

Intercontinental Press

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Davis Victory Exposes Frame-up



DAVIS: Acquittal of Black militant required worldwide campaign to defeat attempted frame-up. See p. 661.

Moscow, Peking Silent as Bombing Continues

Mexico:

25,000 in Antiwar March

Chilean Police Gun Down
Demonstrators in Concepcion

Can IRA Meet the Challenge?

The Deepening Political Crisis in Ireland

U.S. Pay Board's Figures Don't Lie....

U.S. workers who have had wage gains reduced by Nixon's Pay Board will no doubt be happy to know that at least one category of "employees" has fared somewhat better at the hands of the government bureaucracy. The category in question is corporation executives, who increased their salaries by an average of 7 percent in 1971. Total compensation—salaries plus bonuses, incentive payments, and profit sharing—rose an average of 9.3 percent, according to the May 6 issue of *Business Week* magazine.

Some industries and individuals did rather better than the average. The automobile industry, for example, increased executives' total income by an average 56.7 percent.

Within that industry, James M. Roche, chairman of General Motors, led the field with an increase of 219.5 percent—from \$262,500 to \$838,750. This figure does not include an additional benefit of \$274,970 in company stock and \$13,750 in contributions to Roche's stock and savings purchase account.

By comparison, Henry Ford II had to be content with a paltry raise of \$190,200 over his 1970 income of \$512,000.

Roche's salary hike didn't quite make him the highest-paid executive, however. He was edged out by Harold S. Geneen, chairman of International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT). Geneen got \$812,494 in salary and bonus, plus stock options worth \$795,850. It appears that the ITT stockholders generously decided not to dock Geneen's salary for the time he spent in Washington testifying about the corporation's gift to the Republican party convention.

Business Week noted that the Pay Board was not really responsible for the apparent violation of its 5.5 percent "guideline" on wage increases. The 1971 salaries of executives were set at the beginning of the year, before the establishment of the board. As for bonuses (based on company profits), which were figured at the end of the year and which increased even more than salaries, the board had a perfectly reasonable explanation, the magazine reported:

"Profits on the whole were down in 1970, and the Pay Board permitted companies to go back as far as three years to a much higher bonus period as a base on which to compute their 5.5% allowable increases."

In the world of high finance, 219.5% is really only 5.5%, and the Pay Board's guidelines remain unviolated. Certainly U.S. corporation executives deserve the highest praise for their uncomplaining sacrifices in the battle against inflation. □

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Moscow, Peking Silent as Bombing Continues

By David Thorstad

Massive U. S. bombing raids against targets in both North and South Vietnam are continuing without letup. On June 3, for instance, the United States command in Saigon reported that 250 strikes were flown in North Vietnam, destroying or damaging nine bridges, forty-one trucks, thirty-six boats, railroad rolling stock, supply buildings, and fuel depots.

Without so much as even a verbal protest from Moscow or Peking, Nixon has indicated his intention to expand the bombing still further. On June 5, the Pentagon announced that a seventh aircraft carrier was en route to join in the genocidal assault on the Vietnamese people.

The criminal inaction of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucrats provided still another indication of the meaning of "peaceful coexistence" with U. S. imperialism. In a June 3 editorial, the *New York Times* spelled this out quite bluntly:

"Chairman Mao received the President shortly after heavy bombing of North Vietnam had resumed; Secretary General Brezhnev received the President shortly after North Vietnam's harbors were mined. No words are needed for Hanoi to understand that the Chinese and Soviet leaders put their own interests first."

"That demonstration," the *Times* added hopefully, "should have a sobering effect on Hanoi's firebrands."

On June 1, *Le Monde* reported that "the North Vietnamese government is accusing the Americans of having attacked dikes along six waterways at forty-two different points. It also asserts that dikes holding back the sea have been damaged by shelling from planes and ships, and states that 'these savage acts are strictly forbidden by international regulations.'"

Much of the bombing in the South has focused on the areas around the cities of Hue and Kontum, which, together with Anloc, constitute the three major fronts of the current offensive.

Heavy monsoon rains have drenched much of South Vietnam and provided cloud cover that liberation

forces are thought to be especially taking advantage of around Hue. "There have been indications in the last few days that North Vietnamese trucks, troops and tanks may be preparing an offensive somewhere between the town of Mychanh and the mountains to the west, where the defense line protecting Hue is especially thin," reported the *New York Times* June 4. Mychanh is about twenty-five miles northwest of Hue.

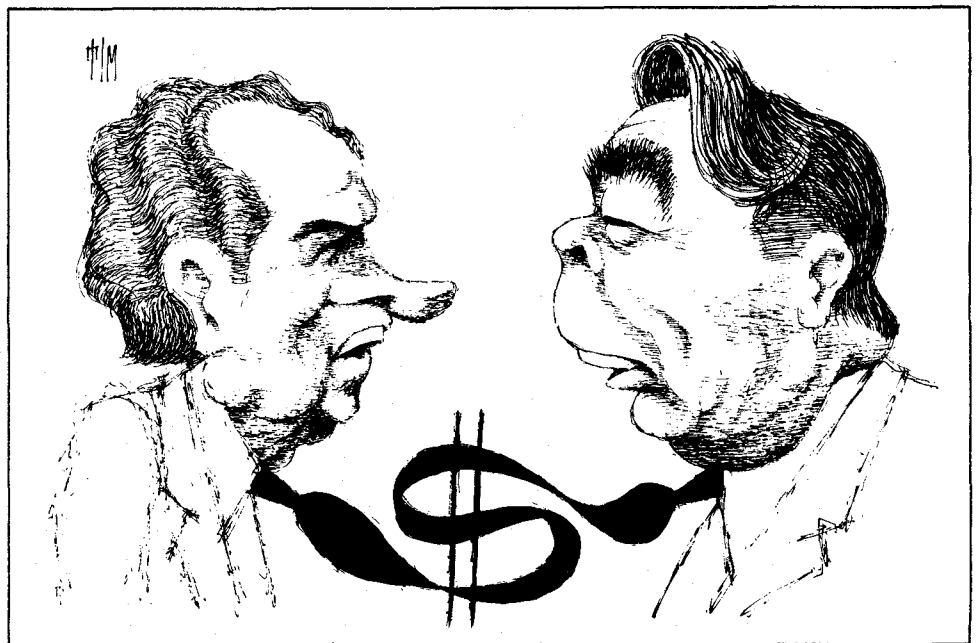
Near the end of May, two battalions of South Vietnamese rangers in the area had to be withdrawn from combat after suffering heavy losses. Survivors said that each battalion had been reduced to little more than the size of a company. Battalions usually run 300 to 500 men and a company seventy to a hundred.

As most of Saigon's forces have been reallocated to the three main fronts, where they are now effectively tied down, the liberation forces have continued to make headway in the Mekong Delta region, the pride of the government's "pacification" efforts. The rice-producing province of Chuong Thien in the lower delta is one area on which these forces have concen-

trated. Since the offensive began more than two months ago, they have overrun more than twenty of Chuong Thien's 218 outposts, and government troops have abandoned more than forty others, reported Daniel Southerland in the *Christian Science Monitor* June 1. "The Communists have brushed aside troublesome government outposts and blasted a west-to-east corridor through the middle of the province," he wrote. "It will permit them to move freely from their bases in the U Minh Forest, located to the west of Chuong Thien, and into the more heavily populated provinces located to the north and east of Chuong Thien."

The advance of the liberation forces has no doubt been helped by the looting and plunder of the Saigon troops. "With notable exceptions," Southerland reported May 31, "quite a few government units now fighting in Chuong Thien have rapidly earned a reputation for thievery and the bullying of civilians, which is badly hurting the government's image."

In another part of the delta, the town of Kien Luong near the Cambodian border was considered



TIM in L'Express

completely "pacified" until freedom fighters recently slipped into it one morning undetected, Southerland reported May 30. The "shockingly easy" entry was "the most sensational thing to occur in Kien Giang Province for some time," he wrote.

The current offensive has already exploded the myths of pacification and Vietnamization, and it is not thought to have peaked yet. "It is impossible to predict what pattern the war will take but it seems that the offensive could go on at the present level for some time with the North Vietnamese willing to absorb severe casualties to wear away Government strength and morale," wrote Sydney Schanberg in the *New York Times* May 31.

Sagging South Vietnamese morale is not limited to the battlefield, but is also reflected in the economic and political situation. "South Vietnam is in the throes of its worst recession in memory, and its Minister of the Economy, among others, believes that there may be street rioting and political upheavals if quick solutions are not found for the problem of urban unemployment," reported *New York Times* correspondent Malcolm Browne from Saigon June 3.

One former official who asked not to be identified told Browne that the country was faced with only two choices: "to go on leaning on Washington forever, or to chop out the diseased plant by its roots and begin with a completely new economic system — Communism."

Though one high American official claimed there is higher employment today than prior to the U. S. buildup in 1964, Minister of the Economy Pham Kim Ngoc sharply disagreed. "Unemployment has never been this bad," he said, "and it is nothing short of catastrophic."

"Never have the streets of Saigon seemed more crowded with beggars, thieves, prostitutes and people merely hanging around for want of something to do," observed Browne.

The deteriorating economic situation can be expected to worsen as long as the dislocation brought on by the offensive and the devastating U. S. bombing of the countryside continues.

Things do not appear to be going well for Thieu in the political arena either. He was dealt a rebuff by the South Vietnamese Senate on June 2, for example, when it rejected his re-

quest for legislative authority to rule by decree for six months as a result of the offensive.

On May 29, General Duong Van Minh, who is considered to be Thieu's chief political rival, broke with his policy of not attacking the president by name in an interview with the *Washington Post*. Referring to the offensive, he said: "It is amply demonstrated, now more than ever, that we cannot solve our problems by military means. . . . It is quite clear that President Thieu cannot win the war militarily and does not have the support

U.S.A.

25,000 in African Liberation Day March

Between 25,000 and 30,000 Black people, most of them students, massed in Washington, D. C., May 27 to protest imperialist exploitation of the African continent. The action, called by the African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee (ALDCC), centered on expressing the solidarity of the U. S. Black population with the liberation movements in South Africa, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau.

While most of the demonstrators were from Washington, contingents from the South, the Midwest, and New England arrived by car and bus. Forty buses came from New York City, all but one paid for by Black student organizations. The march began at Malcolm X Park (formerly Meridian Hill Park) and covered a five-mile route to the Washington monument, renamed Lumumba Square for the day, where the central rally took place.

The demonstrators stopped several times along the route to hold short rallies — at the Portuguese embassy, the Rhodesian Information Center headquarters, the South African embassy, and the offices of the U.S. State Department.

Speakers at the main rally included Cecil Elombe Brath of the New York African Nationalist Pioneer Movement; Elaine Brown of the Black Panther party; Dr. George Wiley of the National Welfare Rights Organization; Imamu Baraka (LeRoi Jones) of the Congress of African People; Roy Innis, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality; Owusu Sadaukai, national

of the people to win the peace. This is why the other side refuses to negotiate with him."

In addition, the sizable Vietnamese expatriate community living in France, many of whom are neutralist and anticommunist, has been quietly establishing contact with representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government. Their discussions, according to a report by Seymour Hersh in the *New York Times* May 24, have been undertaken "in the expectation that a coalition government will be formed in the future." □

chairman of the ALDCC; and Congressman Charles Diggs.

The theme that ran through the speeches was Pan-Africanism — the idea that the struggle of Black people in the Americas is linked with that on the African continent. Many speakers denounced the U. S. government and the NATO alliance as the means by which countries like Portugal maintained their hold on their colonies. A speaker from the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe described the regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa as trusteeships over property held by the United States, West Germany, Japan, and Canada. Several speakers denounced the complicity of the Israeli government with the apartheid regime in Pretoria.

In conjunction with the Washington march, demonstrations were also held in Toronto (1,000), in San Francisco (2,000), and in several Caribbean cities. Police estimates for the actions in Dominica and Antigua were 5,000 and 8,000.

The African Liberation Day demonstrations, which would have been significant enough simply because of the unexpectedly high turnout, were lent added importance by the internationalist character of the marches. The link between the Indochinese revolution and the African liberation movement was made by speakers and banners, and the dominant chant of the Washington rally was a clear expression of both the nationalist and internationalist sentiments of the U. S. Black population: "We are an African people!" □

'A Fair Trial Would Have Been No Trial at All'

Angela Davis Acquitted on All Charges

After deliberating for thirteen hours, a jury in San Jose, California, found Angela Davis innocent June 4 of murder, kidnapping, and criminal conspiracy charges. The reading of the verdict touched off an emotional outburst of screaming and weeping among her supporters in the courtroom.

"Miss Davis, who had shown little emotion through the 13 weeks of the trial, broke into sobs after the last verdict had been read," *New York Times* correspondent Earl Caldwell wrote. "'This is the happiest day of my life,' she later exclaimed."

Although overjoyed at the jury's verdict, Davis pointedly observed: "A fair trial would have been no trial at all."

Freedom came after a long and arduous ordeal. "The past 22 months have been a total nightmare," her mother said. "The nightmare has ended." It came after the indignation of the entire world had been aroused at the government's crude attempts to frame up an innocent Black woman and Communist. "It took a worldwide movement of people to acquit Miss Davis," Howard Moore Jr., one of the four attorneys who defended Davis, said. "Justice should be the routine of the system."

Angela Davis had gone into hiding when charges were filed against her in August 1970, shortly after Jonathan Jackson smuggled guns into a Marin County courtroom in San Rafael, California, and armed three Black prisoners. They then attempted to escape by using a judge, an assistant district attorney, and three jurors as hostages. The judge and two of the three prisoners were killed in the incident. The state began its frame-up of Davis when it discovered that the guns used in the incident were registered in her name.

Davis was arrested on October 13, 1970, in a New York City motel, where she was in hiding. She was held in jail without bail until February of this year, while the state cooked up a case based on the most purely circumstantial "evidence."

The state argued that she plotted the Marin County escape attempt along

with Jackson and that she supplied him with guns that she had purchased. The taking of hostages, it claimed, was to extort the release from prison of the Soledad Brothers, three Black prisoners in whose defense Angela Davis had been active.

In his summation for the defense June 1, co-counsel Leo Branton called the prosecution of Davis "a sorry chapter in American history." He presented the members of the all-white jury with a brief history of the oppression of Black people in the United States and asked them "to think Black for a few minutes."

In dismantling the prosecution's

For 'Cure' of Antigovernment Views

South Korean Poet Jailed in Hospital

A South Korean poet and playwright, 31-year-old Kim Chi Ha, is being forcibly detained in a tuberculosis hospital by the secret police because he refuses to write the way the government wants him to, according to a report in the May 23 issue of the Copenhagen daily *Politiken*. A correspondent for the newspaper, Svend Nyboe Andersen, managed to find the poet in the hospital in Masan where he is being held. Prior to this, no one had heard from him since he was arrested April 14.

"They tried to get me to write poems praising the government, but I refused," he said. "I just can't do it because I hate the government."

"In South Korea," wrote Andersen, "where a state of emergency has been in effect since December and where newspapers, radio, and TV are censored, people don't know about Kim's fate. Not even his friends knew where he had been taken. Only his aging parents and the Korean CIA [secret police] knew this, and his parents have not revealed his whereabouts for they know that he is threatened with reprisals."

"I have not been found guilty," Kim

stated, "and they can't bring charges against me in this case since the periodical *Changjo*, which published my latest poem in April and which was confiscated for that reason, is put out by a Catholic publishing house, the head of which is South Korea's cardinal.

"If they indict me they will also have to bring the publisher and the chief editor to trial, but they don't dare to do this. The editor is a priest. They are afraid of the political disturbances that could result if they did anything against the Catholics. So they have asked me to cooperate, but I can't."

Kim told Andersen that he has had one visit from his mother, who found out where he was from the secret police. She was told to remind him that if any reporters should happen to show up, he should say he was in the hospital of his own free will.

"They brought me here to the hospital against my will," he explained. "Although I denied it, they maintained I had TB. I had it a few years ago, but I was cured. The numerous examinations they have had me undergo here show that I do not have TB. So I have a right to my freedom." □

The Deepening Political Crisis in Ireland

By Gerry Foley

A Change in IRA Policy?

It was the public reaction to the execution of nineteen-year-old William James Best, who was shot as a spy May 19 by the Official Irish Republican Army unit in Derry, that apparently led the national leadership of the revolutionary organization to announce May 29 that it was suspending armed offensive operations in Ulster.

The IRA said that it was taking this step in response to an appeal from the executive of the Republican Clubs in Northern Ireland, the political organization of the movement in the area. The statement, quoted in the May 30 *New York Times*, said:

"The executive proposed to the I. R. A. that in view of the growing danger of sectarian conflict the I. R. A. should immediately suspend all armed military actions." The announcement continued: "The I. R. A. has agreed to this proposal, reserving only the right of self-defense."

Since the Official IRA has stressed repeatedly that it was following a defensive strategy, the effect of this decision seems to be to call off retaliatory terrorist actions against the repressive forces.

The possibility of sectarian warfare, of course, does not depend on the policy of the IRA but on the intentions of the imperialists and their local allies, to whom large sections of the Protestant population are bound by their caste prejudices. But the renunciation of terrorism could improve the political position of the IRA by making clear the real source of the violence in Northern Ireland. It is doubtful that this will impress sections of the Protestant community imbued with a caste mentality, but it could have a positive effect on the nationalist community and world public opinion.

It seems clear that the retaliatory strikes of the Official IRA have not helped to further the struggle of the nationalist population, which is the main potentially revolutionary force in Ireland at the moment. Instead these actions have helped the imperialists and the Catholic "moderates" to split and demobilize the nationalist population. The reaction to the Best shooting is only the latest and clearest example of this.

