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Drop Bombs Near China's Border



ANTIWAR MARCHERS in Lima May 19 chanted "Yankees Out of Vietnam! Yankees Out of Peru!" Peking and Moscow bureaucracies, however, have been virtually silent in face of U.S.

aggression. As bombing of Vietnam escalated, Mao sent military aid to defense of capitalism in Pakistan and Brezhnev was featured in a U.S. propaganda effort.

Expreso

To Uphold Capitalism:

Mao Gives Massive Military Aid to Bhutto

Greek Journalists Jailed, Beaten

Iannis Horn, publisher of the French- and English-language daily *Athens News*, was sentenced to six and a half months in jail by an Athens court on May 23. He is appealing the sentence to the supreme court of appeals. Although he was jailed in Korydallos Prison in Piraeus immediately following sentencing, he was released three days later. He will remain free while the court deliberates his appeal, according to Agence France-Presse.

Horn was sentenced for publishing a "misleading headline" that allegedly did not correspond to the text of the accompanying article. The incident occurred last October during the visit of the U. S. vice president, Spiro Agnew, to Greece. The headline in question stated: "Vice President Agnew Greeted by Bombs and Schoolchildren Called Out For the Occasion."

After he was sentenced, Horn stated that "the law on the press is aimed against all newspapers and brings all journalists, no matter who they might be, up on charges. The law does not even allow a person the choice of paying a fine. We are all threatened with prison terms."

Horn was the sixth journalist or publisher to be sentenced and jailed for press violations since the military coup in 1967.

The same day that Horn was sentenced, the editor of the monthly opposition magazine *Anti*, the architect Christos Papoutzakis, was called in to the headquarters of military police in Athens. He had been subjected to "police intimidations" for a week as a result of publishing the first issue of his magazine.

Although his wife attempted to find out his whereabouts from military police, she was told they did not know where he was. The next day, May 24, he was released by the police, his arms and hands covered with black and blue marks, and, according to his doctor, in need of hospitalization. Papoutzakis announced that he planned to discontinue publication of his magazine. □

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

EDITOR: Joseph Hansen.

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

MANAGING EDITOR: Allen Myers.

COPY EDITOR: Lawrence Rand.

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

BUSINESS MANAGER: Reba Hansen.

ASSISTANT BUSINESS MANAGER: Steven Warshell.

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

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

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U.S. Bombs Hit 15 Miles From Chinese Border

By Allen Myers

"This is a pretty good way to fight a war," Admiral William Mack told reporters in Washington June 8. Mack, the former commander of the U. S. Seventh Fleet, and air force Lieutenant General George Eade, in separate briefings, gave the press the Pentagon's view of the escalated air war.

The two were obviously elated at the expanded scope of the destruction, as compared with that during the Johnson administration. Juan M. Vasquez reported in the June 9 *New York Times*:

"Both officers declared that better weapons, fewer restrictions and the experience learned in the 1965-68 bombing campaign had made the effort more effective.

"In '68 we really didn't pursue this to the end,' Admiral Mack observed. At another point, he said, 'There are many fewer targets off limits now.'

Eade told the reporters that some targets were "in the area of fifteen miles" from the Chinese border.

Nixon's summit meetings in Peking and Moscow have obviously left him with the conviction that it is no longer necessary to observe the restrictions that Johnson imposed because of the fear of Soviet or Chinese response.

"In the current effort," Neil Sheehan wrote in the June 10 *New York Times*, "as before, there are restricted zones at Hanoi and Haiphong as well as a so-called buffer zone along the China border that is about 25 miles deep. On the other hand, the military commanders are free to strike designated military targets in the restricted and buffer zones whenever they feel the need to do so. More important, they have been permitted to restrike these targets to maintain their destruction." (Emphasis added.)

Sheehan noted that in the present raids there is "less concern" about resulting civilian casualties than when Johnson was bomber in chief. He added that some military officers question the "effectiveness" of even the present level of bombing:

"They believe that if Mr. Nixon wants to escalate the war significantly

in response to North Vietnamese ground initiatives in the South, he may have to begin attacking civilian targets—the cities and the flood-control dikes in the northern edges of the Tonkin Delta. . . .

