

# Intercontinental Press

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## Champagne in the Kremlin,



United Press International

BREZHNEV TOASTS NIXON after signing of agreement on co-operation in space research. During period of Moscow summit

meeting, Nixon tightened blockade of North Vietnam, sending more than 250 planes a day against Kremlin's "ally."

## Bombing Raids in Vietnam

## Police Invade University of Madrid

Police invaded the University of Madrid on May 18 and opened fire on students, seriously wounding one. At the time, reported *Le Monde* correspondent José-Antonio Novais on May 20, approximately 800 students were meeting to discuss what action to take in response to a decision by the university rector to open an inquiry on some twenty students.

"The police immediately intervened to disperse those attending the meeting. A little later, 300 of them gathered on the campus again in order to demonstrate once more. It was at that point that a physical-science student, Mr. Juan Manuel Madiavilla, was struck by a bullet fired by a member of the secret police. The projectile entered through his shoulder and pierced his lungs. The victim was in serious condition Thursday evening.

"After picking up their comrade, the students continued to hold their own against a group of policemen, who fired some twenty more shots without wounding anyone. The demonstrators withdrew inside the Geological Sciences Department where, according to reports originating in university circles, they were 'brutally' pursued by the police. One woman professor had to stop her class under the menacing police revolvers. Three students were arrested." The Science Department has been closed.

The same day, reported Novais, two bombs went off in Barcelona, damaging a monument to those who died fighting for Franco in the Spanish Civil War. In addition, the university is paralyzed by a strike of substitute professors, who are demanding a wage increase and the right to coverage by social security.

There were further incidents at the University of Madrid on May 19 when students who were holding a meeting were driven out by police. "In the evening," reported Agence France-Presse, "a thousand students demonstrated in the streets of Barcelona and Madrid, waving red flags and hurling Molotov cocktails at the police." □

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## What Brezhnev Gave Nixon at Moscow Summit

By Allen Myers

It was left for an unidentified woman in the balcony of the Bolshoi Theater to offer virtually the only relevant comment from Moscow on Richard Nixon's five days of negotiations with Soviet leaders. As the curtain was about to rise the evening of May 25 on the final act of "Swan Lake," attended by Nixon and the top Soviet bureaucrats, the woman leaned from her box and shouted for the U.S. to get out of Vietnam.

Richard Nixon "was seen to smile faintly," Robert B. Semple Jr. reported in the *New York Times*. The woman was quickly taken away by police, and Nixon was later assured that she was not a Soviet citizen. Whatever the truth of that assertion, it was quite clear that Nixon had no reason to suspect the Kremlin bureaucrats of supporting the woman's demand. It must have taken considerable self-restraint for Nixon to confine his reaction to a faint smile rather than roars of laughter.

Nixon arrived in Moscow the afternoon of May 22 and was almost immediately closeted in a two-hour conference with Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Communist party. At a dinner that night in Nixon's honor, Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny explained in his toast that the Soviet bureaucrats' "peaceful coexistence" policy included support "for a peaceful political settlement of problems through negotiations and with due account taken of the aspirations and will of the peoples and their inalienable right to decide their destinies without interference and pressure from outside."

On the same day, U.S. warplanes flew at least 330 bombing raids against North Vietnam, according to figures later released by the U.S. command in Saigon. During the three-day period ending May 22, more than 1,000 strikes were flown against the North.

On May 23, two agreements were signed by U.S. and Soviet officials, establishing joint commissions for medical research and for the study

of environmental problems. The same day, at least 190 U.S. planes created new medical and environmental problems for the people of North Vietnam.

On May 24, agreements were signed providing for scientific and technical cooperation and for a joint U.S.-Soviet space flight. Also on May 24,



BREZHNEV: Provides cover for Nixon's escalation of air war in Indochina.

U.S. planes flew 270 sorties against targets in North Vietnam.

U.S. and Soviet officials on May 25 signed an agreement designed to avoid collisions and "incidents" between naval forces of the two countries. The agreement made no reference to "incidents" that might occur if Soviet ships tried to cross the minefield in Haiphong harbor. U.S. bombers flew more than 290 attacks on North Vietnam.

May 26 saw the high point of the carefully arranged performance. Nixon and Brezhnev signed a treaty and an executive agreement limiting the deployment of offensive and antibal-

listic missiles. On the same day, U.S. planes flew at least 270 sorties against North Vietnam.

At a dinner that night, Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin called the various agreements "a great victory for the Soviet and American people in the matter of easing international tension, . . . a victory for all peace-loving peoples. . . ."

All in all, the week constituted a generous contribution by the Kremlin bureaucrats to Nixon's reelection campaign and to U.S. imperialism's war effort in Indochina. The massive publicity focused on the Moscow summit meeting provided Nixon with a cover for his savage onslaught against the Indochinese revolution.

The signing of the agreements and treaties—which had been worked out in advance of Nixon's visit—was obviously scheduled to gather maximum publicity, with every day providing a new agreement or even two for the benefit of reporters.

Despite their enthusiastic cooperation with the imperialist leader, however, the Soviet bureaucrats were not able to extract a major benefit they had hoped to gain from Nixon's visit—a comprehensive trade agreement, involving credits for Soviet purchases in the United States. Instead, a joint commission was established to continue negotiations.

Nixon has been quite blunt throughout his administration that such trade deals are dependent on how helpful the Soviet government proves itself in such areas as Vietnam. The U.S. party in Moscow came quite close to spelling this out publicly, Hedrick Smith reported in the May 26 *New York Times*:

"The contents of the trade agreement are intimately bound up with the second level—the private level—of the Moscow meeting, for American officials have been hinting the last 24 hours that its contents depend in some measure on how helpful the Kremlin leaders want to be regarding Vietnam."

There is, in fact, no question about how helpful the bureaucrats *want* to be, as their reception of Nixon and their refusal to challenge the blockade demonstrated. The question of interest to Nixon is how helpful they are *able* to be, that is, whether their treachery can force the Vietnamese to submit to Nixon's terms. As a skilled bargainer, Nixon wants to pay for results, not intentions. It is therefore a safe assumption that the trade negotiations will produce no major agreement until Nixon has obtained some concrete benefits.

Brezhnev and company of course have good reason to argue that the summit meeting itself was a considerable boost to Nixon's intentions in Indochina. It served to distract attention not only from the genocidal air war against North Vietnam but also from the even more massive bombing raids in the South.

As the offensive of the Vietnamese liberation forces continues, Nixon has thrown huge numbers of aircraft into the battle in a desperate attempt to stop the disintegration of the Saigon army. U. S. planes have all but replaced the puppet army's infantry.

"Never before in the Vietnam war, or perhaps in any war," Sydney H. Schanberg wrote from Hue in the May 27 *New York Times*, "has air power been used with such ferocity. Military sources have confirmed, for example, that strikes by B-52 stratofortresses, each of which drops 24 tons of bombs, have been used against enemy troops as small as 20 or 30 men."

Against this awesome firepower, the Soviet and Chinese bureaucrats offer the Vietnamese little more assistance than occasional verbal declarations and a minute amount of material aid—the latter, of course, only when Nixon does not put obstacles like minefields in their way.

"The plain fact," James Reston observed in the May 26 *New York Times*, "is that President Nixon now has no incentive to stop the bombing and lift the blockade. . . . Moscow and Peking have turned away from his challenge—at least so far—and unless they can break his blockade, which does not seem likely, they either have to watch the slaughter go on, or fly in new long-range rockets which can hit the [aircraft] carriers and the South Vietnamese cities. . . ."

Reston's fears to the contrary, the likelihood of such aid to the Vietnam-



KOSYGIN: "A victory for all peace-loving peoples."

ese can be judged from the fact that they have not even been given sufficient weapons to exact a prohibitive toll of the aircraft bombing the North.

On May 23, the Nixon administration publicly acknowledged what has long been known about the air raids on North Vietnam—that they are not

restricted to "military targets." Pentagon spokesman Jerry Friedheim told reporters that "industrial sites" were considered legitimate targets.

"I certainly would not rule out any sort of industrial target that supports the enemy's war effort," Friedheim said. He added, "This is a very extensive campaign over the North and it is ongoing."

The next day, the Pentagon reported that additional B-52s were on their way to the battle zone to join the 140 or 150 already there. The Air Force general who made the announcement refused to disclose the number of new planes, but he commented: "This will augment in a further, and I would say a significant, way our commanders' capabilities to carry out the directives of the Commander in Chief regarding the targets supporting this war effort in, south of, and north of, the demilitarized zone."

Both Moscow and Peking have made it clear that they will put no obstacles in Nixon's way in Indochina. The only restraint on a limitless escalation is the international antiwar movement and the resistance of the Vietnamese freedom fighters themselves. □

## Chancellor's Son Leads March

### Demonstrators Greet Nixon in Salzburg

Thousands demonstrated in Salzburg, Austria, during Richard Nixon's thirty-six-hour stopover there May 20-22 on his way to Moscow. His visit to the city began "amidst demonstrations against the Vietnam war," reported Bernard Meixner in *Le Monde* May 23. "Young leftists, socialists, Communists, Maoists, Trotskyists, and other 'Marxist-Leninists' from all over Austria as well as from neighboring parts of Germany had tried, in the darkness and rain, to get to the Salzburg airport. They had demonstrated all afternoon in an orderly fashion in the city's streets, and certain groups had succeeded in occupying the landing strip in spite of very sizable police barriers. During confrontations with the police, some thirty demonstrators were injured, though not seriously; eight were ar-

rested and then released after paying a fine of 40 francs [approximately US\$8]."

The Austrian Communist party, which had organized a separate meeting, did not take part in the airport demonstration, which forced a delay in the landing of the presidential plane.

Peter Kreisky, son of the Austrian chancellor, Bruno Kreisky, was in the front of the demonstration, together with the president of the journalists' union, Gunther Nennung.

More than 2,000 demonstrators marched through the streets of Salzburg during the two days Nixon was there, according to Meixner. □

#### Why Not? The Police Do It

"Robber Is Given Help by a Judge"—headline in the *New York Times*.

## Nixon, 'New York Times' in Polite Dispute Over Reporter's Dispatches From Hanoi

By David Thorstad

Claude Julien, writing from Hanoi in the May 20 issue of *Le Monde*, described a U.S. bombing raid on the city. The bombs shook the air raid shelter in which he had taken refuge. "I asked the special correspondent of the *New York Times* if he looked on these bombs as mere bombs or as American bombs. He told me about the village he had just visited that had been leveled and about the horrors related to him by the survivors—in this case there were some survivors. Judging from his reactions, it is obvious that for many Americans, including even the best informed, this war remains something abstract. Is it necessary to bring them all here before they can understand what it is all about?"

Julien would probably not ask this question if his own source of information about the effects of the war were the trickle doled out with an eyedropper by the American mass media, including the *New York Times*. Until the *Times's* special correspondent, Anthony Lewis, began sending dispatches from North Vietnam in mid-May, not one major U.S. newspaper had a correspondent in Hanoi. Now there is one. But even his reports tend to read as though they were written in hopes they might sneak past the censorship of an editor. And it is obvious that the *Times*—which boasts of publishing "all the news that's fit to print"—is trying to present them in a manner as inoffensive as possible to the White House.

Lewis's May 24 dispatch, for example, was in large part devoted to exposing the absurd assertion two days earlier by Major General Alexander M. Haig Jr. in Washington that the morale and the political structure in North Vietnam were strained to the breaking point and that food shortages and prostitution were on the increase. Although the most accurate headline for the story would have been on the order of "Washington Spokesman Exposed as Liar," both the lead and the headline focused on a more innocuous subject: the quiet

mood of Hanoi's small diplomatic community.

The Nixon administration is upset by the very fact that the *Times* has a correspondent in North Vietnam at all—so upset that the White House pointedly did not invite the paper to the briefing by General Haig, who is a deputy to presidential assistant Henry Kissinger. This was in spite of the fact that, according to the Associated Press, "the White House official had called the briefing because of Administration concern over the Lewis articles. . . ."

On May 18, the administration attempted to pressure the *Times* into ceasing to report the point of view of the North Vietnamese altogether. Kenneth Clawson, deputy director of communications for the White House and a former newspaperman with the *Washington Post*, accused the influential bourgeois newspaper of being "a conduit of enemy propaganda to the American people" by running some of Lewis's reports.

In reality, the truth the *New York Times* has been filtering down to its readers from North Vietnam has been rather thin. Nothing as straightforward as the report by Julien, for example, which was run under the headline "The American Bombings Spare Neither Hospitals, Nor Dikes, Nor Villages."

Even Lewis's report on the razed village that had so shaken him prior to his discussion with Julien is largely written in the pseudo-objective style of American reporting that assumes that the sole function of the reporter is to mechanically record what he or she sees and what U.S. officials say—no matter how barbaric the events and no matter how outlandish the official statements—without betraying any personal feelings or intelligence. There is certainly none of the indignation the massacre undoubtedly provokes.

The village of Phucloc, whose population was 611 before the attack, was bombed by giant B-52s at 2:20 a.m. on April 16, killing 63 people,

injuring 61, and destroying 78 of the 121 houses. "That is what the North Vietnamese say," wrote Lewis. "After a visit to Phucloc one has no reason to doubt that such an attack occurred. The rubble and bomb craters are still there, a month after the attack, with some new houses built or going up amid the wreckage. But the physical evidence is less convincing than the emotional."

In the latter category was the question of one woman who had lost four of her six children, her father, uncle, sister-in-law, niece, and nephew in the attack. "Why does Nixon send B-52s to kill our children while they are asleep?" she asked.

Lewis was clearly moved: "Death is always less painful in the abstract. I was critical of the means used by the United States in this war before coming here. But tallying the numbers of bomb craters is not the same as seeing Phucloc." Yet he added that he thinks the bombing of civilian targets like Phucloc is accidental. "The North Vietnamese believe that American bombing of such targets as villages and hospitals is done intentionally, to terrorize the population. I do not; I think it is a mistake. But that does not resolve the moral problem."

The "moral problem" is bigger than Lewis might think. For it has been general knowledge for years that the U.S. has been deliberately attacking nonmilitary targets in Indochina. Lewis himself noted in his May 19 dispatch that "the announcements in Saigon and Washington always speak of attacks on military targets. How does it happen, then, that a large hospital standing alone in the middle of rice fields has been hit not once but twice in the last six months?"

Certainly there can be no excuse for doubting the accuracy of U.S. bombing in view of a Pentagon spokesman's revelation on May 23 that highly effective "smart bombs" are being used in the current bombing raids against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. These are recently developed laser-guided and television-guided bombs that zero in on their target with a startling accuracy, their margin of error being only a few meters.

Journalists in North Vietnam, observed Julien, have been able to witness the "effectiveness of a firing system that, thanks to the most advanced technology, is perfectly accurate. But

then, why was a hospital in Hanoi hit last week? Why have bombs leveled the hospital in Thanh-Hoa? Why village schools? Why was the leprosarium in Vinh-Lap, which was located in an entirely isolated place, bombed several times first between 1965 and 1968? And why, once it had been re-

built, were thirty-five of its fifty buildings reduced to dust between last April 17 and 27?"

One additional question: How long will it take the *New York Times* correspondent to discover that the bombing of civilian targets is not accidental? □

## Held in Psychiatric Hospital

# Tumerman Jailed on Eve of Nixon's Visit

By Marilyn Vogt

Aleksei Tumerman, the Soviet human-rights activist who took responsibility for releasing to the Western press the transcript of the trial of Vladimir Bukovsky, was arrested in Moscow May 22, according to the *New York Post*. Friends of Tumerman reported that he was taken from his home and confined in a psychiatric hospital.

Numerous similar arrests occurred at about the same time. As the *Post* cogently explained, "Soviet authorities frequently do this to remove dissenters from circulation without the publicity of a trial."

The apparent reason for Tumerman's arrest was his statement to Western correspondents that he hoped that "at the forthcoming [summit] talks, the question of human rights in the USSR will not be lost among the numerous other questions." He hoped that Nixon would raise the issue "as one of the fundamental questions which define the possibility of rapprochement between the West and the USSR."

Tumerman has had previous experiences with Soviet "justice" in his persistent struggle for human rights. He was imprisoned for fifteen days in March 1971, along with thirty-eight other persons who had conducted a sit-in in the reception room of the office of the Soviet procurator-general. They were demanding a trial for Soviet Jews from four cities who had been arrested.

Tumerman's confinement at that time was justified by a February 15, 1962, decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, "On increasing the penalties for endangering the life or health, or belittling the dignity, of

officials of the police and the civilian police-aides [druzhinniki]."

After his release from prison, Tumerman was rearrested in mid-April 1971 and confined in a psychiatric hospital. During both these confinements, Tumerman issued open letters of protest against the conditions of his ar-

rest and imprisonment. After several weeks, he was released into the custody of his parents.

In addition to compiling and releasing the Bukovsky trial-transcript, Tumerman joined forty-two other Soviet citizens who signed an appeal to the United Nations on Bukovsky's behalf sponsored by the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR.

It is obvious that the dissidents can expect no assistance from either the United Nations or from Nixon. The activists like Tumerman may have hoped to use the worldwide publicity surrounding the summit meeting to attract attention to their cause.

The Kremlin bureaucrats find it necessary to imprison defenders of human rights in order to welcome the imperialist war criminal without disruption. Brezhnev and company, who who would not allow Nixon's genocidal assault on the Vietnamese to interfere with the visit, trample with equal indifference on the rights and interests of Soviet citizens. □

## After Funeral of Lithuanian Worker

# Youths Battle Police in Streets of Kaunas

Thousands of young Lithuanians battled Soviet security forces May 18-19 on the streets of Kaunas, the republic's second largest city, according to reports appearing in the Western press.

Dissident Lithuanian sources informed Western correspondents in Moscow that the fighting broke out after the funeral of Roman Talanta, a twenty-year-old worker who burned himself to death in a city park on May 14. Although the government newspaper *Kaunas Tiesa* described Talanta as "mentally disturbed" and a "drug addict," his friends say he committed suicide "for political reasons."

An Associated Press dispatch from Moscow quoting Lithuanian informants said that youths fought police with sticks and stones and roamed the streets chanting "Freedom, freedom," and "Freedom for Lithuania." The government reportedly brought in special reinforcements to fight the youths. Hundreds were arrested, and one policeman was said to have been

killed. Some reports indicated that a few buildings had been set afire by the demonstrators.

In recent years an antibureaucratic movement has developed in opposition to the national oppression of Lithuanians by Moscow. The Roman Catholic church in Lithuania has sought to capitalize on the national movement, a policy that has been aided by the bureaucracy's suppression of all "non-Russian" aspects of the national life. Talanta, in all the Western reports, was described as a "Roman Catholic worker." □

### It's Rational Now?

Jane Briggs Hart has refused to pay income taxes as a protest against the Indochina war. Her husband, Senator Philip Hart of Michigan, says he's also against the war but he doesn't approve of her method of protest. "If every citizen were allowed to pay taxes for only those programs he liked," said the senator, "then there would be no rational structure of government."



## New Cabinet Is Formed

# Ramanantsoa Wins End to Malagasy Strike

The eight-day-long general strike in Tananarive, Malagasy, ended May 22 after union leaders reached a tentative agreement with the new prime minister, General Gabriel Ramanantsoa. But the trade unionists described the back-to-work movement as "conditional" upon Ramanantsoa's fulfilling his promises of reform, which were made during all-day negotiating sessions held May 21.

