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ANTIWAR DEMONSTRATORS march down Constitution Avenue in Washington May 21 in action organized jointly by two ma-

major U.S. antiwar coalitions. Speakers at rally emphasized opposition to any Nixon-Brezhnev deal at expense of Vietnamese.

Antiwar Protest in Streets as Nixon Deals in Moscow

Ask Life Sentences for 'Rioters'

The state will ask for life sentences against seventy Egyptians scheduled to be tried on charges arising from violent incidents that took place in the Shubra el-Khaima suburb of Cairo on the night of April 30.

In reporting the impending trial, the semi-official daily *al-Ahram* added no information to its earlier account of the "riot." The initial story said that two persons were killed and about fifty wounded "during violent incidents among evacuees from the Suez Canal area." Five houses were said to have been burned and several stores damaged.

Al-Ahram's report can be regarded with some suspicion. A heavily working-class district, Shubra el-Khaima is the area where striking textile workers were viciously attacked by police in March.

The same issue of *al-Ahram* that reported the "riot" also reported that students at the Institute of Agricultural Cooperatives (located in the Shubra el-Khaima area) had set fire to the dean's automobile, burned some cases of documents, and broken windows at the institute in response to the government's attempt to break a student strike.

The strike had begun three days before. After students occupied the administrative offices of the institute, classes were suspended for two weeks. Twenty-six students were arrested.

Al-Ahram apparently did not see fit to inform its readers what the strike was about. There has likewise been no explanation of the relationship, if any, between the textile strike, the student strike, and the "riot" among the Suez refugees. All three, however, were marked by "violence" of some kind.

It is possible that Sadat intends to bring worker and student militants to trial on charges of having participated in a nonpolitical riot. There is at least one sign that more is involved than refugees blowing off steam: the defendants will be tried before the supreme state security court. □

How's That for Generosity?

"U. S. Gives Camranh to South Vietnam" — headline in the *New York Times*.

In This Issue

FEATURES		The Fourth International—by Pierre Frank
	621	Chapter 8: The "Long March" of the Trotskyists
EGYPT	594	Ask Life Sentences for "Rioters"
INDOCHINA WAR	595	What Nixon Wants From Brezhnev in Vietnam —by Allen Myers
ANTIWAR	597	Demonstrations in Scotland Hit Escalation
	598	Thousands in Washington March Against War —by David Thorstad
	604	Antiwar Protests Mark Okinawa "Reversion"
MALAGASY REPUBLIC	599	Students, Workers Force President to Step Aside—by Jon Rothschild
	600	Warn of Possible French Intervention
NEW ZEALAND	601	Week of Actions Spurs Fight for Abortion —by Kay Goodger
GREAT BRITAIN	601	Scottish Feminists Launch Campaign for Abortion, Contraception
CANADA	602	Giant Strike Wave in Defense of Jailed Quebec Unionists—by Dick Fidler
IRAQ	605	Communist Party Joins Government
TURKEY	605	Rightist Asked to Form New Government
ITALY	606	No Major Shifts in Assembly Elections
	606	Meaning of the May 7 Elections
CEYLON	608	Dispute in CP Threatens to Split Party
SOVIET UNION	608	Moscow to Insure U.S. Foreign Investments
U. S. A.	609	Wallace Crippled by Murder Attempt
	610	U.S. Trotskyist Candidate in Latin America
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	610	Peasants Demand Ownership of Idle Land
REVIEWS	611	Soviet Oppositionist's Judgment of Stalin —by Dianne Feeley
DOCUMENTS	613	Transcript of the Bukovsky Trial—II
	615	Dutch "International Tendency" Joins Fourth International
	616	ERP Communiques in Sallustro Kidnapping
PHOTOS	593	Antiwar demonstrators in Washington May 21 —by Mark Satinoff
DRAWINGS	595	Leonid Brezhnev; 602, Pierre Trudeau; 609, George Wallace—by Copain

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What Nixon Wants From Brezhnev in Vietnam

By Allen Myers

On May 16, four days before Richard Nixon departed on his trip to Moscow, the Soviet bureaucrats produced their official explanation of why the war criminal is to be wined and dined in the Kremlin while his bombs are falling on Vietnam.

The explanation was made in a television commentary by Viktor Shragin, "who is believed close to Soviet policy-makers," according to Theodore Shabad, who reported the commentary in a May 16 dispatch from Moscow to the *New York Times*.

Shragin said that the Soviet leadership is "steadfastly keeping to its principle of peaceful coexistence despite the stormy course of international events and despite the twists and turns in the world situation."

Without directly mentioning Nixon's blockade of the North Vietnamese workers state, Shragin implied that such "stormy" events are not really an obstacle to "peaceful coexistence." The real culprit is not U. S. imperialism, but those who argue that the Kremlin's treacherous refusal to oppose U. S. aggression only encourages Nixon to escalate the war further.

"There are, of course," Shragin said, "forces in the world that would like to stop the positive trend in international relations. These forces are not beyond urging upon our country a course of action dictated by the situation of the moment. But such attempts can not be successful."

Brezhnev and his cohorts take the "peaceful coexistence" view of history, which makes it easy to overlook such "situations of the moment" as the genocidal air war against North Vietnam and the bombing of Soviet ships in Haiphong harbor.

In the May 21 *New York Times*, Hedrick Smith reported that the bureaucrats were using Lenin's name to justify their betrayal. The May 19 issue of the Communist party paper *Pravda*, he wrote, "quoted Lenin as having approved of 'normalization of relationships with the major capitalist power' and having specifically advocated Soviet-American trade."

It is quite true that Lenin never pretended that the Soviet Union exists in a vacuum—unlike the bureaucrats who subscribe to the theory of "socialism in one country." He consequently recognized the necessity of trade with capitalist states. But—again, unlike the present rulers of the Soviet Union—he never regarded revolutions as a commodity to be bartered away in



BREZHNEV: Following script written by Nixon four years ago.

international commerce. The Kremlin bureaucrats have made it quite clear that that is precisely the sort of "Soviet-American trade" that makes Nixon's trip welcome.

What the Blockade Means

Since the bureaucrats signaled their willingness to roll over and play dead in the face of U. S. imperialism's military provocation, the Nixon administration has been hard put to conceal its joy at this contribution to his reelection campaign and the encouragement it gives to still further escalations

of the war in Indochina.

Defending the blockade before a Senate subcommittee May 15, Secretary of State William Rogers boasted that the administration had been proved right against the sectors of the U. S. ruling class who feared that the Soviet leaders would be forced to respond to the aggression, if only from a sense of self-respect.

"All the predictions that were made about how catastrophic this would be haven't come to pass," Rogers said, adding that the blockade "could well bring about the failure of the North Vietnamese invasion and so advance the course of a negotiated settlement."

"I don't think it was a dangerous tactic," he continued. "I don't think it will lead to a confrontation. . . . It probably is going to be a turning point [in the war]."

Presumably already thinking of the future, Rogers said that in comparison with other "options" the blockade was "the least offensive maneuver that could have been taken."

The Soviet failure to assert the right to supply Hanoi and challenge the blockade necessarily implies the escalation of the air war well beyond its worst under Lyndon Johnson, for the simple reason that the blockade by sea is meaningless without a massive bombing campaign to prevent supplies being brought through China by road and rail.

The scale of the bombing planned by Nixon was indicated in an article by I. F. Stone in the June 1 *New York Review of Books*. Stone published portions of "National Security Study Memorandum Number 1," a secret study of the war conducted for Nixon shortly after he took office. The memorandum consists of a series of questions by Nixon and answers from various government departments.

The relevant question here concerned the amount of supplies that could be brought into North Vietnam "even if all imports by sea were denied and a strong effort even made to interdict ground transport." The answer of the Defense Department noted that John-

son's bombing had been unable to stop such transport:

"Past attempts to cut rail, road, and water networks in NVN [North Vietnam] have met with considerable difficulties. It has been estimated that a minimum of 6,000 attack sorties per month would be required against the two rail lines from China. Even at this level of effort, the North Vietnamese could continue to use the rail lines to shuttle supplies if they were willing to devote sufficient manpower to repair and transshipment operations. Interdiction of the road system would be still more difficult. . . .

"We currently fly approximately 7,000 sorties per month against two primary roads in Laos without preventing throughput truck traffic; the road network from China has 7-10 principal arteries and numerous by-passes."

The State Department offered similar advice:

"The North Vietnamese surprised many observers, and confounded many predictions, by holding the North together and simultaneously sending ever-increasing amounts of supplies and personnel into the South during 3 1/2 years of bombing. It is clear that the bombing campaign, as conducted, did not live up to the expectations of many of its proponents. With this experience in mind, there is little reason to believe that new bombing will accomplish what previous bombings failed to do, *unless it is conducted with much greater intensity and readiness to defy criticism and risk of escalation.*" (Emphasis added.)

Thus, more than three years ago, Richard Nixon's advisers informed him that even 13,000 bombing sorties a month might be insufficient to starve the North Vietnamese into submission.

There are, of course, no moral scruples that restrain Nixon from launching such an assault. The U.S. command in Saigon has announced that 1,800 sorties against North Vietnam were flown in the week ending May 15—and this at a time when the bulk of U.S. air power was being used in the South.

However, there are political considerations that make it difficult for Nixon to continue the air war at the level necessary to accomplish his purposes. One is the worldwide outrage aroused by such genocidal warfare. Another

is the loss of U.S. plane crews and the consequent increased opposition to the war within the United States.

Suppressing the News

The Nixon administration appears already to have begun trying to overcome these obstacles—by escalating its suppression of news about the war.

In the May 15 issue of its weekly newsletter *Monday*, the Republican National Committee attacked United Press International and the NBC television network in language reminiscent of the McCarthy era. UPI, it seems, had committed the sin of distributing a photograph of a North Vietnamese man and two children wounded by U.S. bombs. NBC was guilty of televising portions of a film that showed bodies of North Vietnamese civilians killed in an air raid. Both photograph and film were obtained from the North Vietnamese government.

"Incredible as it may seem," *Monday's* editors stormed, "a top network news executive and a top wire service news executive told Monday that when it comes to deciding if their facilities should be used to disseminate Communist propaganda, the question of whether the national interest of the United States is or is not served is not a consideration."

The newsletter went on to quote questions it said had been put to the two executives. These included such gems as "In showing Communist propaganda film is the question of what gives aid and comfort to the enemy ever discussed, is it a consideration?" and "Do you consider the question of whether or not the Communist film shown grinds the enemy ax a relevant one?"

The attack on NBC in particular takes on added force in view of the fact that Nixon's Justice Department recently announced the intention to sue all three major television networks for allegedly violating antitrust legislation by monopolizing programming.

Three days after *Monday's* tirade, the *New York Times*—the voice of Nixon's most powerful bourgeois critics—came under similar attack from a White House aide who made no secret of the fact that he was speaking for Nixon. Kenneth W. Clawson, Nixon's deputy director of communications, attacked the paper for two

stories. One was a dispatch from Hanoi quoting North Vietnamese officials as saying that U.S. mines were being removed from Haiphong harbor. The second was an article from Washington, which quoted unnamed *American* officials to the effect that the mines were set to deactivate themselves while Nixon was in Moscow.

Making use of logical processes that remain obscure, Clawson charged that in printing both articles the *Times* had been "a conduit of enemy propaganda." What particularly annoyed Clawson's boss was that the "enemy propaganda" had been printed even though the stories were denied by the Nixon administration—whose veracity, of course, is absolutely unquestionable.

The attacks on the news media come at a time when information about the war is already greatly restricted. The U.S. military command in Saigon no longer gives daily totals on the number of bombing raids, and losses of U.S. planes are practically never mentioned.

Nixon's Message for Moscow

For Nixon the ideal situation would be a single reporter in North Vietnam—and that reporter committed to sending his dispatches to the Kremlin. For in the last analysis, the blockade and the massive air raids are directed at Moscow as much as at Hanoi.

I. F. Stone, in the article mentioned above, provides confirmation of this view from the memoirs of Richard J. Whalen, who was one of Nixon's speech writers during the 1968 campaign. According to Whalen, Nixon had planned to give a major speech on the war on March 31, 1968. By

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coincidence, Lyndon Johnson chose that date to announce his abdication, and Nixon canceled his own speech.

During preparation of the speech, Whalen reports, Nixon told his writers: "I've come to the conclusion that there's no way to win the war. . . . We can't send another three hundred thousand men. We can't invade North Vietnam. The only thing left is Haiphong and that involves risks with the Soviet."

But, according to Whalen, Nixon went on to make it clear that the war might still be won *politically* even if it could not be won militarily. This would involve enlisting the aid of the Soviet bureaucrats by means of the carrot-and-stick routine:

"Now, there could be a new era in our relations with the Soviets, a new round of summit meetings and other negotiations. We have to make that plain to them. We have to say, 'Look, if you go on supporting North Vietnam, we will have to act dramatically.' We won't add—'if we have the power,' of course. On the other hand, we have to say, 'If you are willing to give ground and help us out of this morass, it could mean lots of good things. Otherwise, we're going to confrontation.'"

As the speech was finally written, it bore a remarkable resemblance to the public statements of Nixon and his spokesman immediately prior to May 9:

"Today the Soviet Union and the Communist States of Eastern Europe are providing fully 85 percent of the sophisticated weapons for North Vietnam and 100 percent of the oil. It is Soviet SAMS [surface-to-air missiles] and Soviet anti-aircraft guns that are shooting down American planes. It is Soviet artillery that is pounding the Marine fortress of Khe Sanh. Without Soviet military assistance, the North Vietnamese war machine would grind to a halt. . . . Not the small primitive state of North Vietnam but its great Soviet ally and protector inhibits the full exercise of America's military power. Not even the proximity of Red China's massive armies is as powerful a deterrent to US actions as the presence of Soviet freighters in the port of Haiphong."

Since 1968, Nixon has determined through step-by-step escalation of the air war and diplomatic approaches to both Moscow and Peking that neither China's massive armies nor So-

viet freighters are the deterrent they once seemed. This change can only confirm for Nixon the "correctness" of his strategy of the carrot and the club in inducing the Soviet bureaucrats to help him get his way in Indochina. At the same time, the danger is greatly increased of miscalculation touching off an all-out conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union.

"The plan then and the strategy now," Stone wrote, "is to offer the Soviet Union a kind of junior partnership in the Pax Americana in return for US trade concessions. The alternative is an escalated war, threatening the destruction of a Soviet satellite and daring Moscow, if it doesn't like it, to come on out and fight. This, in the thermonuclear age, is a pretty juvenile scenario. If the bluff is called is Nixon seriously prepared to go this far to have his way in a distant Asian Lilliput?"

Stone's article was written prior to Nixon's May 9 announcement of the blockade. Moscow's acquiescence to the blockade and its decision not to cancel Nixon's invitation were the clearest possible signal that the bureaucrats prefer the "junior partnership" to calling Nixon's bluff.

A Warning From Hanoi

With the Maoist regime in China neck-deep in "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism, there are only two obstacles to the consummation of the intended betrayal. One is the international antiwar movement, which is

now more than ever obligated to build the most massive demonstrations possible against the U. S. aggression.

The other is the continuation of the heroic, decades-long resistance of the Vietnamese people. Their determination to fight until victory has already frustrated the plans of three U. S. presidents and forced the Soviet and Chinese bureaucrats to either provide material aid to a revolution for which they have no sympathy, or stand exposed in all their pretensions to leadership of the world working-class movement. The fighting will of the Vietnamese people serves as a powerful deterrent to Brezhnev's fulfilling the role assigned to him by Nixon.

On May 20, the same day that Nixon left for Moscow, the Hanoi daily *Nhan Dan* printed a strong condemnation of Nixon's escalation. The article contained a brief but unmistakable description of Brezhnev's guest: "an extremely bellicose aggressor, an international pirate, a loathsome bloodthirsty man, a dangerous plotter and the successor of Hitler and Churchill in carrying out imperialism." It concluded with some sound advice that, unfortunately, must sound absurd to Kremlin bureaucrats:

"To the acts of escalation, the effective answer is to smash these adventurous steps.

"To the intrigues, the effective answer is to lay bare their objectives.

"To Nixon's threats, the best answer is to show a firm attitude and expose his weak and losing posture.

"A few signs of weakness will encourage the truculence of the pirates."

Demonstrations in Scotland Hit Escalation

Glasgow

Two emergency demonstrations in answer to Nixon's latest moves took place Saturday, May 13 in Glasgow. In the morning 200 joined a march called hurriedly by the Glasgow Indochina Committee. The main chants were "Vietnam for the Vietnamese," "U.S. Out Now," and "End British Support."

Later in the day another march, organized by the British Campaign for Peace in Vietnam, drew about 600 participants, including those who had marched in the morning. At a brief rally, trade-union speakers denounced

U.S. aggression and called for an end to British support for the U.S. war.

Steps are being taken to explore the possibilities of united actions in the future since unity in action is essential if those opposed to the war are to reach out boldly to organize the widespread antiwar sentiment here in Scotland.

In Edinburgh on May 14 a meeting representing several labour and socialist organisations called for a march on the American consulate in the city on Saturday, May 20. □

Thousands in Washington March Against War

By David Thorstad

As President Nixon was on his way to Moscow, 15,000 demonstrators gathered on May 21 in Washington, D. C., to demand the complete and unconditional withdrawal of all U. S. troops and materiel from Southeast Asia. The demonstrators, who marched in a drizzle down Constitution Avenue to a rally on the Capitol West lawn, were brought together under the joint sponsorship of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ). A West Coast demonstration was held in Los Angeles on May 20. The demonstrations were built on one week's notice.