The May 29 statement of the Official IRA was, thus, politically unclear. By claiming implicitly that the movement had changed its policy out of concern over the reaction that might be provoked from the Protestants, the pronouncement turned the issue on its head and opened the way for dangerous confusion.

With the period of Orange marches drawing near, if the republican movement gives the impression that it is reluctant to confront the reality of the Protestant caste mentality, its abandoning terrorist methods could be seen as abandoning the struggle of the nationalist people. If this happens, the result is likely to be not only a resurgence of terrorism in general, but the republican

movement will probably find itself unable to control its own followers. Those who remain loyal could be reduced to the position of the tiny sects that make constant futile appeals for unity between Protestant and Catholic workers.

This confusion was made worse by the fact that the May 29 statement did not explain whether the Official IRA had changed its concept of organizing armed action.

Thus, it is unclear whether the Official IRA is rethinking its traditional positions or simply responding to pressure, which would be a very dangerous course in a situation as complex and volatile as the one in Ireland. In any case, in the wake of the Best shooting and the successes of the "moderate" peace offensive, it seems apparent that the republican movement is trying to reorient itself. It faces some profound problems; it also has some substantial achievements to build on.

Politics and Commando Actions

To try to estimate what turn events are likely to take, now that the situation is shifting so rapidly in Ireland, it seems necessary to reach some judgments about the policies of the Official republican movement, since it has provided the main political leadership to the struggle so far.

It does not seem justified, for example, to view the Best shooting as a local and accidental error. It is true that the Derry unit, which carried out the execution, is not typical of the Official IRA. Among other things, British ultraleftist and workerist groups have exercised a more marked influence in this area than in other parts of Ireland. Despite this, the shooting of Best seems to flow logically from some of the basic policies of the Official IRA. This act was merely the last of a series of assassinations of British soldiers. The rationale was the same as in other cases. "The army of the people" had punished the people's enemies.

When the Official IRA bombed the British paratrooper base in Aldershot, England, killing a number of non-military personnel, it defended the action on the grounds that the base was a military target, that the paratroopers had gunned down Irish people, and that in acts of war, harming innocent persons cannot always be avoided.

Fundamentally, the defense of the Aldershot action was a moralistic one, in line with the ideology and traditions of terrorism. The Russian Narodniki could claim equally valid moral justification for gunning down or bombing the Czarist hangmen. In both cases, the result of these actions was the same—they tended to substitute for and disrupt mass political activity. Furthermore, they prevented the development of armed action by the masses.

If the IRA had taken advantage of the political mood that prevailed in the wake of the Derry massacre, they

might have been able to organize mass self-defense, and in that event it would have been difficult for any of the repressive regimes active in Ireland to prevent them from arming a large section of the population. This opportunity was wasted for the sake of the essentially moral satisfaction of killing a few British soldiers, with politically negative and militarily insignificant results. Instead of being buoyed up by the upsurge that followed the Derry killings, the Official IRA found itself again isolated from the masses.

Like the team that bombed Aldershot, the members of the IRA court that condemned and executed Best were acting "*on behalf of the people*," since the republican movement in Derry has been unable to win the full, conscious involvement of the community or to give impetus to mass democratic organization of the people.

Such terrorist actions flow from the historical character of the IRA. Building a secret army that does not grow out of the struggles of the people and that engages in daring armed operations that are not an integral and natural part of mass struggles—that is, not the acts of armed detachments of the people—can hardly help but lead toward elitist militarism. This holds true regardless of the social and political conceptions of those who lead this clandestine force.

The republican movement has a long experience of the results of recruiting on the basis of the appeal of armed action. Once young people begin to act in the name of the masses but without being under effective popular control or under the discipline of a mass revolutionary party, it is practically inevitable that they will engage in politically harmful adventures.

It is all too easy, moreover, for politically untrained or miseducated youth to become so dazzled with armed initiatives that they lose all taste or aptitude for the tasks of political propaganda or organization. Under these conditions, any propaganda that is put forward is likely to be reduced to romantic extremist appeals that cannot educate the masses.

A Political Battle Plan

The fact that the Derry unit of the Official IRA chose to carry out an action like shooting Best, apparently on its own, illustrates another key political weakness that has appeared more than once since the Irish crisis began—the inability to see the political situation in Ireland as an organic whole. Among other things, this was shown by the political character of the Official IRA's intervention in the Mogul silver mine strike in July 1971.

In this long, bitter strike against a foreign company, the Official IRA applied its policy of using terrorist methods in support of popular struggles. They tried to blow up a transformer supplying electricity to the mines. In itself this was not an unusual act of industrial sabotage in hard-fought strikes. Unfortunately a young IRA man, Martin O'Leary, was killed in the operation. At his funeral, the chief of staff of the Official IRA, Cathal Goulding, hailed O'Leary as "the first martyr of the new campaign in the South," a campaign against the "capitalist vultures" by means of the "bomb and the bullet."

The IRA had intervened in a similar way in the Shannon electrical workers' strike in 1966, but that action had not provoked the threat of a general repression. In 1971, however, Goulding received a summons on a

sedition charge, and this move by the government seemed to fit into a general buildup for the introduction of the concentration camp system for political suspects in both North and South Ireland. The government in Dublin retreated when the extent of the resistance of the people in the North to internment became evident. But the situation in the summer of 1971 was extremely dangerous in the formally independent part of the country.

In the conditions since 1969, when a general crisis in the imperialist control of Ireland began, the intervention of the Official IRA in a local strike offered the Dublin government the opportunity it was looking for to move against the developing revolutionary forces. The whole system was at stake and the authorities moved in a concerted way to remove the threat. It was the revolutionists who could not see the implications of their action in the context of a unified strategy—a serious failing, certainly, from a military point of view.

The fact that the local labor leaders approved the action did not change its political effect. It is a syndicalist delusion shared by most of the left groups in Ireland that if they can align themselves with the workers in some partial struggle the government will automatically be embarrassed or discredited and restrained from attacking them. The fact is that the whole history of trade unionism shows that among the workers there is a fundamental difference between economic and political consciousness. This has been shown time and time again in the most dramatic way by unions giving political backing to bourgeois and reformist politicians directly responsible for strikebreaking and even atrocities against the striking workers.

At the same time, one of the justifications given for actions like the dynamiting at the Mogul mine was a certain conception of the unity of the imperialist system in Ireland. Since it is imperialist capitalism that holds the country in bondage, according to this view, national liberation fighters should engage in all concrete forms of struggle against exploitation. In a general sense, no revolutionary Marxist could dispute this.

Moreover, the Official IRA has been anxious to reorient its members from the traditional pattern of concentrating on military struggle in the North toward fighting the imperialist system in the South and understanding that the Dublin regime is just as important an obstacle to national liberation as the fortress state in the Six Counties. This is also correct in a general sense. But the problem is that these conceptions are too static and general and, as such, in practice they cannot serve as a guide for a unified strategy.

It is true that the neocolonialist regime in the South is essentially part of the same system as the Unionist setup in the North and that an essential part of defeating Unionism is to mobilize the people in the South against the dependent capitalist system that exists in their own area. However, the whole development of the crisis since 1969 shows that there are important practical differences between the Belfast and Dublin regimes that revolutionists cannot ignore.

Despite the repressive legislation and inclinations of the Southern government, republicans have been able to operate more or less legally in the formally independent part of the country. It is ironic that this fact should be underestimated by the republicans while they place so

much stress on the need for achieving the right of legal political activity in the North.

It is true, moreover, that it is the same capitalist-imperialist system which oppresses the Irish people in both parts of Ireland. However, this system has political and ideological aspects as well as directly economic characteristics, and it has a certain specific historical form in Ireland. The fact is that the crisis of capitalism in Ireland has arisen from the struggle of the nationalist people in the Northern ghettos. This was the weakest point of the sociopolitical system of imperialist capitalism in Ireland, and the cracks are spreading out from there. The crisis is not developing gradually in direct conjunction with general economic conditions but explosively as the historical lines of cleavage widen, partly under the impact of economic changes but also in response to political and social factors.

While the Mogul mine strike was related to the general economic problems of the Irish nation, it had no clear specific connection with the fight in the North, which was, and is, the main factor affecting the political thinking of the people throughout the island. Thus, it did not challenge the system in Ireland in a direct way, did not point toward a solution of the crisis, and apparently did not increase the support for the IRA to any significant degree.

Frozen Thinking

The same kind of one-sidedness seems to have paralyzed the Official IRA's political strategy during the upsurge after the Derry massacre. As angry crowds of thousands and tens of thousands of people gathered in early February to demonstrate against the British atrocity, the Official IRA called on them to vote against Common Market entry in the May 9 referendum. That was its main demand. The republican speakers argued that if the crowds wanted to oppose British imperialism, they should oppose the plans of imperialism for Ireland, that is, Common Market membership. This appeared logical, but it did not take into consideration the political dynamic.

Mass upsurges also have their logic. By nature they are short-lived. They dissipate harmlessly unless they are given a concrete and immediate focus. In the week after the Derry massacre, there was a mass challenge, in essence, to the system in Ireland. The Official republicans did not understand how to direct this pressure against the weakest point of the capitalist-imperialist structure as a whole at that particular time and thus they seem to have failed to make any substantial gains from one of the most powerful upsurges in recent Irish history.

Thinking in general concepts divorced from dynamic realities, the republicans display an essentially schematic and static notion of the way social change takes place. The same approach is shown in the Official IRA's slogan of reconquering the country mine by mine, factory by factory, and so forth. The other side of this in the North is the idea of building people's power street by street and neighborhood by neighborhood. By trying to develop the primitive forms of popular power that have arisen in the embattled nationalist ghettos, the Official IRA has shown its devotion to the ideals of revolutionary democracy and in some cases has responded very effectively to the challenge of the state's policy of all-out repression.

But unless the concept of revolutionary democracy is integrated into a general strategy based on politically educating and organizing the masses of the Irish people for a centralized assault on the entire imperialist system, the policy of the Official IRA is apt to end up in a utopian impasse.

The barricaded areas are politically important primarily as a challenge to the state and the status quo. By showing the power and logic of an independent mobilization of the masses under the leadership of sincere revolutionary militants, the incipient forms of popular self-rule that have appeared in Derry, in particular, point the way toward a new and higher form of society. However, the barricaded areas are the front lines of a bitter struggle that will decide the fate of the Irish people; they cannot be the models of the liberated society itself.

It is a dangerous delusion to think that just by "running their own lives" on a few streets or in a few besieged neighborhoods people can make any basic and lasting improvement in their condition. Instead, the politically most advanced section of these communities can wear themselves out in isolated community-betterment projects and in maintaining the basic services, while, under the pressure of the surrounding society, life becomes more and more difficult for the general population and the politically backward masses slide into indifference and eventual demoralization.

Inevitably, the people of these small, isolated, marginal communities will tire if they do not see their fight as part of a much larger struggle that has a chance for victory and offers a real possibility for solving their social problems. Eventually it will be easy enough for sections of the community to begin to say: "Let's just have peace and leave the street cleaning to the corporation."

Rooted as it is in an essentially vague and static conception of society, the populist notion of people's power spreading from neighborhood to neighborhood seems to be sort of a left version of the concept of revolutionary "stages" that underlies the Official republican strategy in the Northern conflict. According to this theory, the British have to be forced to introduce bourgeois democratic freedoms in Northern Ireland before a revolutionary struggle in the full sense of the word can take place. Civil equality for Catholics is necessary to eliminate the sectarian divisions in the working class. Republicans have to have the opportunity to talk to the Protestant workers in order to be able to win them over to the idea of a united Irish workers' republic.

This concept was expressed clearly in the January 1972 issue of the Official republican organ, *The United Irishman*, where the editors argued that it was impossible to think in terms of a socialist revolution in the North as long as the Protestant and Catholic workers were not united. By reducing the working class to a populist abstraction, this approach also distorts the nature of social evolution.

Just as the struggle against imperialism is supposed to proceed in regular steps, so the unity of the working class is expected to develop in a steady progression as the result of propaganda and piecemeal economic struggles.

This scheme of things seems reasonable enough from a pragmatic point of view. Obviously we have to be able to walk before we can run, as the saying goes. Further-

more, the whole ideology of bourgeois society inculcates the idea of "progress," in the sense that the present society is supposed to be in the process of steadily "evolving" into something better. The pragmatic approach, moreover, can have its attractions when the only alternative presented is ultraleftist disregard for the real process of the masses learning through experience.

But an objective look at history shows that it does not move in such neat patterns. In the twentieth century in particular, there has been a succession of great social crises throughout the world that have either led forward to a fundamental change in the organization of society or backward to even more brutal forms of repression and exploitation.

Revolutionary Ways of Thinking

The revolutionary theory of social change, Marxism, denies that history moves in even patterns. It distinguishes certain general phases of historical development in order to determine the direction in which society is moving and the underlying tendencies. But the essence of Marxist analysis is to show, by referring to these abstract patterns, how these phases combine in the real world. Marxists see society as a dynamic, constantly shifting balance of forces that inevitably develops in an irregular pattern, where long periods of slow evolution lead up to abrupt leaps forward—or backward—that is, to a period of crises.

In the long phase of capitalist stability and expansion in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a tendency developed in the workers' movement to interpret Marx's concepts as meaning that social evolution was a simple, automatic process. When the capitalist system went into a deep crisis with the outbreak of World War I, it became apparent that this interpretation was an adaptation to the trade-union and party bureaucracies, which had acquired a certain stake in the established order of things and a routinist and legalistic mentality.

One section of these "progressives" saw a German victory in the war as the way forward, since Germany was economically the most advanced of the contending powers and had the best-organized working class. Another section looked to the Western allies, which had long since passed into the "democratic stage."

Along with James Connolly, Lenin was one of the few leaders of the prewar socialist movement to reject such "stages" theories. Lenin's opponents, the Mensheviks, argued that since Russia was a backward absolutist state there was no possibility for making a workers' revolution until a long period of bourgeois democratic development had been completed and the working class had become the majority of the population.

Lenin and Trotsky argued, on the other hand, that the capitalist system had already reached the phase of a global system—imperialism—in which the primitive repressive systems in the colonial and semicolonial countries had become adjuncts. The war, in fact, had shown that bourgeois democracy was beginning to decay even in the countries of its birth. Therefore, despite the terrible difficulties of making a socialist revolution in a backward country like Russia, with all of its bitter internal national divisions and religious fanaticisms, there was no other way forward.

Since capitalism as a world system was in crisis, more-

over, the fight to overthrow it had to begin where the contradictions were most acute, where the lines of cleavage had first opened, and it was highly likely that the political situation would be difficult and complex precisely in those places. The regeneration of the workers' movement also had to begin there, since the parties that had failed to respond to the revolutionary challenge of the war had shown that they were no longer workers' parties in the political sense; that is, they were not ready and determined to intervene in the crises of capitalism to overthrow the system. They in fact functioned as part of the system, siphoning off its discontents and diverting the revolutionary aspirations of the oppressed strata.

Moreover, since revolutionary opportunities arose in abrupt and relatively brief crises, because of the irregular movement of history, parties had to be created at once to lead the workers in the task of overthrowing bourgeois society. Since the capitalist system had become reactionary on the world scale, every deep social crisis now posed the possibility of a fundamental attack on the system itself. A leadership was needed that clearly understood the dynamics of society and knew how to orient the revolutionary forces in time. Only a well-timed, well-coordinated, and well-planned political offensive could lead to victory. The party had to help prepare the workers to strike with daring and decisiveness at the proper moment, concentrating the political blows on the key lines of cleavage in bourgeois society.

Against this revolutionary conception of social development, the opportunists and pacifists who led the bureaucratized workers' parties in the West raised vague schemas that put off any possibility for socialism to the indefinite future. In the countries where the deepest crises occurred, the reformists could argue that the "democratic stage" had not been completed. In the case of Austria, where the crisis was exceptionally violent, the centrist leadership tried an approach somewhere between pure reformism and a revolutionary program. They tried to guarantee that the "bourgeois-democratic stage" would be carried through to the end by maintaining soviets, the apparatus of a workers' government, parallel to the regular bourgeois institutions. They even had a militia. But the bourgeoisie was not willing to accept half-way solutions. Because of its slowness and indecisiveness, the workers' movement was crushed, opening the way for fascism.

To prove that they were the authentic Marxists, the opportunist leaders could argue that they led mass workers' parties. They commanded a vast network of trade unions and educational institutions. They had in some cases shown their abilities in leading the economic struggles of the workers. If the socialist revolution was going to come about as a result of the development of the working class, surely they would lead it. In any case, there would be no socialist revolution until all the workers wanted it, and the fact that the evolutionist parties retained their hold on a large section of the working class proved that they did not. In some cases, as in Austria, even Catholic parties and unions maintained their grip on many workers. How could you make a socialist revolution when sections of the workers were still under the influence of clerical reaction?

And most important, how could it be hoped that a socialist revolution could occur in Russia when the working class there was relatively so small and culturally

backward? The Russian workers would have to wait at least until their Western brothers were ready to join in the fight with them. Wasn't it proof of the non-Marxism of the Bolsheviks that their support tended to be among the youth, the intellectuals, and marginal layers of the working population, rather than in heavy industry and the most powerful unions? Such forces could never make a revolution.

To these arguments, the revolutionists replied that Marxism was not a form of vulgar materialist sociology. Such a view, in fact, could only give an essentially static picture of the world and could never serve as a guide to revolution. Marxism, in contrast, was a method of analyzing social development that took into consideration the underlying tendencies and the interrelation of all factors. Since it saw society in motion, it also saw that every fact of life had its contradictions. Since the world capitalist system as a whole had become reactionary, the most backward areas were likely to be the places where the most acute contradictions existed—the weak points of the whole interlocking machinery of world capitalist society.