According to the May 23 *Le Monde*, the unions presented Ramanantsoa with demands that democratic rights be restored, that he affirm the provisional character of the military regime, that all political prisoners be freed, that workers receive pay for the week they were on strike, and that a national congress to draw up a new constitution be convened within two months.

Ramanantsoa agreed to these demands, but his desire and ability to actually carry them out remain problematical. On May 23, he appointed Colonel Richard Ratsimandrava, the commander of the national gendarmerie, as new minister of the interior. Ratsimandrava, like Ramanantsoa, is a graduate of the French Saint-Cyr military academy. The latter fought in the French army during the 1946-1954 Indochina war; the former gained his experience serving in Morocco and Algeria during the 1950s. Both, understandably enough, have reputations for being extremely pro-French.

On May 27 Ramanantsoa announced the composition of his new government. In addition to remaining prime minister, he will hold the defense, armed forces, and planning portfolios. Besides Ramanantsoa and Ratsimandrava, there are four other military officers and four civilians in the new cabinet.

Ramanantsoa, according to *Le Monde*, presently has the support of the majority of students and workers in the capital. This is because of his reputation for honesty and not because of his politics. On the key issue of continued French control of the country, opposition to which was a motive force in the worker-student up-

rising, the general has avoided taking a clear stand.

"Our cooperation [with France] is a living thing and, like all living things, must evolve," he told reporters May 23. "This is the first question I will study."

While the lack of an alternative leadership has allowed Ramanantsoa tem-

porarily to reestablish business as usual in Tananarive, that victory may be a short-lived one. The general is clearly attempting to consolidate a military-backed regime built around himself as a strongman. Tsiranana, the leader of the government for twelve years before he was reduced to a mere figurehead by the general strike, tried to do the same thing. The new politicization of the Malagasy people will make Ramanantsoa's job much more difficult. According to *Le Monde*, the workers are ready to walk off the job again if Ramanantsoa does not quickly accede to their demands. □

## Pearce Commission Makes Its Report

# Douglas-Home Admits Zimbabwe's 'No'

The British government's latest attempt to reach an accommodation with the racist Rhodesian regime has been thwarted by the mobilization of the Black population of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). British Foreign Secretary

member by Edward Heath and Ian Smith, had concluded that the pact was unacceptable to the Zimbabwe people "as a whole."

The proposed agreement provided for British recognition of Rhodesian "independence," which had been unilaterally declared by Smith in 1965, and the consequent lifting of British and UN-imposed economic sanctions against the Smith regime.

In exchange for official British recognition, Smith agreed to draft a new constitution that theoretically would have allowed for eventual rule by Zimbabwe's Black majority. In reality, the new constitution would have perpetuated white minority rule, making increased Black parliamentary representation contingent on virtually unrealizable Black economic progress. (See *Intercontinental Press*, December 6, 1971, p. 1062.)

To provide a democratic facade for the sell-out deal, Heath appointed a twenty-four-member commission, headed by retired High Court Judge Lord Pearce, and instructed it to visit Zimbabwe to test popular reaction to the accord. The commission was expected to rubber-stamp the agreement. But the commission's arrival in Zimbabwe triggered a sweeping mass mobilization of Africans, as thousands took to the streets to demonstrate their opposition to the new constitution. After weeks of public hearings, the commission could find only a handful of Blacks who supported the deal. The



PEARCE: No deal.

Alec Douglas-Home announced May 23 that the Pearce Commission, which had been charged with sampling Zimbabwe public reaction to the terms of an agreement negotiated last No-

commission was forced to admit that there was no significant support for the settlement among the Black population.

In announcing the commission's decision, Douglas-Home said that "the status quo will remain," meaning that Britain will not lift its economic sanctions against Rhodesia. But he "left the impression," according to the May 24 *New York Times*, "that if a compromise agreement could be reached among Rhodesians, Britain would drop her long-held insistence on sampling opinion, at least in the manner of the commission."

The British parliament is scheduled to consider the question of the Rhodesian economic sanctions in November. Douglas-Home, in hinting at withdrawing his government's position of

requiring some sort of approval from Zimbabwe Blacks, seemed to be aiming at inducing Smith to make concessions that would give Heath an excuse for recommending the lifting of sanctions in November.

But that seems an unlikely possibility. Smith, who immediately denounced the Pearce Commission's decision, is under heavy pressure from rightists who believe his negotiating with Heath in the first place represented a betrayal of white interests.

But more important, the Blacks are in a much stronger position to oppose any new deals. The African National Council, which was formed during the struggle against the new constitution, has declared it will accept nothing short of universal suffrage in Zimbabwe. □

## Vow to Fight Government, Union-Splitters

### Quebec Union Leaders Released From Jail

The presidents of Québec's three labor federations were released from jail May 23, two weeks after their imprisonment touched off a massive strike wave. The three—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]—vowed a "fight to the finish" against the Liberal party government of Premier Robert Bourassa.

The union leaders were freed after appealing their one-year contempt-of-court sentences, imposed for urging union members to ignore strike-breaking injunctions during the April general strike of public employees. They had originally refused to appeal in order to show that there is "no justice" in Québec. Released with them were thirty-one local union officials who had earlier appealed but had then begun serving their sentences in solidarity with the union heads.

The strike wave in support of the jailed unionists was called off by leaders of the unions' Front Commun [Common Front] May 18 after the government promised to release the

labor leaders and to negotiate a new contract with the public employees rather than impose terms under the strike-breaking law passed in April.

Dick Fidler reported in the June 2 issue of the New York revolutionary-socialist weekly *The Militant* that the three union presidents said a "major factor" in the decision to appeal was the need to fight a move to split the CSN, which represents 235,000 workers. Three of the five members on the confederation's executive board have announced plans for a rival "non-political" union.

One of the splitters, CSN Vice President Paul Emile Dalpé, charged that the CSN has been taken over by "ideologists whose ideas can only lead to a dictatorship of the proletariat."

"At a midnight news conference," Fidler wrote, "the FTQ's Louis Laberge accused Premier Robert Bourassa's government of 'encouraging, if not organizing, the division within the CSN' in order to weaken the Québec labor movement. He noted that Dalpé was formerly a Liberal candidate for public office." □

#### For an Ossified Bureaucrat

At the conclusion of his Moscow visit, Nixon gave Brezhnev a clock set in petrified wood.

## Finland

### Journalists' Strike Closes Newspapers

Finland's journalists went on strike on May 10. "The evening newspapers did not come out today," reported the Danish daily *Politiken* from Helsinki the first day of the strike. "Editors in chief have been left sitting powerless at their desks. Finland's journalists' union reported at 5:00 p.m. that the strike is 100-percent effective."

The strike, which is expected to last between four and six weeks, has left the country without any newspapers. Television and radio reporters, however, are continuing to work.

The strike was called after several weeks of unsuccessful negotiations between the journalists' union and the employers. The journalists demanded a one-year contract, while the employers insisted that the contract be for four years. Although there was a last-minute agreement on the one-year demand, the negotiations remained stalled on the wage question. The journalists are demanding wage increases of between 350 and 450 kroner a month [approximately US\$45-\$58], but the employers are offering to pay an increase of only 140-250 kroner.

It is only within the course of the past few years that the Finnish journalists' union has developed into a real trade-union organization from what was essentially a professional association. □

### Castro: No Plans to Meet Nixon

"There is nothing to talk to Nixon about," Cuban Premier Fidel Castro told a news conference in Sofia May 26.

Castro, on a ten-nation tour of Africa and Eastern Europe, was responding to a Mexican newspaper report that said he would meet with Nixon in Warsaw June 1 during the latter's stopover on his return from Moscow.

"We never think about talking with Nixon about anything," Castro said. "What would we tell him? To stop being an imperialist? To lift the blockade of Cuba? To stop his acts of aggression?" □



## One Tortured Captive Released

### Fronzizi Jailed for Defending Prisoners

An editorial in the Buenos Aires newspaper *Nuevo Hombre* at the beginning of April drew attention to the fact that the Argentine government has been systematically attacking the radical press. The usual tactic is to close papers down for allegedly violating technicalities of the repressive censorship laws.

On May 9, the Lanusse regime turned its repression against *Nuevo Hombre*. The latest issue of the radical bi-weekly was confiscated, with only a few copies managing to escape the sweep. The front-page headline for the issue declared "USA Dictates: Dictatorship."

The preceding issue of the magazine, dated April 25, carried a detailed report on repression in Argentina. The paper's publisher, Silvio Fronzizi, was arrested on May 10 and charged with violating the "anti-communist" law. On May 4, a bomb had gone off in the *Nuevo Hombre* offices.

In addition, the editor of the Buenos Aires monthly *Cristianismo y Revolución*, Casiana Ahumada, has been sentenced to four years' exile on a prison ship. The Lanusse regime had charged her with "inciting to violence" in the pages of the magazine.

A petition being circulated in defense of Ahumada, however, traces the source of the charge to the magazine's coverage of "the systematic looting of the national wealth, the exploitation of the workers and the middle classes, and above all the unmerciful repressive rage to which the country has been subjected to prevent the people from achieving their national and social liberation."

One of Argentina's best-known political prisoners, Norma Morello, a rural schoolteacher, returned to her home in Goya May 15 after more than five months in military prisons. "It was an extraordinary homecoming," wrote *New York Times* correspondent Juan de Onís. "A caravan of 100 farm trucks and cars escorted Miss Morello from the city limits, where police checked documents, and 1,500 people attended a mass of thanksgiving for her release."

The mass, which was conducted by

five priests, including leaders of the radical-oriented "third world priests" movement, "ended with priests and parishioners, including an unusually large number of young men and women, singing 'We Shall Overcome' in Spanish."

Morello, who has been active in organizing and working for social reforms for peasants and shantytown inhabitants, was arrested last December 1. For more than one month there were no reports on where she was being held.

"After she was freed early this

month," wrote de Onís, "Miss Morello signed an affidavit saying she had been tortured for three days with electric devices and had been denied sleep for 15 days while she was interrogated in a military installation outside Rosario in December."

The reason for the torture, she explained, was that "they wanted me to say things that would link the Catholic movement in Goya and the third world priests with the armed struggle against the military dictatorship. They didn't get anything from me."

She was released after Roman Catholic bishops brought pressure on the Lanusse regime. "The torture of a person to obtain information or confession, not only of innocents, but of those suspected or responsible for political or common crimes, is always illicit," the bishops said. □

### Key Prosecution Contentions Demolished

### Defense Rests Case in Angela Davis Trial



ANGELA DAVIS

The defense rested its case May 24 in the Angela Davis murder-kidnapping-conspiracy frame-up trial in San Jose, California, having effectively refuted the state's case. After rebuttal by the prosecution, the case will go to the jury.

The prosecution, which called ninety-three witnesses and introduced more than 200 items of circumstantial evidence during seven weeks of testimony before it rested its case on May 15, accuses Davis of having financed and planned a jail escape and capture of hostages at the Marin County Civic Center on August 7, 1970. The hostages were allegedly to be exchanged for the imprisoned Soledad Brothers George Jackson, Fleeta Drumgo, and John Cluchette. In the incident, four persons, including Judge Harold Haley and Jonathan Jackson, brother of George Jackson, were killed.

Prosecutor Albert Harris contends that Davis acted out of "passionate love" for Jackson, who was murdered by prison guards a year later, on August 21, 1971.

The state's case hinged on an 18-page document allegedly written by Davis while in jail almost one year after the Marin County events. The document was discovered in the belongings of George Jackson after he was murdered. Prior to its discovery, the state claimed Davis had acted from political motives. After its discovery, however, it changed its contention and asserted that she acted from passion.

This suggests that the state kept Da-

vis in jail for more than a year without evidence to substantiate its case. When the state rested its case on May 15, defense counsel Leo Branton moved that all the charges be dropped. "You mean you have kept the defendant in jail for sixteen months and subjected her to terror and agony and that's the only evidence you have?" he asked. "The only theory you have proven is that Angela Davis is a warm, articulate human being who has love and compassion—yes—for George Jackson, but [also] for humanity and especially the Black people she represents so well."

In her opening statement to the jury, Davis ridiculed the prosecution's method. "Since I committed no crimes," she stated, "since all my activity was open and aboveboard, the prosecutor is left with one alternative. He must shape his circumstantial case out of the ordinary circumstances of everyday life.

"He would have you believe that lurking behind my external appearance are sinister and selfish emotions and passions, which, in his words, know no bounds. This is utterly fantastic, this is utterly absurd. Yet it is understandable that Mr. Harris would like to take advantage of the fact that I am a woman—and women in this society are supposed to act only in accordance with the dictates of their emotions and passions. This is a symptom of the male chauvinism which prevails in this society."

The prosecution was unable to discredit the testimony of defense witnesses. One, Soledad Brother Fleeta Drumgo, testified May 24 that he had no knowledge of the August 7 escape attempt until hearing about it on the San Quentin prison radio and that he did not know that freedom for him, Cluchette, and George Jackson was the alleged purpose of the "conspiracy" until reading the newspapers the following day.

Ellen Broms testified that Davis learned about the incident and Jonathan Jackson's death by telephone only that night while Davis, Franklin Alexander (national coordinator of the Davis defense committee), and Broms were sharing a quiet evening together at the latter's apartment.

The prosecution was unable to prove one of its main contentions, that Davis gave a gun to Jonathan Jackson to use in the incident. Defense witness Tamu Ushindi testified

that her apartment, which served as the headquarters of both the Soledad Brothers Defense Committee and the Che-Lumumba Club, an organization affiliated to the Communist party, stored several weapons that were used for target practice, including one bought by Davis for the Che-Lumumba Club. Davis, who had seen a newspaper photograph of Jackson holding one similar to the one she had bought, came to Ushindi's apartment on August 8 together with Alexander. "They asked if Jonathan had been

there," the witness stated, "and I said he had come by on Saturday. Then they left, and the next time I saw Angela was in the Marin County jail."

Seeing his case crumbling, prosecutor Harris resorted to red-baiting of Ushindi and other defense witnesses.

Various other key contentions of the prosecution relating to Angela Davis's whereabouts at various times leading up to the Marin County courthouse events were also destroyed in defense testimony. □

## Shah Chooses Eve of Nixon's Visit

## Five Guerrillas Executed in Iran

By Javad Sadeeg

The Iranian Students Association in New York announced on May 26 that five political opponents of the Shah were executed on May 25 in Teheran by a firing squad. The martyred revolutionists, who were mostly scientists or engineers, are: Saeed Mohsen, Asgar Badizadegan, Rassul Meschkinfam, Ahmad Hanifnejad, and Mohammad Afganzadeh.

The executions took place on the eve of President Nixon's visit to Iran on May 30. His last visit was as vice president in December 1953—four months after the CIA-engineered coup that overthrew Mossadegh's liberal-nationalist government and brought the Shah back to power. Before that visit, the Shah had the university of Teheran occupied by both the military and the police. Before Nixon's arrival the soldiers, without any provocation, were ordered to shoot at the students. Three were killed. The date of this incident, Shenez-dah Azar on the Persian calendar, is known as Students' Day and is commemorated each year by Iranian students.

The Iranian Students Association scheduled a demonstration in Washington, D.C., on May 30 to protest Nixon's visit "with the intention of extending his war policies to the Middle East." The action was also to be a protest against the executions and the Shah's oppressive regime.

The executed revolutionists belonged to an urban guerrilla group known

as Chrik-haye Fedayee Khalg (Combatants of the People). In addition to those executed on May 25, the following ten members of the group were sentenced to death in mid-May by a secret military court of appeals; six of them had been given life sentences but saw the sentence changed to death by the appeals court: Mahmoud Askarizadeh, Ebrahim Avakh, Ali Tashayod, Bahman Bazargani, Moussa Nassir Oghli, Mohammed Seyedi Cashani, Fathollah Khamenen, Nassir Samavati, Abdolnabi Moazzani, and Mohammed Ali Tashayod. The names were released by the French Committee for the Defense of Iranian Political Prisoners and appeared in the Paris daily *Le Monde* May 24.

In addition to those given death sentences, several others were sentenced to prison, some for life. Among those who received prison sentences, reported *Le Monde*, was Taher Ahmadzadeh, "whose two sons were executed by firing squad at the beginning of the year. Guilty of having defended his two sons, he was sentenced to ten years in prison." □

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# Intellectual and Manual Labor: A Vanishing Distinction

By Ernest Mandel

[The following article is reprinted from the March 17 issue of the Belgian weekly *La Gauche*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

The extremely militant strikes of the salaried employees at the Liège steelworks and of the white-collar workers in the petroleum industry illustrate a thesis that we have upheld for many years: The evolution of capitalism leads to a growing social homogeneity of all those compelled to sell their labor power.

The various currents in bourgeois sociology and the labor movement (both reformist and ultraleft) who have obstinately denied this fact are now confronted by a reality that increasingly contradicts their schemas. This was shown during May 1968 in France and also during the Italian "creeping May." Real life has just provided us with another confirmation, on a more modest scale, in this country.

### What Is the Proletariat?

The Marxist theory of social classes does not start from simplistic, a priori criteria. In the final analysis, each social class is defined by the place it occupies in production. But this is true only in the final analysis. And the objective position of a social class does not automatically mean that it is conscious of that position or its immediate class interests, not to mention its historical interests.

The idea that Marx and Lenin reserved the term *proletariat* only for manual laborers is an absolutely false one. Numerous quotations contradict this notion quite clearly. For Marx and Lenin, the proletariat included all those who are forced to sell their labor power because they do not own capital and have no direct access to the instruments of production or to means of sustenance.

In fact, Marx wrote: "Every wage-worker is not necessarily a produc-

tive worker; every producer is not necessarily a wage-worker." The concept of the proletariat—that is, the class of wage-workers—is therefore by definition broader than that of manual laborers.

Furthermore, Marx also asserted that the concept of productive worker is broader than that of manual worker. Progressively, as heavy industry develops, the division of labor develops within it, as does the application of science and technology to production. The special attribute of capital is that it appropriates to itself the fruits of this division of labor and technology.

This is why, as Marx said, the collective labor-capacity of the entire factory—which includes all those who are indispensable to the productive process—must be taken into consideration. He explicitly included technicians and engineers in this category. In our epoch it would be necessary to add a good number of those working in research laboratories, especially in the chemical and electrical industries. Without their labor, production would cease just as surely as it would without manual laborers.

### Consciousness in White-Collar and Blue-Collar Workers

This development has been under way for a long time. But also for a long time, consciousness has lagged behind reality.

The consciousness of the white-collar workers is not solely a function of their general position in the productive process, but also of the material privileges they enjoy in comparison to other workers: much higher salaries (which often allow for a small accumulation of capital, not enough to live on but enough to round out their retirement pensions); much more stable positions (firings are much less frequent and advance notice is much longer); higher level of consumption; greater possibility of getting into the real capitalist hierarchy; etc.

And it must be added that many white-collar occupations are tied to the exploitation of the workers (time study, foremen, supervisors) or to the realization of surplus value (sales, credit, and financial services) rather than to production proper.

The third technological revolution has changed this situation from top to bottom.