The official demands of the Washington protest included "End the Blockade—Stop the Bombing!", "U. S. Out of Southeast Asia Now!", and "End Support to Thieu—No U. S.-Imposed Regimes in Southeast Asia!"

Nixon's Moscow trip was discussed by a number of speakers at the rally. "As we meet here today, Richard Nixon is en route to Moscow," began NPAC co-coordinator Jerry Gordon. "He goes there as he went to Peking in hopes of achieving what he couldn't win on the battlefield. Nixon wants a continuing U. S. presence in Vietnam, a presence strong enough to thwart the liberation of the Vietnamese people.

"But the Vietnamese continue to resist despite everything. They have made it clear that despite the terrible toll, they will determine their own destiny. They and no one else. They have told the world that the fate of Vietnam will be determined in Vietnam and nowhere else. And as we of the peace movement rally here at this crucial moment in world history, we must rededicate ourselves to continuing, intensified support to the inalienable right of self-determination for the Vietnamese people."

Sidney Peck, national coordinator for PCPJ, noted: "The blockade of Hanoi and the bombing of Hanoi is part of a desperate risk to escalate the conflict into an international crisis, and then attempt to effect a political

settlement in Moscow and Peking favorable to U. S. interests.

"But Nixon will not be able to settle the war in Moscow or Peking. The Vietnamese will not allow any foreign power to dictate the terms of settlement. The American people should not be fooled by Nixon. He cannot end the war in Moscow, just as he was not able to end it in Peking."

Trade-union participation was evident throughout. One of the more dramatic signs of it was the fact that one of the speakers at the rally was Jerry Wurf, international president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), and a member of the executive council of the AFL-CIO.

One of the chairpeople for the rally was Victor Reuther, retired former director of the United Auto Workers' Department of International Affairs.

The growing opposition to the war within the unions was signaled by Jerry Gordon: "Reinforcements are on the way. Increasing numbers of unions are taking a position against the war. Recently trade unionists representing 4,000,000 workers called for a meeting in St. Louis on June 25 to organize a group called Labor for Peace. The trade union movement can and must be involved in the antiwar movement. We look forward to the day when far larger numbers of workers are out in the streets giving the peace movement the power it needs to end the war."

A pervading theme of the demonstration was the fact that the war is far from over, that the Vietnamese are determined to continue their struggle until they are victorious, and that the antiwar movement must continue to reach out and involve the great majority of people who, while opposed to the war, have not yet turned their antiwar sentiment into antiwar action. "Every one of us, after we leave Washington today, go out to military bases, the factories, the communities, the shopping centers, and work to end the war this summer," appealed Fred

Lovgren, national coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee.

Included among the more than two dozen speakers at the rally were also: Victor Gotbaum, executive director, District Council 37, AFSCME; comedian Dick Gregory; Representative Bella Abzug; Julius Hobson, Washington, D. C., civil rights leader; Cleveland Robinson, international vice president, Distributive Workers of North America; Tran Khanh Tuyet, a Vietnamese student; Paul Kuntzler, Gay Activists Alliance; Dr. Barbara Roberts, national coordinator, Women's National Abortion Action Coalition; Bert Corona, California Raza Unida party; Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate; Gus Hall, Communist party presidential candidate; and Sergeant Gordon Youngs, GI Alliance.

The demonstration was marred by a group of several hundred protesters bent on a confrontation with the police. With the police behaving in a generally provocative fashion, the ingredients were present for such a confrontation. Nearly 200 persons were arrested in the melee that occurred not far from the rally.

A "People's Blockade" of the Pentagon was scheduled for May 22. The "blockade," sponsored by PCPJ, was to consist of a rally and civil disobedience for those who wished to engage in such activity.

Plans are already under way for local demonstrations throughout the country on August 6-9, traditional days for commemorating the bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima. In addition, a national convention of the antiwar movement will be sponsored by NPAC in Los Angeles on July 21-23. □

Profitable Escalation

The British government has sold Israel three submarines, according to the London weekly *Peace News*, and now expects to sell antisubmarine sonar devices to Egypt. Presumably the Israeli government has budgeted the funds to buy British-made sonar-jamming equipment.

Students, Workers Force President to Step Aside

By Jon Rothschild

After several weeks of growing protests by students and workers, Malagasy President Philibert Tsiranana turned over formal power to the army May 18. This move was intended to head off a mass mobilization that he had tried to drown in blood only five days earlier.

On May 13 the "security forces" of the Malagasy Republic (Madagascar) opened fire on a student-led demonstration in the capital city of Tananarive. More than thirty marchers were killed; at least 200 were wounded, and more than 400 were arrested. Immediately after the shootings, President Philibert Tsiranana declared a state of emergency and banned all further street demonstrations.

But the Malagasy students, who had begun to draw other sectors of the population into struggle, refused to back down. Despite the state of emergency, mass actions continued for the next five days. By May 15, the entire working class of Tananarive was on strike. Strike committees were organized; a wide range of demands were formulated; the military, police, and security forces were driven off the streets by the sheer size of the mobilizations, which sometimes included more than one-sixth the city's inhabitants. Black Africa had begun its first May 1968.

Tsiranana, who generally writes off internal discontent as the work of foreign agents, blamed the whole thing on "communists" of undisclosed origin. But in reality, the latest wave of student activism, and the popular upheaval it sparked, grew out of deep social problems that have become increasingly generalized throughout Black Africa in recent years.

Malagasy, the world's fourth largest island, was officially annexed by France in 1896. Previously, its strategic location had made it the target of Portuguese, Dutch, and British colonialism. Technological developments of the modern era have in no way reduced the island's strategic importance. In the May 17 *New York Times*, C. L. Sulzberger noted: "Madagascar

dominates the Mozambique channel off Africa's east coast and the route of those enormous supertankers which have been carrying Europe's oil around the Cape of Good Hope ever since the Suez Canal was closed five years ago. Moreover, it is a strategic key to southern Africa and the western and southern Indian Ocean."

During the early days of the twentieth century, French colonial rule in Malagasy was challenged only by relatively small nationalist movements. But the post-second-world-war rise of the colonial revolution had its impact on the country. In 1947, the French armed forces put down a mass popular revolt. Official French history claims that 11,000 persons were killed in the suppression of the rebellion, but less biased sources put the figure at about 80,000.

The country finally won formal independence in 1960. But French domination—in the form of "cooperative accords" signed at the time—continued. Under the terms of these agreements, France today maintains 4,200 troops on Malagasy territory—including a Foreign Legion regiment, a paratrooper regiment, and tactical air support. Recently, a small naval force was added. In addition, there are some two thousand French "technical advisers" on the island.

Supposedly, the French forces protect Malagasy from the threat of foreign invasion, although from where nobody knows. In reality, the Foreign Legion and the paratroopers stand as a reserve force should the Malagasy people attain a level of militancy that outstrips the repressive capacities of the 4,000-strong indigenous army. In 1971, for example, French air transport played a crucial role in suppressing a peasant rebellion in the southern provinces.

The continued presence of the former colonial power has done the population little good. The economy remains tied to the capitalist market and is at the mercy of fluctuating prices of tropical agricultural commodities. The result has been a con-

stantly rising cost of living and growing unemployment. The regime has sought to gain some economic advantages by cultivating close relations with the apartheid government in South Africa, a move toward which the population is nearly universally hostile.

But the issue that triggered the student actions of May is the government's insistence on Gallicizing the country. The development of African nationalism has led students to react against this. A diploma from a French university, regarded in the past as a valuable possession, is today increasingly looked upon as a badge of submission.

The attainment of formal independence has stimulated a desire on the part of the masses to study their own history and culture, revive their own language, and dismantle the old-style colonial university system, whose major achievement has been the education of UN bureaucrats who often leave the country seeking more lucrative pastures.

This "cultural nationalism" has tended to merge with the broader issues of economic and social domination of the country by imperialism, and had linked itself to the militancy of the trade-union and peasant movements.

Not surprisingly, the regime views the question of Malagasy history and culture somewhat differently than does the population. The ruling Parti Sociale Démocrate (PSD—Social Democratic party) was created with the assistance of members of the Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière (French Section of the Workers' [Second] International). Laurent Botokeky, the minister of cultural affairs who was forced to resign May 15 by the student demonstrations, once declared:

"We have resolutely opted for French culture, and I can assure you of our youth's great attachment to this culture."

But Botokeky forgot to assure his youth. According to the Paris daily

Le Monde, two of the most popular slogans during the May 13 demonstration were "Cooperative accords: Slavery accords!" and "French language: Language of slavery!"

The events leading to the May 13-19 explosion began in January, when the Befelatanana school of medicine was paralyzed by a student strike. The regime closed the school in March, but when it reopened in April, the students walked out again. On April 19 the government dissolved the association of medical students.

On April 24, university and high-school students in Tananarive went on strike to support the medical students. The students remained on strike April 24-30, and during the first week of May some street demonstrations were organized.

On May 12, the government declared all high schools and universities closed and arrested the members of the student strike committee. The May 13 action was organized to demand the release of the arrested leaders.

Two central features distinguished the student upsurge from past mobilizations. The supposedly leftist, legal opposition party AKFM (Antoko Kongresin'ny Fahaleovantenan'i Madagasikara—party of the Congress of Madagascar Independence) was completely bypassed. An AKFM statement issued April 27 warned the students against "political forces that don't dare reveal their names but push the youth into actions against their own interests." This "warning" from the traditional oppositional safety valve was ignored.

Still more important, the student actions began to draw support from the trade unions. On the morning of May 13, the 30,000-member Firaisan'ny Sendika eran'i Madagaskara [FISEMA—Madagascar Labor Union Federation] passed a motion supporting the student demands.

The students' refusal to stop demonstrating soon forced the government to make certain concessions. On May 15, twelve of the students arrested two days previously were provisionally released. Several thousand persons assembled at the Place de l'Hôtel-de-Ville to greet them.

Funeral hymns for the May 13 dead were sung, and the meeting soon turned into another antigovernment demonstration. Workers from both the public and private sectors stopped work in response to an appeal from

Warn of Possible French Intervention

French revolutionists must be ready to act against intervention in the Malagasy Republic by the French government, the Ligue Communiste (French section of the Fourth International) warned in a statement reported in the May 18 issue of *Le Monde*.

The Paris daily quoted the Ligue as saying that "French interests in the Indian Ocean are too important for the danger of intervention not to exist. . . . Confronted with the mass movement developing on the island, the French government could send its troops to intervene within a few hours. French revolutionary militants must prepare to act against such a possibility."

the unions; many joined the rally. Virtually all shops were closed, and the radio employees occupied the station to declare their support for the students.

The crowd swelled to about 50,000 and marched to the presidential palace. Three central demands were advanced: abrogation of the "cooperative accords"; Malagasization of the educational system; and the dissolution of the Republican Security Forces (RSF), which were responsible for the May 13 shootings.

The government surrounded the RSF barracks with tanks, but made no attempt to break up the rally.

Tsiranana agreed to meet with a delegation of students, announced the resignation of Cultural Affairs Minister Botokeky, and promised to concede to the demand for Malagasization. But most importantly, he agreed to release the students who had been arrested on May 13.

Far from pacifying the movement, their release gave it a second wind. From dawn until 8:00 p.m., when the freed students arrived in the capital, crowds patiently awaited their arrival. The calm and organization of the students surprised many observers in Tananarive. When the freed prisoners finally arrived, a silent, solemn march through the capital was held. The new cultural affairs minister showed up at the march, but the students refused to discuss any demands with him unless he called a national educational

conference to which the students would elect delegates. The police stayed quietly in the background.

On the morning of May 17, as the May 13 dead were buried, the struggle took a new step forward. Throughout the morning and into the afternoon, massive crowds—now, in their majority, workers—paraded through the capital. The general strike continued, and the workers began raising economic and social demands: a rise in the minimum wage, the firing of the minister of labor, a general reorganization of the government.

As the crowds marched down Independence Avenue, long discussions were being held in the Glacier Hotel, where delegates to a new nationwide strike committee were being elected. Malagasy unions presently have no national leadership organ, so the workers were in the process of building their own.

At the same time, students were planning a national conference on the educational system. The "forces of order" were nowhere to be seen. General Gilles Andriamahazo, who had been appointed military governor of Tananarive the day before, stood quietly, alone, observing the demonstrations.

According to *Le Monde*, there were unconfirmed reports that disturbances had also broken out in other towns.

On May 18, the Tsiranana government fell. The president, while he did not personally resign, turned over all powers to General Gabriel Ramanantsoa, army chief of staff, instructing him to "lead the country and form a new government."

Ramanantsoa, according to a May 18 Associated Press dispatch from Tananarive, "was wildly acclaimed by the crowd that has been almost constantly in the streets since Saturday [May 13]." The new head of state said the leadership change had been necessitated by "the critical situation in the country," and told the demonstrators: "First of all, I will be concerned with economic and social matters, and above all the poorest people. In our army, tradition is that we take care of the private first and then the officers. We'll take care of the masses first, the poorest above all."

The rhetoric no doubt accounts for the "wild acclaim." But just after Ramanantsoa's speech, strike leaders mounted the platform and presented him with a list of demands: that Tsiranana formally resign his post, that

a new cabinet be formed, that democracy be extended, and that Malagasy culture be given predominance over French culture.

It is too early to tell exactly what will be the effect of the mass mobilization on the government's policy in coming weeks. But no group of "progressive" officers appointed by Tsiranana will be able to deal with the central social questions that have been raised. "France ceded independence to Madagascar under the pressure of the freedom struggle of all Africa," one

striking student told the French daily *Le Monde*. "Madagascar did not fight for full independence, and France was able to impose conditions that are translated today in the cooperative accords. Today, we are demanding a new independence."

The struggle for this "new independence" is in the wind in all the former French colonies in Black Africa. The Malagasy workers and students have shown that the new struggle may well be waged by the use of one last French import: May-June 1968. □

brought forth an expected response: "The government has no plans for changing the law on abortion."

The government is obviously eager to keep the abortion issue quiet in this election year. The right-wing leadership of the opposition Labour party is similarly unwilling to rock this particular boat.

Unfortunately for Labour party leader Norman Kirk and his friends, abortion did become the subject of debate at the annual conference of the party, which took place the week following the abortion actions. The Labour Youth Conference, which immediately preceded the main gathering, had voted overwhelmingly in favour of repealing the abortion laws. Such was the bureaucrats' fear of a repetition of this vote by the full conference that Kirk himself took the floor and spoke at length against abortion. Despite the efforts of several pro-abortion delegates, Kirk's "right to life" deliverance won out and the conference rejected even a weak proposal to give "favourable consideration" to the liberalisation of the laws.

The pressure will be kept up in the coming months, as the elections approach. The enthusiasm shown in Abortion Action Week is a sign that the abortion campaign will grow rapidly as many more women demonstrate to demand their right to choose. □

New Zealand

Week of Actions Spurs Fight for Abortion

By Kay Goodger

Wellington

Abortion Action Week had a nationwide impact in New Zealand, with six cities taking part. In Wellington and Christchurch, a total of more than 500 persons marched May 5, the large majority of them women. On the marches and at pickets and other activities, the demand was raised for the repeal of all anti-abortion laws and for free, easily available contraception and sterilisation.

The demonstrations were probably the first such actions around a feminist issue in New Zealand since women fought for the vote in the late nineteenth century. Certainly onlookers found it novel to see so many women, of all ages, chanting "a woman's right to choose" as they marched through the crowded city streets.

Public reaction, particularly that of women, was generally favourable. An information booth set up in Christchurch encountered many women who wanted to petition for the repeal of restrictive abortion laws. However, in Wellington, supporters of the "Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child" tried to sabotage the pro-abortion demonstration. About fifty "fetus freaks," mostly men, followed the main march and later, at a public meeting, caused a commotion by trying to shout down the speakers.

Many high-school women took part in the actions and a high-school speaker at the Wellington rally was

very well received.

Abortion Action Week was organised by women's liberationists and members of the Abortion Law Reform Association, in some centres through joint action committees. The May Abortion Action Committee in Wellington acted as a national coordinating body, distributing publicity throughout the country. This committee also organised a deputation to Minister of Justice Sir Roy Jack, which

Scottish Feminists Launch Campaign for Abortion, Contraception

Glasgow

A national conference of Scottish women's liberation groups was held here April 22-23. Eighty women (considerably more than expected) from eight groups in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Aberdeen, and St. Andrews attended.

The conference decided to launch a national campaign for free contraception and abortion on demand, with actions organised particularly around the Abortion Action Week called by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition in the United States and supported by the Women's National Abortion and Contraception Campaign in England.

Two of the groups had already planned activities on this issue, particularly the Women in Action group of Glasgow.

The conference also agreed to campaign for equal pay when specific issues arose.

Each group gave a short report on its aims and activities. Papers on equal pay, women's magazines, the myth of motherhood, and women and revolution were presented and discussed. Because of the coincidence of the conference and the international day of protest against the Indochina war, conference participants who wished to march were excused to permit them to attend the demonstration in Glasgow.

The first activities set for the abortion and contraception campaign were poster parades in Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Dundee May 6. Tentative plans were made for further activities in the near future. □

Giant Strike Wave in Defense of Jailed Unionists

By Dick Fidler

[The following article is from *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist biweekly published in Toronto. We have abridged it slightly for reasons of space.]

* * *

MONTREAL, MAY 15—The massive strike wave, now almost a week old, continues across Québec in the wake of the jailing of the three presidents of the major labor bodies.