"The B-52 raid on the Haiphong petroleum area on April 16 is re-



BREZHNEV: Starring in new U.S. psychological warfare effort.

garded by senior officers as having as much a psychological as a military objective. Mr. Nixon, they believe, was demonstrating the destructive force he can loose if Hanoi does not come to terms. Three B-52's in formation can obliterate an area more than half a mile wide and nearly two miles long."

In a statement released June 8, the North Vietnamese delegation in Paris charged that U. S. planes had already begun systematically attacking the river dikes. The statement said that between April 10 and May 24, American planes had dropped 580 bombs on Red River dikes and that U. S. ships in the Gulf of Tonkin had fired 500 shells on coastal dikes in the

Haihou district, southeast of Hanoi.

In testimony before a Congressional committee June 5, U. S. Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird provided some statistics that indicate the magnitude of the expanded war. Laird put the figure for U. S. war spending during the fiscal year that ends June 30—an amount that apparently does not include such items as military "aid" to the Thieu regime—at \$7,000,000,000. Laird predicted that this figure would rise by \$3,000,000,000 to \$5,000,000,000 in the coming fiscal year.

The actual increase is more likely to be \$6,000,000,000 or more. John W. Finney reported in the June 6 *New York Times*:

"From the estimates supplied by Mr. Laird and his aides, it was apparent that the quarterly cost of the Vietnam war had increased by \$1.5-billion since North Vietnam began its offensive at the end of March."

Thus, to keep within Laird's prediction of a \$5,000,000,000 increase, Nixon would have to reduce the present level of bombing. In fact, every indication is that further escalations are planned.

Since the beginning of April, ground-based U. S. fighter-bomber squadrons in Southeast Asia have been increased from eleven to twenty-one. There were formerly two attack aircraft carriers in the Gulf of Tonkin; now there are six, plus an antisubmarine carrier. Two more attack carriers are en route to Vietnam. According to the June 10 *New York Times*, the number of B-52s has increased from 45 to 145, and is expected to reach 190 by mid-June—a figure equal to almost half the B-52s in the U. S. air force.

Intercontinental Press has previously pointed out that in the face of this onslaught the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies have provided the Vietnamese with little more aid than occasional propaganda statements. It now appears, however, that even in terms of propaganda the bureaucrats are doing more for Nixon than for the Vietnamese.

In a dispatch from Saigon printed in the June 8 *Washington Post*, George McArthur of the *Los Angeles Times* reported:

"A cozy photograph of President Nixon and Russia's Communist Party leader Leonid Brezhnev is being air-dropped by the millions over North Vietnam. . . .

"American psychological warfare operatives, who admit that leaflets are frequently of questionable value, say that in this instance the leaflets cannot fail to considerably discomfort Hanoi's leadership."

The same use has been made of photographs of Nixon meeting with Mao.

"A military source," McArthur wrote, "said one young officer captured near Quangtri admitted to questioners that the Nixon-Mao photo was the biggest surprise of his life. He did not believe the photo was genuine—an impression that psychological warfare experts believe is wide-spread and one they hope to correct."

Nixon and the Pentagon warriors, it is evident, understand the meaning of the summit meetings even if this meaning continues to escape the apologists for Moscow and Peking. The photographs, it should be noted, would have no propaganda value if North Vietnam were receiving the necessary aid against U. S. attacks.

The level of air raids in South Vietnam is even more intense than in

the North. In the June 3 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Benjamin Cherry reported that in a single day, B-52s had dropped 1,000 tons of bombs in the Kontum area alone.

This massive use of firepower has become typical rather than exceptional. Its function, as Cherry noted, is "preventing a general rout" of the puppet army.

"The South Vietnamese soldiers," he wrote, "who have so far acquitted themselves most commendably are the well-disciplined marines now at the northernmost front line. . . . But once again, as the marines freely admit, it is only US air and naval bombardment which has enabled them to stand their ground."

But while the puppet forces "stand their ground" behind a curtain of U. S. bombs, the liberation forces continue to make substantial, if little-publicized gains in such areas as the Mekong delta.