Above all, the proportion of white-collar workers engaged in activities indispensable to production has risen considerably. In semiautomatic and automatic processes, the difference between white-collar workers and blue-collar workers tends to disappear. Is a worker who operates (or supervises) an automatic assembly line blue-collar or white-collar? One can haggle forever without answering this question. The same comment could be made, for example, about electrical workers.

It is symbolic of the erosion of the barrier between white- and blue-collar workers that wider and wider layers of blue-collar workers are asking for a monthly wage-rate and for advance notice before layoffs identical to what white-collar workers get. The success achieved in this quest, while still modest, clearly indicates the trend.

### What Is Changing

In the past, a blue-collar worker would go to school until age twelve, a white-collar worker until eighteen. Today, a blue-collar worker will go to school until age sixteen or seventeen, and a white-collar worker will not always go to college. In this regard also, the difference disappears.

The gap between the wages of blue- and white-collar workers, while it remains real, has had a tendency to narrow. There are some skilled workers getting higher wages than salaried employees. The range of remuneration depends more on the branch of industry involved than on the manual or intellectual nature of the job.

A white-collar worker in the garment industry suffers from the gen-

eral low wages of this sector. A worker in the steel or oil industry profits from the relatively high wages characteristic of these sectors.

During the second quarter of 1970, according to statistics released by the ONSS (National Organization of Social Sciences), 15.8% of manual laborers got wages exceeding 15,000 francs per month (about US\$335); 42.3% of the white-collar workers made less than that.

Among women, who suffer from a scandalous discrimination in pay-scales, the difference is even clearer: 11.6% of blue-collar workers got more than 10,000 francs per month (about US\$225); 53.7% of the white-collar workers made less.

The difference in level of consumption and life-style that used to separate the blue- and white-collar worker is likewise narrowing. Today, the worker in the peaked blue cap is just as rare as the salaried employee in the bowler hat. On Sunday at the soccer stadium, or on Saturday night when the movies let out in the workers'

quarter, no one, no matter how clever, can tell the difference between workers and white-collar employees. Clothes no longer make the man.

As to opportunities for individual advancement—this great fifty-year-old white-collar dream—they have also practically disappeared. Factory managements are no longer as accessible as university diplomas. For a forty- or forty-five-year-old white-collar worker, being fired can be just as tragic as for a blue-collar worker; it has become almost impossible to find a new job at the same pay.

### Results of the Change

All these changes—as well as the erosion of savings in the wake of successive devaluations and inflation—have considerably reduced the divergence between blue- and white-collar consciousness. Unionization of white-collar workers is increasing. In some countries, like Belgium and Great Britain, the white-collar workers are among the most militant lay-

ers of the proletariat. They are now found on the left, and no longer on the right, in the trade-union movement.

We have seen this occur in the past—for example, the employees' union in Brussels at the end of the second world war. But at that time it was a relatively small minority reflecting the higher educational and cultural level of the white-collar vanguard.

Today, we are dealing with a much larger mass, which is organized and can be drawn into trade-union struggles.

It would be premature to say that all differences between white- and blue-collar workers have disappeared. Furthermore, differences among various layers of blue-collar workers remain substantial. It would be still more fallacious to suppose that all white-collar workers have acquired a trade-union consciousness, let alone political class consciousness. But it is the direction of development that is important.

It is this development that we wanted to point out and discuss. □

## Victim Lacks Right Measurements

# Why the SLL Refuses to Support the Mandel Case

By Pat Jordan and Tariq Ali

On February 28, 1972, Comrade Ernest Mandel was forbidden by the West German immigration officials at Frankfurt airport from entering West Germany, and was deported back to Belgium. Questioned by a left socialist MP in the Bonn parliament about the incident, the bourgeois minister of the interior, Mr. Genscher, stated that Mandel was forbidden to enter Germany for an unlimited period, "until he changes his revolutionary views."

Genscher tried to make the subtle distinction between the "Marxist economist," who was supposed to be welcome, and the "active revolutionist," leading member of the Fourth International, whose activities were directed at the overthrow of the state and the social order in West Germany and who should therefore be banned from that country.

Specifically Mr. Genscher referred to the Fourth International's programme of wanting to install a workers republic based upon workers councils in Germany, and declared this to be unconstitutional. Before him, the West Berlin Senate had argued along similar lines when it refused to nominate Ernest Mandel to the post

of professor for political economy at the Free (!) University of West Berlin, for which he had been chosen by a nearly unanimous vote of students, assistant professors, and professors.

The repressive measures of Minister Genscher and of the West Berlin Senate have provoked a storm of protest in all left-wing circles of the German labor movement and of the German students and intellectuals. This protest is still going on and spreading internationally.

While we are writing this article, thousands of students strike against Mandel being banned at the West Berlin university itself; several faculties have been occupied for more than a week. The University of Heidelberg officially joined the protest of the Free University of West Berlin. Student government bodies are doing likewise in many other universities. Mass meetings have taken place on this subject in half a dozen towns. In Berlin itself a congress convened for the purpose of fighting against this and similar measures of repression assembled more than 3,000 students. Important trade-union officials, several local trade-union

bodies, as well as numerous left socialists, the national leadership of the West German Young Socialists, and half a dozen Social-Democratic MPs have come out against the ban.

From the beginning, Comrade Mandel has based his principled fight against the ban on two key issues. First, he never denied holding the programme of replacing bourgeois parliamentary democracy by soviet democracy, by the democracy of workers councils, but strongly insisted on the basic political freedom for all working-class tendencies to defend their full programme in West Germany. Second, he warned the West German trade unionists, Social Democrats, socialists, students, and intellectuals that this ban was only a new stage in a campaign of increased repression not only against the left-wing tendencies in the labor movement, but against the labor movement as such and against the democratic rights of all workers, students, and intellectuals.

He warned that the exclusion of Marxists from professorships would lead to the exclusion of left socialists and members of the "ruling" SPD [Sozialdemokra-

tische Partei Deutschlands] itself, that the ban against free movement of cadres of revolutionary organizations would soon lead to a ban against movement of trade unionists too. Against all these repressive measures it was necessary to build a united front of all working-class tendencies, without any exclusion or divisive tactics, defending the democratic freedom of the whole movement. Otherwise, these freedoms would be chopped away bit by bit from everybody.

These warnings of Comrade Mandel soon became confirmed. The West German tory party of Barzel and Strauss—the Christian Democrats—has started a vicious pogrom campaign against the Young Socialists and left Social Democrats (accused, among other things, of having defended the dangerous revolutionary Ernest Mandel). The French Pompidou regime, which had banned Mandel from France too, thereupon banned a delegation of British Labour MPs and trade unionists from entering that country in order to consult with French trade unionists during the recent referendum campaign in France on the subject of Britain's joining the Common Market.

It is clear that the case of Ernest Mandel is rapidly becoming a symbol of the type of capitalist Europe Big Capital is trying to build at present—a Europe where free circulation is guaranteed only to big entrepreneurs, bankers, capitalist ruffraff and speculators, bourgeois politicians, NATO generals and admirals and other underworld characters, but where this freedom of movement is being limited or denied to revolutionists, to socialists, to trade unionists and to "foreign workers," who are not satisfied with being "freely" exploited abroad but also want to be free to defend themselves. If the labor movement allows this kind of discrimination to be generally accepted, this can only mean that its own position becomes further weakened in the Common Market and Capital's position strengthened. So this question of the right to circulate freely without political discrimination has become an issue in the international class struggle itself.

Most people on both sides of the barricades have understood this perfectly—the capitalists by insisting upon their right to stop the activities of "foreign" revolutionists; wide circles of the international labor movement, including those that strongly disagree with Ernest Mandel's views, by insisting on the necessity of lifting the German ban. This has become a source of major embarrassment for the Stalinists, to begin with the Communist party in West Germany and West Berlin, and the ruling SED [Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands—Socialist Unity party of Germany].

These organizations had stepped up their anti-Trotskyist campaign since the international conference of Communist parties convened a year ago in Moscow to discuss the specific question of how to fight Trotskyism. Comrade Mandel had

been singled out by the CP publications the world over as "a professional anti-Soviet agitator" and a "ferocious anti-Communist." But now suddenly this notorious "anti-Communist" is expelled from West Germany because he is "guilty" of spreading Communist propaganda, and this "professional anti-Soviet agitator" is being accused by the imperialists of wanting to build a Soviet Republic in Germany! This type of propaganda—as engaged in by Mandel before and after the ban—in favor of soviet democracy, of a republic of workers councils, hadn't been heard in Germany for nearly forty years; and in addition he defends the CP victims of the bourgeois repression and discriminatory measures in West Germany, too . . .

The embarrassment of the CP bureaucrats is all the greater as Comrade Mandel's statements were not only spread on millions of copies by popular weekly magazines like *Der Spiegel*, *Die Zeit*, *Der Stern*, *Pardon*, the organ of the West Berlin Social-Democratic party, the organ of the Young Socialists, etc.; they were also widely publicized on radio and television, which reach millions of workers, intellectuals, and students in East Germany. Most of these people got through these statements their first contact with Trotskyism—and it wouldn't be an unsympathetic contact either. Here you had a revolutionist viciously attacked by the rulers of both West and East Germany—and who stood for the democracy of workers councils.

The CP leaders tried to wriggle out of their plight by advancing a typically Stalinist line. The imperialists, they said, had deliberately selected Comrade Mandel as their main target in order to "force" the left to solidarize itself with a Trotskyist—thereby strengthening this diversionist and "anti-Communist" tendency. In other words: oppression is really a conspiracy between the oppressors and the victim, in order to make the victim more sympathetic in the eyes of the masses!

With the same "logic" the French Stalinists had already "denounced" the "conspiracy" between the murdered Maoist worker Pierre Overney and the bourgeois private police at the Renault factory in Paris, the objective "proof" of the conspiracy consisting in the fact that the latter had killed the former.

One should add that the German CP has created strong dissension within its own ranks as a result of this unprincipled attitude on the question of solidarity with victims of imperialist repression. Many local youth and student groups have joined united-front actions in favor of lifting the ban against Ernest Mandel. We can only welcome this as a significant break with Stalinist opportunism.

But the Stalinists are not the only ones to cling to this type of "logic." Some sects are confronted with a difficulty similar to the one that faces the CP, be it on a much more modest and limited level, and they try to solve it by an analogous method.

The sectarian leaders of the Socialist Labour League, who refused to take part in the reunification of the Fourth International in 1963 and ever since then have hysterically tried to justify their existence separate and apart from the world Trotskyist movement by inventing all kinds of "accusations" against the Fourth International founded by Leon Trotsky, have for several years made of Comrade Ernest Mandel their target No. 1. He is the "arch-revisionist." He is the "darling of the middle classes," the "centrist *par excellence*," who "objectively" helps imperialism to disorient leftward moving workers. He is "moving rapidly towards bankrupt reformism."

One can only wonder why the imperialists don't share these estimates of Messrs. Healy, Slaughter, Banda, and Co., and put less obstacles on Mandel's activities around the world. On the contrary, these class-conscious and rather clever gentlemen totally disagree with the SLL's judgment of Comrade Mandel. They consider him not a "bankrupt reformist" (whom they would help) but a dangerous revolutionist whom they have to restrict in his activities. And their repression directed against him has been stepped up constantly for four years.

How does the SLL leadership react to this embarrassing situation? Cliff Slaughter, in *Workers Press* of April 12, 1972, engaged in a series of unprincipled manoeuvres which, basically, amount to scabbing on the struggle now being conducted on an international scale against restrictions of democratic freedom for all tendencies of the labor movement.

First he tries to minimize the repressive measures which Comrade Mandel has been subjected to by the bourgeois government of Western Germany. He writes:

"Further, they [the "Pabloites," whatever that may mean—PJ & TA] are campaigning against the action of the W German authorities in refusing Mandel permission even to enter W Berlin when he recently tried to attend a 'teach-in' there."

Slaughter knows very well that Mandel, as a Belgian citizen, needs no "permission" to enter West Berlin. He knows very well that what occurred was not a one-time action of the Bonn regime to prevent Mandel from being present at a West Berlin teach-in (this is, in fact, the excuse dished out by the advocates of the bourgeois repressive measures), but a general ban from entering West Germany. And he also knows that this ban has been justified by the government with reference to Mandel's revolutionary activities as one of the leaders of the Fourth International. It therefore constitutes an attempt to illegalize not only the visits of other members of the Fourth International into West Germany, but of all revolutionists as well.

All this Slaughter hides from his readers, thereby helping to whitewash the imperialist repression. The whitewashing job is further amplified by nasty innuendos of this kind:

"He [Mandel] appears at innumerable

international seminars and colloquia . . .

"Indeed, Mandel's political identity is nowadays entirely a matter of his impact as some sort of celebrity descending on various capital cities and university campuses."

Just imagine how shameless this revisionist Mandel has become. He has the nerve to "descend on various capital cities," whereas, as everybody knows, the real duty of a real internationalist is to stick to one's own cozy little island and let world revolution elsewhere take care of itself. Isn't such "revisionism" justly punished after all by the bourgeoisie?

Thirdly, Slaughter makes a clumsy attempt to deny that this whole matter of Mandel's being banned from West Germany and four other imperialist countries has anything to do with the interests of the international labor movement as a whole; for him it is only a small matter of the Fourth International itself: "Pabloites everywhere are campaigning against a decision by the W Berlin Senate . . ." This again amounts to an attempt at whitewashing the imperialist culprits.

No, the ban is not a matter of interest to the "Pabloites" only. It is the whole left wing of the international labor movement that has started to "campaign" on this issue. And only blind factionalists can close their eyes to the obvious matter of common interest to all socialists and revolutionists which is involved here.

But then comes the explanation we have been waiting for, of why the imperialists should really have any interest at all to stop the activities of an "arch-revisionist" and of a "bankrupt reformist" (generally, as is well known, such persons are not stopped by imperialist governments under conditions of decaying bourgeois democracy, but rather rewarded with cabinet minister jobs):

"As imperialism . . . moves rapidly into its worst-ever economic and political crisis, it must desperately suck away these middle-class elements to some *centrist* political force to deal with that phase of the crisis when new masses are thrown into political struggle.

"Such centrist forces cannot be sucked out of nothing as it were. Mandel is hatching out the kind of politics to fit the bill. Of course, imperialism uses the centrists in this way only as a short step on the road to the eventual fascist and dictatorial repression." [Emphasis in original.]

Here we have Slaughter swallowing the Stalinist position hook, line, and sinker! If there is international repression against Ernest Mandel and the Fourth International, this is not, as naive persons might think, because the increasing strength and influence of the Fourth International in organizing a revolutionary vanguard on a worldwide scale increasingly becomes a threat to the capitalist regime. Not at all. If the German capitalists and their right-wing Social-Democratic stooges treat Mandel not like "some sort of a celebrity descending" on their cities, but as a rev-

olutionist who wants to overthrow capitalism and establish a soviet republic of workers councils; if they express the fear that he might strengthen a revolutionary organization of students and workers—especially of workers, that's what they are really afraid of!—this is all only make-belief to disorient the gullible, lead them to centrism, and prevent millions from rallying around the shining beacons of revolutionary thought and action ablaze on Clapham High Street.

No, if there is stepped-up repression against Ernest Mandel and the Fourth International, this is because the imperialists want to . . . use them against Cliff Slaughter! The victim is in a conspiracy with the victimizers, against the pure defenders of the faith, who are ignored precisely because they are the really dangerous people. It is difficult to find a more nauseating imitation of the Stalinist logic, produced by a sect which, out of habit, still calls itself Trotskyist, one wonders why.

But Slaughter has some principles left. Don't think he is in active support of imperialist repression. Perish the thought! To prove the contrary, we are treated to the following weighty piece of cant:

"Now, of course, [of course!—PJ & TA], the Socialist Labour League is for the defence of the rights of all persons to travel without restriction, and against all arbitrary actions by the authorities in excluding individuals from universities. But we attack these infringements of elementary democratic rights by mobilizing the working class, behind whom the support of other elements can be rallied."

A bit dour, perhaps, but in essence, excellent! But then, why aren't you busy "mobilizing the working class" in defence of Comrade Mandel, Comrade Slaughter? After all, the very terms which the West German government has used to ban Mandel could be used to ban Slaughter, Healy, and all their followers from entering Germany, too. So it is not only a matter of the elementary principle of international working-class solidarity. It is even a simple matter of self-defence. But instead of lifting one little finger to "mobilize" his own members and sympathizers—let's not speak about the working class, among whom the SLL's influence is negligible if not nil—to defend Comrade Mandel's democratic rights, Slaughter only attacks Mandel, not the West German government and its right-wing Social-Democratic props. Slaughter is so blinded by sectarian factionalism that he cannot understand any more such elementary questions as the need for class solidarity against imperialist repression.

When Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested, the Communist International started a defence campaign for the two anarchist martyrs, not a campaign of denouncing the sins of anarchism. When repression hits a leading member of the Fourth International, and through him threatens to hit anybody calling himself a Trotskyist, Slaughter is only eager to step

up his campaign of "denouncing Pabloism." The need for a defence campaign against imperialist repression doesn't reach his cold shoulder . . .

The political content of his denunciation is of the same caliber and the same origin as his political method of approach. It has nothing to do with a principled discussion of the real political and organizational differences between the SLL and the Fourth International—which are plentiful. It is just an attempt to slander and falsify an opponent's position.

The fact that Slaughter uses these tools of slander and distortion in a brazen and cynical way, by printing side by side with his own comments the very text that he tries to falsify, only shows the typical bureaucrat's contempt of his own followers and readers. He believes them to be so stupid or so fanatical that they become unable to distinguish black from white.

One example will be sufficient to illustrate the Slaughter school of systematic slander. Answering the question of a journalist from the magazine *Der Spiegel* as to what kind of activities revolutionists undertake to bring down the bourgeois order in an imperialist country, Mandel answers that revolutions cannot be fabricated out of the blue sky by a small band of conspirators, but that they are the result of a deep-going social crisis in existing society, which pushes millions of people onto the road of revolutionary actions. He then adds ironically: "Unless neo-capitalist society is crisis-free." But in that case why worry about revolutionary propaganda? Instead of answering this question, the journalist of *Der Spiegel* sidesteps towards another track and asks: But in that case (when no great revolutionary upheavals can take place because society is crisis-free) there would be no difference between a revolutionary and a reformist. Mandel answers: Even in that case, revolutionists would still keep up the struggle for a fundamental change of society, in the far future.

Now Slaughter isolates this last sentence from the whole context, in order to have his readers believe that Mandel really thinks neo-capitalist society to be crisis-free. This is, of course, a shameless lie. In the very next sentence to the one Slaughter quotes, Mandel refers to revolutionary crises with revolutionary working-class actions, occurring not in a far future, but here and now: in May 1968 in France; in autumn 1969 in Italy. He explains that under such conditions, revolutionists try to bring workers to elect soviets and to fight for a conquest of power. But Cliff Slaughter, who limits his political propaganda day-in day-out to calling for new elections for a bourgeois parliament "in order to kick out the Tories"; who doesn't say a word in this propaganda about soviets or workers councils or the overthrow of the parliamentary system; who never makes propaganda for the dictatorship of the proletariat in his proud daily paper—except when polemicizing against the "Pabloites"



—has the nerve to add:

"Here we have the true content of the Pabloite attack on Trotskyism. General lip-service is paid to the idea of a workers' revolution and socialist solutions, but there can be no question [!] of the working class today having any revolutionary significance."