More than 100,000 workers at last count—in private and public sectors, industrial, professional, white-collar, and service workers—have spontaneously walked off the job. Their immediate demands are: the freeing of the jailed union leadership; repeal of Bill 19, which broke the strike of the 210,000 public service workers; and a general amnesty for all unionists fined or jailed for ignoring injunctions that violated their right to strike.

Sparked by a general revulsion against the Bourassa government's assault on the labor movement, the upsurge has tended to merge with other issues—to become a general revolt by the Québécois against their national oppression.

The strike began Tuesday, May 9. In Québec City, the three leaders of the Front Commun [Common Front]—Marcel Pepin of the CSN [Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux—Confederation of National Trade Unions], Yvon Charbonneau of the CEQ [Corporation des Enseignants du Québec—Québec Teachers Corporation], and Louis Laberge of the FTQ [Fédération des Travailleurs du Québec—Québec Federation of Labor]—led several thousand demonstrators in a march to the gates of the Orsainville prison. There, following speeches to the crowd, they surrendered to the authorities to serve the sentences of one year that had been imposed on them the day before for urging their members to ignore injunctions served during the public workers' strike.

Reflecting the sentiment of the crowd,

the president of the jail guards' union urged his members not to accept the three labor leaders into the prisons. "It is the deputies [of the National Assembly] who should be in their place," he said—those who are responsible for the back-to-work Bill 19.

With the jailing of the labor lead-



TRUDEAU: Reluctant to "resolve" crisis in same manner as in 1970.

ers, commented the trade-union weekly *Québec-Press*, "it was as if with one blow the 600,000 Québec union members they represent had been jailed." For Québec workers, it catalyzed their frustration and resentment at low wages, hopeless working conditions, and national oppression.

"No precise watchword was given, but the spontaneous strike movements, the occupations and demonstrations

began to spread throughout most of Québec. . . ."

It began that day, May 9, with the walkout of 3,500 longshoremen in ports along the St. Lawrence. Then it spread to thousands of teachers across the province, joined by support staff. Then the hospital workers and the nurses in several big hospitals. At Montréal's Notre-Dame hospital, 2,000 members of the CSN, meeting in the cafeteria, were ejected by the police riot squad.

A month earlier, the general strike of public and parapublic workers had not directly touched the private sector. This time, the private-sector workers, many of them in heavy industry and "international" unions, played a leading role. As the wildcat walkouts gained momentum, construction workers, auto workers, steelworkers, shipyard workers, and miners walked off the job.

By Friday, May 12, a dozen cities and towns were totally strikebound. Roving squads of strikers patrolled the streets and visited neighboring towns to spread the strike.

In Montréal, the blue-collar workers hit the bricks May 12. For them, it was also a protest against the smashing of their own strike three months earlier by a court injunction that had expired only hours earlier.

"By Authority of the Workers"

The movement quickly took on the character of a general challenge to the *status quo*. When a group of strikers from Saint-Jérôme, about forty miles north of Montréal, set up a picket line at the big General Motors plant at nearby Ste-Thérèse, the auto workers went on a wildcat strike. A manager trying to enter the plant was stopped by a picket: "No one goes in; there's no work today."

"By whose authority?" the manager asked.

"By the authority of the workers of Québec," he was told.

Another boss started complaining to a picket, who turned, smiling,

toward his fellow strikers: "It's all right. He doesn't speak French—but he's learning."

A high point of the strike wave so far is on the North Coast of the St. Lawrence, especially Sept-Iles, where for the first time in Québec history, "the unions completely control the city. We can close or open the bars, the stores, the shops, and the schools as we wish," in the words of Clément Godbout, a steelworkers' representative.

"The takeover in Sept-Iles began on Tuesday night," writes Louis Paquette in the revolutionary-socialist paper *Libération*. "Thousands of workers demonstrated at the courthouse against the imprisonment of the three labor leaders. The cops charged the crowd, wounding several and arresting others. The next morning the workers responded: a general strike paralyzed the city of 22,000 inhabitants. The forty-five-man police force was overwhelmed and unable to do anything. The strikers quickly erected barricades on the highway into town and blocked the airport runways; the telephone lines were cut. . . . The radio station was occupied and operated under the control of the unions."

Similar developments occurred in other areas of the province. Thousands of workers roamed through the streets. Occupied radio stations—and in at least one instance a television station—broadcast revolutionary songs and news releases from local unions.

In Montréal, the workers at *La Presse*, the biggest daily newspaper, voted to strike for twenty-four hours in solidarity. They sent out flying squads to persuade the five other dailies not to publish on May 12. Even the English newspapers had to close—for the 103-year-old *Montreal Star*, for the first time in its history.

While most workers have joined the protest by walking out, at the Albert-Prévost Institute, a hospital in Montréal, the 300 unionized workers expelled the management on the night of May 12 and have begun to operate the institution under workers' self-management. Following a tour of the hospital, Fernand Daoust, FTQ secretary-treasurer, hailed the workers' initiative, saying it was a "forerunner of the union attitudes to come."

A new labor unity has been forged in common struggle. For the strike to continue and expand for much long-

er, however, this local unity will have to be extended to the national plane, through the creation of a central strike leadership. The three big trade-union centers have considerable technical resources at their disposal, yet the strike on a national level is virtually leaderless.

A representative of the Front Commun states: "We're no longer announcing anything; we're just encouraging actions that hit here one day, there another, just like what happens in a real guerrilla struggle."

It has been left to the strikers at various levels—individual unions, regional committees, etc.—to develop their own strategies.

In a statement distributed through thousands of leaflets to mass meetings of strikers, the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière projects the formation of action committees "in each factory and workplace, and at the city-wide level."

Composed of representatives from the unions, democratically elected by the ranks, the statement explains, "such committees would be able to unify actions in each region and spread them to other workplaces. The committee would elaborate an overall strategy incorporating militant actions like strikes, occupations, takeovers of news media, work slowdowns, mass meetings and demonstrations.

"Each trade-union action committee should consider the launching of a strike newspaper, an indispensable tool to provide the whole nation with the workers' point of view and expose the campaign of lies being waged by the daily newspapers of the bosses. The union action committee would also develop means of mobilizing all oppressed layers of Québec society—non-unionized workers and students—against the government.

"Once formed, the union action committees can unite across Québec, electing delegates to a national action committee that is able, with an overall structure, clear and coherent demands, and through organizing major actions with national impact, to confront the Bourassa government."

"A Third Political Force"

The Québec workers' strike upsurge is being closely watched across Canada. The capitalist press oscillates between trying to dismiss it as little more than a conspiracy by a small minority who are alleged to be manipulat-

ing the union members, and statements expressing deep unease at the implications of this mass movement. Typical is the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, which managed to combine both interpretations in one editorial May 13:

"The only thing clear now is that a violently inclined minority in the trade union movement, roused by militant leaders, is prepared to defy the government and the law to the utmost and rip the fabric of orderly society in total disregard to the interests of the people. . . . We must assume that what has been happening these past few days in Quebec is not representative of public feeling generally, for if it were, a major part of Canada would be on the verge of revolution."

And further on:

"While the past statements of the common front leaders about their objectives have been alarming enough, the most disturbing feature of the present situation is the evidence it presents of how far their ideas and ideology have permeated the lower leadership and general membership of the unions in Quebec. The strikes and violence have been widespread and the numbers participating considerable. We are witnessing a new surge of a third political force in Quebec, one outside the normal political structure of government and opposition; one in fact dedicated to their destruction. The potential is extremely dangerous, and it will have to be contained and disarmed by legitimate authority."

Trudeau has so far feigned an attitude of comparative unconcern, apparently in the belief that at this stage the worst blow to Bourassa would be to encourage the belief that Ottawa is about to step in and "resolve" the crisis—as it did with the army and the War Measures Act in October 1970—over the heads of the Québec government.

English Canada

As for the English-Canadian labor movement: Delegates to the Canadian Labor Congress (CLC) convention in Ottawa today voted unanimously for a resolution demanding amnesty for all Québec unionists imprisoned following the public workers' strike, and supporting the aims of the Front Commun of public workers' unions.

CLC President Donald MacDonald

had earlier issued a statement calling on Canadian workers to "rally to the support" of Québec workers, but expressed unease at the direction the popular uprising was taking. "General strikes are a revolution, not a strike," MacDonald told a steelworkers' policy conference in Ottawa last week. He went on to warn of "demagogues" who would seek to benefit from the Québec unrest.

So far, the CLC leadership has failed to project any actions in English Canada to concretize the intent of the convention resolution.

In the face of Québec labor's unprecedented show of strength, the Bourassa Liberal government has been unable to intervene. Having attempted to crush the workers with the "bludgeon-law" Bill 19, it now presents an image of great weakness—imploping the jailed labor leaders to appeal their sentences so that the government may release them! Bourassa has refused all calls for amnesty and has shown no inclination to appeal the sentences through his own Justice Department.

Role of the Parti Québécois

As throughout the civil-service strike, a major obstacle facing the labor movement has been the lack of political support from any party. The independentist Parti Québécois (PQ) has denounced the strikers, urging them to return to work. PQ leader René Lévesque, in a special statement, accused the unions of "leading us to the brink of anarchy."

He and other PQ leaders have refused to support the calls for amnesty and repeal of Bill 19, urging the labor leaders to "take advantage of their right of appeal and to exhaust all judicial recourses at their disposal."

The PQ's antilabor position has provoked some sharp criticisms of the party leadership. Speaking to several thousand workers and their families who rallied at a "picnic" outside the walls of Orsainville jail May 13, CSN Montréal council President Michel Chartrand attacked Lévesque as a "traitor" who "wants an institutionalized labor movement, integrated into the capitalist system."

The Power of Labor

The upsurge has revealed anew the tremendous power of the Québec working class, its explosive capacity to

shake the whole nation in a direct challenge to the government, judiciary, and all established institutions.

Only a week ago, in the wake of the defeat of the public workers' strike by Bill 19, it seemed to many that the labor movement was in headlong retreat. Attempts by the leadership to inspire another general strike, this time in the private sector and of limited duration, had met with considerable resistance. On May 3, the 30,000-member provincial civil servants union of the CSN had bolted the ranks of the Front Commun and returned to the negotiations table under the pressure of Bill 19.

CEQ leader Charbonneau, address-

ing a mass meeting of Montréal teachers the day before he was sentenced, was booed when he defended the general strike action of the Front Commun.

It took only a spark, however, to relaunch the strike movement, this time in new sectors and on a much more generalized, more political plane.

Whatever the outcome of this immediate upsurge, it is certain that the lessons of this historic experience will dominate the debates of the CSN and CEQ conventions, which are scheduled in the next two months. The recent polarization of Québec society gives new content to the radical anticapitalist manifestoes that are being presented to the delegates for adoption. □

Antiwar Protests Mark Okinawa 'Reversion'

The Ryukyu Islands, under U.S. control since they were captured during the final days of World War II, reverted to Japanese rule on May 15. A half-day holiday was proclaimed to mark the occasion, and official ceremonies were staged throughout the country.

The terms of the reversion of the Ryukyus, which include Okinawa, not only do not give Japan complete sovereignty over the area, but will actually involve Japan more directly in U.S. imperialist schemes in Asia. Under the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty signed last year, the United States will continue to maintain large military facilities and 43,000 troops in Okinawa.

The most immediate effect this will have is to implicate Japan in the Indochina war. This was dramatically confirmed on May 20 when protests were touched off on Okinawa by the landing on the island of three giant B-52 bombers on their way back to Guam from a bombing mission in Vietnam. Despite this obvious use of Okinawa for the United States war effort, Foreign Minister Takeo Fukuda told a news conference, according to the Associated Press, that the Japanese government "would not allow Okinawa to be used for United States combat operations in Vietnam."

The continued large-scale U.S. military presence is widely opposed in Japan. There was visible opposition

to the terms of the reversion both in the Ryukyus and on "mainland" Japan on May 15. "This dissatisfaction stirred some groups in Tokyo to demonstrate in spite of the wet weather," reported *New York Times* correspondent Tillman Durdin. "There were marches by youth and labor groups, and four men threw fire bombs into the gate of a Japanese armed forces base on the outskirts of Tokyo."

On Okinawa, according to a report from Naha in the May 16 *New York Times*, "official ceremonies attracted several hundred invited guests and several thousand protesting demonstrators."

... for all the burning crusade over the last few years for reversion of Okinawa to Japanese rule, there was little noticeable festivity among the Okinawans themselves," observed the *Times* on May 21. One reason was that the dollar-to-yen currency conversion that began with the transfer of administrative control set off a sudden spurt of inflation that has sent prices on almost every service and commodity skyrocketing. The mark-ups by profit-hungry merchants came on top of the 17-percent cut into the value of Okinawans' currency holdings and savings that is the practical effect of last year's revaluation of the yen. The vast majority of Okinawa's workers will not receive pay increases to offset the reduction in the valuation of the dollar. □

Iraqi Communist Party Joins Government

For the first time since the overthrow of the Abdul Karim el-Qassim government in 1963, the Iraqi Communist party-Central Committee (ICP) has been given posts in the cabinet. In a reshuffling of the government announced May 14 by President Ahmed Hassan el-Bakr, Amr Abdullah, deputy secretary-general of the ICP, was appointed minister of state without portfolio, and ICP Political Bureau member Makram Talabani was named minister of irrigation.

More significant than the minor nature of the posts was the new political alliance between the ICP and the ruling Baath party. This development stems from two separate but related factors: the signing of the USSR-Iraq friendship and cooperation treaty April 9 and the desire of the Baathist leaders to strengthen their rule by creating a "national front" that would include the ICP and the Kurdish Democratic party, which already holds five ministerial posts.

Negotiations between Baathist and ICP leaders began during 1971—with the obvious blessing of the Kremlin bureaucrats. There were, however, some difficulties. Talabani, for example, complained: "We could not forget that since 1963, some eight hundred Communists had been thrown into prison." He asked that "all discrimination and persecution against us be ended for us to consider participation in a national front."

The ICP leadership now claims that all arrested party members have been released and persecution has ceased. This may in fact be true—although it must be said that in formulating policy toward "progressive" regimes, other Stalinist parties in the Arab East have often disregarded tertiary irritations like the mass arrest of their memberships.

But if anti-ICP persecution has (at least temporarily) ceased, other parties have not been so lucky. In 1969 the ICP split, much of its rank and file supporting the "Central Command" faction as opposed to the Moscow-sanctioned "Central Committee" faction. The Central Command, which politically supports the declarations of the 1967 OLAS conference, has

consistently opposed the rightist policies of the Baath rulers in Iraq. It has consequently suffered hundreds of arrests, assassinations, and tortures.

The ICP has made no attempt to come to the defense of such victimized tendencies in the Iraqi working-class movement. Instead, it has followed Moscow's diplomatic line of trying to bolster the power of the Nasserite and Baathist regimes in the Arab East.

In return, the ICP bureaucrats ex-

Turkey

Rightist Asked to Form New Government

More than one month after the April 17 resignation of Premier Nihat Erim, Turkish President Cevdet Sunay has yet to form a new government.

The new premier, Suat Hayri Urgulu, had been instructed to come up with a new cabinet, but on May 13 Sunay rejected his nominees. Two days later, the president handed the unhappy assignment to Ferit Melen, president of the ruling interim council.

Melen accepted the job, saying he would form a government "above parties," because "the conditions that led to the March 12, 1971 memorandum still exist."

The March 12 memorandum was an ultimatum issued by the military that brought down the regime of former Premier Suleyman Demirel.

The Paris daily *Le Monde* noted on May 17 that Sunay's appointment of Melen represented a further shift to the right in government policy. Melen, a notorious rightist, served as minister of defense in two successive Erim cabinets. In that post he developed a reputation for not interfering in "military affairs," which would seem to be a dubious achievement for a defense minister.

But when the order of the day is forming a regime completely subservient to the officer corps without suffering the embarrassment of directly asking the generals to draw up the

list themselves, someone like Melen is the perfect choice.

According to the May 18 *Le Monde*, the ICP has proposed amending the constitution, turning over some executive powers now held by the solidly Baathist "Revolutionary Council" to various ministries. The party has also requested permission to begin publishing a daily newspaper.

The ICP pundits were reportedly advised by the Baathists to be satisfied for the moment with the two ministerial positions.

That advice would seem to be well taken. After all, despite the "progressive" nature of the Iraqi Baathists, uppity irrigation ministers can always turn up lying in the ditches instead of supervising them. □

list themselves, someone like Melen is the perfect choice.

In agreeing to present Sunay a proposed cabinet, Melen made no attempt to hide his objective. The new regime's first priority, he said, would be putting an end to anarchy, by which he means resistance to only partially concealed military rule.

The inability of the Turkish government to effect that goal is presently causing concern in circles higher than generals' drawing rooms in Ankara. The *New York Times* observed in a May 20 editorial that Turkey was "mired in one of its worst crises since the founding of the Republic. . . ."

"At a time of deep Soviet naval penetration of the Mediterranean, with Greece under sodden military dictatorship and Italy struggling to regain political stability, Turkey's difficulties are a cause for major concern throughout the NATO Alliance." □

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No Major Shifts in Assembly Elections

Rome

In the May 7 elections in Italy, the vote for the Chamber of Deputies was more significant politically than the Senate vote because youth between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-five participated. They could not vote in the senatorial elections.