However backward the consciousness of the popular strata in these areas, they could not solve their elementary

problems without striking out against the capitalist system as a whole, which condemned them to permanent misery and slavery. Therefore, not only was it likely that revolutions would occur first among backward sections of the workers, it was likely also, for better or for worse, that the more advanced workers would have to be set in motion under the impact of these rebellions. Calling on the disadvantaged sections of the workers to wait until more powerful but conservatized sections were ready to move meant in fact turning off the driving force of revolution.

Thus, the process of the world revolution itself would be irregular, involving violent conflicts and splits in the working class before higher unity could be achieved. Uniting the workers would not be the result of routine propagandistic and trade-union work, as the reformists claimed. Unity could be achieved only through a complex and often violent, and above all political, struggle, in which the revolutionists would have to stand resolutely on the side of the interests and aspirations of the most exploited and oppressed sections of society. Full unity might in fact only be achieved after the completion of a successful socialist revolution.

[To be continued.]

Rahman Ignores Storm Signals

Leftists Win Bangladesh Student Elections

Cracks are beginning to appear in the hitherto solid hegemony Prime Minister Mujibur Rahman's Awami League has exercised over the population of Bangladesh. In student elections held during May at the country's leading universities in Dacca, Rajshahi, and Mymensingh, students identified with parties to the left of the Awami League won heavily over Rahman supporters.

New York Times correspondent Robert Trumbull reported May 23 that the president of the Bangla Chhatra Union, the group that won the elections, attributed the victory to student disenchantment with the Awami League, "to which he ascribed 'fascist tendencies.'"

"Student politicians are taken seriously here," Trumbull noted, "since the campuses have spawned and spearheaded numerous important movements, including the agitation for independence from Pakistan."

Awami League candidates were also trounced in a local election to posts in the Chittagong Bar Association. While the election was not held along party lines, the May 20 *Far Eastern Economic Review* noted that the "defeat of the stalwarts of the ruling party was significant, at least in the

local context."

The latest report issued by the United Nations relief agency in Bangladesh, while observing that "Bangladesh has been surviving on a knife edge," reports a general improvement in the situation in the countryside, a development it attributes to the "resiliency" of the population.

But the "emergency" situation remains. "A landless laborer in full-time employment can just about survive providing he has only one wife and child," the agency wrote. Unfortunately, "no landless laborer is ever in full-time employment and most have over five children.

"Thus, he is entirely reliant on Government relief and ration-shop distribution for survival." The relief system, the report adds, works "only intermittently, as and when supplies become available."

The steady increase in malnutrition that results from the problems delineated in the report is the major factor stimulating the growing "discontent" with the Rahman government.

Despite the new-found friendliness of the Nixon regime to the Rahman government—expressed in the form of a \$90,000,000 U. S. aid grant to Dacca—there is little sign, five months after independence, that the Awami League

is capable of dealing with the economic situation. "My people love me," Rahman still tells foreign reporters. The sheik and his supporters have ignored small hints to the contrary like the bar association and university elections. "Political parties in the former East Pakistan usually ignored mild warnings until they became alarm signals," the *Far Eastern Economic Review* commented. "There is no indication yet that the ruling party of Bangladesh will prove any different."

Bureaucrats' Progress

The U. S. government calculates that its "productivity"—based on statistics such as the number of patents processed and coins minted—increased 8 percent between 1967 and 1971. If they wanted to pad the figure, they could work in the number of bombs dropped on Indochina.

Expertise

According to the Queensland minister of mines, pollution of water is not as serious a matter as many persons think. The learned gentleman has been quoted as explaining: "Fish live under the surface, oil floats on top, so oil pollution can't harm fish."

Accused of Encouraging Student Demonstrations

Greek Junta Bans Two Intellectual Groups

At the request of Greek authorities, an Athens tribunal has ordered a ban against two organizations of intellectuals, a spokesman for the ruling junta announced May 22. The two groups are the Society for the Study of Greek Problems (whose president, professor John Pezmazoglou, was recently deported in an administrative move) and the Greek-European Youth Movement—whose president, a lawyer named P. Kanellakis, was arrested at the beginning of May.

Both groups were put on trial on May 16 and found guilty of "having deviated from their statutory objectives and encouraged demonstrations among the Greek students." The latter charge refers to the weeks of student protests that began with the fifth anniversary of the military coup on April 21.

Both organizations were granted legal recognition by the regime when they were formed last year. They had organized numerous lectures, reported *Le Monde* on May 24, including one on March 23 by novelist Günther Grass, who "had sharply criticized the present regime in Greece.

"Lord Gardiner, former British minister and former president of the House of Lords, had also been invited by the Society for the Study of

Greek Problems to give a lecture on 'the protection of the rights of man.' He is expected in Athens on Tuesday [May 23], and is reported to have decided, in light of the banning of this association, to give his lecture in a big hotel in Athens."

According to the same *Le Monde*

report, a tribunal in Thessalonike has also decided to ban nine student organizations in that city that date from prior to the military coup. It also reports that more than 300 students are thought to have been arrested in the course of the recent student struggles and that some twenty have been subjected during interrogation to the "falanga" treatment in which the bottoms of the feet are beaten with rods. According to the newspaper's source, this "technique" has been used especially in the provincial capitals of Thessalonike and Patras. □

Protest NATO Meeting in Copenhagen

Copenhagen

The atomic weapons planning group of NATO held a two-day meeting here May 18-19. In addition to U. S. Defense Secretary Melvin Laird and NATO General Secretary Joseph Luns, participants in the meeting included the defense ministers of Belgium, West Germany, Italy, Turkey, Great Britain, and Denmark.

The meeting was held in Frederiksberg Castle, which was completely closed off since the authorities wanted to avoid any kind of demonstration while the defense ministers and their advisers were discussing nuclear problems.

They did not succeed. Around 1,000

persons took part in a demonstration May 18 in front of the hotel where Laird was staying. A huge force of security police had blocked off every street around the hotel, so the demonstration was held a little distance away.

The demonstration included around 300 persons who had earlier taken part in a meeting addressed by, among others, the Marxist economist Ernest Mandel.

Speakers at the protest demonstration included a representative of the Ligue Communiste (French section of the Fourth International), and Vagn Sondergaard of the Danish Vietnam Committees. □

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Bulletin on Repression in Argentina

The French Committee to Defend Argentine Political Prisoners (CDPPA — Comité de Défense des Prisonniers Politiques Argentins) has announced the publication of the first issue of an Information Bulletin on oppression, repression, and torture in Argentina. The Information Bulletin, which will appear regularly, consists of mimeographed reprints of articles from the Argentine press that document concrete instances of the military regime's repressive policies. A French translation of the articles is provided.

The committee, whose formation was announced on March 26, plans to subsequently publish all its docu-

mentation, along with photographs, in a small book.

A statement from the committee notes that "this does not amount to a desperate and sterile agitation on our part. The Argentine political situation is such that a mobilization of world public opinion can have a definite influence on whether there is to be a continuation of or a stop to torture and murder in the jails of Buenos Aires, Rosario, or Córdoba."

The committee's address is CDPPA, c/o Marguerite Duras, 15, Impasse du Mont-Tonnerre, 75 Paris 15, France. Funds to help the committee in its work should be sent to C. C. P. 4427-76, Paris, in Marguerite Duras's name, attention: Committee. □

The Violence of Those at the Top

[The two articles below are part of a lengthy report on repression in Argentina that appeared in the April 25 issue of the Buenos Aires newspaper *Nuevo Hombre*, published by Dr. Silvio Frondizi, brother of the

former president of Argentina, Arturo Frondizi. The report was entitled "The Violence of Those at the Top." Translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Crisis of the Repressive System

By Silvio Frondizi

History shows that no system ever surrenders without a struggle and that it becomes ferocious and inhuman when confronted with its crisis and the defeat it sees coming.

Many examples justify this conclusion. The most recent can be seen in the already visible collapse of the capitalist system.

In this case, the liberal bourgeoisie, in its current stage of development—capitalism (and, at the moment, capitalism in a state of complete decadence)—changes into its opposite. It loses its original character as a progressive force to become an ally of reaction.

Faced with the prospect of losing its ownership of the means of production, which allows it to exploit the proletariat and obtain surplus-value, it will resort to anything, including even destruction of the political and cultural values it helped to establish during its open struggle against absolutism. This conclusion once again lays bare something we have stated on more than one occasion: The marriage between the bourgeoisie and liberalism was a purely incidental one; capitalism was liberal as long as this suited its aims, but then as soon as it saw its interests threatened, it threw all ethical principles overboard and transformed itself into distinct variations of nazi-fascism.

This represents the system's last defense, and it is characterized by the degree of violence its political and ideological persecution attains. The history of nazi-fascism—to take two systems together as one—clearly demonstrates this.

The most brutal forms of repression that human history has ever known occurred in Germany. This is because repression acquires its significance from the class struggle. Faced with its own destruction, capitalism tries to destroy everything that opposes it, using even the most declassed elements for this purpose.

This general process, which was found in Italy, Germany, and Spain, is already under way in the United States and in all the countries under its control.

In our country, the crisis is brought on not only by capitalism in general, but also by our situation as a dependent and underdeveloped country.

This is the unavoidable repercussion that exploitation by imperialism has upon our country. Argentine capitalism at its highest levels wants to shift

the weight of its contradictions onto the people, and in particular onto the working class. The latter is defending itself, and social problems are beginning to deepen as a result.

This situation places the imperialist system in danger. Therefore, capitalism moves—first in a demagogic way, then directly—to attack the organizations of the people.

And it is logical that this attack should begin with the organizations that to one degree or another are establishing themselves as the conscious vanguard of the process of change.

And thus begin the most brutal forms of repression and punishment directed against the people in general, and in particular against persons deprived of their freedom, who are defenseless in the face of ill-treatment.

This is the situation in Argentina today. It is one in which truly dark pages in the history of repression and torture are being written.

Should there be any doubts about this, they can be dispelled by referring to the evidence submitted by the defense lawyers for those who have been tortured. Their accounts are based on incidents that have recently occurred.

The present state of affairs is affecting the various socialist formations and other progressive groups in the country equally. The latter must understand that it is not possible to put an end to repression and torture without a fundamental change in the prevailing system, and that this change can be achieved in no other way than through a socialist revolution. □

The Ideology of the Repressors

By Pablo Damiani and Ariel Pelayo

The forces of repression possess their own ideology, which is expressed in a thousand different ways. Its purpose is to provide a body of theory that upholds, explains, and justifies repression. Whether it be in the essence of the laws that underpin it, in official statements, or in the words of the military chiefs, the one thing that is certain is that in a more or less hidden way, this ideology is present in the daily rhetoric of the official spokesmen.

If repression involves the use of some kind of coercion against someone, the first thing that has to be done is to establish who this "someone" is and to draw a line between those who do the repressing and those who are repressed.

In this regard, general ranting with a more or less emotional appeal invariably replaces conceptual clarity. In every way, reality shows that—at least at present with the GAN [Gran Acuerdo Nacional—Great National

Agreement, the military government's plan for inaugurating "class peace" leading to elections next year]—the "enemy" camp consists of *all* those who oppose the official line and whose position is one of confrontation in a *concrete* sense. These, in official jargon, are the "subversives" opposed to the traditional "democratic, Western, and Christian" way of life. On the other hand, those who support the government, who do not look to confrontation as a way out, and who play according to the rules of the game, fall under the various categories of "defenders of democracy." For the key word here is "democracy."

Julio Oyhanarte—today the new president of the Economic and Social Council—sums it up clearly: "As democrats, we can give up many things, but not the central myth of democracy, namely the real and total freedom of man, of all men." For his part, Juan Carlos Sánchez*—a division general and former commander of the Second Army Corps—put it even more abstractly: "The true dilemma facing the Argentine citizen lies in knowing how to choose between a despotic, elitist, arbitrary, and unorthodox justice and individual freedom, even at the price of some underlying injustice."

General Alcides López Aufranc deals with the matter in similar terms. His enemies, he says, "do not have common principles of respect for the republic's institutions and people."

The defense of this biased conception of democracy always goes together with a safeguarding of the "nationality" that is threatened by disturbances instigated by "subversive agents" who are surely in the pay of enemy countries, generally the workers states (Cuba, China, etc.).

Thus the analysis of the repressors acquires validity and international scope, and evolves into General Sánchez's verdict: "History recognizes subversion in outrages committed against man's free will." The general works himself up to the point of aggressively playing with colors: "In this land, the red banner is accustomed to artfully seeking out the blue and white [the colors of the Argentine flag], and there are in addition various shades in which sensitivity and social solidarity

—which must be characteristic of everybody—are blurred together with class struggle."

Thus the strategic objective of repression emerges with unusual clarity: to hold back the class struggle, and to legitimize and help consolidate the dictatorship of the exploiters. "Democracy" and "nationality" emerge as nothing more than terms used to dress up the ultimate objective.

The dictatorship of the exploiters needs to tear the banner of democracy out of our hands because it knows that it is dear to the people's interests. It also tries to expropriate ideologically the just national sentiments deeply rooted in the working class and other sectors plundered by imperialism.

Against Those Who Unleash Repression

We all know the line the repressors use to justify their repression: Within every popular demonstration, which must of course be repressed, there are always—inexcusably—"political criminals" or, if not, then "common criminals."

The reason for this is that the repressor needs, in his morally pure fashion, to undermine the morale of his foe. The justice of his cruel behavior rests on a greater justice: that of combatting criminality. Having done away with the real dividing line that separates us in capitalist society—the dividing line between classes—it urgently needs to institute a new line of demarcation between repressors and repressed. The solution must be sought in the ethics and morality of the ruling class. This morality is given a general applicability; it is said to have changed into the morality of all classes, regardless of where they fit into the productive process. The ethical dividing line will henceforward separate criminals from honest people.

But the rhetorical operation does not end here. There are those who insist on removing any political content from the activities of their criminals, and so they come up with the worst criminal of all, the one that allegedly threatens society as a whole. Right under their noses they discover the "common criminal."

Next comes the effort to show how the best workers, the most brilliant students, the best of the population's

mothers, and the most successful intellectuals are transformed by this ideological process into what the repressors describe as common criminals.

General Sánchez says: ". . . there are no political prisoners. Is anyone being arrested for being a radical or a Peronist?"

But the pressure to transform political criminals into common criminals grows out of the flexibility of bourgeois legality itself, which allows tyrannicide. Law 18.953, in justifying it, points out that "political criminality arises when there exists a tyrannical oppression of the individual by the state."

There can be no doubt that this applies to situations like those prevailing in our country, in which one class has usurped the state apparatus and tyrannically oppresses not only one individual but the millions who belong to the exploited layers of society.

But beyond the need of the repressors to justify their deeds is their fear that the working class and the people will identify with those who bear the brunt of the repression. Therefore, they must not only be physically destroyed but politically denigrated. But they forget that in order to accomplish this they must enjoy political authority. Since they do not, those who are repressed and denigrated by the enemy are transformed into heroes and martyrs of the people.

Frame of Reference

It is common to hear talk about a frame of reference, in the jargon of the military. This is what provides the background for and gives relevance to the rest of its deeds. When Onganía, and then Levingston, and, in a superficial way, Lanusse use the presidency to declare a "state of war," they are giving a precise characterization of the Argentine political situation; at the same time, they are establishing a norm of behavior to be followed by the armed branch of the system.

Recently there has been competition between ideologists over the setting up of legislation suitable for war. Julio Oyhanarte says: "Taken as a whole, this overall standard is unobjectionable. The Constitution in fact recognizes the right of the community to self-defense when confronted with situ-

* General Sanchez was killed by urban guerrillas in the city of Rosario on April 10.—*IP*

ations of great collective danger, such as those arising from war or subversion." And out of his ideological hat he pulls the principle that—for them—must be given legitimacy, but that the people already understand deep down: "Should an emergency situation arise, the nation's army and militias are at the service of the country to make sure that the laws are obeyed."

But General Sánchez, who places no trust in ambiguity and bets only on what he can be sure of, says: "To eradicate the effects of subversion, things must be done in a realistic way, false conventionalisms must be rejected, and certain myths and dialectical positions must be discarded." The testimony that we have been recording shows how thoroughly the general's teachings have saturated the forces of repression.

If Ideology Does Not Produce Results . . .

It is probable that quite apart from its purpose, the whole attempt to develop a theoretical justification for repression will unavoidably prove an inadequate stimulus for bringing about acts of war.

To accomplish this, the language of legitimacy frequently tends to give way to the language of battle.

Alcides López Aufranc can say that "since we are a battle team, we hold in our hands the weapons of the country, and we will make use of these green uniforms to kill our enemies—our foreign enemies, and the ideological enemy made up of Argentines, persons born in this land but whose hearts and minds have been taken over by foreign ideologies. . . ."

Sánchez had to find his own formula to express the same ideas: "All the weight of our power and all the strength of our determination will be directed toward wiping out those who deal in hatred and crime. No mercy whatsoever will be shown."

Premises, underlying principles, and laws, while necessary, are nevertheless

not enough. The repressive operation must be given real body. This is fully accomplished when the repression is actually destroying and annihilating.

The sufferings of the best sons of

our people testify to its concrete effects thus far.

It is on them that this report is based.

[To be continued.]

Argentine Editor Facing Eight-Year Sentence

Announce Campaign for Casiana Ahumada

By Marilyn Vogt

The United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has launched a campaign in defense of Casiana Ahumada, editor of the Buenos Aires monthly *Cristianismo y Revolución*. The magazine was closed by the government in October 1971, and Ahumada was arrested in December on two counts of "inciting to violence" in the pages of the magazine.