Slaughter's thought and method; his refusal to campaign for the democratic rights of political opponents in the labor movement victimized by imperialism; his systematic use of slander and falsification to replace real political debate and struggle, do not stem from the school of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky.

They had nothing to do with such methods and rejected them out of hand. These methods were concocted by the famous alchemists called Stalin, Vyshinsky, and Beria. We doubt whether they become more palatable by adding a sniff of English insularity and cant.

May 5, 1972

## Peng Shu-tse Interviewed by 'Vrij Nederland'

# Early Years of the Chinese Communist Party

[The Amsterdam mass circulation weekly *Vrij Nederland* published full-page interviews January 15 and 29 with the veteran Chinese Trotskyist leader Peng Shu-tse. The interviewer was Igor Cornelissen. The first of the series follows, with *Vrij Nederland's* introduction. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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At a time when the lack of reliable information on the current situation in China is becoming a serious problem, an excursion back to the early years of the Chinese CP might seem like a rather extravagant indulgence.

Studies of the situation now, such as the one by Claude Julien that appeared in *Le Monde* not long ago would seem to be more timely. However, Julien also was unable to come up with any answer to the question of who holds power in the party and what the relationship of forces is like now that it is quite clear that Lin Piao has either been demoted or killed.

The answers to today's questions are to be found at least partially in the past. This certainly holds true for China, where leaders like Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai, Liu Shao-chi ("China's Khrushchev"), and prominent personalities in the army got their first political experience with the Chinese Communist party (CCP) in the 1920s. The average age of members of the Central Committee is well above sixty. Mao and Chou are pushing eighty. Moreover, the Chinese people may have wished the Chairman ("the world's greatest genius") "eternal good health" a lot of times, but they still have not discovered the secret of eternal life.

What happened in the 1920s in China? Why did the second Chinese rev-

olution (1925-1927) lead to such a horrible catastrophe, involving the slaughter of thousands of Communists? What, too, is going on in China today?

Peng Shu-tse is one of the few people still alive to whom I could put these questions. A Communist since the founding of the CCP on July 1, 1921, he lives in a modest apartment in West Europe. Along with his wife, Peng Pi-lan, also a veteran of the movement, we reconstructed the early years of the party. It was a very strange situation. At the age of seventy-six, Peng is old enough to have been strongly influenced by the Russian revolution of October 1917, to have been a close friend of Chen Tu-hsiu (the founder of the party), and to have collaborated with Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai in their vacillating early period.

And here Peng was sitting in his apartment, far from the Chinese power center where he has no influence. In 1950, he was forced to move to Europe. In 1930, along with Chen Tu-hsiu, he founded the Chinese Trotskyist movement. They had become more and more convinced that the policy of the Communist International was disastrous for the Chinese party. The line of entering the bourgeois Kuomintang party of Sun Yat-sen—which, after Sun's death in 1924, came under the control of Chiang Kai-shek, rightist military leaders, and big landowners—had been catastrophic.

In Moscow, Trotsky was one of the few who had argued for the CCP retaining complete independence. But in 1924 Trotsky's role in the International was at an end. With their Trotskyist group, Chen and Peng waged a struggle both against the Kuomintang and later against the Japanese usurpers.

In the 1930s, Chen and Peng were condemned to long prison sentences (the death penalty had been demanded). Peng was held for five years in the Nanking prison. After his release, he was active for a period in propagating the ideas of Trotskyism, but this work had to be discontinued because of the victory in 1949 of Mao's peasant army. The victory of the revolution was a fact. But there was no longer any place for men like Peng.

Peng follows developments now from a distance. He reads the Chinese papers insofar as he can get them and listens in the evenings to Radio Peking. But in recent months, he has listened to no avail. "They broadcast nothing but slogans. You can't find out what precisely is going on now." But the names that come over the radio have more significance for him than for us. He can associate them with faces, events, and political struggles which because of his long experience are familiar to him.

\* \* \*

Not only is Peng Shu-tse almost the same age as Mao Tse-tung, they were also comrades long ago. The course of history, it has been said, is capricious and unpredictable. But Peng has few doubts. He knows exactly why he is living in an apartment in a European suburb and why his former comrade Mao appears to rule the roost in Peking, appears, that is, and this is a question I will come back to.<sup>1</sup>

Peng was one of a small group

1. For this article, I have used four articles written by Peng's wife, Peng Pi-lan, which were published in the November 2, 9, 17, and 23, 1970, issues of *Intercontinental Press*.

of Chinese workers and intellectuals who felt the impetus of the October Revolution of 1917. In their heavily populated and huge country, they were very few. In Shanghai, there was a group of seven people around Chen Tu-hsiu, who for long years remained the undisputed leader of the Chinese Communist party, founded in 1921. In Peking a group was active around Li Ta-chao, a professor of history at the university. There were other small clubs in Hankow, Canton, and in Japan.

It is striking, Benjamin I. Schwartz wrote in his book on these early years, how little respect there was for Marxism in comparison with the later advances of Marxism-Leninism.<sup>2</sup> Around 1915, the paper *Hsin Ch'ing-nien*, the organ of the progressive intelligentsia edited by Chen Tu-hsiu, wrote a lot about Adam Smith, Nietzsche, Tolstoy, Darwin, Spencer, and Kropotkin. But Marx's name never appeared. For Chen "democracy and science" were the two mainstays of the merciless attack he was waging on traditional Chinese culture. Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism could offer no answer to the Western challenge but stagnation.

In 1919, as it became clear to the two leaders of the CCP that the bourgeois revolution of 1911 had failed and that the Kuomintang had broken up, leaving power in the hands of all kinds of generals, they turned more and more to the Russian revolution and the victory of the Bolsheviks as their guide. Li Ta-chao called the Bolshevik victory "precisely the act of cosmic liberation" that he had been waiting for.

In the spring of 1918 a Marxist study society had already been formed at the University of Peking. One of its members was Mao Tsetung.

In 1920 Chen Tu-hsiu decided, on the basis of the Russian experience, that there did not have to be a long intermediary period between the end of feudalism and the onset of socialism. His opponents got him to concede, on the other hand, that as long as there was a struggle between the democratic and despotic wings of the bourgeoisie, Communists should support the first group. "But as soon as the democratic capitalists have won, they will become our enemies. . . . We

cannot model ourselves on the German Social Democrats, who in practice used the political instruments of the bourgeoisie."

On July 1, 1921, in the French concession of Shanghai, twelve Communist delegates (some historians say thirteen—there is more than one gap in the history of these early years) representing fifty to sixty members met to found the CCP officially. It was not a very imposing group. And in the coming years many were to disappear, some deserting to the camp of the Kuomintang, others being physically liquidated.

Formally speaking, Peng Shu-tse was not one of the founders. But he was one of the first group of Chinese Communists sent to Moscow in the beginning of 1921 for training in the theory and practice of Marxism. At the end of 1920 he had gone to Changsa, the capital of Hunan province, where, some people, including Mao Tsetung, tended toward Marxism. Ho Min-fang, the leader of this group, corresponded with Chen Tu-hsiu, and so Peng came in contact in Shanghai with the father of Chinese Marxism, who in turn was in contact with delegates of the Communist International.

Gregorii Voitinskii was the Comintern's first representative, and he was quickly joined by the Dutchman Henk Sneevliet,<sup>3</sup> who used the pseudonym "Maring." It was Voitinskii who told Chen that a special university had been founded in Moscow for "workers from the Orient." "In China," Voitinskii said, "you have made a good beginning but what you need is well-trained young cadres. You send people to Moscow."

First a school was set up in Shanghai to teach the prospective students some Russian. It was run by Yang Ming-chai, a Chinese who had emigrated to Russia before the October revolution, spoke Russian fluently, and had joined the Bolsheviks at the time of the uprising. Voitinskii also helped out as an interpreter.

After Peng had worked with the Communist group in Shanghai (they published socialist papers and managed to establish workers' groups), he left via Siberia for Moscow. He remained there until 1924 and was to be present at the Fifth World Congress of the Comintern. He met Tan

Malakka, the Indonesian Communist found by Sneevliet. He saw how the German revolution of 1923 disintegrated and experienced the disillusionments this caused in the Communist camp.

Koreans, Japanese, and comrades from India, Iran, Turkey, and the Asiatic parts of the Soviet Union attended the school. But the largest non-Russian group was made up by about 100 Chinese, some of whom had come from France (where Chou En-lai organized the first Communist group) and from Germany. Peng was chosen to be the secretary of the Moscow section of the CCP. One of the students was the present minister of navy, Shao Ching-kwang, a giant of a man who lay on his bed pitifully during the extreme food shortage of 1923 pleading for bread. Liu Shao-chi, Mao's recent opponent, also attended the school in those years. What was Peng's estimate of him?

"Liu came from Changsha, the capital of Hunan, where he had attended high school. He left for Moscow in March or April 1921 and returned to China in the summer of 1922, in August, I think. He was a very serious comrade and was very active in organizing workers in Shanghai. He was the party's trade-union expert for many years."

When Peng returned to China in August 1922, the party had grown. It now had a thousand members, and there were two thousand in its sympathizing organization, the Socialist Youth. Peng was elected to the Central Committee at the Fourth Congress of the CCP in January 1925. At that time, he recalled: "Most of the members were students and intellectuals. There were a few professors. There were not many workers, at best 200, mostly miners and railroad workers."

The membership of the bourgeois Kuomintang far exceeded that of the CCP. According to one source, it had 138,000 members at the end of 1922. Another source gives it 180,000 at the end of 1923.

The Comintern representatives in China were also impressed by the fact that the Kuomintang had an important influence over the workers and this influence grew rapidly even during strikes. Under pressure from the Comintern delegates and not without internal resistance, the Comintern made a drastic shift in its policy. In 1922-23, a decision was made for the

2. Benjamin I. Schwartz, *Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao*. 1958

3. I will go more into detail on Sneevliet's role in China later.

leaders of the party (which itself was not to be dissolved) to join the Kuomintang. Sun Yat-sen, the chief of the bourgeois nationalist party who turned increasingly toward the Soviet Union in his last years, had given his approval.

The party's orientation to the Kuomintang led finally to the 1925-27 catastrophe. But by then—at the orders of Stalin and his representative in China, Borodin—this course had been transformed in practice into a policy of *complete* subordination to the Kuomintang.

Peng was one of the few who openly protested against this subordination. "Who Will Lead the National Revolution?" he asked in an article in the December 1925 issue of the party paper *Hsin Ch'ing-nien*. Peng's conclusion was that almost all sections of the Chinese bourgeoisie had become counterrevolutionary. The banker wing in the Kuomintang was in alliance with the militarists and imperialists. The commercial bourgeoisie was interested solely in good relations with the imperialists. *Only the workers, Peng concluded, can lead the national revolution.* This touched a sore point not only of the Comintern but also of Chen Tu-hsiu, who had dropped his original objections and now backed the orientation toward the Kuomintang with everything he had. Mao Tsetung propagated the very same idea as Chen, designating the bourgeoisie as the leader of the coming national revolution.

*Peng:* "There were, of course, people who had their doubts about the new tactic of entering the Kuomintang. But you have to remember that the prestige of the Comintern was still very great. Most of the leaders and the rank and file started from the assumption that the Comintern could make no mistakes. The memory of the victorious October revolution was still very fresh."

After Peng's article appeared, rank-and-file members supported him. "But in the end, experience had to show who was right, the revolution had to get moving again." Peng thought this started to happen in the early months of 1925 when strikes broke out in all the big cities. On May 1 thousands of workers and peasants demonstrated together in Canton. The strikes were touched off when British soldiers opened fire on a demonstration May 30, 1925, killing twelve stu-

dents. One statistician estimated that there were 135 strikes resulting directly from the May 30 slaughter, which involved 400,000 workers. When British and French soldiers opened fire on protesting workers and students in Canton on June 23 (killing fifty-two and wounding one hundred and seventeen), a general strike broke out. Hongkong, the British fortress in China, was completely paralyzed. Not one ship was unloaded; not one bale of cargo was moved.

*Peng:* "It was shown then that only the workers could lead the revolution. The workers were in the vanguard everywhere and they were led and inspired by the Communist party."

After this massive strike-wave, the confusion in the CCP reached a peak. Was the collaboration between the Communists and the Kuomintang to be continued or to be stopped. Chen Tu-hsiu proposed a change in the strategy at the time of the Central Committee plenum in October 1925, but Chen's proposal was rejected by Voitinskii, the Comintern representative.

In a later phase—after Chiang Kai-shek had carried out a military seizure of power in Canton in March 1926 and was openly declaring his anti-Communist intentions—Peng Shu-tse was delegated by his party to discuss breaking from the Kuomintang with the other Comintern representative, Borodin. But Borodin's policy—and the Comintern's—called for continued collaboration. Chou En-lai, who was a member of a special commission set up to study this question, agreed with the Russian, "because after all Borodin represents the Comintern."

Peng became increasingly isolated in the party. Despite all sorts of doubts, the other leaders, including Chen Tu-hsiu, did not want to break the discipline of the International.

The tragedy that followed, with the subjugation of the cities by Chiang Kai-shek and the rooting out of the Communists, cannot be gone into here. André Malraux has written books about it (*Man's Fate*, among others). The best history of it, in my opinion, is *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution*, written by the journalist Harold R. Isaacs.

Not expecting any spectacular disclosures, I asked for Peng's opinion of Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai,

who, after all, he observed from close up.

In August, shortly after he returned from Moscow, Peng met Mao for the first time. "We talked about political problems. I found him very passive. He told me that he didn't want to live in a big city. He preferred to return to the country. I thought he was ill, as well. A few days later he returned to Hunan. Later I encountered him in Canton when I had my meeting with Borodin. He visited my home twice and asked me if I would speak to the peasants in the cadre school he was running, which I did. At the time his political conceptions were very far to the right, opportunistic. At that time he was also secretary of the propaganda center of the left wing of the Kuomintang, as well as being editor of *The Political Weekly*, the organ of the Kuomintang leadership. In his articles, he supported the cardinal principles of Sun Yat-sen (nationalism, democracy, the right to equality), although he naturally interpreted them in a 'left-wing' way. I found him very confused politically. He was writing an article at the time on the peasant question and wanted my opinion on it. I thought it was very bad. He divided the peasants into two main classes, depending on how much land they had, and then these were divided up into innumerable other subclasses. That had nothing to do with Marxism. I told him that according to Lenin the peasants should be separated into three strata—not classes—the rich, middle, and poor peasants. And the criterion was their living standard. Mao knew no foreign languages and at that time very little Marxist literature had been translated into Chinese.

"I saw Mao for the last time in May 1927. It was in Hunan province. He invited us for dinner to discuss some questions. He was looking for a safer place and asked my wife Pi-lan if she wouldn't send a letter to an uncle so that he could get a better job. I wrote the letter.

"At the time, Mao did not give the impression of being especially courageous. But, looking into his character, he must have had a very strong inner nature. He was, of course, a revolutionist, but of a petty-bourgeois variety and not a Marxist. In the theoretical field he did not offer much, but he was very active. He was not

the kind of man who listens to others. He believed in himself."

And Chou En-lai? "He was always more of an opportunist. He returned from Germany in 1925 and attended the Fourth Congress of the Chinese CP. I had a good deal of contact with him, especially after the March 20, 1926, coup (when Chiang Kai-shek seized power in Canton and the Communists were forced onto the defensive).

"His character was the exact oppo-

site of Mao's. He was very friendly and reasonable. Everybody liked him. There were never any conflicts with him. But politically he hopped back and forth, from one side of the fence to the other. He never took a clear, definite position. For example, when I talked with Borodin in Canton and proposed leaving the Kuomintang, Chou said: 'There is much truth in both arguments that needs to be weighed.' That was Chou En-lai in a nutshell. And that has been his style

his whole life long. But on the other hand, he was very capable, especially in matters of organization and administration. We had great need of him at the time. He had lived in France and Germany for many years and understood the situation in Europe. He understood it in an impressionistic way, but he did understand it. Chou was a man who was interested in knowing the opinions of others. He was ready to listen to them."

[To be continued.]

## Ireland

# Imperialists Escalate Drive to Divide Ghettos

By Gerry Foley

For the first time since the revolutionary upsurge began in the nationalist ghettos of Northern Ireland in 1969, all the conservative forces on the island seem to be working effectively together to break the mass movement against the imperialist system and to destroy its leadership. All indications are that the crisis in Ireland has reached a grave turning point.

The imposition of direct rule of Northern Ireland by a London-appointed consul on March 23 has apparently given the imperialists the maneuvering room they needed to restore the credibility of the Catholic moderates and to split the nationalist community. An error by the revolutionary forces gave the imperialists and their native henchmen the chance they needed to consummate their united front.

At 7:00 a.m. on May 20, the body of nineteen-year-old William James Best was found in Derry city. The youth was a native of the area and had allegedly been on leave from a unit of the British army stationed in West Germany. He was a Catholic.

The Derry unit of the Official IRA accepted responsibility for killing Best, stating:

"... we will retaliate against British troops in whatever form they present themselves. On Saturday, the Minister for State for Defence, Lord Balniel, stated quite openly that British troops are now being used for Army duty in civilian clothes.

"The soldier in question was apprehended in suspicious circumstances. He was taken and tried by an I. R. A. court and sentenced to death. Regardless of calls for peace from slobbering moderates, while British gunmen are on the streets of the Six Counties the I. R. A. will take action against them—in particular a British soldier from the Derry area who could remain in such a force after the massacre

of 13 Derrymen by the same Army."

The local moderates alleged that Best had helped to defend the Catholic ghetto against the pogroms of August 1969. John Hume, the leading Catholic moderate politician in Northern Ireland and the right-hand man of the Dublin government, used the case to make a demagogic attack on the Official IRA. In a May 23 dispatch, *New York Times* correspondent Bernard Weinraub quoted Hume as saying:

"That young man [Best] worked his guts out in the Bogside in August '69 as a vigilante. When it was all over, like many other young Derry men and young Irishmen, he joined the British army because he had no work.

"It comes very peculiarly from an organization which talks about its interest in the workers and the working class that it shoots and brutally guns down young men like that. . . ."

The militant youth of the Bogside must have thought that these words came even more "peculiarly" from the mouth of the solidly middle-class member of parliament for their area. More than two years ago, during a night of clashes between British troops and groups of young boys, I heard youngsters yelling at the pompous "Peace Squads" that the "honorable MP" had sent out to drive them off the streets: "And where was your John Hume when the B Specials came in to attack the people? We beat the Specials. Nothing would have changed if it weren't for us."

The Official IRA in Derry is made up of many young people like that who have grown a little older and maybe a little harder since the battles started in 1969. Whatever their mistakes and failings, they have lived under terrible pressures for years, facing death or crippling night after night in combat with the British troops, under constant threat of being dragged

away to a concentration camp whenever the imperialist rulers decided to tighten the screws a little.

The "spiritual guides" of the oppressed nationalist people were quick to seize a likely opportunity to "get rid of the trouble-makers." They were anxious, no doubt, to restore the comfortable climate of submission and degradation that has always assured "respect for the cloth."