The following parties appeared on the ballot: the DC [Democrazia Christiana — Christian Democrats], the PCI [Partito Comunista Italiano — Italian Communist party], the PSI [Partito Socialista Italiano — Italian Socialist party], the PSDI [Partito Socialista Democratico Italiano — Italian Democratic Socialist party], the PRI [Partito Repubblicano Italiano — Italian Republican party, right center], the PLI [Partito Liberale Italiano — Italian Liberal party, free enterprise rightist], the PSIUP [Partito Socialista Italiano di Unità Proletaria — Italian Socialist party of Proletarian Unity, left Social Democrats], and the DN [Destra Nazionale — National Right]. The latter party was a coalition of the MSI [Movimento Sociale Italiano — Italian Social Movement, the neofascists] and the Monarchists.

There were also a number of smaller parties on the ballot such as: *Manifesto* [an independent Maoist group identified by the name of its newspaper], the PCI(ml) [Partito Comunista Italiano, marxista-leninista — the Italian Communist party (Marxist-Leninist), a Maoist group], and the MPL [Movimento Politico dei Lavoratori — Political Movement of the Workers, a left Catholic group].

The major parties won the following percentages as compared with the previous vote in 1968:

	1972	1968
DC	38.8	39.1
PCI	27.2	26.9
PSI	9.6*	
PSDI	5.1	
PRI	2.9	2.0
PLI	3.9	5.8
PSIUP	1.9	4.5
DN	8.7	6.1

* The PSI and PSDI had a combined total of 14.5% in 1968.

The *Manifesto* list got 223,000 votes or .7% of the total. The PCI(ml) got 85,000 votes, or .2%. The MPL won 119,000 votes, representing .4%.

The *Manifesto* list was supported by the GCR [Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari — Revolutionary Communist groups, the Italian section of the Fourth International]. An abstentionist position was taken by Lotta Continua [the Struggle Continues], Potere Operaio [Workers Power], and Avanguardia Operaia [Workers' Vanguard]. Other smaller groups voted

Meaning of the May 7 Elections

[The following article is scheduled to appear in the May 20 issue of *Bandiera Rossa*, the organ of the Italian section of the Fourth International. The translation by is *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

From the standpoint of the workers' movement, the May 7 elections had two decisively negative results. First, the Christian Democrats, who have made a clear shift to the right, essentially maintained their positions and are thus more susceptible than ever to right-wing pressures. Secondly, the MSI [Movimento Sociale Italiano — Italian Social Movement, the neofascists] had a notable success in consolidating its base and will be better able to serve as an instrument of pressure in the parliamentary and governmental spheres, as well as to promote acts of intimidation in the classic fascist style. If we underestimated these developments, our analysis would be distorted, with all the political and tactical errors this would involve.

In parliamentary terms, the class enemy can take comfort in the fact that although its credibility has been deeply eroded and it is bankrupt in practice, the center-left has retained a majority. At the same time, the possibility still exists for a center government, although with less room to ma-

for the PCI, even though they have sometimes considered it a "bourgeois party."

As a result of the electoral law, which does not provide for full proportional representation, not only *Manifesto*, the Maoists, and the MPL, but also the PSIUP with 648,000 votes, got no seats in the Chamber. (PSIUP got seats in the Senate because it put up a joint list with the PCI). It is worth noting that among the youngest voters, the twenty-one to twenty-five age group, the PCI gained influence while the fascists failed to make any inroads.

It should be noted that the center-left coalition has traditionally included the DC, the PSI, the PSDI, and the PRI. The center coalition that ruled in De Gasperi's time included all of these parties minus the PSI. □

neuver. The climate for a center coalition, of course, is more favorable now in several respects than it was in the previous legislature. As has already been disclosed, this result was facilitated by an electoral law which placed serious restrictions on proportional representation and in practice deprived more than a million left-wing voters of a voice in parliament.

In making a general assessment of the election results, however, we cannot overlook the factors that have different if not directly opposite implications. In the first place, we must not forget for an instant that while electoral laws can give a distorted impression of political relationships, they cannot eliminate forces existing in reality from the political struggle. This goes for the million "second-class citizens" already mentioned. But it goes even more for the youth between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one who did not vote but who will continue to exercise a weight in social struggles just as they have often decisively done in the last four years. Nor should the fact be underestimated that certain strata of workers who continue to support the bourgeois parties in the electoral field support antimanagerial positions in factory and union conflicts, fighting alongside the politically more mature workers.

But even if we just look at the election results themselves, the working-

class bloc as a whole remained essentially intact. Moreover, the PCI [Partito Comunista Italiano—Italian Communist party], which in the eyes of the broad masses still seemed the strongest weapon for defending their interests, even scored a modest gain. This, in fact, shows the basic limitation of the success achieved by the conservative forces. The elections definitively confirmed the failure of the decade-old operation of the center-left, one of whose main objectives was to erode the base of the Communist party.

It seems, moreover, that the most responsible leading groups of the bourgeoisie, whose favorite political vehicle is the Christian Democratic party, were aiming to push the PCI back, block the advance of the MSI, and strengthen the center. It seems clear that they have few reasons for rejoicing, especially since it was the potential allies of the Christian Democrats, the Liberal party, that suffered the greatest losses, while the PSI [Partito Socialista Italiano—Italian Socialist party] stood the test better. The fact is that the political equilibrium remains uncertain and precarious just as it was before the elections and restabilization is not in sight. (It was not unimportant that the two biggest organs of the industrial bourgeoisie, *Corriere della Sera* and *La Stampa*, entitled their editorials on May 10 "Time is Running Out" and "The Last Adjournment".) For the time being the bourgeoisie's crisis of leadership has in no way been resolved.

This means that the period ahead of us will remain one of acute social and political conflicts. The bargaining that takes place when the contracts of the major categories of workers come up for renewal can and must be the occasion of important struggles.

The poor results achieved by the *Manifesto* list are undoubtedly the most negative aspect of the elections from the standpoint of the revolutionary left. It is logical that this has had the most serious impact on those who harbored illusions, expecting results that could never have been achieved or exaggerating the facts about the mobilizations carried out during the electoral campaign.

One of the reasons for the modest results achieved by *Manifesto* must certainly be seen in the atmosphere created by the propaganda campaigns orchestrated around the notable epi-

sodes of recent months.* In the last analysis, this provoked a reaction among sectors of the working class and the radicalized petty bourgeoisie which were open to the arguments and the initiatives of the far left. They reacted in a defensive way, rallying around the workers' party which seemed to offer the best guarantees of holding the line. This factor was to weigh all the more heavily in the balance insofar as *Manifesto* lacked the time to carry out all the preparatory work that such an ambitious project would require.

But over and above these objective conditions, genuine political errors played a role. Most of all, *Manifesto* is paying the price for the way it went about launching its project, without making any serious attempt to find common ground with at least some of the most substantial forces of the revolutionary left. Instead, it chose to center attention on its own specific organization (and what is worse, this is an organization that is still in the process of formation and that lacks any clearly defined theoretical or political basis.)

During the campaign there was no lack of sectarian manifestations, especially at the local level, and these contradicted *Manifesto's* attempt to project itself as an alternative for the whole anticapitalist and antireformist spectrum. All sorts of petty obstacles were put in the way of collaborating with other forces. Even the Vietnam demonstrations were accompanied by incipient attempts to try to exclude some forces. Finally, the inexperience of *Manifesto's* speakers made dialogue with broader strata difficult if not impossible. The excessive use of the "in" language of the far left alone would have prevented reaching out to broader layers.

It would be wrong, however, to draw the conclusion that the attempt failed completely and that it would have been better not to try it. The results themselves, as modest as they were, show that not insignificant forces look to the far left for leadership, even in the electoral field and at a particularly difficult time. Nothing of the sort has been seen before in Italy or in other West European countries, except for the Krivine candidacy in

* There have been a number of fascist provocations recently in Italy, as well as repressive moves by the regime.—IP

France in 1969. And there better results were achieved because the Ligue Communiste has a stronger organization than *Manifesto* and because the project had a greater political coherence. The fact remains, and it is not an unimportant one, that an electoral campaign was conducted, and achieved some unquestionable successes in mobilizing people, on the basis of a platform that broke with reformist practices and reestablished a link with communist traditions of taking advantage of the opportunities offered by bourgeois democracy without encouraging electoralist or parliamentary illusions.

It would also be wrong to interpret the vote for the Communist party as meaning that this organization has maintained or reconfirmed the support of broad sectors of the masses because they place their full trust in the party or really support the options and methods of the leading groups. Without indulging in any fantasies such as *Lotta Continua's* interpretations of Belinguer's meetings, I think it is safe to say that just because they voted for the PCI does not mean that these people did not feel perplexity, uncertainty, or critical reservations. Moreover, rallying around the party out of a defensive reaction does not automatically imply that you have any faith in it. The objective contradiction between the strength the PCI holds and the basic sterility of its political line, the contradiction between the interests of the party bureaucracy and the interests and the aspirations of the masses was not eliminated by the PCI's winning 9,000,000 votes. In a context of persistent social and political tensions, these contradictions will inevitably tend to be reflected in frictions, conflicts, and open clashes at the most diverse levels. This process will be facilitated, however, only insofar as the revolutionary left succeeds in avoiding sterile schematism in its analyses and blind sectarianism in practice, as well as firmly rejecting all adventurist temptations.

Over and above all this, the May 7 elections showed that we still face a long, hard job in building the revolutionary party, and people who hope to find any easy shortcuts are seriously deluding themselves. Progress in this work depends on a number of factors. We must have constant theoretical and political debate. No position can be arbitrarily excluded from

discussion and real views must be discussed and not caricatures. In particular, there must be a repudiation of the method of resorting to slanderous misrepresentations and falsification—not infrequently mixed with petty gossip—which is the price no few groups are paying for their inability to break from Stalinism. Success in this work, it need hardly be added, depends on how effectively the revolutionary left, within the limits of its forces, can exercise a real influence in the struggles and political campaigns of the phase that is now opening.

So, we repeat the proposal that we made immediately after the elections

in a communiqué from our national secretariat, which was also published in *Manifesto*.

"The Fourth International thinks that the entire revolutionary left should devote a period of time to reflecting critically on the meaning of the May 7 elections. As soon as possible and setting aside all sectarian barriers, we must discuss the possibilities for common actions on the following themes: *The fight for new contracts in industry, the campaign against the Fascist threat, the campaign for the release of Valpreda and all the political prisoners, mobilization against the crimes of imperialism in Vietnam.*" □

attempt to suspend or expel Tudawe from the party. Instead, a motion merely to "censure" him at an "inner party level" was passed. This motion was introduced by Keuneman, who is the party's secretary-general as well as its sole full minister in the government.

The Keuneman faction appears to be ruling the party roost, at least until Wickremasinghe returns. It is opposing demands of "hardliners" that the CP formally withdraw from the governing coalition.

The view of Keuneman and Tudawe, according to the *Ceylon News*, is that "although three members of the party had been expelled [from the coalition] . . . there had been no action taken against the party." This position is not without its irony, since the "unacceptable" explanation that the three gave for their vote was that they could not oppose the decision of their party.

"A top CP source," the paper added, "said yesterday [May 11] that the three MPs 'are out of the Government Group. They will not come under the Government Whip. But the Party as such is still a member of the UF and continues to remain in it unless the other two parties decide to expel the CP from the Government.'" □

Ceylon

Dispute in CP Threatens to Split Party

The expulsion of three Communist party members from the "United Front" government coalition in Ceylon threatens to create an open split in the party, according to a dispatch in the May 18 issue of the weekly *Ceylon News*.

The three CP members of parliament were barred from the coalition, which consists of the bourgeois Sri Lanka Freedom party, the ex-Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja party, and the CP, for abstaining when the government's Criminal Justice Commissions Bill was passed April 5. The bill establishes secret tribunals to try youths accused of participating in last year's rebellion.

The three were expelled after the government group found their explanation of their abstention "unacceptable." *Ceylon News* reported that the CP had "reconciled itself" to another expulsion, that of S. A. Wickremasinghe, the party president:

"Dr. Wickremasinghe, who is currently visiting Rumania and the Soviet Union, is expected to give the same explanation as his three comrades who were expelled, party sources said."

The two other CP members of parliament are Housing Minister Pieter Keuneman and Junior Minister of Education B. Y. Tudawe. Tudawe voted in favor of the Criminal Justice Commissions Bill—defying the instructions

of his party—and Keuneman was conveniently out of the country when the vote was taken.

At an April 20 meeting of the CP Central Committee, a faction that included Wickremasinghe failed in an

Moscow to Insure U.S. Foreign Investments

Oxford

The Soviet bureaucracy has agreed to underwrite insurance coverage of U. S. corporations against expropriation by foreign governments.

This collusion with American imperialism, which the April 24 London *Times* described as a "startling break with Marxist economic philosophy," was disclosed by the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, a U. S. government agency that insures the foreign investments of American capitalists.

The OPIC announced that the Black Sea and Baltic Insurance Co., a subsidiary of Ingosstrakh, the Soviet state insurance agency, had agreed to underwrite part of a \$26,000,000 increase in the amount of expropriation insurance protecting U. S. investment in underdeveloped countries.

Bradford Mills, president of the OPIC, said in announcing the Soviet decision, "It is the first time that an

arm of the USSR government has supported the United States government in insuring U. S. private investment overseas. We hope this is the beginning of similar mutually satisfactory arrangements between the two governments."

Although the amount of insurance that the Soviet bureaucracy has underwritten is understood to be not much more than \$2,600,000, the move demonstrates how far the Kremlin is willing to make compromises with imperialism in return for trade advantages.

The OPIC is at present engaged in negotiations with the Rumanian and Yugoslavian governments on schemes for extending its insurance against expropriation in these two countries. Soviet participation in the reinsurance arrangements means that a similar "safety incentive" for U. S. companies is likely soon to be extended to other East European countries. □

Wallace Crippled by Murder Attempt

On May 15, after delivering his standard "law-and-order" campaign speech to some one thousand persons gathered in a shopping center in the Washington, D. C. suburb of Laurel, Maryland, Alabama Governor and Democratic party presidential hopeful George Wallace stepped from behind his 250-pound bullet-proof podium to shake hands with onlookers. A pistol-wielding white man, later identified as Arthur H. Bremer of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, stepped forward and, from point-blank range, fired five shots at Wallace.

Wallace fell, wounded in the arm, chest, and abdomen. A secret service agent assigned to protect the presidential hopeful, a young woman campaign volunteer, and one of Wallace's personal bodyguards were also wounded, although apparently not seriously.

Wallace was rushed to Holy Cross Hospital, where a team of surgeons removed several of the bullets. He remained on the critical list for one night, and appeared to be in satisfactory condition the next day. One of the bullets, however, injured his spinal cord. He is consequently paralyzed below the waist, a condition his doctors believe may be permanent.

The suspect, subsequent investigation has revealed, is not political. Described by his family and acquaintances as a "loner" who would rarely if ever speak to anyone, he had followed Wallace's campaign schedule. His automobile is decorated with a "Wallace for President" sticker, as is the door to his apartment. The press published photographs of him enthusiastically cheering Wallace at the Laurel rally just before the attempted assassination.

The motive in the attack was therefore clearly not political. Bremer appears to be another of the psychopaths produced by the increasingly rampant irrationality of U. S. society. A police search of his apartment turned up the now almost classic possessions of the U. S. political assassin of the current era; notebooks containing disjointed, schizophrenic, rambling thoughts, a gun catalog, a box of cartridges, a Confederate flag, a por-

nographic comic book.

Bremer, according to the May 17 *New York Times*, had only one known friend in his life, Thomas Neuman, with whom Bremer went to high school. Neuman, on May 22, 1971, killed himself playing "Russian roulette" with a loaded pistol. "Do you



GEORGE WALLACE

want to see something?" he asked his sister. Then he shot himself in the head.

Bremer is currently being held on charges of assaulting a federal officer (the secret service agent) and— an ironic touch— violation of the 1968 Civil Rights Act.

The effect of the shooting on the presidential election campaign remains at this point unknown. But the first attempt to assassinate a politician of national standing in the 1970s sent shock waves throughout U. S. political circles.

"Regardless of the Governor's chances of recovery," wrote Max Frankel in the May 16 *New York Times*, "his shooting has undone four years of effort and brave self-exposure

by President Nixon and all those who coveted his job. From the President on down, politicians had tried to pretend that the passions and the madness that struck down two Kennedys and Martin Luther King belonged to a remote and unhappy past, that the country was recovering its balance and that controversy could again be argued out in a civilized manner."

The Wallace shooting put the lie to those wishful hopes of the U. S. political elite. Once again, the violence and disdain for human life that is continually generated by the policies of the U. S. capitalist class rebounded against one of the major spokesmen of that class. The phenomenon of murder, sometimes multiple murder, with no apparent motive has become an almost daily feature of U. S. society. Increasingly, that phenomenon expresses itself in a "political" form, the target being a well-known leader.

Capitalist political leaders reacted to the shooting in various ways. Nixon assigned increased secret service protection to all presidential candidates of the two capitalist parties. After that he visited Wallace in the hospital—a typical Tricky Dick ploy to pick up the votes of some Wallace supporters. Hubert Humphrey, with characteristic incisiveness, commented: "It's getting so that you don't know what's going to happen in our country any more in politics." George McGovern, observing that "hatred and the bullet have no place in a society of free men and women," called a moratorium on campaigning against Wallace.

The only political party to get to the heart of the matter was the Socialist Workers party. A statement released May 16 by Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, SWP candidates for president and vice president respectively, said in part:

"The assassination attempt against George Wallace on May 15 was another result of the atmosphere of violence bred by the American capitalist system. The United States government is the greatest source of violence on this earth. . . .