In a June 8 dispatch to the *New York Times*, Fox Butterfield reported a growing concern about a possible attack on Saigon itself:

"Although overshadowed by the more spectacular battles . . . the recent fighting here at Trangbang [forty miles from Saigon] and along nearby parts of Highway 1 in Haunghia Province is causing serious anxiety to allied officials in Saigon.

"They fear that the North Vietnamese, who are operating in small com-



LAIRD: A few billion dollars more to bomb anything that moves in Vietnam.

pany-size units, may be cutting the highway in preparation for a major drive on Saigon from the Parrot's Beak section of Cambodia, adjacent to Haunghia Province." □

Chairman Mao's Revolting Diplomatic Line

Peking Supplies Tanks, Planes to Pakistan Regime

All those who thought—because of the dearth of Chinese aid to the Vietnamese liberation forces—that Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Diplomatic Line amounted to much talk and little action should think again. The Great Helmsman in Peking has, it turns out, come up with \$300,000,000 worth of military aid including sixty MIG-19 jet fighters, 100 tanks (both T-54 and T-59 models), and a large number of small arms including automatic rifles and machine guns.

The only problem is the destination: Islamabad and not Hanoi. The Chinese handout, according to diplo-

mats in Islamabad, was negotiated in February when Pakistani President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was visiting Peking. The Maoist bureaucracy lost no time in making good its pledges: the bulk of the equipment reportedly reached Pakistan in March and April, during which period the Chinese also delivered six coastal patrol boats to Pakistan.

Since the Pakistani army was defeated in its war with India last December, Bhutto has avoided directly answering questions on whether he would seek new military aid. At a May 7 news conference, for example,

he commented: "You can look at these things in two ways. One that we want toys to play around with and, on the other hand, we want to safeguard our security. Well, we do not want toys to play around with. We want to safeguard our security."

Cynics could perhaps think of more than just the two suggested, allegedly exclusive, ways of looking at "these things." Given the still unstable situation Bhutto faces with respect to the Pathans in West Pakistan, one can easily imagine MIGs being used—even if the country's "security" is not threatened.

In any case, the Pakistani ruling class has in the past demonstrated a singular ingenuity in securing arms, if not in dealing with social problems. A forty-two-page report prepared by the General Accounting Office (GAO), an investigative arm of the U. S. Congress, for the Senate Subcommittee on Refugees has revealed that \$10,000,000 worth of U. S. aid sent to Pakistan last autumn for "humanitarian purposes" was instead appropriated for military use.

The *New York Times* got hold of a copy of the report on June 7. According to an article by Tad Szulc published in the June 8 issue of the *Times*, about fifty U. S. assault boats given to Pakistan for relief work after the 1970 cyclone that decimated what was then East Pakistan were seized by the Pakistani army. The GAO report also said that United Nations trucks and jeeps had been commandeered by the army.

The boats, trucks, and jeeps, however, are not included in the \$10,000,000 figure. That amount had been slated to be used for development programs aimed at increasing employment in East Pakistan. This was in turn aimed at increasing the buying power of the Bengalis so that they could buy food that the United States had sold to the Pakistan government on credit.

But it was a strange sort of development that took place. The GAO reported that "in one sector of East Pakistan approximately 5,000 to 6,000 laborers were engaged in military defense works—constructing and digging entrenchments, constructing embankments and carving bamboo punja stakes and other military-oriented work projects."

There was one revealing footnote to the GAO report. Investigators, it seems, "were impeded by [U. S.] Department of State and Agency for International Development officials." These officials "withheld and summarized records prior to our access and thereby limited information needed for a complete and thorough report." □

Agnew's Problem?

U. S. doctors who perform organ transplants are worried by laws that consider a patient alive as long as the heart beats. Doctors consider a person dead when the brain no longer functions—a view not likely to be popular with most politicians we can think of.

Responds to Nixon's Speeches in USSR

Hanoi Urges Allies to Stand Up to U.S.