The administrator of Saint Eugene's Cathedral in Derry, Hugh O'Neill, trumpeted: "This is the end of the road for the I. R. A. This is the finish. They have lost all credibility with the people." On the day Best was killed, O'Neill gave a speech to a tenants' association. The May 20 *Irish Times* reported:

"Fr. O'Neill . . . said that the people wanted an end to hostilities against the British Army. They wanted an end to hostilities against property. They objected bitterly to any kinds of attacks on people who differed from them in religion. . . ."

The priest had to make some gestures of support for his persecuted "flock."

"'Of course,' he continued, 'everybody is angry about the Special Powers Act which caused internment and the continuing possibility of internment. They will not have it, especially as they see it as a means of coercion by Unionists and the Orange Order. That is why they resisted and will continue to resist any forces implementing this Act with its accompanying brutality, torture, degradation, giving scorn and disdain to the liars in high places who deny, or try to hide behind, understatement of the facts as they are. That is why the people gave, and give, protection to any person liable to be arrested under this Act.'"

After all, only a few months ago, on January 31, British paratroopers shot down thirteen peaceful demonstrators in

Derry in a calculated move to drive the movement for equal rights for Catholics off the streets. Then, barely a month before Best's death, on April 19, the Lord Chief Justice of England, Widgery, gave his best judicial opinion that the paratroopers had been entirely blameless, having presumably acted in the best traditions of "Her Majesty's forces." Clearly good politics if not decency required the cleric O'Neill to make a few angry sounds in the direction of the British authorities. But the concrete implications of his speech were quite clear:

"But—and this is why such persons had better listen—the people are not prepared to protect anybody who is guilty of behaviour that is as evil in principle as that from which they seek protection."

In other words, good Catholics should prepare themselves to turn "the trouble-makers" over to the British army, thereby giving the authorities the support they need to crush resistance in the oppressed communities.

The political nature of the priest's attack on the IRA was clear:

"As for the I. R. A. members themselves—of both factions: let them understand that they are self-elected and speak for nobody. Let the faction that calls itself Official know that they need not try to 'con' the people that they are not communist, even if this or that individual member does not realise it. Let the other faction [The Provisional IRA] realise that people may want a united Ireland but not at the expense of hostility to, and estrangement from, their friends and workmates who are Unionist in politics."

With some sections of the nationalist population reacting against terrorist acts by the Official and Provisional IRA, and the British government offering to negotiate with the clericalist conservatives, O'Neill obviously thought the time had come for the Catholic church to openly resume its role as the partner of the reactionary imperialist system in Ireland.

"... the anti-Stormont [i.e., anti-Unionist] people have been invited to deliberate on the restructuring of our society, by Mr. Whitelaw [the London-appointed overlord]. They are blocked from doing so by reason of the continuing internment and the continuing violence by both kinds of I. R. A. Had there been a truce with the coming of the initiatives [that is, if the IRA had discontinued its activities when direct rule was introduced], all internees would have been home by now. It is quite possible that they will be released soon anyhow, whether there is violence or not, because Mr. Whitelaw, being intelligent, will realise two things—that the I. R. A. are using the internees as an excuse, and that most of the internees are disgusted by the behaviour of the people who claim to be their friends.

"That being so, I believe that the political leaders of the community should be told to get on with the talks. If internment is the block, and the I. R. A. is keeping it there, the people have the right that

their elected leaders should do as they were elected to do—talk."

By shifting the blame for internment on the shoulders of the IRA, O'Neill was obviously trying to get around the demands of the civil-rights movement that there be no talks until the massive repression stops.

In a speech reported in the May 22 *Irish Times*, the Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnois, the Most Rev. Dr. Daly, tried a different approach, relying on another clerical device, unctuousness instead of truculent denunciations:

"But when Irishmen say 'Never trust the British,' I suspect a deeper self-contra-



WHITELAW: "Deepest sympathy" for any excuse to escalate repression.

diction. I fear that what is really meant is 'Never trust the Irish to talk to the British.' 'Don't trust the Irish: they'll betray you.' It is strange that this is what used to be said of us Irish only by our enemies. Now it seems to be said mostly by Irish patriots about other Irish people.

"Whether said by imperialist oppressors or by Irish patriots, it is not true. The Irish can be trusted; they can be trusted in particular to negotiate. Some of the greatest achievements in our history have been accomplished by skill in negotiation, by ability and pertinacity in diplomacy. The success we have achieved in securing entry into the E. E. C. and the terms we have secured for entry are only one example, but a notable one, of Irish diplomatic ability."

It was to be expected that the Catholic conservatives were anxious to return to the negotiating table. The position of the bourgeois elements in the Catholic com-

munities North and South depends on playing the role of intermediary between British imperialism and the nationalist people. The same is true for the principal institutions of this bourgeoisie, the Dublin government and the Catholic church. For almost a year, the "nationalist" petty capitalists and their supporters had been in a perilous position.

When the British forces began stepping up their attacks on the nationalist population in the summer of 1971 and refused to make any conciliating gestures, the Catholic conservatives and the Free State government lost their credibility as mediators with the imperialist overlords.

The moderate anti-Unionists were forced to withdraw from the Northern Ireland parliament and threaten to set up an "alternative assembly" challenging the established authorities. At this point, by forcing the "moderates" to accept the logic of their position, a conscious revolutionary movement could have either discredited them once and for all or pushed them over the brink of open rebellion against the state. The entire "nationalist" establishment was off balance.

Although none of the militant organizations active in Northern Ireland was able to take full advantage of the moderates' dilemma, the civil-rights fighters were able to keep the community more or less united against the repression by winning its support of the demand for no negotiations until internment was ended.

Faced with the united mass opposition of the nationalist community, with a continuing rent and rates strike against internment, and mass demonstrations in the street defying the political repression, the British government was at an impasse. Furthermore, the longer this resistance continued, the more international pressures would be built up against the repression and the more the Irish crisis would add to the domestic social and political difficulties of the Tory regime.

The London government then had no choice but to remove the Unionist caste regime in order to free its hands for negotiating with the Catholic moderates. The introduction of direct rule was followed almost immediately by concessions from the junta established to rule Northern Ireland—token releases of political prisoners, ending of the ban on demonstrations, consultations with moderate Catholic leaders.

These concessions did not end the repression, or even mitigate it. Instead they had the effect of concentrating it. While releasing some prisoners, the government indicated that it would try "hard core" political suspects and sentence them to long terms. For the political activists among the prisoners, the pressures of arbitrary confinement were increased by added uncertainties about their fate and the fear of isolation. At the same time, large-scale political arrests continued.

Whitelaw could hope, however, that his concessions would restore the credibility of the Catholic moderates as negotiators, especially since the nationalist population had been systematically terrorized for three

years and could be expected to be anxious for peace, as long as there was any chance of getting some satisfaction for their demands.

The fanatical Unionist caste would not end the oppression of the Catholics, the nationalist people knew. But the British government surely could do so. And was anyone sure that Britain really wanted to maintain the fortress state setup? The feeling was widespread among all political currents in the nationalist community that the imperialists were ready to end the special repressive system in Northern Ireland, if only they could get around the opposition of the Orange ultrarightists.

By taking formal governmental power out of the hands of the pro-imperialist caste, London reduced the Orange forces to an effective right flank. However infuriated the Protestants might be at losing some of their traditional institutions, since they were fighting to maintain a privileged position within the capitalist and imperialist order they could be counted on not to push their rebellion to the point of endangering the system. At the same time their furious protests and threats strengthened the position of the British for negotiating with the nationalists. The imperialists could argue that they could not go too far or they would exhaust the patience of the Protestants, who would slaughter the Catholic population. They couldn't fail to restore "law and order" to the nationalist communities or the Protestants would go berserk.

If a section of the Catholic community could be induced to come over to support "pacification," the authorities would be in a position to crush the militant element. The various sections of the capitalist and imperialist establishment could then come together and divide the spoils.

The moderates were not slow to rise to the bait. A clerical campaign against the IRA started almost immediately after direct rule was introduced. Next came "peace offensives" by middle-class women's groups. At first these moves seemed to have little success. But the potential was obviously there. The revolutionary forces had not consolidated their political hegemony over the nationalist communities. Although their influence was diminished, the traditional reactionary institutions in the oppressed community remained intact and powerful, even in the "no go" areas. The masses of the people could not see a clear way forward.

While the authorities seemed to be completely intonsigent, a large part of the nationalist population might even passively support the aimless bombing campaign of the Provisional IRA, in the hope that it would "make the government sit up and take notice." Once there seemed to be hope for reforms, it was to be expected that the more conservative strata of the nationalist population would begin to express their nervousness over terrorist acts, which they could not control and which threatened to cause them injury, loss, or hardship. The political situation in the nationalist

communities after the start of direct rule was obviously very sensitive.

With its traditional "physical force" ideology, the main militant force, the republicans, could be expected to have difficulty maneuvering in these conditions. The Provisional IRA has centered all its propaganda on its military campaign and appears to have recruited almost exclusively on the basis of its armed actions. While the Official IRA had moved away from its traditional guerrilla orientation toward mass action and political education, it remained midway in its evolution. Its position was summed up in the name it gave itself, "the army of the people."

The Official IRA proposed to use terrorist methods and organization to support mass struggles. The clearest expression of this was its policy of seeking revenge for the oppressive actions of the British forces. It condemned the Provisionals as militaristic elitists, arguing that even if large sections of the population applauded commando actions, this kind of passive support left the fighters essentially alone facing the state apparatus and did nothing to organize and educate the masses, who alone had the power to defeat the system.

At the same time, the Official IRA continued to reserve the right of acting in an elitist way, parallel to the people's struggle. The bombing of the British paratrooper base in Aldershot, England, in late February was a good example of the effects of this conception. After the massacre in Derry, the Irish people might be expected to support such an action. It seems clear, however, that they did not. And this could not simply have been because the operation resulted in the deaths of civilians.

The fact was, it seems, that the Irish people could not see how such an action would further their struggle. Furthermore, because of the closeness of the two islands and the interlocking of British and Irish society, they are very sensitive to public opinion in Great Britain and could sense that this type of operation destroyed the political advantage they gained from the response to the Derry massacre.

Whatever moral or military justifications might be made for the shooting of Best, it was apparent that the political result was the same as the aftermath of Aldershot, only in the present circumstances it was far worse. The clergy turned Best's funeral into the first successful mass "peace demonstration" in Northern Ireland.

"At the funeral," Bernard Weinraub reported May 23 in the *New York Times*, "5,000 people, led by 25 priests from the Londerry area, lined the streets between St. Mary's Church in the Creggan area and the city cemetery a quarter of a mile away. There were dozens of wreaths including one of white carnations and roses, signed, 'With our deepest sympathy, the Secretary of State and Mrs. Whitelaw.'"

While the mood of the majority has not yet been demonstrated, moderates apparently felt emboldened enough to attack

the IRA directly. Weinraub wrote:

"The Catholic community's anger was emphasized when hundreds of women marched last night and today to the headquarters of the I. R. A. Official branch in the Creggan area. Several screamed, 'Murder! Murder!'"

On May 25, Whitelaw announced that four prominent Catholics had agreed to sit on his special advisory board. One of these was Tom Conaty, the chairman of the Central Citizens' Defence Council, a body the church has won control of. The most authoritative voice of American imperialism, the *New York Times*, thought it smelled victory. In an editorial entitled "To Outflank the I. R. A.," in its May 26 issue, it wrote:

"In one of the most hopeful Ulster developments in many months, Northern Ireland's Roman Catholics in ever greater numbers are turning decisively against the Irish Republican Army and seeking a basis for cooperating with British Minister William Whitelaw."

In its May 28 issue, the *New York Times* was moved to comment on another hopeful sign from its point of view.

"Northern Ireland's most influential Roman Catholic political force has directly challenged Irish Republican Army terrorism and appealed to Catholics to give 'fullest cooperation' to the efforts of British Minister William Whitelaw to restore peace and cooperation between Ulster's two communities.

"This action by the Social Democratic and Labor party [SDLP], coupled with other conciliatory moves by Catholics and Protestants and the launching of a new drive against the I. R. A. by the Irish Republic, has created the best opportunity for peace since Britain imposed direct rule on Ulster in March." The "drive against the I. R. A." by Dublin which so pleased the *Times* was the abolition of juries in political cases.

The *Times's* editorial indicated that the SDLP has completely dropped the demand for an immediate end to internment: "SDLP leaders reiterated a demand for rapid phasing out of internment without trial. . . ."

The situation in Ireland has obviously taken a good turn for the imperialists and a very bad one for the Irish fighters. However, the young generation in Ireland has only begun to fight and it is not likely that it will be pacified so easily. The Official IRA clearly must take a new look at its policies. But it has been capable of leading one of the most effective mass movements in recent years anywhere in the world. It may make a new political leap forward, and it holds a number of important advantages that can be exploited to counter this setback and raise the struggle to a higher level. □

#### Lin Who?

A new batch of Mao's Little Red Books is reported available in Hong Kong. Some are dated 1972, some 1967, but none contain Lin Piao's 1967 introduction.



## Jeness's Call for Solidarity With Vietnam Applauded in Peru, Argentina

By Ben Atwood

[The following report is reprinted from the June 2 issue of the U.S. revolutionary-socialist weekly *The Militant*.]

\* \* \*

BUENOS AIRES, May 22—Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness has received an extremely warm reception so far on her speaking and fact-finding tour in Latin America.

After two days in Mexico, we stopped in Lima, Peru. When we arrived in Lima May 7 we were met at the airport by a photographer and a reporter from the daily newspaper *Expreso*, which has a circulation of about 250,000. The reporter was a feminist and was very interested in the development of the women's liberation movement in the United States.

The interview resulted in a front-page photo of Jenness and a good article in *Expreso* the following day. Another article appeared in the Sunday magazine section of the same paper.

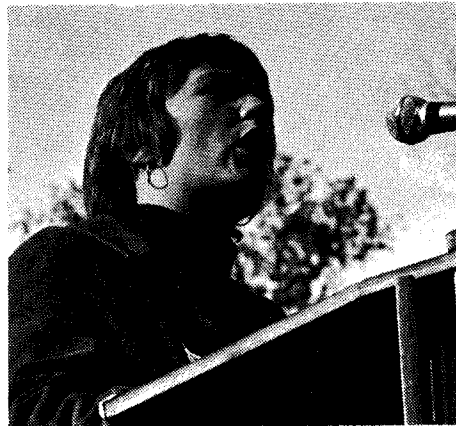
On May 18 Jenness spoke to about 400 students at the Engineering School of the university in Lima. She was interrupted throughout her speech with applause from the audience. The response was especially enthusiastic when Jenness called for support for Angela Davis, saying that her only crime was being Black, a woman, and a member of the Communist Party.

The students also responded to her statement that victory for the Vietnamese revolution is a victory for the Latin American people because it would weaken imperialism.

The question and answer period was very long and every response by Jenness received applause. The students had questions about China, Bangladesh, and Ceylon. They asked why the Socialist Workers Party participates in elections, why revolution is necessary to change society, how the Angela Davis defense is going, and what Jenness's

policy would be on Latin America if she were elected.

Jeness received great applause when she stated that China and the Soviet Union should unite to defend Vietnam and that the people of the world should demand this. "It would be a crime against humanity," Jenness said, "if they let the Viet-



LINDA JENNESS speaking at abortion rally in Washington November 20.

namese revolution go down in defeat."

Jeness was interviewed by another newspaper, *El Correo*, and spoke on television for about two minutes, stressing the importance of the international antiwar movement.

On May 19 Jenness spoke again at the university, this time to about 300 students at the School of Agriculture. She was officially invited to speak by the Student Federation of the School of Agriculture. The students were in the midst of preparing for an antiwar demonstration scheduled to take place that night.

On the evening of May 19 Jenness participated in the first antiwar demonstration ever held in Lima. About 25,000 to 30,000 marched 30 blocks through the city shouting slogans against the Vietnam war.

The demonstration was organized by a broad united front of more than 35 organizations—unions, church

groups, student groups, a group of wives of miners who were on strike, and many others. The united-front group sponsoring the march officially invited Jenness to participate in it.

The square where the march began was jammed with thousands of people carrying signs and banners. Thousands more lined the streets for the length of the march, cheering as the placards went by.

The official demand of the march was "Yankees out of Vietnam!" Other slogans were "Peru and Vietnam united will win," "Vietnam, surely you will give it hard to the Yankees," "Yankees out of Peru," and "Nixon, assassin."

Invited by the reporter who first met us at the airport, Linda Jenness marched with newspaper reporters, who had a special contingent in the demonstration.

We arrived in Buenos Aires, Argentina, yesterday to see about 200 people on the airport observation platform holding up a large banner saying "Welcome, Linda." When Jenness got off the plane and waved, she was met with loud cheers.

The customs officials gave Jenness some trouble because she was carrying a lot of campaign literature, but we got through and were immediately brought to a news conference with about 25 reporters present.

When she finished talking to reporters, her welcomers—mostly young people—were all waiting. They clapped and chanted a slogan: "Vea, vea, vea, que cosa más bonita, la compañera Linda con el pueblo vietnamita." (Look, look, look. What is more lovely than Comrade Linda with the Vietnamese people?)

This morning the four daily newspapers carried stories on Jenness based on the interviews at the airport. This afternoon's papers came out with much more information, and at noon today Jenness appeared on live TV for about 10 minutes, speaking as a feminist.

One of the main attractions is that Jenness is a feminist. Women's liberation groups are just beginning to form here, and these groups are interested in talking with Jenness.

Jeness will go on a national tour of Argentina for the rest of this week, speaking at universities in Tucumán, Rosario, Mar del Plata, and Bahía Blanca. She will also be speaking at meetings sponsored by the Argentine Socialist Party. □

## Transcript of the Bukovsky Trial--III

[This is the third installment of the transcript of the trial of Vladimir Bukovsky, held in Moscow January 5, 1972. Serialization of the transcript began in our May 22 issue.

[The previous installment gave Bukovsky's reply to the first count of the indictment, which charged him with "slandering" the Soviet Union in interviews with foreign reporters.

[The present installment contains Bukovsky's reply to the four other counts in the indictment. These were that he had conducted "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" in conversations with one V. A. Shushpanov; that he had attempted to persuade a former schoolmate, V. K. Nikitinsky, to help him illegally import duplicating equipment; that he had engaged in "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" and opposed the Soviet system in the presence of two military servicemen in March 1971; and that he had provided a Belgian citizen, Hugo Sebreghts, with "anti-Soviet documents of a slanderous nature."

[Footnotes and explanatory material in brackets are by the translator.]

\* \* \*

Judge: Proceed to the testimony relating to the second part of the charges.

Bukovsky: I became acquainted with the witness V. A. Shushpanov in the spring of 1970. We met a total of four times at my apartment. Once I went to his apartment with one of my friends. As to our conversations, they concerned questions of religion (Shushpanov acknowledged himself to be a believer.) and it is possible that we also discussed social problems. In the indictment it is stated that I told him what I saw in the psychiatric hospitals. I admit that. It is possible I also spoke to him at that time about the kinds of violations that are tolerated by the judicial authorities and certain doctors.