"The Democratic and Republican party presidential candidates represent and speak for the capitalist class, which is responsible for these policies that are the prime source of violence in our society. Wallace himself has gone the furthest among these candidates in contributing to the atmo-

sphere of violence against the Black community through his racist demagoguery.

"It is this entire capitalist system that must be changed in order to make possible a society free from violence. The Socialist Workers Party is fighting to end imperialist war, racial oppression, and inhuman exploitation—demands that will bring the masses

of the American people into struggle against the fundamental cause of violence, capitalism itself, not the system's many individual spokesmen and spokeswomen. Only through the action of the vast majority of Americans will it be possible to replace this rotten system with a new socialist society based on human cooperation and free of violence." □

will need to work it economically." This was promised them during the 1966 electoral campaign, they say, and they feel the government has had long enough to make good on its promises.

At the same time as the peasants are stepping up their struggle, the landlords, with the cooperation of the police and the armed forces, are continuing to expel peasants from lands they have in many cases been working for years. In some cases, peasants are being imprisoned and beaten by police. In one incident reported by *Ahora!*, four peasants from Matas de Farfán who were demanding land "were imprisoned and beaten by a police lieutenant named Betín in the department of La Piedra. The press published the names of these peasants: José de la Cruz Carvajal, Erasmo Sánchez, Bienvenido Montero, and Luna Sánchez." □

Dominican Republic

Peasants Demand Ownership of Idle Land

"Throughout the entire country the struggle of the peasants continues to develop around the demand that the government hand over to them lands monopolized by unproductive landowners," reported the Dominican weekly magazine *Ahora!* on May 8.

"Each week brings reports from additional corners of the country where hundreds and even thousands of the rural dispossessed are joining together to make this demand. At the same time, and with growing frequency, they are proclaiming their determination to occupy the big estates if their demands are not met."

The two notions underlying the peasant struggle are that the land should belong to those who work it and that it should be given to them without charge. "We cannot pay for the land that we need," explained one group of peasants, "since we don't have the economic resources that would make it possible for us to do so."

Ahora! gave several examples of how the peasants are struggling. In Puerto Plata, for instance, "more than 5,000 peasants from various parts of the El Cupey department have demanded that the uncultivated lands of the zone be turned over to them, and they are warning that if there is no solution to 'the problem within a short period of time, we will take over the land on our own.' They explained: 'For some time now we have experienced hunger and lack of clothing while around us there is a great deal of idle land, the owners of which have done nothing but exploit us mercilessly.'" The peasants have formed an Independent Committee of Landless Peasants to help carry on their struggle.

In Nagua on April 29, some 1,000 peasants threatened to occupy lands owned by big landholders in that region. "They are also demanding that, along with the land, the government provide them with the equipment they

U.S. Trotskyist Candidate in Latin America

Linda Jenness, the Socialist Workers party candidate for president of the United States, is on a two-week speaking tour of Latin America. The countries included in the tour are Mexico, Peru, Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay. She is speaking to mass meetings, holding news conferences, and meeting revolutionary socialists.

The first stop on the tour was Mexico City, where she addressed an antiwar rally at the Autonomous National University of Mexico on May 16. More than 500 students attended the meeting, which was sponsored by the Comité de Defensa de Vietnam (Committee for the Defense of Vietnam) and chaired by well-known student leaders. Other speakers included Carlos Monsidais, an editor of the weekly magazine *Siempre*; Dr. Coeli, director of the faculty of the School of Psychology; several professors from the School of Sciences; and three student leaders.

Vietnam war protesters marched on the U.S. embassy the following day. The size of the demonstration was estimated by Reuters at 10,000.

Jenness's trip was news in Argentina even before she got there. "Linda Jenness, veteran fighter for civil liberties in the U.S., to arrive," read the head-

line to an article in the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* on May 14. Most of the article dealt with the women's liberation movement and how socialists relate to it. "The movement led by Linda Jenness has formulated positions on international conflicts, the invasion of Indochina, United States interference in the internal affairs of other countries, and the domestic policies of Richard Nixon," it stated. "But it has also put forward slogans that relate directly to the women's liberation movement—slogans that deal with economic inequality and that demand freedom from social structures that, with the help of the educational system, are designed to condition women to assume a passive role in society." □

The Entrepreneurs

A Pakistani firm, reports the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, is advertising that its products are a better buy than Persian rugs because "Pakistani labour is 1/3 in comparison to Iran. Moreover child labour still flourishes in Pakistan.

"The result is better and cheaper carpets. By selling Persian Carpets [made in Pakistan] the dealer can sell it for double the price and yet claim to be cheaper than other dealers."

REVIEWS

Soviet Oppositionist's Judgment of Stalin

Roy A. Medvedev's *Let History Judge* is a systematic attempt to expose the crimes of Stalinism from a pro-Leninist perspective. Although the greater part of the book documents Stalin's career, it is more than just documentation. Medvedev also puts forth his view on the nature of the Soviet Union, offering a theory on its bureaucratic degeneration following the October Revolution.

The book is all the more important because its author remains an active oppositionist within the Soviet Union. In May and June 1970, Roy Medvedev attracted international attention by conducting a successful campaign for the release of his twin brother, Jaurès, from forced confinement in a psychiatric hospital. Last year, defying the warnings of Stalinist officials, the brothers wrote and published a detailed account of that struggle, entitled *A Question of Madness*.

Circulated in *samizdat* for several years, *Let History Judge* was written in the hope that it would be published in the Soviet Union. It is written for the Soviet reader who knows of the October Revolution only through official texts.

Medvedev begins by attempting to polemicize with those who maintain that Stalin's "excesses" were inevitable under the peculiar circumstances of the Russian revolution, or who justify Stalinism by pointing to the tremendous technological advances within the Soviet Union over the last fifty years. Calling his book the "history of a disease," Medvedev recounts Stalin's rise to power and details the process by which Stalin poisoned the ideological life of the Communist party.

In an investigation of Stalin's early career as a Bolshevik, Medvedev portrays him as politically weak, authoritarian in his methods, and with only a superficial understanding of Marxist analysis. Pointing to his political errors on the agrarian question in 1905, on the national question in 1922, and on the conduct of the civil war, the author recounts Stalin's po-

sition of support to the bourgeois coalition government immediately after the February 1917 revolution.

Medvedev contrasts the ruthlessness with which Stalin attacked his political opponents with Lenin's principled method. Detailing Stalin's destruction of the Communist party through bloody purges, Medvedev discusses the assassination of Kirov, the Mos-

Let History Judge: The Origins and Consequences of Stalinism by Roy A. Medvedev. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, N. Y. 566 pp. \$12.50. 1971.

cow trials, the assassination of Trotsky, and the destruction of the Soviet Union's most able military officers on the eve of World War II.

He outlines the economic consequences of Stalin's forced collectivization and industrialization. And in contrast to those who claim that Stalin proved to be a brilliant commander in chief during World War II, the author pinpoints the military and diplomatic blunders that characterized Stalin's rule. Medvedev comments that Stalin's blind trust in Hitler following the Stalin-Hitler pact of 1939 and his refusal to prepare for war cost the Soviet Union literally millions of lives.

Stalin's dealings within the Communist International were no less brutal. Medvedev concentrates on his annihilation of most of those international cadres who had sought political asylum in the Soviet Union, but he also mentions that Stalin's theory of "social fascism" facilitated Hitler's rise to power in Germany.

In evaluating Stalin's crimes, Medvedev develops a theory to explain the growth of Stalinism in the first workers state. He begins by examining Marx and Engels's writings on the possibility of bureaucratic degeneration following a socialist revolution. While assuming that such a revolution would triumph in all the major capitalist countries within a short period of time, they put forward some

recommendations for this transitional period: that every official be subject to recall at any time and that the salary of any official be no higher than that of the highest-paid worker. However, the concrete problems facing the Soviet Union were exacerbated by the circumstances surrounding its birth.

The October Revolution occurred not in the most technologically advanced country, but in one of the more backward. Medvedev points out that this meant not only economic scarcity, but a scarcity of literate, trained workers who could take over the apparatus of the government. As a result, tens of thousands of old office-holders were brought into the new apparatus. In the face of a desperate economic situation, a privileged bureaucracy, cut off from the masses, began to develop.

For Medvedev, Stalinism was not inevitable. He carefully delineates the differences between the situation under Lenin's leadership and under Stalin's misleadership. Lenin saw the bureaucratic danger and worked to check the process of bureaucratic degeneration.

Illustrating the position Lenin found himself in during 1921-22, Medvedev quotes Lenin's letters to an old Bolshevik, G. L. Shklovskii. In the summer of 1921, Lenin wrote:

"I understand that things are very difficult for you. I have seen other such examples in our Party nowadays. New men have come in and don't know the old men. You recommend and they don't trust you. You repeat your recommendation—and their distrust is redoubled, and they begin to get stubborn. 'But we don't want it!!!!'

"Nothing else remains but this: starting from scratch, by struggle, we must win the new youth to our side."

In a resolution before the Tenth Congress of the party, Lenin wrote that "bureaucratism can be completely defeated only when the entire population will take part in government" and that the struggle "can be successful

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only if we are enormously persistent over a long period." In 1922, he proposed the creation of joint party and state control agencies that would rely on the workers and peasants. Such watchdog agencies could effectively weed out careerists.

In addition, Lenin insisted that the party regularly reexamine its membership records and drop those who failed to prove themselves capable members. By party rules, a limit was placed on the salary of party members and any party official could be quickly removed from a post.

But these controls were not given a chance to take root. Stalin drastically altered the agencies Lenin had set up, placing them at the service of the bureaucracy itself. Throwing open party membership, Stalin welcomed the careerists who came swarming to join. Between 1924 and 1927, Medvedev points out, membership in the Communist party increased 250 percent. Limits on official salaries were abolished, and special privileges became one of the means Stalin used to corrupt even many long-time revolutionists. Recall of officials was reserved for those cases in which Stalin wanted to get rid of someone.

Medvedev sees that Stalin was "supported" by a majority of the Soviet population in part because of the cultural backwardness inherent in such an economically impoverished country. While the Bolshevik revolution was a cultural revolution as well, with the rise of Stalinism all that was backward in the country triumphed. However, Medvedev does not deal with the specific methods the bureaucracy used to foster backwardness, such as its bolstering of the family as an authoritarian institution. Not only were abortions outlawed under Stalin, but the program of communal kitchens and laundries was abandoned, leaving it to the isolated and individual family to care for its members. This stands in sharp contrast to the program the Bolsheviks initiated after the revolution.

Let History Judge expresses the ideas of an apparently growing section of pro-Bolshevik oppositionists within the Soviet Union today. These oppositionists are attempting to reconstruct an accurate history of the revolution and to evaluate the phenomenon of Stalinism.

Stalin was not a madman, but the head of a powerful bureaucracy. Med-

vedev sees that while the economic conditions in the Soviet Union in the 1920s provided the material basis for bureaucratic development, these privileged bureaucrats multiplied rapidly under the guidance of Stalin, who violated the democratic norms within the party and state.

Medvedev rejects the theory that the bureaucracy is a new class. Although the Stalinist bureaucracy turned the revolution backward, it did not restore capitalism:

"... Stalin introduced many bureaucratic distortions into the system of the proletarian dictatorship, but he could not completely destroy the system."

Let History Judge implicitly outlines a program to combat the bureaucracy that lives on after Stalin's death. The author calls for a thorough reexamination of the past in an atmosphere of free, open, honest discussion. In the preface, Medvedev writes:

"Stalinism remains a real threat, in open as well as disguised forms. Thus it is especially important to continue the discussion that began at the XXth Congress. We must know the whole truth, and not only to prevent the return of that arbitrary rule which the Party has rejected. If we do not study our past, we will be in no condition to move forward in the necessary direction."

Although Medvedev miscalculates many of the events following the Russian revolution, this is not decisive. His errors could be clarified in the course of a discussion such as he proposes. With the limited amount of source material available to him, it is no wonder that Medvedev underestimates the extent and importance of the Bolshevik opposition to the growth of the Stalinist bureaucracy, concluding that the opposition "could not offer an acceptable alternative to Stalin's leadership."

Of all who opposed Stalin, Medvedev remarks, "Trotsky alone tried to continue the struggle." In contrast to Stalinist historians, Medvedev flatly states that "Trotsky remained a supporter of the proletarian revolution and not a fascist counterrevolutionary, as Stalin soon labeled him."

Since Trotsky's writings are still banned within the Soviet Union, one must surmise that Medvedev has read little of Trotsky. The favorable portrait he paints is a remarkable re-

examination of the traditions of the October Revolution.

However, Medvedev rejects Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, citing Lenin's articles "On Cooperation" and "On Our Revolution" as proof that Lenin developed the theory of socialism in one country during the last years of his life. In reality, these short articles were polemics against those "socialists" who opposed the revolution with the excuse that Russia was not ripe for a socialist revolution.

As a result of his rejection of Trotsky's thesis, Medvedev is at his weakest when analyzing international events. He seems to believe that a policy of "peaceful coexistence" is correct and blames Stalin for "exacerbating" the cold war.

But Medvedev's weaknesses reflect the miseducation that has characterized Soviet political life since the rise of Stalinism. There is reason to believe that in the flowering of the Soviet oppositionist movement, the traditions of open debate and proletarian internationalism will be revived. Medvedev concludes the volume with a call:

"But not everything connected with Stalinism is behind us, by no means everything. The process of purifying the Communist movement, of washing out all the layers of Stalinist filth, is not yet finished. It must be carried through to the end."

Dianne Feeley

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DOCUMENTS

Transcript of the Bukovsky Trial—II

[This is the second installment of the transcript of the January 5, 1972, trial of Soviet dissident Vladimir Bukovsky. The previous installment, in our May 22 issue, included the indictment and defense motions made by Bukovsky at the opening of the trial.

[The present installment begins Bukovsky's point-by-point reply to the charges against him.

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

* * *

Defense Arguments by Bukovsky

Judge: The court will now proceed to the defense arguments. Bukovsky, rise. You now have the opportunity to speak on all the points of the indictment.

Bukovsky: I already addressed myself to the first point. It is unfounded, unsubstantiated, and vague.

The only thing referred to concretely under this point is the interview that I gave to AP correspondent Holger Jensen and CBS correspondent Bill Cole—the first recorded in writing and the second on film. In this interview I related some facts about my life and also about other people who, although perfectly sane, were placed in mental hospitals by the courts with no medical or legal justification. I also spoke about the conditions in which these people are kept at the Leningrad special psychiatric hospital.

I wish the court to know that in the spring of 1963 I was arrested by the KGB. At the time of the arrest two incomplete photocopies of M. Djilas's book *The New Class* were confiscated from me. As a result of an investigation I was sent to the Serbsky Institute. I was pronounced mentally irresponsible and the court sentenced me in absentia to compulsory treatment at the Leningrad special psychiatric hospital.

This hospital is like a prison, enclosed by rows of barbed wire. The

hospital attendants are criminals, serving their sentences for various common crimes. Those who were sick in Section I, where I was placed, were locked in cells—two or three persons per cell. They were allowed one hour of exercise per day and one parcel per month weighing no more than five kilograms. In the cell with me there was a Ukrainian nationalist who had already spent seventeen years in prison, several of which had been spent in the Vladimir Prison, where he went insane because of the severe conditions of his confinement. He screamed continuously and the hospital attendants beat him unmercifully many times in my presence, simply because they were tired of hearing him scream. In my cell there was also a person who was actually insane, having murdered his children, cut off their ears, and eaten them.

I assert that in the Leningrad special psychiatric hospital in my presence doctors systematically prescribed injections of aminazin and sulphazin as punishment at the request of the orderlies and attendants. These preparations caused body temperatures to rise to 40 degrees [104 degrees Fahrenheit], pain throughout the body, and severe emotional depression. I know that at the time of my confinement two patients, Rodichkin and Nosov, were fooling around fighting. In the course of their encounter both fell and Rodichkin hurt himself on the radiator. This was not in the first but in the tenth section, where things are easier, where you could be out of your cell for a whole day. Rodichkin had cut his forehead, he was bleeding and he was sent to the nurse for some iodine. Because of this incident they were both transferred to a section with cells. They were placed in separate cells and injection treatment was prescribed. They prescribed an *ukrutka** for Nosov. (He describes an *ukrutka*.)

In general, this hospital had such

* The *ukrutka* treatment involves wrapping the patient in a piece of wet canvas, which shrinks as it dries, causing severe pain and suffocation.

medical preparations as aminazin and sulphazin as well as the *ukrutka*. They were used so extensively for punishment at the request of the orderlies and nurses that everyone knew what to expect: You violated the rules in any way or simply spoke rudely to the doctor or the orderlies and without fail one of the medical preparations which I mentioned above would be prescribed for you as punishment.

I testify that when I was in this hospital, a man named N. N. Samsonov was also there. An important scientist, he had been awarded the Stalin prize, third rank; was the author of over ten different works of geophysics; a man who was psychologically and absolutely sound and who was placed in a mental institution only because he sent a letter to the Central Committee of the CPSU demanding that they finish the job of exposing the crimes of Stalin and others, i.e., continue the process begun at the Twentieth Party Congress [1956].

N. N. Samsonov spent seven years in the Leningrad special psychiatric hospital for merely refusing to admit that he was mentally ill and to renounce his views. It must be pointed out that that was the unavoidable precondition for being released from that hospital. A person had to declare before a commission that his views were the result of mental illness and that he was now cured.