Despite the absence of evidence to substantiate the charges against her, the government planned to sentence her June 7 to eight years on a prison ship (four years on each count).

Measures in defense of Ahumada have been taken by a number of groups in Argentina. The Journalists Association of Buenos Aires [Asociación de Periodistas de Buenos Aires], the Forum for the Defense of Human Rights [Foro para la Defensa de los Derechos Humanos], the Lawyers Guild [Asociación Gremial de Abogados], and the National Movement Against Repression and Torture [Movimiento Nacional contra Represión y Tortura] have issued statements and petitions in support of Ahumada and against the rising tide of political repression.

At a May 31 press conference in New York sponsored by USLA, representatives of leading church organizations in the United States announced their support of the campaign in defense of Ahumada. *Cristianismo y Revolución* had been in contact with the Movement of Third World Priests, some of whose members have been victims of the military repression.

Thomas E. Quigley, assistant director of the Department of International Affairs of the United States Catholic Conference and the Reverend William L. Wipfler, executive director of the

Latin American section of the National Council of Churches, spoke in support of Ahumada and the numerous political prisoners in Argentina.

Gloria Steinem, editor of the new U.S. feminist magazine *Ms.*, also spoke at the conference. She called for international solidarity of women against the brutalities inflicted on women political prisoners.

Judy White of USLA announced that a broad range of groups has joined in a united-front coalition to publicize the facts about Ahumada's case as a concrete example of repression by the Argentine government. The coalition announced plans for a picket line and rally outside the Argentine consulate in New York City June 6, one day before the scheduled sentencing of Ahumada. □

Guerrilla Leader Killed in Bolivia

A leader of the Bolivian urban guerrilla movement was killed and another captured early in the morning of May 13, according to an Associated Press dispatch from La Paz. The dead guerrilla, Lisimaco Gutiérrez, "died in a shootout with police and army forces as he was getting ready to cross the border with Chile and enter the neighboring country with two companions."

Captured in the incident was Luis Pedro Morant, said to be a top leader of the ELN (Ejército de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Army).

Police said a woman who was accompanying Gutiérrez was able to slip across the border and escape. □

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Police Shoot Leftist Demonstrators in Concepcion

By David Thorstad

A serious rift has developed within the Popular Unity coalition headed by Salvador Allende. At the heart of the dispute are strategic differences over how to meet the growing challenge from the Chilean right.

The current crisis came to a head as a result of events that occurred in the city of Concepción May 12. At that time the city's mayor, Vladimir Chávez, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist party, authorized a group of special police belonging to the Carabineer Corps to disperse violently a demonstration of workers and students. In the process, the Carabineers (whose dissolving was one of the planks of the program that brought Allende to power) killed one student, Eladio Caamaño Sobarzo, and left approximately fifty persons—including several police—wounded, some seriously. A number of persons were arrested, all members of left-wing organizations.

The opposition Christian Democratic party had applied for and received permission from Chávez to stage an antigovernment march in Concepción May 12. As in the case of similar marches in the past, the march had the support of the right-wing National party and the fascist-like "Fatherland and Liberty" movement, according to a report by Manuel Cabieses Donoso in the May 23 issue of the weekly magazine *Punto Final*. With the exception of the Communist party and the API (Acción Popular Independiente—Independent People's Action), the parties belonging to the Popular Unity coalition applied for their own permit to stage a counter-march. The MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left) also applied for a permit. Chávez gave authorization for only the Christian-Democratic march.

In light of this, the MIR, the Socialist party, the Radical party, the Christian Left, and the MAPU (Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria—Movement for United People's Action) met and unanimously decided to or-

ganize a mass popular demonstration to prevent what they characterized as a fascist march from taking place. According to the report in *Punto Final*, they immediately obtained the backing of the provincial CUT (Central Unica de Trabajadores—Workers Central Union), the federations of secondary and university students, the Provincial Peasants Council, and the textile and coal workers' unions.

At the last minute, the government intervened to lift Chávez's authorization for the right-wing march. A demonstration was begun nonetheless, and as word reached a meeting of workers and students at the university campus, they too took to the streets. They were savagely attacked by the police.

This is not the first time that the far left in Concepción has suffered at the hands of the Communist party. It was there that MIR member Arnoldo Rios was murdered at the beginning of 1971 by the "Ramona Parra" brigade of the CP.

In the face of the current repression, the four Popular Unity parties and the MIR have maintained their united front. They have issued several joint statements and are demanding that the Carabineer Corps be dissolved and that Mayor Chávez resign.

In one statement, they explained that the purpose of their mobilization was to "show that the people do not and will not allow the right-wing minority to attempt to legitimize its exploitative positions in this proletarian province by marching hysterically through the streets of Concepción" and to "lend the Popular Government the clear support of the mobilized and organized masses, who provide the undeniable basis for its stability."

They added that "The official absence of the Communist Party from the mobilization is something that the people hope will not be repeated, especially now that in Concepción the course of events has brought about a definitive step forward in the unification of the left."

Shortly after the death of Eladio

Caamaño, they issued a statement in which they asked: "Of what value is the portion of power that the people hold through the Popular Government if the repressive apparatus of the state—created and structured by the bourgeoisie in the defense of its own interests—is given free reign to continue to ignore the rights of the people and to join forces with the right wing as if nothing had changed in Chile?"

Within hours of the attack by police in Concepción, Senator Volodia Teitelboim, one of the CP's leading intellectuals, took to the floor of the Senate to condemn "extremism" of both the right and the left. "Much of what he had to say was directed at the Socialist Party," reported *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent James Nelson Goodsell May 23. "His remarks subsequently were sharply attacked by left-leaning militants within the Socialist Party and the quarrel came into the open."

The Political Committee of the Socialist party—which, with the Communist party, is the major force in the Popular Unity coalition—indicated on May 18 that it "does not share the point of view" of the regional committee of the party in Concepción. Yet along with this rebuke, it also noted that the response of the working class to the mounting opposition of the right "must be an organized and conscious mobilization in order to move forward the revolution and to hold back reaction."

The tone of the statement by the Political Committee of the CP on May 16 contrasted considerably. It noted the seriousness of the fact that "there are right-wing elements whose purpose is to provoke violent confrontations" and that "a serious rift" has opened up within the Popular Unity coalition. At the same time, however, it stated that "the activity of those who are demanding the resignation of the mayor of Concepción constitutes a giveaway to the right and to the ultra-left provocateurs who are united by their anticommunist hatred and their

desire to break up the Popular Government. . . .

"Our slogan is this: Together with President Allende and the program of Popular Unity we will defeat the provocations of the extreme right and the extreme left."

The same day the CP issued its statement, the far left staged a three-and-a-half hour march through downtown Santiago. The Santiago paper *El Mercurio* called it "massive and disciplined." Demonstrators, "many of them twelve years old or thereabouts," shouted slogans against the war in Vietnam, in protest of the murder of Eliado Caamaño, and demanding the nationalization of industries without compensation.

The demonstration was sponsored by the MIR, the FER (Frente de Estudiantes Revolucionarios—Front of Revolutionary Students), the FTR (Frente de Trabajadores Revolucionarios—Front of Revolutionary Workers), the Spartacus group (to which the dead student had belonged), and other far-left groups.

In the province of Cautín, a group of around one hundred peasants who were heading for the hospital in Lautaro on May 16 to protest the lack of medical care were shot at by Carabineers. The assault on the peasants, many of whom were women and children, left several wounded. Two, according to the *Punto Final* report, remain in serious condition. "The agricultural workers are holding the governor of Lautaro, Alfonso Neira, a member of the Communist party, responsible for the repression."

At the same time as these events have been occurring, the Christian Democrats are pushing a bill submitted by a right-wing senator belonging to that party that would make the armed forces directly responsible for the control of arms in the hands of the public and for the prosecution under military law of "armed groups." The bill is a direct challenge to Allende and the ministry of the interior, over which the Popular Unity coalition has control.

In his speech to Congress May 21 on the state of the nation, Allende sharply criticized the MIR and charged that the group was "in a potentially conflictive position toward the government." The Chilean president, reported Agence France-Presse, "indi-

cated that he was firmly resolved not to give in to the pressures of the far

left, which wants to see his regime move in a more radical direction." □

Jeness Speaks to Thousands in Argentina

By Ben Atwood

[The following are excerpts of a report that appeared in the June 9 issue of the U. S. revolutionary-socialist weekly *The Militant*.]

* * *

BUENOS AIRES May 29—A standing-room-only crowd of 3,000 jammed into a theater here on May 26 to hear Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Linda Jenness.

This meeting was the highlight of several large gatherings in Argentina. These meetings are part of the U. S. candidate's speaking tour of several Latin American countries. In the past few days, Jenness has addressed overflow crowds of more than 1,000 people in the Argentine cities of Tucumán, Rosario, and Mar del Plata.

Jeness is the guest of the Partido Socialista Argentino (PSA—Argentine Socialist party), which publishes *Avanzada Socialista*, a weekly paper. The party is currently engaged in an effort to gain ballot status for the March 1973 national elections.

The kind of reception the press has given Jenness all over Argentina is illustrated by a two-page interview with the SWP candidate printed in the May 23 issue of the Buenos Aires magazine *Así*. The interviewer wrote, "This most distinguished visitor has just arrived in the country to denounce the aggression of the government of her country in Vietnam and to give an impetus to the women's liberation movement."

The Argentine Socialist party co-sponsored the May 26 meeting with the Partido Socialista Popular (PSP—Popular Socialist party) and the Partido Socialista Democrático (PSD—Democratic Socialist party).

Although the meeting was scheduled to begin at 8 p.m., the theater was already packed when Jenness arrived at 7:30 p.m., and many people had to be turned away at the entrance. Inside, banners and placards, mostly against the war in Vietnam, covered the walls. TV cameras were present.

Sylvia Díaz chaired the meeting,

which included speeches by Jenness, Nora Giattoni of the Argentine Socialist party, and 87-year-old Alicia Moreau de Justo, a historic figure in the Argentine socialist movement and a leader of the Argentine feminist movement. Moreau, speaking immediately before Jenness, said she had accepted the invitation to address the gathering because she wished to collaborate in the bold struggle undertaken by her North American *compañera* Linda Jenness.

Jeness's 45-minute speech, delivered in fluent Spanish, was interrupted repeatedly by cheers, chants, and showers of confetti from the balcony.

Mobbed by well-wishers and autograph seekers, Jenness made her way through the crowd and walked three blocks to her hotel, surrounded by a crowd of admirers.

She left on the overnight train for her next stop—Mar del Plata. Her meeting there May 27 at the Provincial University drew 1,000 people, including many workers. *La Capital*, the local daily newspaper, had announced her arrival in advance.

That evening, 300 women came to a meeting to hear Jenness discuss the feminist movement in the United States.

Earlier, on May 24, the SWP candidate spoke to 1,000 people who squeezed into the auditorium at the University of Rosario. Another 500 stood outside, attempting to listen through the doorways and windows.

The previous day Jenness had visited historic Tucumán, the seat of the first independent Argentine government in 1810, during the struggle for independence from Spain. Reporters from the two daily newspapers met her when she arrived. At the National University of Tucumán she spoke to a meeting of 1,000 organized by a broad committee of socialist and radical campus groups.

That evening Jenness appeared for thirty minutes on the local TV station and overnight became a figure known to nearly everyone in town. □

25,000 in Mexico City Antiwar March

By Ricardo Ochoa

Mexico City

More than 25,000 persons demonstrated here May 17 against U. S. imperialism and in support of the Vietnamese revolution. The focus of the protest, which was organized by the Mobilization Committee for Vietnam [Comité de Movilización pro Vietnam], was the recent escalation of the Vietnam war by the Nixon administration.

The demonstrators marched down the Paseo de la Reforma, the city's main avenue. The route of the march was significant for two reasons: The U. S. embassy is located on this avenue, and it was the route of the rebellious popular demonstrations that shook the country in 1968.

Most of the demonstrators were students at the Autonomous National University of Mexico. (The National Polytechnic Institute was closed for vacation.) Behind large banners denouncing Nixon's Vietnam policy and supporting the Vietnamese, the demonstrators chanted slogans like "Vietnam, Right On! Sock it to the Yankees," "Bastard Nixon, Up Against the Wall," and "Gringos, Murderers! Get Out of Vietnam!" As the crowd passed the U. S. embassy, they chanted "Murderers, Murderers." In addition to the anti-imperialist chants, the demonstrators shouted slogans relating to the Mexican situation, such as demands for freedom for political prisoners.

A number of former political prisoners headed the march. Among them were Carlos Sevilla, Manuel Marcu Pardiñas, Rodolfo Echeverría, Federico Emery, and Valentin Campa.

The demonstration ended with a rally at the Juárez Monument. In spite of a torrential downpour, the crowd stayed to hear three speakers: Eduardo Valle of the newspaper *Perspectiva*, a delegate from the Department of Medicine, and a leader of an independent trade-union organization. A letter from the guerrillas who are currently political prisoners in Lecumberri prison was also read.

The Mobilization Committee for Vietnam is made up of thirty-eight student and political organizations. Among the former are some struggle

committees, and among the latter are the PCM [Partido Comunista Mexicano — Mexican Communist party], the GCI [Grupo Comunista Internacionalista — International Communist Group, the Mexican Trotskyist organization], the Socialist Front, and the POR [Partido Obrero Revolucionario — Revolutionary Workers party].

This was the first demonstration in Mexico City since the massacre of last June 10. Unlike that demonstration, however, which was attacked by fascist-like goons in collaboration with

Dominican Republic

Police Charged With Corruption, Torture

"A radio broadcaster in San Pedro de Macorís was imprisoned there last week for no other reason than the fact that he had reported that certain judicial officials are giving prisoners their freedom in exchange for money," reported the Dominican weekly magazine *Ahora!* May 29. "Incredible though this may seem, the explanation the prosecutor gave for jailing the journalist was the following: He had to talk with the reporter 'so he could tell us who these officials are that are giving freedom for money.'"

The policy of the Balaguer regime appears to be to imprison first and ask questions later. A striking example of the application of this policy is that of the worker Rafael Sánchez Buchén and the Haitian Salvador Duvergé. First charged in 1969 with killing a policeman, their case has been put off a total of thirty-five times. In addition, the mere testimony of one policeman was sufficient to cause Sánchez Buchén to lose his job and to keep him in jail for three years without his having ever been sentenced to a day in jail.

On top of this, reported *Ahora!*, torture is used to elicit confessions from prisoners. "The most recently reported

the police, this march took place without incident. One of the speakers at the rally noted, however, that "if the government thinks that it has allowed this demonstration to take place out of its generosity, we reply that it is the unity of the student movement that has made it possible."

The demonstration was widely covered by the news media, although the reports were rather conflicting. *El Universal* reported the size of the march as 5,000, for example, while *El Heraldo* said 8,000, the liberal *Excelsior* said 15,000, the progovernment *El Día* put the size at 20,000, and *La Prensa* said more than 20,000. The police estimate was 10,000. One television station reported that 15,000 to 20,000 persons had demonstrated, while another station claimed there were only "a few communist agitators." □

case was that of eight young people in Barahona sentenced on May 17 to prison terms varying from two to six years for the crime of associating with criminals. In denying this charge, the defendants maintained in court that confessions had been extracted from them 'by physical tortures and death threats.'"

The only woman in the group, Carmen Luisa Sánchez, said that the blows she suffered induced an abortion.

These victims were lucky, observed *Ahora!* They didn't die from the torture as others have. This is what happened to Rafael Taveras y Taveras, according to his mother. She said on May 20 that her son, who was insane, was being held prisoner in San Francisco de Macorís but that he had been punched, kicked, and beaten with poles in the police headquarters, following which he died. She identified those responsible by name. One was the chief of police, Antonio González.

In spite of the beating, the youth's bloody body was delivered to his mother. "Blood was running out of his mouth and his nose," she said. The press reported that chief González was seen with blood stains on his shirt. □

The 'Cultural Revolution' and the Fall of Lin Piao

[The following interview with the veteran Chinese Trotskyist leader Peng Shu-tse was obtained by Igor Cornelissen and published in the January 29 issue of the Amsterdam weekly *Vrij Nederland*. A translation of the first portion of the interview appeared in the June 5 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Stopping only for innumerable cups of invigorating Chinese tea, Peng Shu-tse and I moved rapidly through the last fifty years of Chinese history. The 1920s and the almost complete physical liquidation of the Communist party were already behind us. Slowly we were coming to the question of how the party of Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai, even though it stayed loyal to Moscow's directives, was able to take power in 1949 and smash the Kuomintang throughout mainland China. No more than in the previous article can I give a full account of Peng's interpretations and analyses. Peng belongs to a generation that was not content with giving short, superficial answers. Thus, when I asked him about the cultural revolution, he imperturbably began with 1957. Even his wife, Pi-lan, who must have been well acquainted with this broad approach, thought that he meant to say 1967. But no, if you want to understand a development, you have to take in at least the ten preceding years.

O. K., first, how and why did the CCP take power in 1949?

Peng. "That is not only a very important but also a very complicated question. For many years, the period of the Long March, the CCP had been driven into the countryside. In 1937 and after they supported the Kuomintang. In those years the most important thing was the struggle against Japanese imperialism. Because of these objective conditions, the situation in China became more favorable for the Communists.

"After the war against Japan, the Kuomintang was completely rotten with corruption and found itself paralyzed. Chiang was not exactly in the best position to launch an attack on the Communists. Truman sent

Marshall to China to try to persuade Chiang to make a compromise, but the Kuomintang leader refused to make even one concession to the CCP; he did not even want to concede anything to the bourgeois parties. So the Marshall trip failed.