As to anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, which I allegedly conducted with him, I can only say that our

conversations were a mutual exchange. Shushpanov admits that at that time he shared my views. And if in our conversations I spoke about my beliefs, in particular about the fact that in my view freedom of speech and press do not actually exist in the Soviet Union—that is, the civil rights guaranteed in the Constitution of the USSR are infringed upon—such things, I repeat, were neither anti-Soviet agitation nor propaganda, for the conversation was a mutual exchange. I simply stated my views.

Shushpanov indicated in the investigation that I promised to help him transport abroad a tape of his "anti-Soviet" novel, as he now calls it, if he were to record it. I remember the conversation. Shushpanov asked me what he should do if he wrote the novel and wanted to send it abroad. I answered that if he began printing and circulating his novel here, sooner or later, regardless of whether he wanted it or not, the novel would find its way abroad. The talk was in no way about my help in the matter and Shushpanov was only intending to do the novel.

In regard to the duplicator that I allegedly asked Shushpanov to bring from abroad, I can say the following: I recall that I did actually ask him whether or not he could, while on a mission abroad, bring back a duplicator of some sort, to which he answered that they had long since stopped sending him on missions abroad, and, therefore, he could not do it. That's all I can say about that episode.

Prosecutor: What purpose did you have in mind in asking Shushpanov to get you a duplicator?

Bukovsky: I did not pose the question in that way, but the possibility of having such duplicating equipment interested me.

Prosecutor: Why did you need such a duplicator?

Bukovsky: I might have needed one for duplicating some sort of materials.

Prosecutor: What kind specifically?

Bukovsky: I didn't have any specific documents in mind, but in

principle I might have a need to duplicate some sort of document containing a statement of my personal beliefs. Every citizen in the USSR has this right according to the constitution. Perhaps I might want to duplicate some literary work that was difficult to obtain like the poems of Mandelshtam or Akhmatova.

Prosecutor: Why would you want to duplicate those materials?

Bukovsky: For friends, for people who are interested in them.

Prosecutor: I have no further questions.

Judge: Does the defense have any questions on this point?

Defense lawyer: No.

Judge: Will the accused please move on to the next episode?

Bukovsky: The third episode in the indictment is based on the testimony of my former schoolmate Nikitinsky. After we got out of school, we didn't see each other for many years. We met for the first time after a long interval when I got out of prison, in the spring of 1970, it would seem. We met quite by accident on the street near my house. I was glad to see him, invited him inside, and we talked about how things had gone for us both in the past years, what kind of life we'd had and so forth.

He said that after he finished school, he had served in the army near Moscow. Later, at the time of the Chinese-Soviet border clashes, he was transferred there and included in the Tamen Division, which was one of the five divisions transferred there at that time. He said that these forces were placed under the command of the KGB. He told me various things which he had to know as an officer in the Frontier Guard. And as proof of his story, he gave me a Russian-Chinese phrase book for military use, which allegedly was provided to every member of the officer corps among the forces deployed at that time along the Chinese border.

Nikitinsky said that because of illness (a stomach ulcer) he had now been transferred to Moscow where he works in the customs inspection section at Sheremetyevo Airport, where he checks the baggage of Aeroflot passengers entering or leaving the Soviet Union. Subsequently, we met several times, always at my apartment. I told Nikitinsky that he ought not to visit me, that I was under surveillance and that he could get into trouble, to which

he replied that he did not want to serve in the army anyway.

Once he brought me a whole pile of assorted foreign magazines, allegedly taken from someone by the customs officials. Subsequently, my mother burned them. At these meetings we had long discussions. I told him about what I had been forced to experience and that what in the charges against me were called "slandorous fabrications" were simply facts I had experienced personally and observed during these years. I have already spoken about them here. And that which the indictment called anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda was simply a statement of my views and beliefs, which I am even now prepared to set forth in court if the court so requires.

In these meetings Nikitinsky told me many times that he could let someone go through his customs post without checking his effects and he proposed that I take advantage of this opportunity to send some material abroad or receive some from abroad. Being interested in such a possibility, I told him that if I could find a person who would agree to bring me a duplicating machine from abroad, then, possibly, I would need his help. Afterward, I spoke with several people about this matter but didn't find anyone who would agree to it.

Nikitinsky offered his assistance very eagerly and at every meeting he asked when I would need his help. His strange persistence put me on my guard. I wondered whether Nikitinsky wasn't trying to provoke me into a rash action on orders from the KGB (because it is precisely the departments in which Nikitinsky has worked that are under the jurisdiction of these organs). And so, on December 31, 1970, at my home, in the presence of my mother, I told him that I did not need his help, that the plan was too risky, and that, anyway, there was no one who would agree to bring in a duplicator for me. Nikitinsky was disappointed by my rejection and assured me that the whole business was absolutely safe. But I categorically refused. After this conversation, Nikitinsky abruptly lost interest in me and we didn't see each other again.

In Nikitinsky's testimony during the preliminary investigation, there are many things which are unclear. For example, Nikitinsky states that while visiting my home, he heard from me and my friends statements deeply dis-

turbing to him as a member of the CPSU and as an upstanding Communist by conviction. And that once in my home, he heard a lampoon on our leaders which troubled him to the depths of his soul, and that only with great difficulty did he keep himself from punching the Moscow University student who was allegedly reading it to him.

One might ask, why did Nikitinsky restrain himself? Why didn't he even once say that our statements troubled him and that he disagreed with my views? Why, instead of this, did he confide in me various "official secrets," as for example the information about the arrest, at Sheremetyevo Airport, of a man named Mikheev, who allegedly tried to pretend he was a Swiss citizen and thus escape abroad. Isn't the reason that he restrained his "party conscience" for so long that he didn't want to scare me off, still hoping to carry through the provocation formulated by the KGB?

Finally, why did he, by his own testimony, take part with me and a certain mythical "Sasha" in planning to smuggle what he calls "an underground press" past his own customs post? And why did he even conduct, as he admits, a kind of rehearsal of this plot, showing a certain young man how it could all be implemented?

Nikitinsky asserts that on October 13 a certain "Sasha" was at my apartment, allegedly a worker at the Moscow Concert Hall, who was planning to go abroad on an assignment and had promised to bring back some printing equipment, and that he, Nikitinsky, discussed the plan with us. Allegedly in his presence, "Sasha" outlined the arrangement of the service entrances and exits of Sheremetyevo Airport and the customs inspection section.

I ask the court to note the absurdity of this statement. Really, how could Sasha, allegedly a worker at the Moscow Concert Hall, know the plan of the service premises of the airport? Indeed, it would be more logical to suppose that Nikitinsky knew this plan. And that, in fact, is how it was. Nikitinsky brought such a plan, which he had sketched himself, to one of our meetings, and it lay around my house for a long time until it got lost. I also ask the court to note the absence of logic in the following statement by Nikitinsky. He states: "On October 13, I finally understood that

they wanted to use me in an anti-Soviet conspiracy and decided to report their activities and wrote a statement to the KGB."

At the same time Nikitinsky states that on the following day he conducted a kind of rehearsal. Isn't this rather strange? Meanwhile, his statement to the KGB relevant to this case is dated February 8, 1971. What compelled this upstanding Communist to keep silent about the preparation of an "anti-Soviet plot" for almost four months and to conduct rehearsals of the plot, and what prompted him to make this overdue report? One cannot help but suppose that my rejection of his proposal was what occasioned them to decide to use the unsuccessful provocateur as a witness whenever the opportunity offered itself.

It is on the basis of the same witness's testimony that I am charged with having in my apartment two issues of the journal *Posev*, and that I showed them to people. However, in the preliminary investigations Nikitinsky did not indicate this. In his testimony it is stated that in his presence I brought out these two magazines and in five minutes put them away, when Nikitinsky expressed no desire to look them over.

Judge: Is that all you have to say about this episode?

Bukovsky: That's all.

Judge: Does anyone have any questions for the defendant?

There were none.

Bukovsky: Concerning the episode covered in the testimony of the servicemen Bychkov and Tarasov, I can say that in March 1971, I was in fact in the cafe at the Kursk Station with one of my acquaintances. The waitress seated us at a table where two men in military uniform, who we now know to be Bychkov and Tarasov, were already seated.

I didn't know these people before and I never saw them again. In the cafe, at our table, a conversation did indeed begin. It began, as I recall, with a discussion of the events in Poland, since I learned from their conversation that they had been eyewitnesses to the events or had heard about them from their fellow servicemen. In our discussion of these events, we had a difference of opinion. It is my view, and I told them so, that armed suppression of actions by representatives of the people struggling for their economic and political rights

was an intolerable measure and that our army exists not to suppress popular movements but for the defense of the country from foreign enemies. They held that as servicemen they were obliged to carry out any order, including an order to fire into a crowd, if such a command were given.

Such a readiness to fire at anyone you were ordered to fire on seemed strange to me and I asked them: "Imagine if a situation arose like this: Say that tomorrow prices went up sharply in our country and there was an increase in popular dissatisfaction. Suppose, for example, that among the people demonstrating against these high prices you saw me—with whom you are now having a peaceful, even friendly, conversation. What would you do—Would you fire at me if ordered to?" "Yes," they said. "And would you kill me?" I asked. "Yes, we would kill you if we were ordered to," they said, and they asked what I would do in their place. I answered that if I found myself in such a situation, and I were in their place, I would, at least, try to shoot over the heads of the crowd so as not to hit anyone. They asked me why I felt I might find myself among the dissatisfied. I answered that I had already been persecuted for my beliefs more than once. I told them that my experiences had been publicized in the West and that I was acquainted with several foreign correspondents.

They didn't believe me, so I showed them the page of my notebook on which I had listed the telephone numbers of Western correspondents. Bychkov wrote down one of the numbers and said jokingly that he would check it out. I suggested that they write down my name and phone number. Bychkov did. After this we parted and I never saw them again.

Judge: Are there any questions for Bukovsky?

Prosecutor: Did you tell these people that in our country sane people are placed in mental institutions?

Bukovsky: It's possible I did.

Prosecutor: Is it just possible or did you actually say it?

Bukovsky: It's possible that I said it. I don't remember exactly.

Prosecutor: Did you say to them that there is no personal freedom in this country?

Bukovsky: As I have already stated, that is my belief and it's possible that I stated my beliefs to these people.

Regarding the charge that I asserted that the system existing in this country is not the one we need, that falls completely into the category of an emotional generalization. It's possible that they remembered it that way. But I have never opposed the soviet system as a political form of government and could not have said this to anyone.

Prosecutor: Why did you give Bychkov and Tarasov your phone number and address?

Bukovsky: Why do people usually exchange phone numbers?

Judge: (Rebukes Bukovsky.) Answer the question.

Bukovsky: They were interested in knowing who I was; and I told them and gave them my phone number.

Prosecutor: Why did you give Bychkov and Tarasov the phone numbers of foreign correspondents?

Bukovsky: I already explained that in the course of the conversation they stated that they didn't believe I knew any foreign correspondents and I showed them the phone numbers. In general, we were just joking around.

Judge: Are there any further questions for the defendant?

There were none.

Judge: Defendant, proceed to the final point in the indictment.

Bukovsky: Concerning the final episode I can say the following: On March 28, 1971, Chalidze [Valery Chalidze of the Human Rights Committee] called me and asked me to come over to see him. I did. The Belgian citizen Hugo Sebreghts, whom I had never met before, was there. This meeting I had with him was the only one we had. Besides him and Chalidze, Volpin was there. A conversation took place between Sebreghts and Chalidze about the activities of the Human Rights Committee and they needed me as a translator because Chalidze does not know English or French and Sebreghts did not know Russian. After the conversation was over, I left. I did not pass along any sort of documents to Sebreghts, and to prove this I have asked that Volpin and Chalidze be summoned as witnesses, but the court has refused to do this.

Judge: Have you told everything?

Bukovsky: Yes, everything.

Judge: Are there any questions?

Prosecutor: I ask that Sebreghts's final testimony in the preliminary investigation be read aloud (volume

such and such, page such and such of the case record).

The judge reads aloud the report, which states that on March 28, 1971, in Chalidze's apartment he, Sebreghts, in the presence of Chalidze and Volpin, received two typewritten documents from Bukovsky—*The Chronicle of Current Events* and *An Open Letter to the Twenty-fourth Congress* by P. Yakir—and that Bukovsky asked him to say, in the event that these documents were found on him, that he had received them from an unknown person in one of the museums in Moscow.

Judge: Does anyone have any questions for the defendant regarding this episode?

Prosecutor: I ask the court to review the conclusion of the handwriting and printing analysts that the documents found on Sebreghts and analogous documents taken from Bukovsky's apartment at the time of the search were typed on the same typewriter.

Judge: The court has reviewed these documents.

[The court is recessed.]

[To be continued.]

## FSI Protests Attack on Antiwar Marchers

[The following letter from the national office of the FSI (Front Solidarité Indochine—Indochina Solidarity Front) to the "group of forty-eight organizations" that hosted the Versailles World Assembly for the Peace and Independence of the Indochinese Peoples is translated from the May 20 issue of *Rouge*, weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International.]

Comrades,

The national office of the Front Solidarité Indochine would like to inform you of the following events, which took place May 10 during the demonstration to protest the mining of North Vietnamese ports. While the contingent of the FSI and other organizations had assembled at the Rue Montmartre and Place St Eustache, the contingent of the "group of forty-eight organizations" arrived from the Rue du Louvre and the Rue Coquillière.

The FSI would have been perfectly able to step in and take over the front of this demonstration. But, faithful to the orientation to which it has held

# Some Data on Italian Problems

By Livio Maitan

since its formation, it wanted to demonstrate its desire for unity and did not want to create any incidents. So the FSI contingent made room in the Place St Eustache and allowed the entire "group of forty-eight" contingent to move through toward the Rue Turbigo. At no time was there the slightest attempt on the part of the FSI—as some people think they can claim—to break into or hinder that contingent. There are thousands of witnesses to this.

Nevertheless, the defense guard bringing up the rear of the march of the "forty-eight" tried to prevent the FSI militants, who had patiently waited for more than one hour, from joining in at the end of the first contingent at the Rue Turbigo.

Furthermore, this defense guard brutally charged into the front ranks of the FSI demonstration with the intent, sometimes openly stated, of seriously injuring people. Of this also there are very many witnesses.

One FSI member, Michel Martet, sustained grave injuries to his right eye, and had to undergo an operation.

Previously, on February 13, 1972, in about twenty cities, FSI contingents had been attacked by certain members of the defense guards for the "group of forty-eight." At that time also, several militants were seriously hurt.

We feel that these incidents are all the more regrettable in that the FSI has many times proclaimed its desire for unity of all anti-imperialist forces. Additionally, it must be stressed that on numerous occasions, especially in the provinces, unified demonstrations have been able to take place with no problems—as soon as certain forces gave up their self-defeating attempts at exclusion. This has been to the benefit of our common struggle to support the peoples of Indochina.

We hope that the "forty-eight organizations" will see fit to do everything possible to put an end to the practices that lead to the sort of attacks to which FSI members were subjected on May 10.

At this time, when it is necessary to establish the broadest possible unity to support the Indochinese comrades, we would like to request that you take a position on such acts and work toward making future demonstrations united ones.

While waiting for your response, we send our fraternal greetings.

*National Office, FSI*

1. For four years Italy has experienced a very deep social and political crisis which, during 1969 and early 1970, precipitated a prerevolutionary situation. In the final analysis, this crisis resulted from a new eruption of the fundamental contradictions of capitalist society. Its specific form and its prolongation stem from the nearly complete failure of the program of reformist rationalization that was the cornerstone of the center-left, the most advanced political expression of the "neocapitalist" tendencies that asserted themselves during the latter part of the 1950s.

In other words, even at the height of the boom, the regime proved itself incapable both of eliminating reactionary vestiges that arose from the very formation of the national state, and of resolving the problems raised by the postwar transformations—urbanization, education, administration of justice, functioning of the administrative apparatus, disintegration of the traditional family, etc.

More exactly, on the economic level, the contradiction between the requirements of an economy with increasingly rigid interconnections, which therefore demands greater and greater harmonization, and a growing chaos that engenders further dislocations reached explosive proportions.

On the political level, the erosion of the parliamentary institutions, their humbug role, their divorce from the needs of large masses, their inefficacy even from a technical viewpoint became more and more clear and evident.

On the sociocultural level, the contradiction between the rise in the mean level of education (and the consequent accentuated demands for active participation and "self-management") and the reality of growing authoritarianism and manipulation became sharper.

The program of integrating the working class into the so-called consumer society was a particular failure owing to capitalism's inability either to satisfy effectively those needs (especially social) that stimulated the economic growth itself, or to respond to the most elementary necessities of wide layers of the proletariat, always condemned to extremely hard conditions of life.

Consciousness of the exploitative nature of the system, far from declining, was powerfully stimulated by the dramatic intensification of physical and psychological stresses resulting from new techniques and the new forms of organizing work in the factories.

There is no need here to stress the new element represented by the student move-

ment, which played a role beyond comparison with that played by the student nuclei in the past. In Italy also, this movement was the product both of intervening changes in technology—and in the organization of production—and of the eruption of "marginal" contradictions. In this way, the movement played a detonator role, simultaneously expressing the disintegration of bourgeois ideology and stimulating ideological debate within the working class, where the students appear as a supporting force. Finally, the crisis and radicalization of significant sectors of the petty bourgeoisie has been expressed via the student movement.

This crisis of the petty bourgeoisie deserves to be stressed; in fact, it is an important element in the more general social crisis. On the one hand the traditional petty bourgeoisie has undergone a process of disintegration and has been partially declassed. On the other, that part of the petty bourgeoisie most closely tied to production, or most active in services and administration, was impelled to take advantage of the situation in the country and put forth its own demands through strong mobilizations and even by very tough methods.

With the collapse of traditional values, intellectual layers have also radicalized, reflecting the turbulent aspirations, vacillations, and disarray of the middle classes, and serving in the final analysis as a sounding board for the ideology of the "leftist" groups. The crisis of wide circles of Catholics also expresses the turmoil in the petty bourgeoisie much more than the changes in substance among the working-class layers.

2. The upsurge, marked by a very large mobilization of all layers of the working class, as well as wide layers of the petty bourgeoisie, reached its peak during the second half of 1969, when imposing struggles of basic sectors of the working class impelled, among other things, the birth of councils of delegates, organs of workers' democracy in the best revolutionary tradition, and forced the trade unions to reckon with constant pressure from below and to accept into their structures the massive entry of cadres from the new generation.

The gains of these struggles should in no way be minimized. But precisely the depth and power of the movement demanded its passing into the general political arena. Failing this, partial struggles risked becoming quickly emptied of all real content. In the absence of an effective revolutionary pole of attraction, it was easy for the bureaucrats to fill that vacuum with their own reformist program.

They were able to view this program as realizable to the degree that the ruling class was not in principle opposed to granting reforms. The provincial, regional, and national strikes of 1970 and early 1971 were seen as instruments in this strategy of putting pressure on the ruling class. But the contradiction lay in the very act of proposing a reformist per-

spective during a prerevolutionary situation in which the real issue was the struggle for power.

Furthermore, the center-left, which did not carry out the reforms as preventive measures, became increasingly paralyzed and divided and proved itself incapable of acting with the slightest effectiveness even after the outbreak of the crisis. Apart from a few minor concessions, the reform policy remained a scrap of paper.