I can testify that during my stay in the hospital, there was a Rumanian there who had lived for a long time in France and had come to the Soviet Union in order "to see the building of communism with my own eyes." His name was Nik. Gregorevich Priskararu. (He was in the psychiatric hospital because of his involvement in a strike at a shoe factory.)

Also in the hospital when I was there was a Latvian named Pintam, who had emigrated to Australia and later returned to his native land. He was placed in the Leningrad special psychiatric hospital because he wanted to return to Australia. He was not allowed to go, under the pretext that his passport had been issued by the Latvian bourgeois regime and, consequently, according to Soviet law, he was now a citizen of Soviet Latvia. He was also an absolutely sane person. The doctors repeatedly prescribed injections for him because he kept objecting to the illegality of his confinement in a mental institution.

I can tell the court many facts about the inhuman treatment of prisoners at the Leningrad special psychiatric hospital. For instance, I know for a fact that a prisoner named Anatoly Belyaev (incidentally, he was placed in the mental hospital because he told anecdotes about Khrushchev) was brutally beaten by an attendant named Viktor Valerianovich (I don't know his surname because they didn't tell the prisoners the surnames of doctors and other medical personnel) and by the orderlies only because he read lying in bed after lights out. On the next day, after a complaint by the surgeon about the allegedly excited state of the patient, injections of sulphazin were prescribed for Belyaev. I can cite still other examples that prove the truth of my assertions.

A large number of persons, for example, had been placed in the hospital because of attempts to seek refuge in foreign embassies. They were charged with attempting to cross the border. But later, because there is no law that says that seeking sanctuary in a foreign embassy is equivalent to crossing the border, these people were declared not accountable for their actions and confined in the Leningrad special psychiatric hospital.

Judge: Defendant Bukovsky, it is not necessary to speak in such detail about all these examples. Why these details?

Bukovsky: But I am charged with slander. I want to show that the things I stated in my interview were not slander.

Judge: You went into too many details about it. Back to the affair at hand. Tell us about yourself.

Bukovsky: That's fine. I'll talk about myself. For there, too, are enough facts to prove that I am telling the truth.

After being discharged from the Leningrad psychiatric hospital in February 1965, I was arrested in the street in December of that year by agents of the KGB and placed in regional psychiatric hospital number 13 without charges and without any sort of medical evidence. The clinic with which I was registered and which had observed me since my discharge from the Leningrad hospital stated, in response to an inquiry, that I had not displayed any sort of psychiatric abnormalities. The doctors at hospital number 13 came to the same conclusion and discharged me.

But the KGB authorities issued an order to transfer me to another hospital at Stolbovaya Junction, with the hope that the local doctors would turn out to be more obedient and find me not in possession of my senses. When this did not happen and the doctors in this psychiatric hospital detected nothing abnormal about my condition, the KGB transferred me to the Serbsky Institute. In response to inquiries by my mother addressed to Funtov, the "procurator" for supervising police activities, they answered that "in their opinion" I had been discharged from the Leningrad special psychiatric hospital prematurely and that I should be treated further.

Doesn't this show who really is responsible for the commitment of people like me to psychiatric hospitals? Doesn't it show who is putting pressure on the psychiatric commissions that conduct examinations in cases analogous to mine, where there is nothing in the law for which someone can be put on trial?

As a result, this time I spent eight and a half months, in all, in various psychiatric hospitals without any sort of charges against me and despite the opinion of doctors. I was released only thanks to public protest in the West and thanks to the pressure of public opinion at home.

Judge: Is that all you have to say about the first episode in the charges?

Bukovsky: No. The charges state: "He kept in his apartment various anti-Soviet materials of a slanderous nature defaming the Soviet state and social system." I do not know what documents this refers to. The charges do not say. During the search, a great quantity of various kinds of documents were confiscated, including clippings from *Pravda*. Is that what they would call an anti-Soviet document?

Judge: Does anyone wish to question the defendant about section one of the charges?

Prosecutor: You stated that a precondition for being discharged from the special psychiatric hospital was repudiation by the patient of his or her views. Did you also repudiate your views at the time of your discharge?

Bukovsky: Yes. I had to, to be discharged.

Prosecutor: You admit that you were interviewed by AP correspondent Holger Jensen?

Bukovsky: Yes, I admit that.

Prosecutor: How did this occur?

Bukovsky: We left the city, for an excursion. There were several of us—Russians and foreigners—around thirty people. There was talk about me, about how I had spent the past few years, and I related what was contained in the interview and Holger wrote it down. At the same time Bill Cole, CBS correspondent, shot the film.

Prosecutor: Had you prepared for this interview?

Bukovsky: No, I didn't prepare, but I knew that such questions arise, and I was always ready to answer them.

Prosecutor: You knew that your account would be publicized in the West and that the film would be televised there?

Bukovsky: Yes I knew that.

Prosecutor: And you didn't object?

Bukovsky: No, I didn't object. I asked them to do it.

Prosecutor: For what reason did you do this?

Bukovsky: I wanted the facts that I recounted to become widely known to the public.

Prosecutor: Why did you have to do this? What was your purpose?

Bukovsky: I stated my purpose in the interview itself. There I said: "Our purpose is the struggle against fear, which has paralyzed the people since the time of Stalin and thanks to which the system continues to exist. We are speaking of the dictatorship, the repression, the coercion. In this struggle the personal example that we give the people is of great importance."

Prosecutor: Did you study medicine?

Bukovsky: No, I don't have any special medical training. I studied psychiatry in the Leningrad special psychiatric hospital when I worked in the bookbinding shop there. I read many books on psychiatry.

Judge: Does the defense have any questions?

Defense lawyer: Tell me, when you granted the interview to the Western correspondents, was your purpose to injure and weaken Soviet power or the political structure?

Bukovsky: Of course not. I was thinking of those people, my friends, and others who had suffered a fate such as I have described and who, quite possibly, could be saved.

Prosecutor: Tell us why you kept clippings from the *Washington Post* and other newspapers in your apartment and how you got them.

Bukovsky: I had two clippings:

Nikitinsky brought me the one from the *Washington Post* that included a photograph of me. I kept it because it was the text of my interview and also because it had my picture. I read it through to see if there were any mistakes. I kept it in my desk, but I didn't have any special reason for this.

Prosecutor: Why did you keep photocopies of the criminal proceedings against (she gives the name) in your apartment?

Bukovsky: The case interested me. I secured a partial transcript of this case with great difficulty. I wanted to familiarize myself with the case but I never had the chance.

Prosecutor: Why did you have in your apartment a document called "Open Letter to the Twenty-fourth Congress" and who was its author?

Bukovsky: The name of the author is at the end of the document—P. Yakir. One of my acquaintances had it at my place and forgot to take it with him.

Prosecutor: How did a rough copy of a document called "An Open Letter to the Congress" come to be in your place and who is its author?

Bukovsky: The author of this letter is not known and I don't know how it got there. . . .

Prosecutor: How did you get a document called "Appeal by Political Prisoners Ruled Not Accountable for Their Actions" and who is its author?

Bukovsky: The authors' names are also at the end of this document—V. Fainberg and V. Borisov. It came to me in the mail.

Prosecutor: Do you know that after your first arrest in 1963, your mother authorized a psychiatric examination of you?

Bukovsky: That authorization was signed before my arrest. As part of the medical examination for the draft I was to be examined by psychiatrists. The KGB, knowing about this, sent me for an expert psychiatric commission examination.

Prosecutor: I have a motion for the court.

She submits a motion that the court examine the clippings from foreign newspapers, which are commentaries on Bukovsky's statements in the interview with Holger [Jensen] and the commentary of the foreign press on the television interview that Bukovsky had with correspondent Cole.

The judge finds the relevant documents among the case records and states that the court has examined them.

Prosecutor: I ask to show the film that was shown on American television June 28, 1970, by the CBS network.

The film is shown. On the screen the entire time Bukovsky is shown

in a forest. The audio portion of the film is an English translation of the interview.

After the screening:

Prosecutor: Defendant Bukovsky, do you admit that you are shown in this film at the time when you granted the interview?

Bukovsky: Yes.

[To be continued.]

Dutch 'International Tendency' Joins Fourth International

[We have translated the following statement from the May issue of *De Internationale*, the newspaper of the Dutch section of the International Revolutionary Marxist Tendency. The IRMT is the grouping headed by Michel Pablo that split from the Fourth International in 1965.]

* * *

1. After several years of discussing the political line of the world Trotskyist movement and the differences between the various currents, in particular between the current to which it belonged and the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the Dutch section of the International Revolutionary Marxist Tendency came to reorient itself with respect to the world movement. This led us on the one hand as a result of the disappearances of the issues that led to the 1965 split, progressively closer to the United Secretariat; and at the same time it led us away from the International Tendency, which has abandoned or watered down a series of basic Trotskyist principles, especially concerning the concept of building the revolutionary party.

2. This evolution was expressed clearly in a political way in the documents of the October 1971 conference [of the Dutch section]. The conclusion of the document "Political Trends and Party Building" stressed the need for reunifying the two international Trotskyist organizations, above all in view of the fact that in the Netherlands this organizational division posed a serious obstacle to taking advantage of better opportunities for growth of the Trotskyist movement.

3. At its April 8-9, 1972, conference

the Dutch section moved to make the reorientation more concrete. On the agenda for discussion were the two documents circulated in preparation for the international conference of the International Tendency—the "Manifesto" and "Contributions to a Critique of the Development of the Fourth International and the Organizational Perspectives of the Revolutionary Marxist Tendency." Also up for discussion were the following documents of the United Secretariat: "The New Rise of the World Revolution" (the positions adopted at the Ninth World Congress), the "Resolution on the Chinese Cultural Revolution" (adopted at the same congress), and the resolution of the International Executive Committee (December 1969), "Building Mass Revolutionary Parties in Capitalist Europe." The conference was able to agree with the line of the last three documents.

In the first two documents cited of the International Tendency, the conference noted a further confirmation of the same trend to which we have pointed before—the trend toward abandoning the Leninist conception of building the Fourth International and revolutionary parties in the various countries. This tendency was reinforced in particular by a recommendation for dropping the name "Fourth International"; the absence of a serious Marxist analysis of the development of capitalism today; and the absence similarly of any serious analysis of the evolution of the workers states, a deficiency which led earlier to a false estimate of the de-Stalinization process and the economic development in Yugoslavia.

4. The following facts are clear: The

International Tendency is moving further and further away from the International Trotskyist movement and from Bolshevism. It has gotten into a position of sterile isolation from the whole international development of revolutionary Marxism.

By maintaining its link with the International Tendency, the Dutch section would find itself politically and

organizationally isolated and its capacities for growth seriously hindered.

Breaking our formal ties with the Tendency can promote the unification of the revolutionary Marxist forces in the Netherlands, and this is a prerequisite for taking advantage of the increased possibilities for serious work toward building a revolutionary vanguard movement.

Therefore, at its conference the Dutch section made the following decisions:

— To sever its organizational ties with the International Revolutionary Marxist Tendency of the Fourth International.

— To apply for membership to the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

April 9, 1972

ERP Communiques in Sallustro Kidnapping

[We are publishing below the texts of eight communiqués issued to the Argentine press by the ERP (Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—Revolutionary Army of the People). All of them concern the kidnapping of the Argentine industrialist Oberdan Sallustro by the ERP March 21.

[In addition we are including the text of the communiqué issued by the ERP and the FAR (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias—Revolutionary Armed Forces) after the two guerrilla groups assassinated General Juan Carlos Sánchez on April 10, the same day that the ERP executed Sallustro.

[While the communiqués have been reproduced in Spanish, particularly in Latin America, this is the first time to our knowledge that they have been made available in English. We are reproducing them in order to fill out the documentation on the Sallustro and Sánchez cases provided in earlier issues of *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Communique Number 1

Today the Luis Pujals and Segundo Gómez commandos of the Revolutionary Army of the People captured the general director of Fiat Concord, Oberdan Sallustro, and turned him over to people's justice.

In his role as an official of this monopolist company, Mr. Sallustro will have to answer the following charges before people's justice:

(1) Plundering of the country. Monopolistic practices directed against small national industries. Interference in the political life of the country.

(2) Exploitation of Argentine workers. Repression of the Fiat workers in Córdoba; dismissal and imprison-

ment of union leaders democratically elected by the rank and file.

Victory or death for Argentina.

Commando Luis Pujals, Commando Segundo Gómez. Revolutionary Army of the People.

Communique Number 2

To the people: Yesterday's daily papers published the announcement of the sentences brought against two revolutionists by the regime: eighteen and nine years in prison respectively for the crime of distributing food in a Rosario slum.¹ But yesterday was not the first time that revolutionists have been sentenced. Nearly every day the newspapers are compelled to publish reports on torture, arrests, and assassinations by the security forces of the dictatorship. Not long ago the entire nation learned about the kidnapping and subsequent murder of Maestre and his wife, of Luis Pujals, and of Segundo Gómez,² and of two

innocent kids shot down by the federal police in a field. The "justice" of the dictatorship is not brought to

Juan Pablo Maestre and his wife, Mirta Misetich, both activists in the Peronist movement, were kidnapped as they left the home of Misetich's parents in Buenos Aires on July 13, 1971. Considerable evidence was presented by a group of lawyers to a news conference a few days later indicating that the kidnapping was the work of the police.

According to a report in the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinion* July 18, 1971, the evidence included, among other things, the fact that on the morning of the kidnapping, a police commission showed up at Maestre's place of work (Maestre was not there at the time) for the purpose of arresting him. In addition, Police Commissariat 33, which is responsible for the district in which the kidnapping took place, had received orders to ascertain whether the Maestre couple frequented the house inhabited by Misetich's parents. Amateur radio operators who were monitoring the police frequency, heard the police report on the kidnapping incident.

The kidnapping was witnessed by a number of neighborhood residents. According to their accounts, at least six persons, dressed in civilian clothes, leaped out of two automobiles and seized Maestre and Misetich. Misetich began crying for help before being subdued, and Maestre managed to run a few yards up the street. Three shots were fired, and Maestre was seen falling to the ground, apparently wounded. He was quickly placed in a car, and the two automobiles then sped away.

La Opinion reported on July 20 that a body fitting the description of Maestre was "discovered" by police in Escobar on July 14. It bore two bullet wounds. "For reasons that were not explained, the body was rapidly buried in the local cemetery," the newspaper reported, "in spite of the fact that according to judicial procedures for unidentified persons, the body must be held for at least seven days."

Misetich's body has never been found.

1. According to a report in the March 22 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *Clarín*, the two revolutionists were ERP members Ramon Bernardo Etchegaray, a draftsman, and Jorge Carlos Plouganou, a student. The newspaper reported that the former was sentenced to sixteen and the latter to seven years in prison. The court deferred for one year the sentencing of a third ERP member, Horacio Ruben Plouganou, a brother of one of the others. The reason given was that he is a minor.

2. Segundo Gomez, a member of the ERP, was murdered on January 11 after being tortured while in the custody of the police and the army.

Luis Enrique Pujals, one of the leaders of the ERP, was kidnapped in September 1971 and tortured to death by the police.

bear in these cases. The entire people know about these cases, but the "judges" of the federal court do not; they are too busy personally observing the torture of prisoners whom they then "judge." In October 1971, the police occupied the Fiat plant, dismissed 259 workers, and at the same time arrested the strike leaders democratically elected by the workers. The entire nation heard about this, but not the dictatorship's judges, to whom it apparently seems quite normal for the workers to work under the threat of guns, while their leaders are held prisoner and their comrades have been laid off. The entire nation knows that torture is practiced here; not the judges. The entire nation knows that the security services commit every kind of outrage, but the judges don't. The entire nation knows who killed Pujals, Gómez, and Maestre, but the judges don't. The entire nation knows that the prisons are full of patriots, but the judges don't. We think it is unfair that the people should know by daily experience about the suffering this dictatorship condemns them to but that the official representatives of the regime—the judges, the exploiters, the generals, the economic criminals, the torturers—should be able, because this suffering is not part of their daily experience, to say that they do not know about it.

Are there any who don't know that revolutionists are tortured here? Then hear this: Sandoval, Sanmartino, and Agarotti are three torturers. Are there any who don't know that the army and the police exist in order to suppress the people? Then hear this: The ERP and the other revolutionary organizations are the armed force of the people. Are there any who don't know that the economic criminals control the country's finances and are bringing it to bankruptcy? Then hear this: 450 million pesos expropriated from the Bank of Development belong to the people. Are there any who don't know that Fiat fired the most militant workers and put their leaders in prison? Then hear this: the general director of Fiat is in the people's prison. Thus those who pretend not to hear will be made to hear, for we will execute the murderers of the people. Those who exploit and persecute them will be put in prison. Through fighting this war we will little by little build up the people's justice that will replace this rotten regime. How many

years of exploitation, of persecution, of crushed strikes, of suppressed hatred, and of destroyed courage are becoming part of the past as the people have set out on the road toward winning their rights, their freedom, and their justice.

Victory or death for Argentina.

Revolutionary Army of the People.

Luis Pujals and Segundo Gómez commandos. P. S. Our only communiqués have been the first war report and this one, which is number two. We warn the newspapers that if they censor our communiqués, they will not receive them in the future.

Communique Number 3

To the People:

Our homeland is at a turning point. Two roads are opening up for Argentina: To continue being a colony of Yankee imperialism ruled by military puppets, to continue having poverty and unemployment. This is the road that is being traveled by the pitiful caravan consisting of General Lanusse, followed by the high command decked out in their bayonets and gesticulating, and dragging along a decrepit string of politicians who, after being unceremoniously kicked out in 1966, are returning today to "save the country" arm in arm with those who kicked them out.

