of the Paris Commune by continuing its fight for a world commune, for the world socialist revolution. Over 30,000 people covered the Belleville and Ménilmontant sections and filed past the Mur des Fédérés in the Père Lachaise cemetery, at the very place where the last fighters of the 1871 Commune met their death. An utterly astounded bourgeois press described the demonstration in terms such as "composed mostly of young people," and "vibrant with enthusiasm." The press also had to acknowledge that of all the demonstrations organized for this anniversary (Socialist party, PSU, etc.), this was—except, of course, for the CP's demonstration, in which about 60,000 people participated—by far the biggest.

In relation to the number of years since its founding, the Fourth International has unquestionably made great progress. But we cannot stop here. We must turn our efforts to the ever greater demands made on us by the world situation.

There is still quite a way to go before the aims for which the Fourth International was founded are achieved, namely, to create a mass, international, revolutionary-Marxist leadership and mass revolutionary parties, capable of assuring the victory of the world socialist revolution. For a long time, Trotskyists pursued this aim on the sole basis of historical necessity, of their profound belief in the revolutionary capabilities that the working class has evinced throughout history, and in the correctness of revolutionary Marxism and the analyses it enabled them to make. Their opportunities for mass-scale actions were then minimal. Today, the old leaderships continue to clutter the road, to poison working-class consciousness; but from now on more than theoretical conviction underlies Trotskyist activity.

The new generation of youth living under the contradictions of capitalism are seeking anticapitalist solutions, and their vanguard is beginning to rediscover revolutionary Marxism in thought and action. The path of the Trotskyist movement and the path of this youthful vanguard are beginning to converge.

[To be continued]