Under these conditions, the movement could not help but flatten out and lose its force as a generalized movement. Nevertheless, conflicts kept on, often in explosive forms. Despite their fragmentation, the students were periodically pushed into new mobilizations; the working class was conscious of its power and, thanks to the relationship of forces in the factories, would not stand for being robbed, directly or indirectly, of its 1969 conquests and often opened new offensives, especially in the area of organization of work in the plants.

The economic crisis, with its threat of massive unemployment, likewise has not yet broken the workers' combativity, which continues to counteract the employers' maneuvers and all their efforts at reestablishing "order" in the factories. Thus, four years after the onslaught of the great wave, the system is still far from having achieved a stabilization, and social and political forces are moving toward new major confrontations.

3. For the bourgeoisie, the most pressing problem is to overcome its crisis of leadership. The center-left has been paralyzed for a long time, and the coming elections represent an attempt to establish a new equilibrium and to arrive at a new governmental formula.

Through the election of a new president of the republic (in which fascist votes played a part) and through a series of political moves toward creating a one-party government, a majority has taken shape that aims at imposing a center or center-right formula that excludes the Socialists (providing the latter do not capitulate completely, which in the present context seems unlikely).

The direction of such an operation is toward stiffening the repression, reinforcing the executive, and abandoning all reformist cover. The grave economic difficulties—in the framework of the international crisis—increasingly press in this direction to the degree that the bourgeoisie needs to reestablish order in the factories so as to increase the rate of exploitation and be in position to draw up its medium-term plans.

The big propaganda campaign of the Christian Democratic majority, the liberals, the Social Democrats, and the republicans is aimed precisely at assuring a new relationship of forces on the parliamentary level. The attacks on the "opposite extremes" have the same goal. Those who push this line hope to drive the frightened petty bourgeoisie into the center-democratic fold.

The decisive bourgeois sectors still re-

ject the perspective of a fascist or fascist-like regime or a military coup d'etat. Nevertheless, during the past year the fascists' activities have attained considerable dimensions, a more systematic character, and unprecedented aggressiveness. Undoubtedly the fascists enjoy the support of certain groups of capitalists and landholders, and function to a considerable extent with the complicity of the state apparatus.

In some cases (Reggio Calabria, l'Aquila) the fascists have even succeeded in turning the wave of popular discontent to their own advantage. Their game may be to find a more propitious political field in the immediate future, waiting for the accentuation of the rightist radicalization of the petty- and middle-bourgeois layers and for a further economic deterioration, resulting in a large increase in unemployment.

The existence of a fascist or fascist-like force involves the danger of unleashing centrifugal, adventurist, rightist tendencies. Such tendencies, especially if the May 7 elections result in an impasse, may increase tensions and move toward a coup d'etat attempt. In the present context, which will not change radically in the short run, such an attempt could precipitate civil war. This is not, I repeat, the most likely variant, but it should not be completely excluded.

4. I have already mentioned the contradiction that has paralyzed the reformist current in the Italian workers' movement, of which the Communist party of Italy (PCI) remains by far the most powerful component. The latest PCI congress only confirmed the traditional approach and translated it into electoralist propaganda terms—with a conjuncturally rightist accent.

At bottom, the bureaucrats want more than ever to present the PCI as a constitutional force, defending parliamentary democracy, fighting disorder, and aspiring to play a role on the governmental level itself. Thus, at a time when growing layers criticize the regime that emerged at the end of the second world war, the PCI appears as a consistent partisan of the status quo; and when a majority of the bourgeoisie wants to stop collaborating even with the Socialists, the PCI proposes its candidacy as a partner in a parliamentary and governmental alliance of Communists, Socialists, and Catholics. (Concretely, this means collaboration with the bourgeoisie, or with certain decisive sectors of it.) Once again the PCI, which decades ago ceased to be a revolutionary party, is unable to put its projected reformist program into practice.

The trade unions in turn face grave difficulties. At the end of 1969 they tried to relieve the political parties by taking over responsibility for launching the battle for reforms. They counted on their ability to mobilize masses that no party—not even the PCI—could reach. But the intrinsic contradictions of the reformist project turned against them, too. Nothing substantial was accomplished, and the eco-

omic crisis even threw them onto the defensive.

One of the consequences of the failure of the fight for reforms—and of the various pressures flowing from the confrontation of political forces—is that trade-union solidarity is losing ground, and the possibility of organizational union on the confederation level appears increasingly remote.

Despite all this, the reformist organizations retain their influence on the vast majority of the masses and are not likely to suffer a serious setback in the coming elections. If faced with a direct fascist threat, they might energetically react in self-defense. But fundamentally, they have no real perspective. They mark time; they appear as an essentially static element. This is a factor in the situation whose implications should not be minimized.

5. The 1968-71 wave of struggles gave rise to numerous groups and organizations that laid claim to being of the revolutionary left. The power of this left is shown by its leading role in the student struggles, by its real, even if largely minority, presence in the workers' struggles—especially in 1969 and 1970—by its ability to organize very large mass demonstrations, by the extent its literature has circulated, and by the influence of its ideology. All this implies an important change in the relationship of forces with the bureaucrats.

Nevertheless, up to now the far left has been unable to exploit the objective possibilities, to stabilize fully even the forces it commands, and a fortiori to present itself as a real alternative. This is because of the preponderance of sectarian, spontaneist, and adventurist tendencies, which often mix themselves into a single organization, and at times put downright centrist ideas on a par with the others.

On the whole, Maoism retains a generally very considerable influence, even though it was affected by the international events of 1971. Spontaneism now finds few avowed adherents, but it has left its mark both on the student movement (especially in the high schools) and on groups with vacillating and sometimes contradictory orientations.

Thus, while the groups officially claiming adherence to orthodox Maoism have a very limited audience, and the spontaneist movements have lost their steam, the most well known groups represent a combination of disparate orientations, ideas, and methods.

In the case of *Lotta Continua*—whose influence remains very great—this is reflected in a rather deep internal differentiation, an adventurist current strongly tainted with spontaneism opposing a more "moderate" current with populist tendencies.

*Potere Operaio* for its part, while still linking itself to Maoism on the international level, has opted for an adventurist course based on a false analysis of the situation and inspired by ideas analogous to those of the U. S. Weathermen. (The influence of *Potere Operaio* is much more



limited than that of *Lotta Continua*.)

*Avanguardia Operaia* up to now has not had a real national base. (It is absent, for example, in a city like Turin.) But its strength in Milan, the epicenter of political struggle in Italy today, assures it a role that should not be underestimated. What is involved, at bottom, is an eclectic formation that has tried to combine Maoism with vestiges of Trotskyist theory and practice and with some tendencies belonging to the ultra-left tradition (characterization of the USSR, attitude toward the trade unions, electoral abstentionism, etc.).

Finally, in *Il Manifesto*—which in terms of ideological and general influence is now the strongest formation, having such an instrument as a daily paper with a circulation of 30,000 to 40,000—we have a typical centrist organization, with all that this implies in a situation where substantial forces have escaped from the control of the traditional bureaucracies, and ultraleftist tendencies of all kinds continually arise. Thus for a whole period, the leading nucleus wanted to establish close collaboration with the ultraleft groups and the spontaneist tendencies, while at the same time linking itself to Maoism on the international level. Now its efforts lean toward reinforcing its own organization, which it hopes will soon win hegemony in the revolutionary left—all the while maintaining eclectic conceptions and orientations. The May 7 elections will give some indications of such an endeavor's chances of success.

## II

6. The active intervention of Trotskyism as an organized political force in the Italian situation was very seriously hampered by the extremely grave crisis the organization suffered in the second half of 1968 and the beginning of 1969. During crucial months the organization was paralyzed, and later it was enormously restricted, not only in relation to the big mass movements, but also within the vanguard.

At the beginning of 1969 the Italian Trotskyists had to confront the twofold task of projecting a new strategy for building the revolutionary party and at the same time reconstructing their own organization.

It was necessary to start from the new facts of the situation. That meant, above all, understanding that the bureaucrats of the traditional parties and trade unions retained their grip on the majority of the working class, a fact that many leftists disputed. But, (1) the ties between the masses and the bureaucrats had deteriorated considerably and serious conflicts were not out of the question; and (2) sizeable forces, including proletarian elements, were working outside the apparatus in opposition to reformist notions.

From this it was necessary to conclude that any continuation of entryism would be a catastrophic error, that it was necessary to follow a completely indepen-

dent orientation, that it was necessary to intervene directly on the level of social forces (the student movement, the most militant layers of workers, etc.). Obviously, we could entertain no illusions of playing a leading role in the short term on this level. But we had to understand that this "mass" activity, no matter how modest and inevitably sector-oriented, was a prerequisite for building links with vanguard workers' nuclei and militants, as well as for training the movement's cadres to the tasks of the new stage.

The second point of the Italian section's analysis was that there would be a stage during which the revolutionary left would extend its influence, but without radically altering the relationship of forces in its favor. At the same time, the multiplicity of far-left organizations and groups, with the constant variation in their influence and respective roles, would continue to be a characteristic trait of the period (our own weakness being one of the factors preventing a relatively rapid sorting-out process).

The lines of orientation for the Italian Trotskyists in the present period were drawn from these premises and analyses sketched out in this document:

A. It is necessary to intervene directly in the social struggles, and to give priority to intervention in the working class. "This priority," said the resolution of the latest (November 1971) conference of the GCR (Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari—Revolutionary Communist Groups), "flows from the political context of the period, the rise of a new vanguard in this area also, the understanding that precisely in this area the decisive battles for hegemony within the vanguard and against the grip of the bureaucracy will be fought, the consciousness that even modest gains made in such activity will assure the organization of a great attractive power even in the student movement. This choice of priorities presupposes a minimum accumulation of cadres who, most often, are more easily recruited from the student milieu."

B. It is necessary never to forget or blur over the problem of relating to the masses still in the grip of the traditional organizations. Independent mobilizations of the revolutionary left can accelerate the ripening of criticism among those workers tied to the PCI and the trade-union apparatus—but only if these mobilizations avoid any trace of simple "leftism" and sectarianism and appear as the initiatives of responsible forces.

A united front policy—both in economic struggles and in mobilizations against repression and the fascist threat—represents one axis of such an orientation. For even more compelling reasons, it is imperative to fight any tendency to deny the role of the trade unions or to project so-called red mini-unions, and to work for the perspective of building a revolutionary tendency within the unions.

C. It is necessary constantly to foster theoretical and political clarification with-

in the revolutionary left. The fight against all Maoist, spontaneist, and centrist deviations is a primary task for revolutionary Marxists. But this does not exclude, on the contrary, seeking a convergence or unity in action whenever the objective possibility exists.

The experience of the last years shows that whenever such unity is established, the revolutionary left is able to call forth and lead impressive mobilizations that act as a real and immediate factor in the country's political situation and exert an attractive power even on wide layers of members of the traditional organizations. In the final analysis, such united actions help to partially overcome the fragmentation of the far left, which has been such a serious handicap for it. At the same time, these united actions submit the different organizations to a practical test, explode internal contradictions, and facilitate the political ripening of the new generation of militants.

The 1971 conference document made the following points:

I. So far as the struggles of the workers are concerned, the stress must be put on demands most capable of countering the employers' plans for "restoration" in the factories, of creating conditions for large-scale struggle, and of stimulating really political mobilizations.

This involves a campaign taking as its axis transitional slogans linked to the fundamental tenets of Leninism and Trotskyism and formulated according to the specific requirements of the period. (The Italian section has made a special effort at elaborating the needs in this area.) While fighting antiunion deviations, revolutionary Marxists must fight for the creation, or the revitalization, of the proletarian democratic organs that grew out of the 1969 struggles, particularly the delegates' councils.

II. So far as the student movement is concerned, the basic concept remains that the student movement is a mass political movement with its own dynamic and its own aims (obviously within the framework of the total anticapitalist struggle, on the axis of workers' struggles). The Trotskyist intervention must continue to be developed on two levels:

a. Participation, on the basis of the methodology of the transitional program, in the large mobilizations that periodically occur.

b. Political presence as a Trotskyist organization (nuclei of members and sympathizers) that at each moment appears with its whole program and its own image.

III. So far as action inside the far left is concerned, the struggle for hegemony within the vanguard, which, as I have already underscored, does not exclude joint action with groups in complete opposition to our ideas, likewise does not exclude collaboration on a wider basis with organizations with which some affinities can be noted.

This is the case with *Il Manifesto* on the one hand, and *Avanguardia Operaia* on

the other.

Up to now the practical application of such orientations has run into major difficulties. The first difficulty lies in the fact that the struggle for hegemony in the vanguard and the struggle to ignite the contradictions within the bureaucratic organizations coincide only in a general, long-term sense. The second difficulty stems from the extreme sectarianism current in the far left. On the one hand this makes it hard to apply effectively the united-front line, and on the other hand often prevents a coming together even of groups having points in common with revolutionary Marxism. (For example, *Il Manifesto* and *Avanguardia Operaia* frequently take off in different directions and conduct virulent polemics against each other.)

The third difficulty is linked to the nature of the student milieu, which still represents by far the principal component of the far left. This milieu is a hotbed of more or less camouflaged spontaneism, adventurism, and extreme sectarianism.

All these obstacles are particularly serious because the Italian section, despite its recuperation, remains very weak; its influence is far more limited than that of the other formations of the revolutionary left like *Il Manifesto*, *Lotta Continua*, and, to a lesser extent, *Avanguardia Operaia*.

### III

7. The coming months will be extremely important for the development of the situation in Italy and therefore for the Trotskyist movement.

The line of our organization in this stage is above all to participate actively in the political campaign around the May 7 elections, which represent a confrontation with potentially big consequences.

For the GCR, the optimal situation would have been a united campaign of the revolutionary left on the basis of the platform outlined in the Central Committee statement of March 19. Since this variant was rejected (owing to extreme sectarianism and political myopia) the GCR consider it to be their duty, and also to be in their interest, to support the *Manifesto* campaign. *Manifesto's* participation in the elections will allow the revolutionary left to gauge its strength and test its influence. (For the Senate, which in Italy has the same powers as the House, in the absence of *Manifesto* candidates the GCR call for a vote for the PCI-PSIUP [PSIUP, Partito Socialista Italiano d'Unita Proletaria—Italian Socialist party of Proletarian Unity] bloc.)

At the same time, the GCR feel that during the elections there must be no let-up in workers' struggles, which by their militancy will affect the outcome of the elections. There must also be preparation for the battles of autumn, when collective bargaining for new contracts in important sectors will resume. (About

4,000,000 workers are involved.) The workers' commission of the organization is in the process of drafting a line-document on this subject, which will be submitted to a special national meeting planned for the near future.

Moreover, in the words of a *Bandiera Rossa* editorial, "the revolutionary left should not renounce militant mass demonstrations such as the March 11 action in Milan. To renounce such mobilizations would be to allow the enemy to gain ground, to begin to 'restore order.' Nevertheless, we must add that precisely because of the dangers implicit in the situation, the greatest political vigilance and organizational discipline must be used to avoid any adventurist action in opposition to the goals of the demonstrations or capable of preventing their expansion. . . . At the same time, if the revolutionary left must respond to the abuses and attacks of the bureaucrats, it has every interest in reassimilating as never before the concept of the proletarian united front." The united front policy must be applied especially in organizing militant responses (self-defense of the worker and student movements, mass mobilizations, etc.).

As for anti-imperialist mobilizations, which also must be carried out during the election period, the GCR put the stress on the fight against the Vietnam war, participation in the April 22 campaign, solidarity with the Irish revolutionists, and the struggle of the Spanish workers and students. (Proposals for joint action, especially for April 22, have been made to other organizations, primarily *Il Manifesto*.)

Immediately after the elections, the organization will make a new analysis of the situation. Tactical adjustments may be called for—for example, if *Il Manifesto* succeeds in attracting sizeable forces, thus raising the possibility of the birth of a broad centrist organization.

To reiterate: the coming months will be very important for the Italian section. Two variants can be outlined. If the rightist attack can be countered and a new workers' upsurge appears, it would be necessary to exploit all opportunities to participate with the most important and serious forces, as in 1968, but with a much greater dynamism. On the other hand, if the reactionaries gain ground, it would be necessary to take maximum advantage of the time remaining before possibly being obliged to completely restructure the organization and adopt new forms of struggle.

March 29, 1972

#### Postscript

One theme of the section's propaganda, which it opposes more and more sharply to all rightist and centrist parties, is unification of the trade unions. Our stand in favor of unification in no way involves acceptance of the orientation of the reformist currents. We are for unity, but we insist that this unity must be effected on the basis of the principles of anticap-

italist class struggle—not on the basis of the unions collaborating with the system. At the same time we consider it important to battle for a democratic structure in the union organizations. This means the right of tendencies to exist.

On the possible construction of a youth organization, here is what the 1971 conference said:

"The arguments advanced in the world congress document in favor of the construction of a youth organization certainly retain their validity, and the perspective is that the task will have to be posed in Italy also. The experiences in other countries, where significant results were achieved, merit analysis. Nevertheless, we must not forget that at least in certain cases (Belgium), the launching of a youth organization corresponded to the requirements of a short phase, and the result was the strengthening of the section through a fusion. In any case, the essential criterion must be whether there are some cities with a minimum number of young cadres who can be engaged exclusively, or nearly so, in this work without this involving a serious weakening of the GCR. The balance of available forces suggests a negative reply for the present." □

## Greek Students in Protests Against Junta

[The following statement was issued May 13 by the Greek Antidictatorial Union of Rhein-Wuppertal and Leverkusen in West Germany. It was signed by the chairman, Vangeles Sakkatos; and the general secretary, Iordanes Orphanides. The translation from the Greek is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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As a result of the students demonstrating to back their demands and to oppose the junta's handpicked leaders of the Phoitetikoi Syllogoi [Student Associations], the government of the dictatorship has recently taken a harder line against the academic youth.

The agitation and demonstrations started in the Syllogos Kreton Phoiteton [Association of Cretan Students], which is one of the largest of the associations.

The students of the universities of Athens, Patras, and Thessalonike appealed to the courts against the governing boards appointed by the junta in 1967. (These officers themselves admitted that they were generally dis-

*Intercontinental Press*

credited in the eyes of the students.) Through the declarations of the students, these cases became more widely known on the campuses and among the people. After this, the argument was raised that the only way to assure representation of the students and to go about solving their problems was to grant the right to freely convene the general assemblies of the Phoitetikoi Syllogoi and the right of all students without exception to elect their governing boards.

In the meantime, the students at the Physics and Mathematics School of the University of Athens began to stay away from their classes. A strike was initiated at the technical high schools in Athens and Thessalonike. Some 2,500 students took part, demanding that their schools be given equal status with the higher technical schools.

At the same time (in late April and early May), three student demonstrations were organized in Athens. Rallies were held in front of the Polytechnic Institute and the University. In addition, about 500 students from the Physics and Mathematics School

staged a march from Goudi to Athens. The procession was broken up by the junta's police in Ampelokepous, but the students split up into smaller groups, re-formed, and came together in a united rally in front of the university.

The government of the colonels showed how panicked it was by the student mobilizations in the way it reacted. As the technical high-school strike continued, it issued an order that commanded the police outright to fire on student demonstrations. Moreover, it has arrested twelve students and a lawyer in Athens and three students and a journalist in Thessalonike and is holding them in the dungeons of the Asphaleia [secret police] for trial before the junta's military tribunal.