"Most importantly of all, the American imperialists were unable to send troops to China. The soldiers wanted to go home and they made that very clear. When Truman also cut off his lavish aid to the Kuomintang, the Chiang regime fell apart. The CCP took advantage of the situation to launch a counterattack. These are the reasons for the victory of the CCP in 1949. *Except for the Japanese invasion, except for the second world war, the CCP would not have taken power.*"

I found that a very negative estimation of the policy of the CCP and its practical activity. Peng also did not feel—as some historians do—that the CCP "took" power in 1949 against the wishes of the Russian Communists. The historians who hold this view believe, for instance, that the Chinese Communists were largely isolated from Moscow in the 1930s and more and more independently developed a political line of their own.

Peng. "Politically, the CCP was never isolated. They always had radio contact with the outside world. They could receive shortwave messages from Moscow. There is no question of their having an independent political line in the 1930s. They did shift back and forth from left to right (as is shown, among other things, by the changes in leadership) but these shifts never had a principled basis."

Peng's wife, Peng Pi-lan, added another piece of evidence—the Sian Incident in 1937, when Chiang Kai-shek was kidnapped and finally released by the Communists themselves. The result was that a temporary halt was called to the civil war between the Communists and the Kuomintang and a common front against the Japanese arose. The Sian Incident has never been fully clarified.

According to Pi-lan, in 1937 Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai were determined to liquidate Chiang Kai-shek,

since after all he was their archenemy. *"But Moscow sent a telegram signed by Stalin that said that Chiang had to be released and that an attempt had to be made to reach a compromise with him so that they could fight together against the Japanese. The party leaders were forced to obey. I was in Shanghai at the time myself. All the party members and sympathizers were overjoyed at Chiang Kai-shek's capture. They did not understand why he was released later."*

Peng. "The victory of the CCP in 1949 has to be credited to unusual historical circumstances—the Japanese occupation and the second world war. A contributing factor was that the Russians occupied Manchuria in 1945, seized the modern weapons of the Japanese and turned them over to the CCP, and also organized the Fourth Army of Lin Piao. Thanks to these weapons, the Chinese Communists were able to build a modern army. Furthermore, Russian specialists were sent into this army. But in some provinces, Chiang Kai-shek's forces fled in 1948-49 before the Chinese Communists arrived.

"Marshal Yeh Chien-ying, the man who has now taken Lin Piao's place, admitted this once, saying: 'We ourselves were completely dumbfounded.'"

Peng considers the CCP still to be a Stalinist party in which there is no democracy.

"No one can question a decision by the leaders. As soon as you criticize Mao's view, you are purged." To be sure, in the beginning of the Sino-Soviet conflict, the Chinese views (the attacks on revisionism) seemed correct. But, according to Peng, the recent developments around the India-Pakistan conflict—to say nothing of the position the Chinese-oriented Indonesian CP took toward Sukarno—show that both Moscow and Peking "have taken the same opportunistic standpoints."

Now let's come to the cultural revolution. What was its significance?

Peng. "You have to ask: Why did Mao need the cultural revolution? The fact is that at a certain point he was in a minority in the Political Bureau.

In 1957-60, in a completely personalistic and dictatorial way, Mao launched a campaign for agricultural cooperatives. He forced the peasants to join them, just as Stalin did around 1929. This resulted not only in massive resistance among the peasants but also in dissatisfaction among large strata of the rest of the population (workers, students, and intellectuals).

"This resistance became apparent in 1957 when the Chinese leadership was forced to begin the 'hundred flowers' campaign. This liberalization coincided roughly with the Hungarian revolution of 1956.

"But the campaign took on more and more the character of resistance to the entire party bureaucracy. In Wuhan, for example, a huge opposition developed. Mao was forced to suppress all opposition.

"As usual, this left opposition was portrayed as a 'right deviation.' Hundreds of thousands of people disappeared from the youth movement, but the feeling of dissatisfaction continued to exist, especially among the intellectuals.

"Mao understood very clearly that he had to take measures to quiet the peasantry. In 1958, he started another big campaign, the campaign for the so-called people's communes. All small private ownership of land was eliminated. The free market was done away with. Mao also launched the 'Great Leap Forward,' the experiment in which millions of people were forced to produce steel in their backyards. This was a horrendous failure.

"As a result, there was a further change in Mao's position. Now not only the peasants opposed him but the party leadership, at least the majority of it, opposed him. In July-August 1959, Mao was forced to call a special meeting of the party Central Committee. Minister of Defense Peng Te-huai opened the meeting with a sharp attack on Mao, and he was supported by the chief of staff of the army and other members of the Central Committee.

"The outcome of the meeting, however, was that Peng Te-huai and his immediate associates were ousted from their posts. But behind the scenes, Liu Shao-chi, the vice chairman of the party, as well as Marshal Chou Te had supported Peng. Mao's position had also been weakened by the secret speech that Khrushchev gave about Stalin in 1956. Liu and Teng Hsiao-ping, the general secretary of the party, were in agreement with Khrush-

chev, at least as regards his criticism of Stalin. Mao on the other hand did not agree with Khrushchev but at that time he could not openly say so.

"All these factors together determined the situation in the party in those years.

"Mao was forced to take a step backward. In 1959, he had to give up his position as head of state to Liu Shao-chi. Many concessions were made in the areas of education and the communes, and the people were given more freedom to express themselves. The opposition to Mao continued to exist. Pamphlets were even circulated demanding his resignation. The cultural revolution began in November 1965, when Lin Piao wrote an article on this theme in the army paper. He directed his fire against all opposition tendencies.

"It is important to keep in mind that Lin Piao had supported Mao earlier, when Liu Shao-chi came to the fore as the head of state. *Lin Piao saw this as a threat to his position as Mao's heir.* Mao knew very well that almost the entire intelligentsia supported Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping, who in turn controlled the party apparatus. On the local level, in Canton, Sinkiang, Manchuria, Shanghai, and many provinces the party opposed Mao.

"According to the statutes, at that time Mao should have opened a discussion and called a congress. But he knew that that would have meant his downfall. Therefore, Mao had to use the army, but he could not rely on the loyalty of all the units. So, he resorted to using the high-school and university students (as the Red Guards). *In fact, power was then taken out of the hands of the party and even of the government.*

"Although many party leaders were attacked, they still held their posts. Then Mao ordered the army to support the Red Guards. The conflict that followed was reminiscent in some places of a civil war. In Kwangsi province, several hundred persons, probably several thousand, were killed. Many houses were destroyed. The situation took an especially dangerous turn when the Red Guards also attacked some army commanders (in July 1967), as in Wuhan, where the officer corps was split.

"At that time, the Cultural Revolution Group—whose core was made up of Chen Po-ta (Mao's secretary), Chiang Ching (Mao's wife), Kang

Sheng (a Politburo member) and Wang Li (director of the Central Committee's propaganda department)—felt that the army endangered the goals of the cultural revolution. This group wanted to launch an attack on the army leadership. *But Lin Piao remained loyal to the military command.*

"After this Mao Tsetung was forced to make concessions to the army leaders. Mao purged the 'ultraleftists,' such as Wang Li, the writer Chi Pen-yu, and also the deputy chief of staff of the army, Yang Cheng-wu. This part of the Cultural Revolution Group was purged *under the pressure of the army command.*

"All this shows how great the contradiction was between Lin Piao and Mao Tsetung. Facing the pressure of the military leaders, it was *primarily* Mao who made the concessions. In the period after 1967, Revolutionary Committees arose in almost all localities and were controlled by the military. This conflict between the army and the party became permanent and through the defeat of Mao's cultural revolution the party was also wrecked. Power in the country was now unquestionably in the hands of the army. In this situation, in August 1970, Chen Po-ta was purged, no one knows how or by whom.

"Lin Piao and his army controlled the entire party. At the beginning of 1968, Lin Piao replaced General Yang Cheng-wu, the deputy chief of staff, with Wang Yen-chung from Canton. From the moment he took this post, Wang began placing *his* closest associates in important positions, for example Wu Fa-hsien, the minister of the air force, who also became a member of the Political Bureau. The same thing happened in the navy and in the logistics sections. Everywhere followers of Wang Yen-chung turned up in important posts."

The question now is: *What happened to Lin Piao?*

"What happened to him physically, we don't know, but politically he is dead. Wang Yen-chung and all his followers have disappeared.

"*For months I heard him every day on Radio Peking, since I follow it very closely. But since mid-September I have heard nothing more about him. A lot of months have gone by. It goes without saying that the party members and the military want to know what is going on, but nothing*

has been disclosed, nothing explained. A big development is being kept secret.

"In my opinion, the purge of the Lin Piao group means that Mao's own position has been enormously weakened. Lin Piao was Mao's heir. That was even emphatically declared in the party statutes. In the party's highest body, the present leadership of the Political Bureau, Mao still has the support only of Chou En-lai. The other members—Chen Po-ta, Lin Piao, and Kang Sheng—are dead or purged.

"How was Mao able to defeat Lin Piao? In my opinion, because he had the support of Chou En-lai. Their common interest was to preserve the party in order to be able to control the army. Of course, Chou En-lai does not have mass support in the army but he knows enough commanders to have an influence. It is important in this connection that Chou was head of the party Military Committee before 1949.

"The most important man in the army, and perhaps in all of China, in my opinion, is now Marshal Yeh Chien-ying (member of the Central Committee since 1945, chief of staff of the People's Liberation Army in 1945-47, and a member of the Political Bureau since 1967). In practice, Yeh Chien-ying is acting as minister of defense.

"When you make a quick survey of the situation, you get the following picture. After the purge of the Lin Piao group, the army has become weaker. Yeh Chien-ying does not have the same kind of influence in the army as a Chou Te (commander in chief 1946-54), a Lin Piao, or a Chen Yi (recently deceased) had. The army may break up into many factions; it may disintegrate.

"The same kind of picture is presented by the party. No one has any authority. How can the members have any confidence? No one trusts anyone. I think that many cadres in the army and the party are demoralized. Therefore, it is my opinion that a militarily dangerous situation has arisen. I think that the trend in China now is toward political revolution; there is no other way out."

Cornelissen. "But since the military situation is dangerous for China, who is the greatest threat, America or the Soviet Union?"

Peng. "That is very hard to say; I don't know. The question is not

how a war against China might begin, but how it will end."

Cornelissen. "After a revolution,

could you and your wife return?"

Peng. "If it was a real revolution, yes." □

London Pupils Strike for School Reforms

London

"Almost 2,500 London children played truant from secondary schools yesterday to attend a demonstration called by the Schools Action Union to demand changes in the organization of London schools," Geoffrey Wansell wrote in the May 18 London *Times*.

To be sure, the school students were not merely "playing" truant. The day before, Dr. Eric Briault, education officer of the Inner London Education Authority, in a letter to London's 211 secondary-school headmasters, advised that pupils who took part in the demonstration should be regarded as truants and could be punished for this reason—but not, of course, "on account of their views and attitudes."

Other schoolmasters, such as Mr. Kuper at Emanuel School, Wandsworth, went even further than this to intimidate the students. Kuper, prior to the pupils' strike, sent a letter to parents of the 900 boys at the school stating that he would suspend any boy who willfully absented himself from school or, if the boy were "a very young and foolish boy, and showed signs of contrition," he would cane him only.

The demonstration, organized by the Schools Action Union (SAU), protested, among other things, the compulsory wearing of school uniforms (Britain is the only West European country in which schools insist on uniforms), censorship of school magazines, the lack of student involvement in running the schools, the practices of caning and detentions, and

the taking away of free school meals and milk.

The leadership of the SAU is strongly influenced by Maoist currents, and the union has its own newspaper, *Vanguard*.

The organisers called on all of London's 164,000 students to join them in the one-day "general strike." The demonstration was the culmination of a fortnight of activities involving some thirty London schools.

The challenge to the school authorities lay in the way these students chose to present their demands—organised truancy, deliberate breaches of school discipline, and actions in the streets. No matter how it may be disguised, there exists an authoritarian structure in the secondary schools, and students—in this case under fifteen years of age—are not satisfied with the conditions under which they are forced to live and learn. Secondary-school militants have raised fundamental questions about the role of democracy in education and the relation of schools to society.

Particularly vicious was the reaction of the police to the young demonstrators. With banners hoisted, and chanting slogans like "We want schools, not prisons," the students first assembled at Trafalgar Square and were there confronted by a cordon of 100 policemen. They were dispersed, but regrouped at County Hall, Lambeth, where scuffles broke out. Later they moved off and went on to Hyde Park. There were twenty-four arrests—ten adults and fourteen students—by the end of the day. □

Lisbon Students Protest War, Police Attack

Some fifty students and seventeen policemen were injured at the University of Lisbon when police attempted to break up a meeting May 16. Police invaded the Institute of Economic and Financial Sciences without authorization from institute authorities in an effort to stop a meeting of students who were demanding educational reforms, according to Agence France-Presse.

"According to certain eyewitness accounts, professors were beaten and several students jumped out of windows in order to flee police dogs that

had been turned loose.

"The students had demonstrated last week against the wars carried out by their own government in Africa, as well as against the North American escalation in Vietnam."

Following the incident provoked by the police, the council of professors decided to respond by protests, the students went on strike the next day and the director of the institute, Professor Cruz Vidal, sent a report protesting the police action to the minister of national education. □

Petitioners Ask Brandt to Intervene in Mandel Case

[The letter below has been sent to Prime Minister Willy Brandt of the Federal Republic of Germany. It was accompanied by the following cover letter, dated May 8, 1972, from Ken Coates, a director of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation:

"The enclosed appeal has been signed by a number of members of Parliament, academics and personalities in Great Britain, and endorsed by Professor Noam Chomsky of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. We should like very much to appeal to you to intervene in the affair, and to restore to M. Mandel his right to travel in the territory of your Republic.

"We are sure you will agree that it is an important liberal principle that men and ideas should have the freest possible commerce."

* * *

Dear Mr. Brandt,

We are writing to appeal to you to intervene in the case of Ernest Mandel, the Belgian Marxist Economist. Professor Mandel was offered a Chair in Economics at the Free University of Berlin, and yet the civil authorities have intervened to prevent his taking up the appointment. When he attempted to enter Germany in order to commence his new employment, he was deported from the airport on purely political grounds. You will appreciate that such an interference with academic freedom by the state authorities presents a most dangerous precedent, which must be of considerable concern to all who value freedom of thought.

For this reason we request you to use your good offices to intervene with the appropriate authorities in order to ensure that Professor Mandel is able to take up his new appointment without further interference from the governmental departments which have been responsible for this breach of democratic practice.

Yours sincerely,

Edith, Countess Russell; Frank Allauan, M.P.; Norman Atkinson,

M.P.; Tessa Blackstone; Stephen Bondington; Prof. T. B. Bottomore; Rosalind Brooke; Muriel Brown; Michael Burn; Dr. Malcolm Caldwell; Prof. Noam Chomsky; M. H. Choudhury; Ken Coates; G. A. Cohen; Mike Cushman; Meghnad Desai; R. J. Dumbleton; E. A. Evans; Chris Farley; Ken Fleet; Michael Foot, M.P.; Margaret Gardiner; Roger Hadley; Prof. Royden Harrison; Christopher Hill, Master of Balliol; J. W. (Bill) Jones, T. G. W. U. [Transport and General Workers Union]; P. E. Kopp; Peter Limquenco; Cora Lushington; Joan

Maynard, Vice President, NUAW; Jimmy Midgley; Brian Nicholson; Stan Orme; Dr. C. B. Otley; David Parkin; David Piachaud; Elizabeth Plate; Mike Reddin; Ernie Roberts, Assistant General Secretary, AUEW [Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers]; S. Roberts; Prof. Joan Robinson; Sally Sawdnay; Renee Short, M.P.; F. B. Singleton; Dennis Skinner, M.P.; A. W. Stallard, M.P.; Colin F. Stoneman; Ron Taylor; J. W. Thompson; Adrian Webb; Tom Wengraf; John H. Westergaard; Ann Whitehead; Raymond Williams.

Mandel Speaks to Copenhagen Meeting

Several Danish organizations sponsored a meeting in Copenhagen May 18 on the theme "The Struggle Against Political Repression in Western Europe." Approximately 300 persons attended the meeting, at which one of the featured speakers was the Belgian Marxist economist Ernest Mandel. Mandel was banned from West Germany last February because of his political views, after being prevented from accepting a post as professor at the Free University of Berlin.

Other speakers included a representative of the Iranian Students Federation who, like Mandel, has also been expelled from West Germany, and Elmar Altvater, a Marxist economist at the Free University of Berlin.

The meeting was sponsored by DDV [De Danske Vietnamkomiteer—The Danish Vietnam Committees], DSF [Danske Studerendes Faellesraad—Danish Students Common Council], SFU [Socialistisk Folkepartis Ungdomsgruppe—Socialist People's party's Youth Group], DSU [Danmarks Socialdemokratiske Ungdom—Social Democratic Youth of Denmark], and SUF [Socialistisk Ungdoms Forbund—Socialist Youth League], a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International.

In an interview with the Copenhagen daily *Politiken* May 19, Mandel charged that his exclusion from Germany was a blatant violation of the provisions of the Treaty of Rome on

the free movement of the European work force between countries belonging to the Common Market. "I am definitely counting on winning the case in the courts," he said. "The case doesn't affect me in a personal sense, since I don't need a professorship in Berlin in order to survive. What is important in this case is the principle involved.

"For if such a practice continues, one day we will find ourselves in a situation in which freedom of movement will hold true only for the capitalists and not for leftists. The outcome must be of interest to the entire international workers' movement."