The reason is that the "Argentine revolution" that took power in 1966 in order to pull the country out of the crisis confronting it at the time drew it into a situation that was a thousand times more serious. The dictatorship of the military was rightly called the dictatorship of the monopolies. During these past six years, the influence of the big international monopolies grew until they took over the national economy and the government itself. We all know, just to note a few examples, that Krieger Vasena, ex-economics minister, is an official of Deltec International; Julio Alsogaray, ex-commander in chief and fugitive from people's justice, is an agent of Techint in Argentina; Pedro Gnavi, ex-commander in chief of the navy, has interests in the Conway company, which is a subsidiary of the Loeb Bank. Along with selling out the country, the dictatorship suffocated the people with the most sav-

age repression known. Every vestige of individual freedom and every attempt at protest were suppressed by the military heel.

But in 1969 a decisive factor came onto the scene that cast the entire plan of the military into the garbage can. Fed up with the oppressive regime, the popular masses took to the streets in Córdoba, Rosario, and Tucumán, thereby opening up a new stage in the struggle. The thousands of unarmed and disorganized demonstrators, who had to pull back before the bullets of the army and the police, at this point launched the beginning of the revolutionary people's war—the other road. As long as the armed forces set themselves up as defenders of the regime of exploitation and privilege, the people can do nothing, unless they can rely on their own army. Those of us who understood this began to build the *Revolutionary Army of the People*. An army that sets itself up as a defender of the interests of the working class, office workers, peasants, students, professionals, and all patriots who suffer over seeing their homeland enslaved. Since then the revolutionary war has developed without interruption. The guerrilla organizations have dealt increasingly heavy blows to the enemy and won the sympathy of the people.

The *Red Star* of socialism and revolutionary war, the symbol of the ERP, made its definitive appearance in order to shine with ever greater intensity in the sky of the homeland.

In order to face up to this threat, all of the old Argentina that is sinking pulled itself together for the last time and came up with the GAN [Gran Acuerdo Nacional—Great National Agreement]. All the exploiters, military men, judges, and politicians opposed to the people overcame their differences and united.

All united against the people. All united against the people's main weapon—revolutionary war. All united in the name of the country they are robbing and whose flag they surrender to foreign interests in order to defend their pocketbooks, their privileges, their profits, and their right to go on exploiting this people.

The *Revolutionary Army of the People*, guided by the *Revolutionary Party of the Workers* [PRT—Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores], has only one strategy, which admits no sellouts: to develop the revolution-

ary war, to defeat the army of the oppressors, and to take power for the working class and the people.

Faced with two possible roads, the ERP chooses struggle, arms in hand. We will not give up, and we will hoist no white flag until the final victory of this people.

Forward! Victory or death for Argentina!

Luis Pujals and Segundo Gómez commandos.

Communique Number 4

To the People:

Mr. Oberdan Sallustro was put on trial on March 23 and 24.

In view of the fact that: First: The capitalist regime is an anachronistic component of history. It is the most inhuman system of exploitation that has ever existed.

Modern capitalism, through its agents, the monopolies, is the greatest scourge of humanity. Mr. Sallustro and all the other capitalists, while killing no one directly, daily commit crimes on a mass scale.

Was the shutdown of the Tucumán plants a product of capitalist maneuvers, or was it not? Tens of thousands of workers lost their livelihood. Their small children are without food, clothing, and education. Infant mortality is rising very fast.

Were the closing down of industries, the crisis and the plunder of the Chaco peasants and the resulting unemployment, hunger, and poverty the product of capitalist maneuvers, or were they not?

Is it murder or not to work nine hours in the Forja Section of Fiat, just to give one example out of a million? Do they not know perhaps that one ends up going deaf or becoming mentally unstable or sexually impotent from working there? Only the exploited know what it is to work in a blast furnace, in a quarry, in cold-storage rooms, and in coal pits. In every workplace, millions of human beings are losing a bit of their life for each day's wretched wages. It is only on the blood and tears of millions of exploited people that capitalist fortunes are built.

We saw neither sadness nor distress in the faces of the parasites who paid calls on the Sallustro family when he ordered the firing of 500 workers. For these worms it is natural to see

homes thrown into desperation by poverty and driven to crime, vice and prostitution. For these worms it is natural for the police to militarily occupy Fiat and for the workers to work under the barrel of a gun.

It is natural for the police called in by the company to murder fighters of the FAP [Fuerzas Armadas Peronistas—Peronist Armed Forces], our brothers Villagra, Peresini, Olmedo, Castilla, and Buffi. For our fallen comrades' murderers, everything that aims to defend their privileges is natural.

Second: Because they are a minority, the exploiters need an army that can defend them from popular rebellion. This is the role played by the armed forces, the police, judges, the press, and the institutions of the state: to defend a privileged minority and protect it from the hatred of the exploited; and to squeeze the trigger, condemn, and vilify those who raise the banner of rebellion.

Through their close military and legal collaborators, the exploiting classes have instituted the death penalty. Since the time of Onganía, a law has been in effect stipulating that anyone who takes up arms against repression shall die before a firing squad. The threat of the exploiters hangs over the heads of the people and revolutionists.

The *Revolutionary Army of the People*, armed force of the people, in reprisal by the oppressed, institutes the death penalty today against the oppressors.

In the name of the poor, the exploited, the tortured, the imprisoned, and those sentenced to death, *we will apply the death penalty against class enemies.*

The decision of the ERP tribunal is:

1. To find him guilty as a person responsible for monopolistic maneuvers perpetrated by Fiat to the detriment of the Argentine republic.

2. To find him guilty as the one responsible for instigating the repression carried out by the National Police during their occupation of the Córdoba industrial plant in October 1971.

3. To find him guilty as the person responsible for the unemployment and poverty brought on by the firing of more than 500 workers in the Fiat industrial plant in Córdoba beginning in October 1971.

4. To find him guilty of complicity

in the murder of Peresini, Olmedo, Villagra, Castilla, and Buffi, comrades belonging to the Peronist Armed Organizations [Organizaciones Armadas Peronistas], by the Córdoba police posted in the area around Fiat by the company's management, for which the condemned is responsible.

The sentence that corresponds to his guilt is the *death penalty*, which will be carried out by a firing squad in the place where he is being held.

*People's Tribunal
Revolutionary Army of the People*

Specifications:

The death penalty will not be carried out and the prisoner will regain his freedom immediately if the following demands are met within 48 hours:

1. Freedom for the Fiat workers and the activists and leaders of SITRAC [Sindicato de Trabajadores de Concord—Concord Workers Union] and SITRAM [Sindicato de Trabajadores de Materfer—Materfer Workers Union] who have been held because of the clashes between these unions and the company.

2. Rehiring of those who were fired following the events of October 1971.

3. Withdrawal of the police from the Córdoba plants.

4. Reparations to the people by Fiat amounting to *one billion pesos* [US\$1,000,000] *in school supplies, smocks, and shoes for the children in schools that we will decide upon when our proposal has been accepted.*

5. Transfer to Algeria or some other suitable country of fifty imprisoned guerrillas, a list of whom we will make known when our conditions have been agreed to. The physical state of the guerrillas will have to be verified in a public way by the news media.

6. Publication in full of our communiqués number three, the present one, number four, and future ones in the daily papers.

7. Reparations to the Revolutionary Army of the People to be agreed on with the Fiat company. Payment falls due next Sunday at twelve o'clock.

*Revolutionary Army of the People.
Victory or death for Argentina!*

Communique Number 5

To the People:
The Revolutionary Army of the Peo-

ple stands by all seven of the points it specified for definitively freeing Mr. Oberdan Sallustro.

One of the involved parties, Fiat, has publicly indicated, in its communiqué "In Order to Save a Life," its willingness to comply with all the points directly involving it.

The *Revolutionary Army of the People* is aware of the great value that agreement to the following holds for the people:

1. Rehiring of those laid off at Fiat following the events of 1971.

2. Withdrawal of the police from the Córdoba plants.

3. Reparations to the people by Fiat amounting to one billion pesos in school supplies, smocks, and shoes for the children in the schools listed below.³

4. Publication in full of our communiqués, including in particular this one, in the daily papers.

5. Reparations to the *Revolutionary Army of the People* to be agreed on between the company and ourselves.

On the basis of these points beginning to be met, and with the company's pledge to fulfill completely its entire obligation where it is implicated, the Revolutionary Army of the People grants an extension of 36 hours to the original time limit for negotiations.

Through its president, the company must, this very day, announce in all the mass media its agreement to begin to meet these demands.

Victory or death for Argentina.

Revolutionary Army of the People.

Luis Pujals, Segundo Gómez comandos.

[According to a report in the March 27 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *Clarín*, each student was to receive the following items: a smock, a leather briefcase or portfolio, a pair of shoes, a box of twelve colored pencils, one exercise book with a hundred sheets, one exercise book with fifty sheets, a pencil, a mechanical pencil, and an eraser. In addition, each pupil was to receive a printed copy of the following message from the ERP:]

Our country is rich, but you are

3. A list of nearly 900 schools was provided.

poor. We revolutionists want you to get these study materials. These supplies are not a gift; they belong to you because they are part of the wealth that your fathers and the fathers of all poor children produce with their labor and that is stolen by the exploiters.

Now that you have received them, you must study hard and get ready for the future so that you can become good patriots and work and struggle for your country and your people.

Communique Number 6

On Monday the 27th [of March], the ERP held direct negotiations with the Fiat company. In them, the company agreed, in exchange for a commutation of the death penalty to imprisonment, to meet the five points directly concerning it, and even settled on the amount to be paid in reparations to the ERP.

2. The government announced that it will place restrictions on Fiat's compliance with the five points, without stating specifically which points it will be prevented from meeting and which not.

3. Fiat shields itself behind the government's ambiguous statement, which it has released to the public in order not to meet its publicly contracted agreement to fulfill the five points within its power. In this way, the company is abandoning Oberdan Sallustro and taking the government's position.

4. If this does not turn out to be the case, we will give a new stay of 24 hours to Fiat so that it can exhaust the opportunities for meeting the five points necessary for obtaining a commutation of the death sentence against Sallustro.

5. If it does not do this, the company's finger will be joining that of the government in squeezing the trigger on Oberdan Sallustro.

Communique Number 7

We cannot accept Fiat's not being allowed to deliver the school supplies sought for the country's poor school children. The people should keep in mind: a) that the government, in spite of its moves toward seeking a political solution, wants an illiter-

ate population in order to stay in power and to sell us out to foreign companies. But we who belong to the ERP always have a duty to our people because we understand that the delivery of school supplies was intended as a symbolic measure and that it does not meet the needs of the entire population in any important way. It is not a way of redistributing the wealth. It is not very Marxist, but it is redistribution after all.

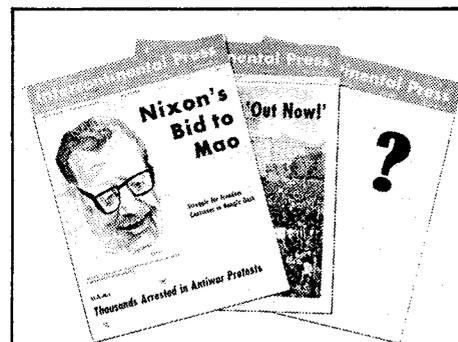
It goes without saying that if the government hardens its position, the ERP will be even more firm and will demand compliance with all of the points laid down in communiqué number 5 before the death penalty for Dr. Sallustro will be commuted. And if we, in complying with what has been set down, find ourselves obliged to execute Dr. Sallustro, the government alone will be to blame.

Communique Number 8

To the people:

The Revolutionary Army of the People, having succeeded through its capture of the general director of Fiat Concord, Oberdan Sallustro, in making the people aware of its power and in letting the world know about its struggle, thanks to the truthful collaboration of all the news media, decides:

First: To suspend the death penalty against the director of the monopolist



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company Fiat Concord until such time as his execution is considered timely.

Second: Negotiations with the Fiat company will continue in order to achieve compliance with points two, three, six, and seven of our communiqué number 4.

Third: The reparations that the Revolutionary Army of the People is demanding from the Fiat company in point seven of its communiqué number 6 will amount to one billion pesos in national currency. In this way the wealth the monopoly has plundered will be recovered for the revolutionary struggle.

Fourth: The company must admit, in all the mass media, that it is guilty of the charges made in our communiqué number 1.

Luis Pujals and Segundo Gómez commandos.

Joint Communiqué of ERP and FAR

To the Argentine people:

At 9:15 a.m. on April 10, 1972, the Segundo Telésforo Gómez and Juan Pablo Maestre commando groups of the Revolutionary Army of the People and the Revolutionary Armed Forces executed General Juan Carlos Sánchez, commander of the Second Army Corps.

Thus the sentence laid down by a people's tribunal was carried out. He was found guilty of the following war crimes:

1. *The use of army troops against unarmed citizens.* This happened on various occasions when the army was used to repress the civilian population, for example during the famous "combing operations" (in which homes were broken into and Argentine citizens arrested without being charged with anything and without the slightest legal basis for the arrests); and when he surrounded a neighborhood in the Villa Diego area that had been given food expropriated by the ERP; and when he surrounded the Bajo Paraná area and stole, and even tore down, 1,000 sheets of pressed cardboard that the ERP had brought there.

2. *The murder during interrogation of two prisoners of war.* We have evidence that our comrades Luis Pujals and Segundo Telésforo Gómez were tortured to death under his jurisdiction.

Luis Pujals was captured in Buenos Aires and taken to Rosario where he

died in a torture chamber as a result of a ruptured liver.

Segundo T. Gómez suffered the same fate. In his case, fearing popular reaction, the killers invented a shooting incident in which our comrade was supposedly killed. In reality, his body was seen in police headquarters the very night he was arrested, and just hours before the alleged shootout (there are statements of witnesses to this effect).

3. *The torture of all prisoners of war arrested and interrogated under his jurisdiction.* Scores of revolutionary fighters, militants of the people, and citizens with no political affiliation have been subjected to all kinds of illegal pressures. There are more than fifty accusations of torture in the hands of the administrators of federal "justice." Among the cases of torture that have been most clearly established are those mentioned above against Comrades Pujals and Gómez and those carried out by the Army Information Service in the city of Santa Fe against Montonero comrades, against student and worker militants, and against the rural schoolteacher Norma Morello (this case was publicly denounced by Monsignor Devoto).

Torture was carried out in the city of Rosario in the following places: the headquarters of the Commando Battalion (at 27 de Febrero and Buard), the local police headquarters on Catamarca Street in the Second Commissariat and the 121st Communications Battalion.

Working under the direct orders of the executed war criminal, the following persons took part in the tortures and are equally responsible for them:

Major Agustín Peced (chief of police).

General Leandro N. Araya (second-in-command of the Second Corps).

Colonel Sarmiento (professional planner).

Major Campos.

Colonel Carranza Zavalía (chief of operations).

Commissioner Bertoglio.

Officer Conde (federal police).

Others whom we have not yet identified.

4. *Under his command and on his instructions, all rights were eliminated.* There are citizens in jail who have not been charged with anything (such as the teacher Lezcano, whose case was repeatedly denounced by the teachers' unions).

Political prisoners are subjected to inhuman treatment in the area under the control of the above-mentioned individuals. All vestiges of freedom, individual rights, and security have been trampled underfoot. While the complicity of corrupt bourgeois "justice" was required in order to accomplish this, there can be no doubt that the executed war criminal bears the major responsibility for these crimes against the people. (In time, people's justice will catch up with all those who were accomplices to these crimes on an individual basis, ranging from the "judges" to the corrupt and cowardly doctors.)

Argentiniens!

Imperialism and its local lackeys are now trying desperately to paralyze the people's struggles with their dirty plots.

The gorilla Lanusse is now wavering between the danger of a "fascist coup" and the GAN scheme and the electoral farce which are being presented as the only alternative.

And thousands of bureaucratic bourgeois politicians of all stripes who had been driven back into their dirty holes by the strength of the people's repudiation are now searching for each other with open arms in order to prepare new traps and new betrayals.

But now, too, the Revolutionary Army of the People and the Revolutionary Armed Forces are holding high the banners of people's war with greater confidence and greater strength than ever before.

It is the same army of murderers to which the war criminal we have just executed belongs that is responsible for all these maneuvers. It is the generals, admirals, and brigadier generals—the servitors of the international monopolies—who, thrown into panic by the advance of revolutionary violence throughout our country, have hastened to cook up this new fraud.

Is it possible—after such a record of bloodshed, fraudulent elections, and sell-out administrations, all of this under the efficient guidance of the military—to make our people believe that the armed forces will play fair?

The people will never have anything as long as the armed forces are able to go on protecting the privileged. Only by destroying the military power of the exploiters can the road be

opened once and for all leading to a free, just, and sovereign homeland, to a socialist Argentina.

This is why the people need their own army. And this people's army, active and militant, is in the process of formation. The reactionaries' dreams of putting an end to armed organizations have been frustrated on many occasions. Through both minor and major armed actions, our detachments have shown the people

that they are determined to fight without respite against exploitation and injustice until the final victory.

The Revolutionary Armed Forces, the Revolutionary Army of the People, and the other revolutionary armed organizations are but the first detachments of the people's army.

It will be a long, cruel struggle, but sooner or later we will win because, when armed, the people are an indestructible force.

For the unity of our armed organizations.

Victory or death for Argentina.