The lawyer and two students are charged with trying to organize a joint demonstration with workers on May Day. According to the most recent information, more than sixty persons have been arrested by the various organs of the junta. At the same time, about 320 political prisoners

condemned by the military tribunal are being held in medieval prisons. Approximately another seventy persons under indictment are being confined, for the most part, in the dungeons of the Asphaleia and in the cells of the ESA [Hellenike Stratiotike Astynomia—Greek Military Police] torture centers, where they are being "given the treatment" to "prepare" them for their "trials."

Moreover, in recent days, the junta has instituted proceedings to ban the Etairia Meletes Hellenikon Problematon [Society for the Study of Greek Problems] and the Hellenoeuropaikes Enosis Neon [Greek-European Union of Youth]. It has arrested the leading members of these organizations, including Professor Ioannis Pasmazoglou, and they are already confined to districts in the provinces.

We appeal to international democratic opinion and to the world workers' movement to support these Greek fighters who have fallen victim to the repression of the junta.

Hands off the Greek students!

Free all Greek political prisoners! □

## A Contribution to the History of the Trotskyist Movement

# The Fourth International

By Pierre Frank

[This is the thirteenth and final 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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[New material has been added by the author in preparation for the forthcoming second edition of the book.]

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## Chapter 9: Those Who Died So That the International Might Live

We have intentionally devoted this work, above all, to the Trotskyist movement's activity in the area of theory, politics, and organization relative to almost a half-century of great events—and to the problems these events have raised in the course of constructing a revolutionary-Marxist leadership and revolutionary-Marxist parties in every country. We have seen how difficult it is to make progress on the theoretical and political level, how this

is possible only at the price of incessant internal debate and discussion, of analysis and reanalysis. But ideas, programs, and organizations are created by people and are kept alive by people. Only in passing have we mentioned the names of the Trotskyist movement's militants.

What books could be written on such a subject! Conditions have been far harsher for Trotskyists than for any other working-class tendency—bourgeois repression being generally a stimulus, while the repression exercised against Trotskyists within their own class, very often by sincerely revolutionary workers misled by bureaucrats who were backed by a powerful workers state, has pushed many able revolutionists into situations where they could not give the best of themselves.

Trotsky's name, to which is inseparably linked that of his companion Natalia, towers over the names of all those who joined the movement he created, and is again beginning to be as celebrated as it was in the heroic days of the revolution. But how many others are there whose names remain stained in the eyes of the workers by the Stalinist slanders, or who remain unknown to the new generations! The Trotskyist movement itself has generally been very modest about those who fought for the victory of its program. History will little by little, interna-

tionally and in every country, give them their due.

Another result of Stalinism's implacable persecution of the Trotskyists was the confusion and intimidation it sowed in many people over a long period. This drastically reduced the movement's periphery of friends and sympathizers—a periphery that all vanguard movements need. Thus we also pay homage to those who were our friends in such adversity, as well as to the revolutionary leaders who came out of the Communist International and its parties who, although they did not march with us all the way, or had differences with us, remained faithful to the cause of world revolution to the end of their days.

Among them are:

Alfred and Marguerite Rosmer, in whose home the founding congress of the Fourth International was held.

Maurice Spector, founder of the Canadian Trotskyist movement.

H. Stockfisch (Hersch Mendel), fighter in the 1905 and 1917 Russian revolutions, who founded the Polish Trotskyist movement, to which he won Isaac Deutscher.

Andres Nin, assassinated by the GPU during the Spanish revolution.

The former leaders of the German Communist party, Paul Fröhlich, Arkadi Maslow, Hugo Urbahns.

André Marty, who established fraternal contacts with us after his expulsion from the French Communist party.

John Baird, Labour party M.P., who was always on our side.

The eminent Ukrainian Marxist, Roman Rosdolsky.

Louis Polk, member of the Central Committee of the Belgian Communist party, who participated in founding the Opposition in Belgium and who died in the Neuenamme concentration camp.

Tan Malakka who in 1914 was, with Sneevliet, a founder of the revolutionary socialist movement in Indonesia, missing in action during the guerrilla fighting following the war.

There follows a very incomplete list of those who carried aloft the banner of Trotskyism, and who died in battle:

Nicola di Bartolomeo (Fosco), Italian Communist worker, in exile in France during the fascist regime, participated in the war in Spain. On his return to France, he was turned over to the Italian authorities, who deported him to a concentration camp. Liberated at the end of the war, he rebuilt the Trotskyist organization in Italy. He died in 1946, at the age of forty-four.

Angel Amado Bengochea (1926-1964), a leader of the first student revolts in Argentina in the 1940s, leader of the Socialist Youth. A student at the Faculty of Law in La Plata, he organized a Marxist opposition in the Socialist party, and joined the Trotskyist movement in 1946. In the 1950s he worked in a factory and became a leader in the Peronist unions. Imprisoned for six months in 1957. Linked to the struggle in other Latin American countries, in 1963 he formed a political-military group and was killed during an explosion.

Fernando Bravo, leader of the Bolivian teachers, representative of the Bolivian POR [Partido Obrero Revolucionario] to congresses of the International, died in the line of duty.

Josef Frey (1882-1957), prior to 1914 editor of the Vienna *Arbeiterzeitung*, president of the Vienna Council of Soldiers in the 1918 revolution, broke with Otto Bauer and Fritz Adler to join the CP, expelled from the latter

in 1927 as a Trotskyist.

José Aguirre Gainsborg, Bolivian revolutionist in exile, leading member of the Chilean CP; founder of the Bolivian POR in 1934—which he armed theoretically; for many years lived in exile and in prison; died at the age of thirty-four.

Jules Henin (1882-1964), miner, member of the Parti Ouvrier Belge (Belgian Workers party) from 1905, one of the first Belgian Communists in 1919, founder of the Trotskyist organization in 1927, one of the leaders of the Charleroi miners' strike (1932), as a result of which he was imprisoned; conducted underground activity during the war; member of the Control Commission of the Fourth International for many years.

Marcel Hic, joined the French Trotskyist movement (POI and Jeunesse Léninistes) in 1933 at the age of eighteen; rebuilt the French organization and published *la Vérité* starting in August 1940; secretary of the French section during the occupation, he participated in the founding of the European Secretariat of the Fourth International; arrested in 1943, he was distinguished by his courageous attitude in the Dora concentration camp, where he died.

Joseph Jakobovic (1915-1943), leader of the Austrian group Gegen den Strom [Against the Stream] under the Hitler occupation; tried in October 1943 for high treason and for encouraging disaffection in the armed forces, condemned to death and executed.

Zavis Kalandra, communist historian, denounced the "Moscow trials" in 1936; secretary of the Czechoslovakian section of the Fourth International, he was arrested and executed in 1950 by the Stalinists as a "spy"; was rehabilitated during the "Prague Spring."

Rose Karsner (1890-1968), joined the U.S. Socialist party at the age of eighteen; in 1909 was secretary of the magazine *The Masses*; participated in the founding congress of the U.S. Communist party in 1921, devoted herself to the defense and aid of the victims of repression (notably the Sacco-Vanzetti case); in 1928 participated in founding the Trotskyist organization in the United States, to which she devoted herself completely until the end of her life.

Franz Kascha (1909-1943), leader of the Austrian group Gegen den Strom during the Hitler occupation; tried in October 1943 for high treason and for encouraging disaffection in the armed forces, condemned to death and executed.

Rudolf Klement, young German Trotskyist, secretary to Trotsky, assassinated in France by the GPU in 1938 on the eve of the founding congress of the Fourth International, to the preparation of which he had devoted himself.

Abraham Leon (1918-1944), born in Warsaw, broke with Zionism and wrote *The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interpretation*; at the beginning of the war joined the Belgian Trotskyist organization, of which he became the main organizer; participated in founding the European Secretariat; arrested in June 1944, he died in the Auschwitz concentration camp in September 1944.

Léon Lesoil (1892-1942), soldier in the Belgian Mission in Russia during the first world war, he came out for the October Revolution; one of the founders of the Belgian Communist party; became a member of its Central Committee in 1923; then prosecuted for "plotting

against the security of the state"; founder of the Belgian Trotskyist organization in 1927; leader of the miners' strike in the Charleroi Basin in 1932; delegate to the founding congress of the Fourth International; arrested in 1941, died in the Neuengamme concentration camp in 1942.

César Lora, leader of the Bolivian miners at the Siglo XX mine; assassinated July 19, 1965, by Barrientos's troops.

B. Mallikarjun Rao, participated in the revolutionary movement as a student in Andhra and then in Bombay, and became active in the trade-union movement; one of the founders in 1941 of the Mazdoor Trotskyist party of India; in 1942 participated in the uprising against British imperialism, went underground, was arrested in 1944 and sentenced to two years in prison; in 1947-48 took part in the guerrilla movement against the Nizam of Hyderabad until this principality was integrated into the Indian Union; elected to a trade-union post in 1949; arrested anew in 1959 for his role in the civil-service strike in Andhra Pradesh; in 1965 was member of the organizing committee of the Socialist Workers party (Indian section of the Fourth International); died in 1966 after more than thirty years of militant activism.

Sherry Mangan (Patrice), American author and journalist; a Trotskyist since 1934; participated in the activity of the French Trotskyist organization under the occupation, expelled from France by Pétain; maintained liaison among the underground groups during the war; reduced to very difficult living conditions by McCarthyism; participated in clandestine work in France to help the Algerian revolution; member of the International's leadership for many years; died in 1961 at the age of 57.

Jean Meichler, one of the founders of *la Vérité* in 1929; editor of *Unser Wort*, organ of the German Trotskyists in exile; arrested for this and held hostage at the time that France was occupied; one of the first hostages executed; died at the age of 45.

Henri Molinier (Marc Laurent), 1898-1944, engineer, participated in the founding of *la Vérité*; carried out many missions with great discretion; in charge of military matters for the PCI during the war; killed by a shell in the course of the fighting for the liberation of Paris.

Moulin, German Trotskyist, killed by the GPU during the civil war in Spain.

Pantelis Pouliopoulos, prosecuted for his activity in the Greek army in 1922; translated *Das Kapital* into Greek; delegate of the Greek CP to the Fifth Congress of the Communist International; secretary of the CP in 1925, expelled as a Trotskyist in 1927; secretary of the Greek Trotskyist organization; went underground following the Metaxas *coup d'état* in 1936; arrested in 1939, shot as a hostage by the Italians in 1943 at the age of 43; made a speech to the Italian soldiers while facing the firing squad.

Art Preis (1911-1964), American Trotskyist; a student at the University of Ohio, he founded the *Free Voice*, which was later banned; in 1933 he organized the unemployed in Toledo, then organized employed workers into trade unions and was a member of the Toledo CIO Council; from 1940 on, he was labor editor of *The Militant*; author of *Labor's Giant Step: Twenty Years of the CIO*, a history of the American trade-union movement from 1929 to 1955.

Ignace Reiss (Ludwig), Polish communist, hero of the civil war during the Russian Revolution; one of the principal leaders of the Soviet Union's special services; in 1936, following the first "Moscow trial," broke with Stalinism and returned his medals, declaring, "I am joining Trotsky and the Fourth International"; assassinated by the GPU a few weeks later near Lausanne.

Wolfgang Salus, young Czechoslovakian communist, participated in founding that country's Trotskyist movement in 1929 at the age of 18; died in exile after having contributed to the reorganization of the Czechoslovakian movement after the war.

Leon Sedoff (1905-1938), Trotsky's son, expelled from the CPSU in 1927; from that time on devoted his life to helping Trotsky in the latter's work; a defendant along with Trotsky in all the "Moscow trials" in which he was sentenced to death; died mysteriously in Paris, most assuredly assassinated by the GPU.

Henri Sneevliet (1883-1942), Dutch working-class leader, founder of the Indonesian socialist movement in 1914, then of the Indonesian CP in 1920; that party's delegate to the Second Congress of the Communist International; representative of the Communist International to the Chinese CP; broke with Stalinism; leader of the Dutch trade-union confederation NAS; imprisoned in 1932 for his support of a sailors' mutiny; founder of the RSAP; arrested during the war; shot by the Nazis on April 13, 1942; his heroic death has been held up as an example in his country.

Chen Tu-hsiu (1879-1942), professor at the University of Peking, one of the leaders of the democratic revolution of 1911; founder of the Chinese CP, of which he was secretary from 1920 to 1927; joined the Trotskyist Opposition; seized by the Kuomintang in 1932 and sentenced to thirteen years in prison, freed on parole in 1937, died in 1942. His memory is still slandered today by the leadership of the Chinese CP.

Tha Thu Thau, founder of the Vietnamese Trotskyist movement, leader of the Saigon workers in the years preceding the war and imprisoned during the war. Freed in 1946, he disappeared mysteriously shortly thereafter, probably assassinated by the Stalinists.

Pierre Tresso (Blasco) (1893-1943), member of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau of the Italian CP from 1925, party delegate to congresses of the Communist International; expelled as a Trotskyist in 1930, was active as an exile in France; participated in the leadership of the Ligue Communiste, in the Copenhagen Conference in 1932, and in the founding congress of the Fourth International; condemned to ten years at forced labor during the war by the Marseilles military court; placed in the Puy prison, he was liberated along with all the others by the resistance forces; shortly thereafter, as was the case with other Trotskyists, he disappeared while with the resistance forces, in all likelihood assassinated by the Stalinists.

Joseph Vanzler (John G. Wright), student in chemistry at Harvard University, joined the American Trotskyist organization in 1929, translated numerous works by Trotsky, died in 1956 at the age of 52.

Paul Wentley (Widelin), German Trotskyist, editor in France under the occupation of the paper *Arbeiter und Soldat*, which called for fraternization; arrested by the Germans and shot.

Erwin Wolff (N. Braun), Trotskyist of Czechoslovakian origin, Trotsky's secretary in Norway, assassinated by the GPU during the civil war in Spain.

Vincent Raymond Dunne (1889-1970), joined the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) at the age of 17; a founder of the U. S. Communist party in 1919 and, in 1928, participated in the founding of the U. S. Trotskyist movement. At the head of the great Minneapolis teamsters' strike in 1934, which was a forerunner of the mighty trade-union upsurge of the following years. In 1938 participated in discussions with Trotsky preparatory to the founding congress of the Fourth International. Imprisoned in 1941 for sixteen months.

Emile Decoux (1910-1970), Belgian miner and exemplary militant for thirty-seven years. Joined the Jeune Garde Socialiste (Socialist Young Guard) in 1934, then the Belgian section of the Fourth International. Fulfilled important functions during the period of clandestinity.

Libero Villone (1913-1970), became active in the Italian CP under the fascist regime, when it was illegal. Expelled from the CP in 1938 for having criticized the "Moscow trials." Arrested in 1943, he was freed when Mussolini fell. Readmitted to the CP, he was soon expelled for criticizing the policy of class collaboration. Joined the Trotskyist movement in 1945. A teacher, he held various positions in the teachers' union. Editor of *Bandiera Rossa* for several years.

Georg Moltved (1881-1971), Danish doctor; at the turn of the century belonged to a petty-bourgeois party, developed toward Marxism, contributed to intellectual periodicals. After 1933, aided the German antifascist refugees in his country. In 1943, under the occupation, was one of the main leaders of the illegal CP for the region north of Copenhagen. After the war, he was opposed to the CP's accepting ministerial posts in the government and to the CP's reformist policy. Expelled in 1950. Joined the Fourth International in 1955. Translated *The Revolution Betrayed* into Danish, wrote biographies of Lenin and Trotsky, often presented Trotskyist viewpoints on the radio. Recognized in his country as an eminent person, Moltved was a man of great intellectual capacity.

Charles Marie (1915-1971), railroad worker, joined the Trotskyist movement shortly after the end of the war. Impassioned and indefatigable militant, for a long time he was practically alone in defending Trotskyism in Rouen. During the Algerian war, in legal and extralegal activities, he began to build a resurgence of the movement, recruited young people who, in the aftermath of May 1968, were to make Rouen the largest provincial branch of the Ligue Communiste. A cell of railroad workers in Rouen bears his name. He was named honorary chairman of the second national congress of the Ligue Communiste, held in Rouen.

Luiz Eduardo Merlino (Nicolau) (1947-1971), Brazilian journalist assassinated in July 1971 by the repressive forces in his country. Began his activity as a militant in the student organizations in Santos, then in newspaper circles in São Paulo, constantly filling the role of inspirer and leader. In 1968 joined the Partido Operário Comunista (POC—Workers Communist party), in which he rapidly rose to a leading position. His experiences led him to the positions of the Fourth Interna-

tional. He organized an opposition for which he wrote theses on national and international questions. Shortly after his clandestine return to São Paulo from a visit of several months in France, he was arrested, tortured, and murdered.

Tomás Chambi, member of the Central Committee of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (POR—Revolutionary Workers party, Bolivian section of the Fourth International), imprisoned during the Barrientos-Ovando dictatorship, freed when the dictatorship ended; he fell in combat while leading a column of poor peasants from the La Paz region in the battle against the Banzer *coup d'état*. On his body was found a note, written in his own hand, a kind of testament by this militant whose sole possession was his revolutionary conviction: "I am a member of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario, which taught me to be brave and to fight in a just cause. For national liberation, and forward to the final victory!"

Peter Graham (1945-1971), young Irish revolutionary; started out as a member of the Connolly Youth, rapidly developed towards Trotskyism, became a member of the Irish Workers Group and then participated in founding the League for a Workers Republic and the Young Socialists in Dublin. He came to London where he joined the International Marxist Group (IMG—British section of the Fourth International) and was a member of the editorial staff of *The Red Mole*. Barely returned to Dublin for the purpose of building an Irish section, he was assassinated under circumstances that have not as yet been clarified. The IRA and all the militant organizations of the Irish socialist movement paid homage to his memory.

Luis Pujals (1942-1971), young Argentinian revolutionist, joined the Palabra Obrera group in 1961. A founding member of the PRT in 1964. Elected member of the Central Committee at the Second Congress of the PRT; later elected to its Executive Committee. In charge of political and military affairs for the Buenos Aires region. Arrested September 17, 1971, he was sent by the authorities to Rosario and brought back to Buenos Aires on September 22, at the very moment the authorities were denying that he was in custody. According to all indications, he died under torture.

In ending this most incomplete list at this point with the observation that the losses of the Trotskyists, relative to their number, are probably greater than those of all other tendencies in the working-class movement, let us remember once again the exceptional pleiad of revolutionists who originated the movement, the Soviet Trotskyists, who stood up against all persecution until the day that Stalin decided on their total extermination. The story of their struggle at Vorkuta, of (among others) the great hunger strike conducted by more than a thousand prisoners for 132 days (from October 1936 to March 1937), in the course of which many perished, has come down to us through eyewitnesses returned from the camps.<sup>42</sup> Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn in the *First Circle* has given their heroic end a suitable place in the great literature of the world.

To their memory, and to the memory of all those who died fighting for the Fourth International, I dedicate this book.

42. See *Quatrième Internationale*, No. 17, December 1962; and I. Deutscher, *The Prophet Outcast*, pp. 413-19.