Mandel discussed what he calls the "salami tactic" that is being used in his case. "First they expelled me from France, in 1968, and now from West Germany. It was the small revolutionary groups that were being hit. But then they went beyond this in their effort to strangle the workers' movement, so that not so long ago, British workers opposed to the Common Market were denied permission to enter France in Calais.

"It is very important," Mandel went on, "for us to stop the fascist tendencies in Germany, which of course have unfortunate past traditions from which they can draw inspiration. Nevertheless, I must admit that the reactions on my behalf in West Germany have been surprisingly strong. That is a good sign." □

How Nguyen Khanh Found and Lost His Job

The Making and Unmaking of a 'President'

What ever happened to Nguyen Khanh?

General Nguyen Khanh was "president" of South Vietnam in 1964-65. During the period when dictators were moving through Saigon's presidential palace with dizzying rapidity, Khanh proved more enduring than most, managing to hold the office for slightly over a year.

After his forced retirement, Khanh was made a "special envoy" to no place, an honor he lost at the end of 1965. He now operates a restaurant in Paris, where he was recently interviewed by the German magazine *Stern*. An English translation of the interview was published in the May 1 issue of *WIN*, the semimonthly magazine of the U. S. pacifist group, War Resisters League.

Khanh gave the following account of how he became "president" of South Vietnam:

"As commander of the 1st Army Corps in Da Nang I had a US advisor with me, Colonel Wilson. On 30 January 1964 Wilson told me a coup d'etat was planned in Saigon and that I was to become President. I could not believe this and sent Wilson to Saigon to investigate the situation. In the event the rumor was true Wilson was to call me and say, 'The assistance action for the Montagnards can be started.'

"At 1400 hours Wilson gave the cue from Saigon. I arrived in Saigon at 1800 hours, with three men. The Americans had already arranged everything. The official junta under Duong Van Minh was declared deposed. On 8 February 1964 I took over as Premier."

Khanh was at a loss to explain why he had been selected as dictator, except that the Johnson administration "believed they found in me a relentless fighter against Ho Chi Minh." Khanh, however, proved to be insufficiently relentless in following instructions:

"On the morning of the day I took power I was to give reporters at my first press conference a reason for the coup d'etat. I could hardly tell them the truth. This is why I said that I wanted to restore the unity of the

army and get the nation solidly behind me. In fact, I tried this afterwards, with the inclusion of the National Liberation Front. . . .

"This is why I was only their 'good boy' for a few months. At the time, as President, I maintained constant contact with the Americans. Ambassadors Cabot Lodge and Maxwell Taylor—who came to Saigon in mid-1964—visited me nearly every day.

Toward Cheaper Genocide

Pentagon Developing Robot Bombers

Sometime in 1974, if the Pentagon's plans are fulfilled, U. S. pilots will no longer be killed or captured on bombing missions over Indochina. This is not because the Nixon administration plans to stop the bombing, but because technological "progress" will make it possible to carry out the genocidal air war with robot planes.

Writing in the April 29 issue of the liberal weekly *New Republic*, Robert Barkan reported that the planes, called RPVs (for "remotely piloted vehicles"), will permit pilots to sit securely on the ground while bombing missions are under way:

"Pilots will control the unmanned aircraft via airborne sensors and high-speed data transmission links. An RPV fighter will have a nose-mounted television camera with a high-resolution zoom lens, enabling the pilot to identify enemy aircraft as far as 20 miles away on his TV screen."

RPV fighters are not scheduled for use until 1980, but RPV bombers, which are less complicated, are to begin combat flying in 1974.

The chief attraction of the RPVs, Barkan wrote, is that they are relatively inexpensive. The F-4 Phantom fighter-bomber now used by the U. S. in Indochina costs about \$3,000,000. The Pentagon is reported to calculate that an RPV would cost only around \$250,000:

To the Americans, the people of the National Liberation Front were 'the communists,' nothing else. To me they were not communists, but revolutionaries. *I wanted to make peace in 1965.* I wanted to prevent the Americanization of the war. I said this time and again to Cabot Lodge and Maxwell Taylor. And this ultimately broke my neck. In mid-February of 1965 I was overthrown by the Americans and sent off as 'special envoy' abroad." (Emphasis added.)

And seven years and hundreds of thousands of deaths later, the U. S. government continues to talk about defending the "right of self-determination" of the people of South Vietnam.

"Much of today's high fighter costs . . . are spent on increasing the probability that the human crew returns alive. Unmanned airplanes have no need for heavy and expensive components such as multiple life support systems, ejection seats, highly reliable engines, and strong airframes. Lightweight and inexpensive materials such as cardboard, fiberglass, inflated fabrics, and plastic foam would be suitable for airframe construction. Once the man is taken out of the plane, says *Aviation Week*, 'techniques common in model airplanes, sailplaning and toy manufacturing can be used.'"

The army and navy are also interested in obtaining RPV toys. One hot item is the "expendable" RPV for "suicide" missions. These flying bombs might be built for as little as \$20,000 each.

Despite the lower costs of the RPVs, the corporations that develop and build the weapons of mass destruction are also reported to be enthusiastic. Aside from "development costs," which are a traditional means of picking the public purse, the lower unit costs are expected to be offset by mass production of the new weapons.

Last but not least, Barkan noted, the robot planes have one additional advantage over conventional aircraft:

"War will increasingly become a contest between machines—which do not

bleed, die, get addicted to drugs, shoot their officers, or refuse to fight. A pilot flying an RPV bombing run from a swivel chair in an underground con-

trol center doesn't look out his cockpit window at the death and destruction below and wonder 'Why am I doing this?' He doesn't watch the flak com-

ing up at him and swear that he'll never fly again. He feels no more compunction than does the engineer who designed the machine." □

Private Enterprise to the Rescue

If You've Got the Dough, They've Got the Water

By Paul Dunlop

Pollution of the environment has reached such proportions as to endanger the sources of pure water for entire countries, including those of continental size like the United States. To delay much longer the utilization of scientifically guided economic planning to meet this and related problems would seem to be an invitation to disaster.

However, such a judgment leaves out the know-how and resourcefulness of private enterprise. The April 29 issue of *Business Week* describes how capitalism is rising to the challenge.

"The Dutch, 60% of whose drinking water is supplied by the downstream end of the Rhine, one of the most intensively used rivers in the world, know precisely what one Dutchman means when he complains that 'Rhine water goes through eight people before we finally get to drink it.' That explains why the Netherlands is becoming a big market for bottled water, along with Germany, Spain, Britain, Denmark, and Belgium. In most of these countries, water is so heavily treated with chemicals that it tastes like the sump in the cellar of a drugstore.

"Things are getting so bad that the Scandinavians, with veritable oceans of pure drinking water available far to the north, are beginning to get grandiose ideas about satisfying an unlimited market. A/S Hafslund, a diversified Norwegian company, has been thinking about pumping water from the Aana-Sira River into tankers and hauling it to Holland. Considering what the inside of even a carefully cleaned oil tanker must smell and taste like, the scheme represents a fair comment on the native Dutch product."

There are still certain wrinkles in the project that have to be ironed out. A/S Hafslund has planned a thir-

ty-mile tunnel to divert water from the river to the tanker terminal. The tunnel would provide eighty million gallons of water for the Netherlands alone. But power companies now utilizing the river fear that such a large diversion would leave insufficient water for their dynamos. Consequently they have resorted to legal channels to block the scheme.

"Meanwhile," *Business Week* continues, "a lot of water is starting to go out in somewhat smaller packages. A couple of Swedes, Dan Andersson and Eilert Jonsson, have launched Swedish Polar Water in the town of Kittelfjaell, about 45 mi. south of the Arctic Circle. From a 450-ft.-deep well, the two expect to pump and ship something in excess of 1-million gal. of what they claim is bacteria-free water to the Continent this year. 'It's difficult to tell future sales,' says Andersson. 'We are just starting up.'"

The company has made a deal with the local milk outfit, "putting up the water in quart-sized paper cartons at night when the milk-filling line is normally shut down."

In Finland, too, the growing market for water is attracting attention. A dairy cooperative, Valio, is planning to export water in two-quart paperboard cartons to a West German grocery chain.

Another Finnish company, Teisko Laehde, is negotiating to export water from a deep well it owns. The shipments would be made in two-quart plastic bags.

"None of the Scandinavian water is cheap," *Business Week* notes. "A liter—slightly more than a quart—sells for about 30¢ in Spain, which is farthest away. And several countries tax bottled water as much as 10%. But the market apparently exists anyway."

Business Week does not consider further possibilities in the development

of this new and promising field of private enterprise. However, some of these are already visible.

A large body of evidence shows that Scandinavia is suffering from increasing pollution of the environment. Aside from local sources, much of this comes from fallout from air currents crossing industrial areas in England and Western Germany. Contamination of water sources in Scandinavia coupled with increasing demand for potable water in the rest of Europe will certainly require further exploration for new sources.

The exploratory period, it can confidently be predicted, will prove to be very brief—far briefer, for instance, than the similar phase in the great gold rushes. The new sources of drinkable water lie in open sight in the form of the Arctic and Antarctic ice caps. The uppermost layers containing such contaminants as radioactive fallout and DDT need only be scraped aside to lay bare thousands of feet of pure frozen water laid down over vast areas eons ago. What a prospect for packaging plants!

There is only one foreseeable bad consequence of consuming this fossil water. Reduction of the ice caps to liquid form would raise the ocean levels sufficiently to drown the principal coastal regions of the world. We can be confident, however, that the free enterprisers will come up at the opportune moment with ways and means of turning to profitable account such a change in the configuration of the oceans and continents. □

Putting It Bluntly, No

"Soviet citizens have often asked me, 'Does America truly want peace?' I believe that our actions answer that question far better than any words could do." —Richard Nixon, speaking on Soviet television May 28.

REVIEWS

Commanders of the Counterrevolution

The White Generals by Richard Lockett.

Viking Press, New York, N. Y.
413 pp. \$10.00. 1971.

On November 16, 1920, General Baron Peter Nikolaievich Wrangel and the remains of his forces evacuated the Crimea and set sail for Constantinople. The evacuation of the White forces, which for all practical purposes marked the end of the Russian civil war, was carried out—for a fee—with the aid of the French government, which in the more prosperous days of the counterrevolutionary movement had been willing to defer the expected payment for its assistance. There is, as the adage says, no honor among thieves, particularly when one of them is about to go bankrupt.

In *The White Generals* Richard Lockett provides a view of the civil war from the thieves' side of the line, concentrating on the military aspects of the war. Despite Lockett's obvious sympathy for the counterrevolution and his occasional tendency to write lamentations rather than analysis, the book is a largely unvarnished account of the men who led the Whites.

From Kornilov to Wrangel, the strength of the White generals was based to a large extent on foreign support—from Britain, France, the United States, Germany, Japan, and, of course, the Czech army that ravaged Siberia. The establishment of foreign-supported counterrevolutionary "governments" often followed a pattern remarkably similar to that employed by U. S. imperialism today.

The installation of Admiral Aleksandr Kolchak as "Supreme Ruler of All the Russias" recalls the career of Ngo Dinh Diem under American patronage. Kolchak first aroused British interest when he showed up at the British embassy in Tokyo and volunteered to serve in any capacity in the war against Germany.

Kolchak was soon taken under the wing of Major General Sir Alfred Knox, the British commander in Siberia, who sent him westward to become minister of war in the "All-

Russian Government" established by the Whites at Omsk. On November 17, a band of Cossacks staged a coup protected by British machine gunners, and Kolchak was appointed dictator.

Less than a year and a half later, Kolchak was abandoned by his British patrons as his forces disintegrated under Soviet attack. He was captured and executed at Irkutsk while the British concerned themselves (unavailingly, as it turned out) with the "safety" of the czarist treasury of gold bullion.

A preoccupation with financial gain was by no means confined to the foreign allies of the Whites. In this respect also Kolchak's regime showed marked similarities to the puppet "government" in Saigon:

"Speculators were making vast sums of money, and the way to make even more was to combine speculation with governmental office. The black market flourished, prices in Omsk were astronomical, and profits were equivalently high. The railways were ridden with corruption; when British sappers and American engineers were put in charge of sectors of the line they uncovered the most remarkable frauds. Wagons containing ammunition and guns were left off trains in order that trucks containing luxuries in vogue at Omsk might be substituted; minor pilfering took place on almost every train, and major pilfering—such as the diversion of a whole train and the sale of its contents—was by no means unknown."

If they could not restore capitalism in the Soviet Union, the White generals and their civilian hangers-on could at least indulge in one last orgy of profits.

All in all, the counterrevolution's commanders were a contemptible lot, from the ineffectual Kolchak to Deniken, whose anti-Semitism was exceeded only by that of the British General Knox, to Wrangel, who for the sake of "honor" prolonged the bloodshed after he knew he was defeated.

The Soviet victory was not, of course, due to anything as superficial as the failings of the White lead-



KOLCHAK: "Supreme Ruler of All the Russias"—with British permission.

ers—as Lockett sometimes seems to imply. With that reservation in mind, however, *The White Generals* is a useful study of one aspect of the Russian civil war.

—David Burton

Mandel, Pathfinder Cited by 'Choice'

Two works by the Belgian Marxist economist Ernest Mandel are among the outstanding academic books of 1971, as selected by the May issue of *Choice*, a major U. S. publishing journal. Each spring the magazine lists the works it considers to have been the most outstanding during the previous year.

The two books of Mandel cited by *Choice* are *The Formation of the Economic Thought of Karl Marx* and *Europe vs. America: Contradictions of Imperialism*.

Choice also selected as an outstanding contribution to North American history *W. E. B. DuBois Speaks*. The two-volume collection of the Black scholar's speeches is edited by Dr. Philip S. Foner and published by Pathfinder Press of New York, which also publishes numerous works by Leon Trotsky and figures in the U. S. revolutionary-socialist movement. □

DOCUMENTS

On the Betrayal of the Vietnamese at the Moscow Summit Meeting

[The following statement was issued by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International on May 31.]

* * *

The attitude assumed by the Kremlin in face of the May escalation of the U. S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam constitutes one of the most brazen and treacherous betrayals of the world revolution in the entire history of Stalinism. The depth of this betrayal must be grasped by the international revolutionary vanguard and all the friends and supporters of the Vietnamese revolution.

Having proved incapable of throwing back the Vietnamese in their heroic advances on the battlefields of South Vietnam, having been forced to withdraw the bulk of the U. S. ground troops because of the stiffening opposition to the war among the American people, having been unable to maintain the pretense of "Vietnamization" of the war because of the spreading disintegration of the armies of the Saigon puppet regime, Nixon decided in cold blood to escalate the war to a qualitatively higher intensity in order to force the Vietnamese people to bow to an unfavorable compromise despite their resounding military victories. On May 8 Nixon announced that he had ordered all the harbors of North Vietnam to be mined and all transportation lines to be bombed up to the border of China.

In the history of imperialist butchery, the destructive power unleashed on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam since May 8 is of unheard-of proportions. The bomb load released by four squadrons of B-52 bombers is equivalent in destructive blast to a Hiroshima-type atomic bomb. The number of bomb craters in Vietnam was recently estimated at 26,000,000. The cratering of the land destroys it for agricultural production. This loss is on top of the loss of vast areas subjected to defoliation and to crop-destroying chemicals.

Imperialism will not stop at anything in its efforts to drive home its message to the people of Vietnam and of the world: better to destroy a country than to see it break out of the "free world" of capitalist exploitation.

While these colossal crimes were being committed, subjecting one of the most courageous peoples in the world to genocide, the Kremlin chieftains clinked champagne glasses with war criminal Nixon, as if they were toasting his deeds in Vietnam. They pictured their summit conference with Nixon as a "great success," a big step toward "world peace," while Nixon, with the callousness of a professional executioner, continued the most ferocious and barbarous acts of aggression and violence ever to be vented on the workers and peasants of a small country.

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam is part of the so-called socialist camp, whose security and inviolability the masters of the Kremlin have so many times guaranteed in the most solemn terms. Claiming the existence of an imperialist threat against the Czechoslovak workers state (which they never bothered to try to prove), they sent 200,000 troops into that country in August 1968. Their real reason for the invasion, of course, was to suppress the efforts that had been begun there to replace Stalinist police rule with socialist democracy, a change that would have strengthened—not weakened—the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia against any threat of capitalist restoration.

But in face of the unprecedented mass of napalm, antipersonnel bombs, and patterned bombing nearing the nuclear level that are being applied day after day on the cities and towns of North Vietnam, the masters of the Kremlin limited themselves to a few routine press releases—to be used by pro-Moscow Communist parties for face-saving needs—while they publicly toasted the imperialist aggressors!

It must be brought to the attention of the workers and peasants of the

world that Nixon is able to use obsolete B-52 bombers only because the Soviet bureaucrats refuse to arm the Democratic Republic of Vietnam with the modern fighter planes that could wipe the B-52s out of the sky. Yet they have sold such fighter planes to several bourgeois governments in Asia, beginning with the Sadat regime in Egypt.

The same goes for various types of sophisticated weapons. The Soviet bureaucrats deny them to the Vietnamese people but freely distribute them to half a dozen bourgeois governments in various parts of the world.

Even the amount of ordinary weapons is kept down to a trickle by the Soviet bureaucrats. The deliveries made by all the governments of the "socialist camp" do not reach 10 percent of what they send annually to Egypt. The cost of the aid is under 1 percent of the total annual military expenditures made by the U. S. in Vietnam.

This provides an indication on a material level of the betrayal committed by the Stalinist bureaucrats against the Vietnamese revolution.