Freedom or death, but never slavery.

[Signed] Juan Pablo Maestre Com-mando of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, and Segundo Teléfono Gómez Com-mando of the Revolutionary Army of the People.

A Contribution to the History of the Trotskyist Movement

The Fourth International

By Pierre Frank

[This is the twelfth 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 8: The 'Long March' of the Trotskyists

We cannot make conclusive statements about the history of a movement that is engaged in so long a march, begun so long ago—a movement which has undergone so many trials and tribulations and which, although a new and much more promising stage lies ahead for it, still has big obstacles to overcome before reaching its goal. Our few closing remarks will, first of all, answer the question raised by those drawn to Trotskyist ideas but surprised by the numerical weakness of the organization that defends those ideas, a question that every Trotskyist as well has inevitably asked himself, in his heart of hearts, at certain times: *Is there a historical justification for the Fourth International?* Was Trotsky right to found the Fourth International and to say that the work he was doing for it was "the most important" in his life, "more important than 1917, more important than the period of the civil war," irreplaceable "in the full sense of the word?"³⁸ I do not think it necessary to answer

those who attack the Fourth International by taking delight in stressing its difficulties; by failing to see its political strength, its vitality; by viewing its problems on a superficial level.

From the standpoint of historical perspective—the only valid standpoint for a subject like this—the long history of the Trotskyist movement, of the Fourth International, is in itself an objective verification of its historical justification. What has been the history of the international working-class movement in the last fifty years—a half-century that has seen the beginning of the disintegration of capitalist society and the advent of a socialist world? In every country where the working-class movement had a long history, with Marxist traditions, one reality stands out: after several dozen years of wars, revolutions and counterrevolutions, fascism, and Stalinism, in the course of which numerous organizations claiming to be Marxist and claiming to stand for the working class came into existence—after so many years, the only organizations that despite crises, splits, repression, alternating advances and retreats, have lasted are those connected with the Second International, or what was the Third International, or the Fourth International. A reality like this, which covers dozens of years (and what years!), can be attributed neither to chance nor to any specific militant qualities. All of the organizations had dedicated and devoted militants with varied political and organi-

should have devoted most of his time to writing works such as the *History of the Russian Revolution* rather than participating in the life, difficulties, and crises of the Trotskyist movement, which, for Deutscher, was really a waste of time. But like Marx, who for several years abandoned his theoretical work on economics in order to devote his time to the First International and its internal difficulties (often reminiscent of the Fourth International), Trotsky was first and foremost a revolutionary *fighter*. And above all, he had given profound thought to the error he had committed before 1917, in comparison with Lenin, on the question of the party. To struggle for the Fourth International was, for Trotsky, to continue Lenin's struggle for a Leninist party on a world scale.

38. From *Diary in Exile*. The third volume (1929-40) of Isaac Deutscher's remarkable biography of Trotsky, while factually correct, does not give an effective account of Trotsky's work and activity in this period, more especially for the last six years devoted principally to organizing the International. Deutscher, who agreed in substance with Trotsky's ideas, felt that Trotsky

zational talents. Such a phenomenon can only be explained by objective causes, profound historical causes. Here is really a case in which Hegel's thought can be applied correctly: *Was ist wirklich ist rationell, was ist rationell ist wirklich* (What is real is rational, what is rational is real). The underlying cause of this reality must extend throughout all these years and must have international validity, as we shall see.

At various times in the preceding pages, we have explained the difficulties that faced the Fourth International because of objective conditions. Above all, there was the eminently turbulent character of the world situation, with its sudden turns and its centrifugal forces—a major difference from the earlier period of rising capitalism in the last third of the nineteenth century. The new world situation no longer allowed of so gradual a building up of working-class forces as had occurred in the earlier period, with the resultant formation of big parties organizing the entire working class as well as the vanguard into vast networks. There was also the eruption of Stalinism, which destroyed the Bolshevik party, pivot of the revolutionary International constructed around the October victory; the political convulsions and the cruelties of the Soviet bureaucracy more than once disoriented significant revolutionary forces and led them into blind alleys. The epoch of the gradual rise of capitalism had engendered the revisionism of Bernstein and the more insidious revisionism of Kautsky. The frightful history of the isolated first workers state engendered numerous "revisionisms" (state capitalism in the USSR; the bureaucracy a new exploiting class) incapable of acknowledging the revolution disguised in so hideous a mask. Finally, there were the hundreds of millions of human beings in the colonial countries who stopped being pawns of history and tried to bridge the gap of centuries in a few leaps—even in a single leap—so that the revolution they made often assumed some strange aspects.

The arena of the workers' movement, despite this situation or, more precisely, because of it, remained cluttered with the old formations—because the working masses could not fall into disorganization. There is no such thing in history as something born of nothing; the tremendous crises in the old organizations could not fail to give birth to new revolutionary leaderships. If Marxism is history that becomes conscious of itself, under these conditions this consciousness could come about only with great difficulty, could be born only in hard labor.

The organizations that could bridge all these years, all these trials, did it because they were strongly rooted in the deepest reality of the world of these fifty years.

On one hand, the Second International's organizations are linked to the working class in the old European countries by the entire history of the class, when it sought successfully to organize itself on a mass scale to defend its day to day interests. On the other hand, these organizations are tied to capitalist society, which perpetuates itself as long as it has the means to accede to the workers' demands for reforms.³⁹

39. The question can be raised: If the existence of the Social Democracy is linked to the existence of capitalism, isn't its disappearance in the workers states to be explained independently of the Stalinist terror? Couldn't the "single party" theory be

The official Communist parties drew their basic strength from the fact that they were created around the October victory and the Soviet Union, and that they appeared to be an extension of these throughout the world. Because it was the first, and for a long time the only, workers state, the Soviet Union had been the pole of attraction for all who were awakening to the necessity of replacing capitalism with a new society. Trotskyists have frequently pointed out that for the broadest masses, particularly in the underdeveloped countries, the economic development of the Soviet Union had an infinitely greater significance than the total suppression of workers' democracy under the bureaucratic regime, because these masses had no acquaintanceship whatsoever with the feeble advantages of bourgeois democracy. For the militants in those countries, the Soviet Union's material aid, no matter how slight, was indispensable and more tangible than the treacherous maneuvers of Kremlin politics. In the capitalist countries, how many sincerely revolutionary militants remained members of the Communist party for a long time, even though they had anxieties and fears about its policies, because they could see no other organization to belong to. It took the birth of other workers states and the rise of serious differences among them for layers broader than those of the extremely politicized militants to make a distinction between a workers state and its leadership of the moment, for these broader segments to understand the accommodations to world imperialism the Kremlin was seeking at the expense of the international socialist revolution—so that, as a result, Moscow would no longer remain the "guide," the pole of attraction; so that, this time, a mortal crisis would affect the Communist parties. Parties in the leadership of workers states are at the mercy of social crises in their countries. Reformist degeneration in the Communist parties of capitalist countries sooner or later will cause these parties to break up, their members having to choose between openly acknowledged reformism and the politics of rising new revolutionary formations.⁴⁰

Obviously, the Fourth International has had no ties to capitalist society. At the hands of the first workers state, whose existence it never ceased to defend, both on the political plane against the capitalist world and on the

justified in that way? This question would call for a thoroughgoing, in-depth study, which is hardly within the scope of this book. Let it suffice here to say: (a) the revolutionary upsurge and victory of the revolution historically imply a considerable weakening, though not necessarily the disappearance, of the proletariat's reformist and centrist formations; (b) in the society in transition between capitalism and socialism, the working class will still remain in different organizations for an entire period, to the extent that various layers retain differing views on the relationship between their everyday needs and their long-range interests. There will thus be room for different parties—some more reformist, some more revolutionary—in the transitional society. But that is a problem for the future, which the people themselves will solve at that time—and much better than we can do it today by theorizing.

40. In the early days of Stalinism, Trotsky had pointed out that if it were not rejected, it would drag the Communist parties onto a path halfway between communism and reformism, and that such a position could not be held for any length of time. It has been held much longer than Trotsky foresaw, but he had discerned the basic tendency with a great deal of acuity.

theoretical plane against all the revisionist tendencies—Stalinism being one of the latter⁴¹—the Fourth International suffered the most implacable persecution, often more murderous than that imposed by capitalism. The Fourth International has nevertheless been able to live and grow, because throughout all these years it alone represented the fundamental, historical interests of the world proletariat. There is no mysterious, esoteric reason for this. At its foundation, the Fourth International received, through Leon Trotsky and the Soviet Left Opposition, the heritage of direct descent from the Bolshevik party and the Communist International. The Fourth International is their legitimate heir, taking up and continuing their traditions. The Communist parties that succumbed to Stalinism, and the Communist International itself, which Stalin had to debase and dissolve, are no longer anything but usurpers.

By the very fact of its existence as an International, the Fourth International continued to represent the interests of the proletariat. While not rejecting a single conquest of the proletariat, the Fourth International refused to grant special status to any one of them before the triumph of the revolution on a world scale. Every organization that claimed to be socialist but had only national objectives, or was not an integral part of an international organization, has in the course of these years seen itself condemned either to disappear or to stagger and fall under the impact of decisive political problems.

This international plane, on which history has passed its inexorable judgment, should never for a moment be overlooked by those who really want to assure the world victory of socialism; because the world today is incomparably more unified—and in a more complex fashion—than ever before. In a preface written for the ninetieth anniversary of the *Communist Manifesto*, taking up the passage in which Marx wrote, "United action, of the leading civilized countries at least, is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat," Trotsky added:

"The subsequent development of capitalism has so closely knit all sections of our planet, both 'civilized' and 'uncivilized,' that the problem of the socialist revolution has completely and decisively assumed a world character. The Soviet bureaucracy attempted to liquidate the *Manifesto* with respect to this fundamental question. The Bonapartist degeneration of the Soviet state is an overwhelming illustration of the falseness of the theory of socialism in one country."

In the thirty years that have passed since these lines were written, contrary to the opinions of supporters of "socialism in one country" and then "national roads" (which is an adaptation of the first theory, brought to the fore during the period of the isolated state, to conditions in the "socialist camp"), the international character of the socialist revolution is even more obvious. The war in Vietnam has demonstrated, better than anything else, the

necessity for the revolutionary movement to have a global strategy against imperialism. The invasion of Czechoslovakia has demonstrated, again better than anything else, how the term *socialism* can be besmirched by the nationalist interest of a bureaucracy.

To truly act as an internationalist, it is not enough to follow world politics in the press. An international political line has to be elaborated, and this can only be done by being organically connected with forces in struggle throughout the entire world. What has given the Fourth International incomparable political strength, despite its numerical weakness; what has made it feared by the leaders of powers like the Soviet Union and China, who have a very clear understanding of their bureaucratic interests and who certainly do not engage in fighting windmills—is that the Fourth International is a unity that, by the action of its members, forges connecting links among the guerrilla fighters and the rebelling peasants of Latin America, the Blacks of the United States, the fighters of South Africa, the peoples of Black Africa and North Africa, the revolutionary militants of the Middle East, the militants in many Asian countries, the vanguards in the workers states of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, the workers and the vanguard youth of Western Europe, etc. In both bourgeois and Stalinist counterrevolutionary campaigns against the Fourth International, a role is often attributed to it that it does not have, or a degree of influence is attributed to it that it does not possess. Nevertheless, no big struggle has taken place—nor is taking place—in which the militants of the Fourth International have not participated. The lessons drawn from these struggles by its militants become part of the political and theoretical analyses of the international movement. Since there can be no really valid knowledge apart from action, the Fourth International is today the only revolutionary organization that integrates and unifies the lessons of the class struggle on all continents. That is why its analyses, the positions it takes on an international scale—without any pretensions to infallibility—have most often been superior to the analyses of individuals or groups, no matter how intelligent and sympathetic to the revolution and to socialism the latter may be.

On this subject, the Cuban leadership affords a striking example of what international limitations can do. The Cuban leadership distinguished itself from that of all the other workers states by proving itself truly internationalist when it tried to help organize the struggle for socialism throughout Latin America—on a continental scale. Nevertheless, in 1968, it very much disappointed a number of its friends and supporters because of its silence on the French May and its position on the invasion of Czechoslovakia. Where do its political defaults come from, considering its excellent understanding of the problems of the colonial revolution? Its political deficiencies stem from the fact that its horizon has remained limited to Latin America and to the colonial countries. The problems of the European workers' movements and the problems of the East European workers states and the Soviet Union escape it, because it is not connected internationally with formations that might enlarge its horizon and give it a profound, global grasp of these problems.

An argument that has been repeated many times since

41. Numerous works have been written, vainly attempting to prove that Stalinism was the legitimate offspring of Bolshevism. It is easy to show the theoretical affinities between Stalinism's political concepts and those of various left currents in Social Democracy immediately after the first world war: Menshevism, Austro-Marxism, Italian Maximalism, the Bracke-Zyromsky tendency in the SFIO, etc.

1933 in connection with establishing the Fourth International maintains that we should start by building mass revolutionary parties on a national scale, that the founding of the International can only come about as a culmination of such a process. In other words, this question is posed as if we were building a house: first the walls (the national parties) must be raised before we can put the roof (the International) in place. This kind of thinking manifests a total misconception of the relationships between the International and its national sections in the twentieth-century world. Let us recall that up to this day no specifically national organization has acquired a program that, in a truly complete fashion, answers the revolutionary needs of our epoch, including on a national scale. Because there is no such thing as "socialism in one country," no such thing as "national roads," the instrument of world revolution can only be a world party. It cannot be constructed evenly in all countries because of the uneven development of the revolution throughout the world. Creating a mass revolutionary international and creating revolutionary parties in each country do not constitute two tasks separate in time. It is a single process that takes place by constant interaction between the International and its national organizations. Finally, to understand the importance of this question, it is not without value to see to what point the bourgeoisie, throughout its history, has especially feared the existence of an International.

The question of the International was eclipsed during the years in which the world revolution resumed its momentum almost exclusively through the colonial revolution, while in Western and Eastern Europe the era was marked principally by reformism. It will not be long before the big turning point of 1968 makes the necessity of international coordination, on the level of a vanguard Marxist-revolutionary organization, the first item on the agenda. The idea of an International was born in Europe over a century ago. And it was in Europe that the idea became a reality several different times. A few decades of Stalinism have not destroyed this tradition. Moreover, Europe is the area of the world with the strongest concentration of productive forces. In Europe more than anywhere else these forces are coming into collision with the barriers of national states. The contradiction between the development of the productive forces and the superannuated national states in Europe was at the bottom of the two world wars. In the absence of victories for the socialist revolution, which would have created a socialist federation of European nations, for more than twenty years we have been witnessing the spectacle of a Europe cut in two, socially and geographically, by the division of Germany, accompanied by the establishing of two caricatures of "unification," the European Economic Community on the one hand and Comecon [Council for Mutual Economic Aid] on the other. The resumption of the revolutionary rise in Europe will not fail to place the socialist reunification of Europe on the agenda; as a consequence, the revolutionary International of the proletariat will also be placed on the order of the day.

Will the international revolutionary organization of the future be simply an enlargement of the cadre organization that constitutes the present Fourth International, or will it be achieved by other means? To pose the question

in this fashion, like it or not, is to duck the problem as it exists today. No one can maintain that mass revolutionary-Marxist organizations are going to spring up all of a sudden, like Athena from the head of Zeus, and miraculously create a mass revolutionary International. The organizations are what they are today, and to be able to change the situation, our struggle must use existing conditions as its point of departure.

We are the very first to regret the Fourth International's incapacity for so many years to mobilize and lead mass movements. Without denying errors committed, we think that these did not bear on the essential problems, so that even if these errors had been avoided, changes of a qualitative nature in the relationships between the Fourth International and the mass workers' movement would not have resulted. It is difficult to imagine that for forty years, had there been objective possibilities for so doing, a team capable of solving the problem of a mass revolutionary-Marxist leadership could not have been found—what with all the numerous attempts that were made. None of the Fourth International's manifold critics have demonstrated how to do better—and none have done better. On the contrary, when the socialist revolution made a new advance in the European countries, it was the Fourth International that was to be found in the forefront of the battle, and it was the members of the Fourth International who began to activate the mass movements in many of these countries.

The Fourth International is not one of a number of sects. Its history is that of an international revolutionary Marxist party in the most tumultuous epoch of the socialist revolution. The expansion of the working-class movement over and beyond organizations struggling in the framework of capitalist society—as a result of the creation of states rejecting the capitalist system—has given rise to an extraordinary phenomenon of combined development. Actually this expansion has for years been combined with a considerable retreat on the organizational level by the revolutionary-Marxist vanguard. We have had to lose ground as far as political action is concerned. But not for one moment has the Fourth International yielded an inch as far as theory is concerned. In addition, it has made available to new generations a rich theoretical and political contribution on numerous questions: bureaucracies in working-class organizations and bureaucracies in the workers states; Stalinism; political revolution; permanent development in the colonial revolution; theories relating to facism and the Bonapartist strong state, etc. Those who have participated in the Fourth International have a legitimate right to be proud of its history. The theoretical and political conquests of the Fourth International as an organization of vanguard cadres will enable it to go beyond the stage it has had to traverse for so long.

Joining the Fourth International today means becoming part of the battle being fought in many countries, on every continent; it means developing a global strategy against capitalism, along with the other militants of the Fourth International, and applying that strategy wherever possible; it means once again, across the years, raising aloft the banner of October, of Bolshevism, of the Communist International, and bearing it to victory in the battles of today.

[To be continued.]