Brezhnev and his cohorts have even hidden from the Soviet people the fact—revealed by the Hanoi press—that Soviet seamen were killed by U. S. bombs in Haiphong even while Nixon, who ordered the bombing, was being wined and dined in Moscow.

Apologists of the Stalinist bureaucracy argue that the Kremlin had to act this way in order to avoid a dangerous escalation of tension and a confrontation between the U. S. and the Soviet Union that could lead to World War III. This argument is completely mendacious.

History has shown again and again that to concede to an aggressor does not lead to easing the situation in the long run; instead, it encourages the aggressor to engage in escalation. In the United States today the mood is such that the vast majority of the American people would never back the White House in gambling on a nuclear showdown. The American people are sick and tired of the war in Indochina. They would never agree to risk a global conflict for the sake of maintaining a military toehold in Indochina.

By standing firmly and telling Nixon that his new escalation of the war constituted an attack against the entire socialist camp and that persistence

in that attack would result in the Vietnamese army, navy, and air force being supplied with all the means necessary to turn it back, the Soviet leaders could have stopped Nixon in his tracks. By refusing to take any concrete steps to halt the aggressor, the Kremlin leaders fall into the position of accomplices in the crimes of imperialism against an allied workers state. They thereby lay the base for a still more explosive situation.

Once again the fatal logic of the policy of "peaceful coexistence," of "socialism in one country" stands out in the clearest way. In order to save the international status quo from unsettlement by a victorious revolution, the Kremlin bureaucrats cynically acquiesce in the massive bombing and genocidal destruction of North Vietnam. At bottom they consider that they are acting in their own self-interest, for a successful revolution in Vietnam could encourage the growing political opposition inside the Soviet Union and perhaps help detonate a revolutionary process that would sweep them from power and restore the socialist democracy that Lenin and Trotsky stood for.

As for the Maoist bureaucracy, it is unable to do more than issue feeble press releases protesting the bombing of North Vietnam. Having themselves accorded Nixon a royal reception last February, they cannot even take factional advantage of the betrayal committed by the Moscow revisionists. The truth is that by engaging in a "cordial" summit meeting with Nixon they helped make it easier for the Kremlin to abandon all restraint in groveling before the commander in chief of the U. S. war machine.

The complicity of the Chinese and Russian regimes in the Pentagon's crimes in Vietnam can arouse a sharp reaction among the masses of the Soviet Union and China. That would change many things. However, in face of the tight police control over the communications media it is not easy to spread the truth in either land.

Among the rank and file in the Communist parties in the capitalist countries the situation is different. They are not sealed off from the facts or from the influence of the vanguard that has been staging international demonstrations for withdrawal of the U. S. armed forces and free exercise by the Vietnamese people of the right of self-determination.

The Vietnamese are continuing their struggle with unparalleled courage and determination, and are still scoring successes on the battlefields. With the help of the laboring masses in other countries, they can still win their revolution despite all the fury of the imperialist beast.

The Fourth International calls upon all its members and sympathizers, upon all communists and socialists throughout the world, to devote the

utmost energy to helping to organize massive protest demonstrations against the imperialist aggression in Vietnam.

Bring the strongest possible pressure to bear on the Communist parties by spreading the truth about the latest Stalinist betrayals. Help pillory the Moscow and Peking regimes! Compel them to provide adequate material support to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and to the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam!

Transcript of the Bukovsky Trial--IV

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

[Previous installments gave the indictment and Bukovsky's detailed reply to the charges against him. The present installment covers the testimony of the five witnesses called by the prosecution. (Bukovsky had requested the calling of only two defense witnesses. This was refused by the court.)

[The translation of the trial transcript was done for *Intercontinental Press* by Marilyn Vogt. Explanatory material in brackets is by the translator.]

* * *

The court calls to the stand V. A. Shushpanov.

Judge: Witness Shushpanov. You are hereby warned that according to Article 181 of the RSFSR Criminal Code you are liable for any false testimony given. Please sign the oath. (Shushpanov signs his name.)

Judge: Your last, first, and middle name please.

Shushpanov: Shushpanov, Vladimir Alexandrovich.

Judge: Where did you work when you knew Bukovsky?

Shushpanov: As an employee in the department for foreign relations of the Moscow Patriarchy.

Judge: Where do you work now?

Shushpanov: As a college-level teacher of the English language.

Judge: Is there any reason why your relationship with Bukovsky precludes

objective testimony?

Shushpanov: No.

Judge: In the preliminary investigation you gave evidence in the Bukovsky case. Tell the court what you know in this connection.

Shushpanov: I would prefer to answer questions.

Judge: You must tell the court everything you know and afterward you will be asked questions.

Shushpanov: I became acquainted with Vladimir Konstinovich [Bukovsky] in the following way. A friend of mine asked me if I could get hold of a certain work to be translated from English for pay. I was able to get hold of it and my friend asked me to call Bukovsky to see if he could translate it. I called him, we met, and I gave him the text to be translated. He did a pretty good job on it.

Judge: Go on.

Shushpanov: That's all there is to tell.

Judge: How many times did you meet with Bukovsky and where?

Shushpanov: A few times—several at his apartment. Once he had friends visiting but I don't recall their names or addresses.

Judge: What did you and Bukovsky talk about?

Shushpanov: I don't remember what we talked about. This was a long time ago, almost three years ago.

Prosecutor: Your acquaintance with Bukovsky took place in the spring of 1970, which was not three years ago. Besides, you gave testimony in the preliminary investigation in August 1971. Be so kind as to try to recall what Bukovsky said to you at the time of your meetings.

Shushpanov: Well, he told me he

had been placed in a mental hospital for something or other.

Prosecutor: Did he tell you that inhuman treatment was administered to him or others in the hospital?

Shushpanov: He said that they gave injections of some kinds of medicine, but I don't remember what kind.

Prosecutor: And why did they give these injections? Did Bukovsky tell you?

Shushpanov: Well, I think they were for treatment.

Prosecutor: Did Bukovsky tell you that he does not like this system?

Shushpanov: He said that he favored a "balanced society."

Prosecutor: What does that mean? How did he explain it to you?

Shushpanov: I seem to remember that he had in mind a multiparty system.

Prosecutor: Did Bukovsky ask you to take advantage of your assignments abroad in order to secure a duplicator?

Shushpanov: Yes, it seems that there was such a conversation, but as I remember it arose at my initiative.

Judge: What do you mean, at your initiative? How did the conversation go?

Shushpanov: It seems that the conversation was about *samizdat*. I asked Bukovsky whether the only way *samizdat* material could be duplicated was by typing it. Bukovsky said that this was the only way. Then I wanted to know why some more modern kind of duplicator wasn't used—some sort of printing press. Bukovsky replied that it was impossible to obtain such a machine in our country and that they could only be freely purchased abroad. I asked why they didn't get a machine from abroad, since they apparently had connections there. Bukovsky answered: I do not go abroad, so I don't have such an opportunity. Since you do go abroad, why don't you try to bring back such a machine?

Judge: You mean that was the conversation and he left it at that?

Shushpanov: Yes.

Prosecutor: And what did Bukovsky say about the fact that in the Soviet Union there is no personal freedom?

Shushpanov: Where? When we were with his friends?

Prosecutor: At any time.

Shushpanov: He said little about it. The others did most of the talking.

Prosecutor: Precisely what did they talk about?

Shushpanov: Well, I seem to remember that they were generally dissatisfied; they were protesting, as it were.

Prosecutor: Tell us, Shushpanov, while you were acquainted with Bukovsky, did you yourself share his anti-Soviet views?

Shushpanov: Yes, I did.

Prosecutor: You were planning to write an anti-Soviet novel?

Shushpanov: Yes I was.

Prosecutor: Did Bukovsky promise to help you get this novel abroad?

Shushpanov: Bukovsky said that if I circulated the novel inside the Soviet Union, sooner or later, regardless of whether I wanted it or not, it would turn up abroad.

Prosecutor: Did Bukovsky give you any kind of material to look over?

Shushpanov: At my request, he let me borrow two works by Solzhenitsyn—*Cancer Ward* and *First Circle*—so I could read them.

Judge: Where were these books published?

Shushpanov: It seems, by the publisher Possev.

Judge: Does anyone have any questions for the witness?

There were none.

Judge: Witness Shushpanov, you may go. Witness A. E. Nikitinsky is summoned.

The judge warns the witness that he is liable for any deliberate rendering of false testimony, under Article 181 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. The witness signs the oath.

Judge: Tell the court your name and your place of work.

Nikitinsky: Nikitinsky, Arnold Eduardovich. I work for the customs department at Sheremetyevo Airport.

Judge: Is there any reason why the nature of your relationship with the defendant precludes objective testimony?

Nikitinsky: No.

Judge: Tell us what you know about the case.

Nikitinsky: Bukovsky and I have known each other since the eighth grade. He moved from another school. In his first few days at our school, he showed himself to be a very talented, erudite lad, a very good comrade. Everyone was attracted to him. I remember specifically that I was having trouble with English and Bukovsky helped me find a tutor. When I lost some library books, Bukovsky got books from his own library and

gave them to me. I visited his home on several occasions. He was always very hospitable with everyone and served us tea. In the tenth grade, Bukovsky and some other kids put out a paper called "The Martyr." Half of the paper was about school themes and the other half (he finds it difficult to explain). Well, whatever was bothering them, they would talk about somehow. The school Komsomol [Communist Youth League] condemned the paper. Bukovsky was expelled from school and I didn't see him after that for many years. We met again in the winter or spring of 1970 on the street near his home. He invited me in. We talked. He said that he had been arrested. In general, he talked about himself. I visited him several times after that and he was always very gracious. We played chess, drank coffee, and talked. Bukovsky, upon learning that I worked for customs at Sheremetyevo Airport asked me to make arrangements so that someone could smuggle a portable press in for him from abroad. I thought that it was all a joke. I didn't believe that he actually intended to do it. Many people visited Bukovsky's home. They would come in, show him things; he would correct them and they would leave. I understood that he was some kind of proof-reader. Once, a Moscow University student came and read a lampoon in my presence in which some sort of tramp was portrayed, mocking at our leaders and at V. I. Lenin. It was very unpleasant for me to listen to this, and I realized that I was among people who were my enemies.

Later on, Vladimir Bukovsky introduced me to someone named "Sasha," a worker at the Moscow Concert Hall. He said that Sasha was planning to go abroad and bring back a press and that I should help him smuggle it through customs. In my presence Sasha outlined the plans of the airport, the arrangement of service exits and of the customs section. I realized that they were dragging me into a dangerous plot and I decided to notify the authorities. The next day Bukovsky sent a young man to the airport with whom I conducted a sort of trial run; that is, I showed him how to get through the service entrance and showed him around the airport.

Judge: That's all?

Nikitinsky: I think that's all.

Judge: Does anyone have questions for the witness?

Prosecutor: Did Bukovsky tell you that in our country sane people are confined in mental institutions because of their beliefs?

Nikitinsky: Yes, he told me he had been confined in a psychiatric hospital several times, although he is sane.

Prosecutor: What kind of anti-Soviet statements did you hear from Bukovsky?

Nikitinsky: Many people there were saying such things.

Prosecutor: But what did Bukovsky himself say?

Nikitinsky: He was more quiet than the others.

Judge: Are there any further questions for the witness?

Defense Attorney: Tell us, Nikitinsky, when did you last see Bukovsky?

Nikitinsky: On December 31, 1970. I remember the day because they were decorating a New Year's tree in the apartment.

Defense Attorney: Did Bukovsky tell you at that time about his rejection of the plan you were speaking about here?

Nikitinsky: No, he didn't.

Defense Attorney: I have no further questions.

Judge: Defendant Bukovsky, do you have any questions for the witness?

Bukovsky: Yes. (He addresses Nikitinsky.) You have stated that in my apartment you repeatedly heard anti-Soviet statements, which you found distasteful; that they aroused your indignation and it was only with great effort that you were able to refrain from being rude. You realized, you say, that you were among hostile people, and all the same you continued to visit me. Why didn't you even once tell me your views? Why didn't you tell me that you, as an upstanding Communist, disapproved of my actions and views and felt outraged? Why were you silent? Why did you hold yourself back?

Nikitinsky is silent.

Judge: Nikitinsky, answer the question.

Nikitinsky: Well, I told him: Volodya, forget it, you're beating your head against a brick wall.

(Laughter in the courtroom.)

Bukovsky: Precisely what anti-Soviet statements did you personally hear from me?

Nikitinsky: I don't remember exactly.

Prosecutor: In the preliminary investigation you testified that Bukovsky spoke to you about the infringe-

ment of civil rights and the absence of personal freedom in our country. Isn't that so?

Nikitinsky: Yes, he said something about the fact that there is no freedom of speech or press. But it was pointless saying this to me; after all, I am a Communist. To me, all that is tempest in a teapot.

(Laughter in the courtroom.)

Judge: (Rebukes Attorney Shveisky) Smiling is inappropriate in a court of law.

Defense Attorney (Shveisky): I am not smiling. I confess that I do not find anything to smile about in what the witness is saying.

Judge: Exactly. Are there further questions for the witness?

Bukovsky: Would you state whether I told you I was rejecting the plan for bringing in a portable press because it seemed too risky and that, moreover, I hadn't found anyone who would agree to bring in such an apparatus from abroad?

Nikitinsky: Yes, you said that there was no one to bring it in, not at that time, as I understood it.

Bukovsky: Would you state why on October 13, 1970, realizing that an anti-Soviet plot was being prepared, you did not immediately report this to the authorities; but instead, as you state, conducted a sort of trial run?

Nikitinsky: I didn't believe that you were serious. I felt as if I were dreaming. I thought it was some kind of joke.

Bukovsky: What happened in the time between our meeting on October 13, 1970, and February 8 [1971], i.e., almost four months, when you finally decided to report everything? When did you realize that it was not a joke?

Nikitinsky: The lampoon I heard in your home greatly alarmed me. It was as if my eyes were opened.

Bukovsky: When did this happen? By your own testimony, we last saw each other on December 31, 1970.

Nikitinsky: I don't remember.

Bukovsky: Tell me, why did you bring me various foreign magazines?

Nikitinsky: I didn't. I had no opportunity.

Bukovsky: Why did you bring me a clipping from the *Washington Post* with an article about me and my photo in it?

Nikitinsky: I didn't do that.

Bukovsky: Why did you tell me about the events on the Soviet-Chinese border?

The Judge strikes that question from the record.

Bukovsky: Why did you bring me a Russian-Chinese phrase book for military use?

The judge strikes out that question.

Bukovsky: Why did you tell me about the arrest at Sheremetyevo Airport of a certain Mikheev who . . .

The judge strikes out that question.

Bukovsky: Under what circumstances did you see the magazine *Possev* at my home?

Nikitinsky: Once I was visiting you and you asked me to wait and you went outside. While you were gone this same man called Sasha came. I opened the door for him. You came back later and brought two magazines.

Bukovsky: What kind of magazines were they?

Nikitinsky: They were stamped "Possev."

Bukovsky: The publishing house called *Possev* puts out all sorts of publications. Were they actually magazines with the word "Possev" on them?

Nikitinsky: I don't know exactly. You said something about "Possev."

Judge: Did Bukovsky give you these magazines so that you could look them over?

Nikitinsky: I was not interested in them and didn't express any desire to look them over.

Bukovsky: What else was done with these magazines?

Nikitinsky: I seem to remember that you gave them to Sasha.

Bukovsky: You mean, Sasha took them away?

Nikitinsky: I don't know.

Bukovsky: During the investigation you said I took them out of the house myself after five minutes.

Nikitinsky: I don't remember now just what did happen.

Bukovsky: Tell us, what department are you directly under the command of? The KGB?

The judge strikes out that question.

Defense Attorney: I have a question. Tell us, Nikitinsky, did you write up your February 8 statement by yourself?

Nikitinsky: Yes.

Defense Attorney: Where did you write it?

Nikitinsky: Where? Not at home.

Defense Attorney: I asked you, where did you write it?

Nikitinsky: I don't remember where I wrote it.

Defense Attorney: Then tell us, did

you arrive at the place where you turned in this statement with the statement all written out? Or did you write it there?

Nikitinsky: I got there with the statement all written up.

Defense Attorney: Then answer this, do you know what it says under Article 180 of the RSFSR Criminal Code?

Nikitinsky: I don't understand.

The judge strikes out this question.

Defense Attorney: I want to explain why I asked the witness Nikitinsky this question. Nikitinsky states that he wrote his statement himself and in the statement there is a reference to Article 180 of the Criminal Code. I want to ascertain whether he knows the contents of this statute.

The judge strikes out the question.

There are no further questions.

Judge: Witness Nikitinsky, you may go.

The witness Bychkov is called. The judge warns him of his liability under Article 181 of the Criminal Code [against perjury]. Bychkov signs [statement swearing to the truth of his testimony]. He is asked where he works.

Bychkov: I am in the army.

Judge: State what you know about the Bukovsky case.

Bychkov: March 2, 1971, I was in the cafe at the Kursk Station with [my friend] Tarasov. We were on leave and were waiting for a train to go to Tarasov's home. The waitress seated two people, whom we did not know, at our table.

Judge: Do you recognize the defendant as one of them?

Bychkov: Yes, that's him.

Judge: How did you get along with him — normally or was there hostility?

Bychkov: Normally.

Judge: Continue.

Bychkov: Bukovsky's companion went off to dance. Tarasov was dancing too at first. Bukovsky and I struck up a conversation.

Judge: What did you talk about?

Bychkov: Bukovsky said we didn't have freedom of speech or of the press in our country, and that he had been imprisoned in a psychiatric hospital because of his convictions. He said he was getting ready to organize a demonstration at the time of the Twenty-fourth Congress and that if we [should be] there and be ordered to shoot at the demonstrators, not to do it. He also said that he was acquainted with some foreign correspondents and showed us a notebook where their

phone numbers had been written down. I wrote down one phone number — that of Astrakhan [former *Washington Post* correspondent in Moscow]. Bukovsky gave us his own address and phone number as well.

Judge: Why did Bukovsky give you his own phone number and that of the correspondent?

Bychkov: He said if we should get any information we could pass it on by calling these numbers.

Judge: Does anyone have any ques-



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tions for the witness?

Prosecutor: Did Bukovsky tell you that the system that exists in our country is not the one the Soviet people need?

Bychkov: Yes, he did.

Judge: Any more questions for the witness?

Bukovsky: Witness Bychkov, thinking back over the conversation we had, are you sure we were talking about the Twenty-fourth Congress and not Poland?

Bychkov: Yes, I'm sure.

No one having any more questions, Bychkov is asked to remain in the courtroom for the time being.

The witness Tarasov is called.

The judge warns him of his liability

under Article 181 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. Tarasov signs the oath. The judge asks him where he works.

Tarasov: I'm in the army.

Judge: Are your relations with the defendant normal?

Tarasov: Yes.

Judge: Tell what you know about this case.

Tarasov: In March, 1971, Bychkov and I were in the cafe at the Kursk Station. We were on leave, waiting for the train. The waitress had these two people — Bukovsky and his comrade — sit at our table. There was a conversation going on. I didn't hear the first part of it because I was dancing. When I came back to the table, the conversation had already started. Bukovsky said something about foreign correspondents, that he knew some of them, and showed us some telephone numbers. Bychkov wrote down one of the numbers, and Bukovsky's too. Bukovsky said he had been put into a psychiatric hospital because he had protested against the fact that we don't have freedom of speech. That's it.

Judge: Did Bukovsky tell you that the system in our country is not the one the Soviet people need?

Tarasov: It seems to me he said something like that.

Judge: What else did Bukovsky say?

Tarasov: I don't recall.

Judge: What did he say to you about the Twenty-fourth Congress?

Tarasov: He said that he was probably going to be jailed by the time the congress opened.

Judge: Witness Bychkov, repeat what you told the court about that.

Bychkov repeats what he said about a demonstration and about not shooting.

Judge: Tarasov, do you confirm that Bukovsky said this?

Tarasov: That I don't recall. He said he was going to be jailed by the time of the Twenty-fourth Congress. That I recall.

There were no more questions. The witness was dismissed, and the court recessed.

After the recess, Nina Ivanovna Bukovskaya was called as a witness.

Judge: Witness Bukovskaya, you are hereby warned that according to Article 181 of the Criminal Code (RSFSR) you are liable for any false testimony. Sign the attestation to the truth of what you will say. (Bukovskaya signs.)

Judge: Witness Bukovskaya, how are you related to the defendant?

Bukovskaya: He is my natural son.

Judge: How do you get along with him?

Bukovskaya: Fine, except that my son has never made me a party to his activities.

Judge: When was Bukovsky graduated?

Bukovskaya: In 1959.

Judge: How did he do in school?

Bukovskaya: He did well; he is a very capable person.

Judge: What did he do after graduation?

Bukovskaya: He went to the university for a year and then got a job.

Judge: Where did he work? Last year?

Bukovskaya: He worked for the writer Baumvol—as a literary secretary. In the summer he went on a geological expedition. After that, he worked as a literary secretary for another writer, Maksimov.

Judge: Does your son have any special trade or profession?

Bukovskaya: No, he has not managed to acquire a trade.

Judge: What kind of pay did he get when he worked as a literary secretary?

Bukovskaya: Not much. Fifty rubles a month.

Judge: Did he try to find some other kind of work?

Bukovskaya: Yes, he tried, but no one would take him on since he had a prison record.

Judge: Bukovskaya, tell the court whether you have received certified notes for rubles from Oslo and Rome?

Bukovskaya: But does that have anything to do with my son's case?

Judge: Witnesses do not have powers of interrogation.

Defense Attorney: I protest. This has no bearing on my client's case.

Bukovsky: This is outrageous! It has nothing to do with my case, nothing at all!

Judge: Bukovsky, be quiet and behave! No disruptions! (Addressing the witness.) Yes, this does have bearing on the case. Continue please.

Bukovskaya: Yes, I received these money orders. They were sent to me in 1969 when my son was serving his sentence at a corrective-labor camp. People who heard about my plight from the newspapers sent me some small sums along with very

warm and kind letters. I still have these letters.

Judge: Do you mean that it has been two years since you received such money?

Bukovskaya: Yes, I haven't received any for two years. And what I did get, I kept in a bank account. And only this year, when I was driven out of my job because of my son and had to start living on a pension, did I take it out of the bank.

Prosecutor: How much did you receive in certified rubles altogether; what was the total?

Bukovskaya: I don't remember exactly, about 100 rubles.

Prosecutor: Here is an official receipt from the USSR Foreign Trade Bank: 101 rubles (certified notes) were paid to Bukovskaya. I request that the receipt be included as evidence in the case. (Hands the receipt to the judge.)

Bukovskaya: May I ask whether the receipt indicates that the money orders were sent in 1969?

Judge: Yes, it is indicated.

Defense Attorney: Will the witness tell the court if she knows a certain Nikitinsky, an officer in the Frontier Guard.

Bukovskaya: Of course I know him; he was a classmate of my son.

Defense Attorney: Did he used to visit your home?

Bukovskaya: Yes he did.

Defense Attorney: Didn't you hear some discussion between your son and Nikitinsky about bringing illegal printing equipment into the country from abroad?

Bukovskaya: Yes, I remember that. It was at the end of December last year, on New Year's eve. We were decorating the New Year's tree when Nikitinsky arrived. My daughter was there too.

Judge: Were you in the same room with Nikitinsky and your son?

Bukovskaya: Yes I would come into the room, decorate the tree for a while, go back into the next room, and come back again and listen to the conversation.

Defense Attorney: What was the conversation you heard?

Bukovskaya: I heard Nikitinsky energetically trying to persuade my son to bring in some foreign equipment for an underground press. He promised he could help. He said that he worked in the customs inspection department at Sheremetyevo Airport and

could help bring in the equipment. I also heard my son energetically refuse both Nikitinsky's offer of assistance and the very idea of bringing in and setting up a printing press.

Bukovsky: Please tell them what you did with the *Playboy* magazines that Nikitinsky brought me and that were in my desk when I went on the geological expedition.

Bukovskaya: Yes, I remember: Nikitinsky brought a pile of *Playboy* magazines to our house, the scum. They were full of photographs of naked women and obscene cartoons. But my son dislikes such literature, and I dislike it even more. Not only that, such photos and cartoons are considered pornographic in our country and you can be tried for having them. I burned the magazines.

Bukovsky: Please tell the court if you sent appeals to any official bodies in 1966, when I was held for eight months in psychiatric hospitals, being switched from one to another, without any trial or investigation or court ruling, and in spite of medical testimony.

Bukovskaya: I remember that well. I appealed to many offices. First of all, to Comrade Funtov, the Moscow city public procurator in charge of reviewing state security agency activities. He told me: "Let him stay there." I appealed to General Svetlichny, head of the KGB administration for Moscow *oblast*. He too said: "Let him stay there." I wrote to the Central Committee of the party about this three times, and after the third letter you were let out.

Bukovsky: Do you remember the time I introduced you to the KGB agent who was following me and who threatened me with his service revolver?

Bukovskaya: I remember, naturally. Before the revolution people like that were called "snoopers" [*shpiki*]. I don't know what they call them now. This person was constantly tailing my son, and my son introduced him to me, saying that he had encountered this person many times on the trolley and on the streets and that this person had threatened him with his service revolver.

Judge: And this person did not deny your son's allegations?

Bukovskaya: No, he didn't. And I told him he was exceeding his official powers and had no right to threaten my son with his weapon.

Judge: That is enough, Bukovskaya.

You are dismissed; you may be seated.

Defense Attorney: I request the court to reconsider the question of summoning the witnesses J. Peipert and A. Waller. I would like to summon these witnesses.

Judge: It is the court's opinion that these witnesses have no bearing on the case. Moreover, the hearing of testimony is concluded. We shall proceed to the summaries.

[To be continued.]

Call for Inquiry on Soviet Police-Psychiatry

[A major reason for the Soviet bureaucrats' imprisonment of Vladimir Bukovsky was the latter's courageous activities in defense of dissidents who are confined to mental hospitals because of their political opinions.

[Early in 1971, Bukovsky sent to the West 150 pages of material concerning six oppositionists diagnosed as mentally irresponsible by Soviet psychiatrists. He asked Western psychiatrists to give their opinions as to whether the diagnoses were justified by the documentary material.

[In response to Bukovsky's action, more than eighty European psychiatrists, psychologists, and other professionals in the field of mental health have signed the following call for an international commission of inquiry. We have translated the statement from the May 27 issue of *Rouge*, the weekly paper of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

All of those in France who have read the documents compiled by Bukovsky—published under the title *Une nouvelle maladie mentale en URSS: l'Opposition* (A New Mental Illness in the USSR: Opposition)—have been deeply moved by them.

The letter that serves as an intro-

duction to the book states: "In our country during recent years, a number of people considered mentally sound by their families and close friends have been sentenced to terms in psychiatric hospitals, including hospitals of a special type."

Bukovsky asks psychiatrists to take a position both on these internments and on the "psychiatric analyses" that claim to justify them.

This appeal affects us all, for various reasons:

- It touches everyone in that it concerns the guarantees of personal integrity and individual freedom that are incorporated—even if in a purely formal way—in all democratic constitutions and which cannot be jettisoned in the name of socialism without robbing that word of its very meaning.

- It especially touches doctors, who can view any use of medical science by a political regime for purposes of coercion, cruelty, or even torture, instead of for therapeutic purposes, only as a serious misuse if not a real perversion.

- It touches all workers in the field of "mental health" who, in conjunction with many progressive elements (especially in the Institutional Therapy Movement, formed in the spirit of the Resistance), have labored to change the definitions of insanity, the whole

system of healing, and the commitment process.

- It touches all manual and intellectual workers who feel tied to the development of the October Revolution, and who know that the cause of the left, the cause of socialism in our country and throughout the world, has everything to lose in concealing crying abuses—even if only by maintaining diplomatic silence. Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin's crimes convinces us of this, if any convincing is necessary. The malpractices and crimes committed in the name of socialism, and not the denunciation of those crimes, are what play into the hands of the bourgeoisie.

For all these reasons, we are responding to Bukovsky's appeal.

Those of Bukovsky's documents that have reached us do not lead us to conclude that the patients' irresponsibility has been established; on the contrary, they bring to light a treatment of internees that is but a caricature of psychiatry.

The closed-door character of Bukovsky's trial, as well as its brevity, does not lead us to believe that the authorities have effectively refuted the statements in Bukovsky's collection of documents.

Therefore,

- Conscious of the fact that the danger of the repressive use of psychiatry exists everywhere, and recognizing that the toleration of a single case of its misuse, no matter where it occurs, would jeopardize its entire future;

- Convinced, moreover, that all of Soviet psychiatry could not be implicated in police atrocities;

The undersigned call for the creation of an international commission of inquiry to work ceaselessly to shed all possible light on the contents of Bukovsky's documents. □

What Kind of Organization for Free Derry?

[For most of the last three years, the nationalist ghettos in Derry, the second largest city in Northern Ireland, have been barricaded off and effectively removed from the jurisdiction of the Belfast and London governments. But no revolutionary government has arisen in Derry. To a certain extent, the imperialist authorities have probably been content to let these traditionally neglected areas alone to rot in isolation, being satisfied with occasional sorties to keep up the

pressure. While there has been an evident wearing effect on the nationalist population, the spirit of the youth has remained high and the militants have had an opportunity for open political action that they have been largely denied in Belfast where the troops occupy the neighborhoods. Thus, Derry has been, in many ways, the political laboratory of Northern Ireland.

[The following article from the April issue of the *Starry Plow*, the paper of

the James Connolly Club, the Official republican political organization in Derry, indicates some of the problems of the peculiar rudimentary dual power situation that exists in Northern Ireland and some thinking about how to solve them.]

* * *

One thing's for sure—we are not going to be short of corporations [city governments]. There's the Bogside Community

Association, the Provos' [Provisional IRA] new Derry Council and within a relatively short time there will probably be some body established to replace the Derry Development Commission.

We must confess that we are confused and we suspect that a great many other people are as well. What are these organisations going to do? Why does one of them exclude the Creggan area [the new Catholic ghetto where Official republican strength is centered]? Are they intended as political groupings and, if so, what politics are they going to put forward? Are they permanent institutions? If not, to whom and on what conditions would they hand over power? *All of these questions need answered. None of them are being answered.*

The blunt fact is that *no* political organisation in this area has established the right to "speak for the people." No political grouping has established the right to set up a council and [call] it representative. And whether they admit it or not, everybody knows this.

There is a vacuum in the Bogside and Creggan. People reject the authority of the state. They are united in refusing to allow the "security forces" to impose their brand of law and order on the area. They see and feel the need for something else, some other form of acceptable authority which will prevent anarchy and guarantee enough order for them to go about their day-to-day business.

Since August 9th [when internment was introduced] it has all been on a fairly hap-hazard basis. The I. R. A., the Provisionals, the Creggan Police Corps, etc. have, in different ways and on different occasions, imposed discipline. With a few exceptions, this discipline has been accepted by the people. With a few exceptions, it has not been misused. But there is a need for something more permanent, something more organised and representative of the mass of the residents of the area. Apart from the law and order question, there are a host of social questions which need to be dealt with, some big, some small. Street lighting, for example, uncontrolled squatting, and so on.

And there are larger, more political questions. For example: if Whitelaw [the British administrator appointed to rule the area] announced tomorrow that there was going to be a local police force for Derry, controlled by a newly-constituted and democratically elected Derry Corporation, should the people accept it? Should they allow such a force into the area? And who would speak for the people in that case? At the moment, we repeat, there is no organisation in the area which could genuinely speak for the people.

We reject both the Bogside Community Association and the Provisionals' Council. The first is vague about its reason of existence. It excludes Creggan for no apparent reason. It talks about clamping down on "anti-social behaviour" without defining what that phrase means. (Is shooting a soldier anti-social, or not?).

It adamantly refuses to explain who or what is supplying the finance, which seems to be considerable.

The Provisional Council is not acceptable to us for the very simple reason that at no stage were we, or any of our supporters, consulted about it. The Provos say that they consulted "community leaders." The phrase "community leaders" could mean any number of things; in fact it could mean just about anything. Whatever it means, we can find very few people indeed who actually were consulted before the plan was announced. The Official Republican Movement cannot really be expected to accept the authority of a body promoted and called into existence by another political party, be it Provos, SDLP [Social Democratic and Labour party], the People's Democracy, or anyone else.

We do not reject these bodies because we want chaos and anarchy. Far from it—we want order and discipline. We will need order and discipline—and political clarity—in the coming months to withstand both the frontal assaults and the subtle manoeuvrings of the British authorities.

For some time now we have been calling for street committees. So far we have been less than entirely successful in getting these off the ground and making them stay off the ground. But we still think that they hold out the best hope for a generally accepted structure within the area. We do not mean to use these as fronts for the Officials. We do not intend to manipulate or use such committees for our own sectional advantage. That would be self-defeating anyway. What we mean is that in every street there should be some organisation which looks after the interests of that street. The committee will

ensure that the street is not vandalized, that the people are not abused, that the street is not cluttered with rubble and dirt.

At a broader, more political level, each street committee would send a delegate to a central council. This council would be, in effect, a democratic assembly representative of the whole barricaded area. That assembly would be the body which would decide what forces would be allowed into the area, what "solutions" would be acceptable to the people of the area, etc.

If such an assembly existed, we believe that the I. R. A. should be subservient to it. The assembly would tell the I. R. A. whether or not it was proper to have a bombing campaign; whether soldiers should be shot or not; whether pub owners should be threatened for serving after hours; whether and what punishment should be imposed for particular offences.

We are not starry eyed about the street committees idea; we know that it has limitations and that it would not work perfectly. We know that, ultimately, the trouble in Ireland will be ended by the overthrow of the oppressing Imperial power. We know that to do that we have to build a mass revolutionary socialist, republican movement. That is our main political task as Republicans. We do not suggest that street committees are an alternative to this. What we do suggest is that they offer the best potential for building an organisation in the area which will hold the people together, prevent confusion, splitting and demoralisation, and enable us to hold on for the final, inevitable push for victory. We ask the people of Free Derry to co-operate in making this a reality. □

Luria Protests Bonn's Exclusion of Mandel

[The following letter from Nobel Prize-winner Dr. Salvador E. Luria was sent May 23 to Hans-Dietrich Genscher, West German minister of the interior.]

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I am one of a number of American scholars who strongly protested to our Government the refusal of a visa to Professor Ernest Mandel, a Belgian economist of impeccable reputation, supposedly because of his Marxist opinions. I am now distressed to learn that the Federal Republic of Germany has likewise excluded Professor Mandel. Not being an economist I cannot speak for him in a professional capacity. It is as an intellectual and as an internationalist that I write. Per-

mit me to remind you that arbitrary acts of this kind by any government of a supposedly free democracy undermine the confidence in the democratic process and in fact destroy the basis on which democracy is predicated. The country—whether United States or Germany—that refuses admission to a scholar is the loser in terms of intellectual progress, respect by its citizens, and trust by the world at large.

I shall personally refrain from attending any professional meeting or other scholarly activity in your country until I hear the Mandel decision has been reversed. I shall inform my German colleagues of my decision.

Very truly yours,
S. E. Luria