Nhan Dan, the organ of the North Vietnamese Communist party, published a sharp criticism of some of Nixon's pronouncements during his recent trip to the Soviet Union. The criticism was signed "commentator," the designation used for semiofficial statements.

"At no time does the newspaper point out that the statements of the American chief executive were made in the USSR," noted Agence France-Presse, "but the preciseness of the quotes leaves no room for doubt."

The commentator referred, for instance, to Nixon's pious statement at a luncheon in the Marinsky Palace in Leningrad following a visit to the Piskarevskaya Cemetery May 27. On that occasion, Nixon evoked the sufferings of a young girl named Tanya who lost her family during the Nazi siege of Leningrad and expressed the hope that "the little Tanyas and their brothers and their sisters will be able to grow up in a world of peace and friendship among people—all people in the world."

The commentator, in an unmistakable message to the Kremlin bureaucrats who were wining and dining America's number one war criminal, wrote: "It is obvious that in order for the children of the world to be able to avoid being massacred and to live in peace, the adults will have to op-

pose the American imperialists and not recoil in the face of their threats. All men of conscience must distinguish between what is reasonable and what is absurd, between what is good and what is evil, between friends and enemies."

"During a banquet, Nixon bragged that he would like to create a world of peace for all peoples," the newspaper observed, adding that "the president's fine words are being drowned out by the noise of the American bombs that day and night are plunging the Vietnamese homeland into mourning."

After noting that "Nixon says that the great powers must set an example and not let themselves be drawn into confrontations provoked by small powers," the commentator asks: "Does he want the great powers to follow the example being set by the United States in Vietnam? He threatens other countries so that they will let the United States have its way, and he denies them the right to support the victims of this aggression. This kind of talk is coming from an international hooligan."

At a news conference in Paris on June 8, North Vietnamese spokesman Nguyen Thanh Le referred to Nixon's visit to the cemetery in Leningrad and laconically observed, "North Vietnam has many Tanyas." □

War Crimes Tribunal May Reconvene

The Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal, which found the United States guilty of war crimes in Vietnam during hearings in Stockholm and Copenhagen in 1967, is considering reconvening in a new session. The purpose of such a hearing, according to a report in the *Guardian* May 19, would be to "establish what personal responsibility Nixon, Melvin Laird, and others should carry for the present conduct of the Vietnam war."

Jean-Paul Sartre and Yugoslav historian Vladimir Dedijer, co-chairmen of the tribunal's presidium, have writ-

ten to the remaining members of the original tribunal asking if they would be willing to serve again. Among these are Simone de Beauvoir, Stokley Carmichael, Dave Dellinger, Melba Hernández, Laurent Schwartz, and Lelio Basso. Two of the original members—Isaac Deutscher and Lazaro Cardenas—have since died.

The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation has proposed that if a third session of the tribunal is convened, it should be held if possible in New York. □

PFLP Defends Attack on Lydda Airport

By Jon Rothschild

Jordanian King Hussein managed to epitomize the rotten hypocrisy of the "free world" reaction to the May 30 attack on passengers at Tel Aviv's Lydda Airport by three Japanese youths acting on behalf of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP).

Hussein, who killed thousands of civilians during his attempt to liquidate the Palestinian resistance movement in September 1970, was at the Amman airport saying goodbye to a state visitor—Pakistani President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, one of the leaders of the war against the Bengali people, in which more than 1,000,000 innocent civilians died.

"It's a sick crime, committed by sick people, and planned by sick minds as well," the king said of the PFLP action.

Israeli government leaders, who have killed hundreds of Arab civilians, were just as outraged as their Hashemite ally. Minister of Transportation Shimon Peres could not resist adding a racist slur to his comments on the airport shooting: "So far the front has involved only Arabs and Jews. The introduction of Japanese into the picture is quite strange. It shows what the Arabs think of their ability to fight against us."

And, of course, the U. S. government, whose concern for the lives of innocent civilians is known far and wide, expressed its horror and urged the Lebanese regime to crack down on the fedayeen organizations operating in that country.

An official statement released by the PFLP hours after the attack described it as a "response to the Israeli massacre perpetrated in cold blood by the butcher Moshe Dayan against the fedayeen who hijacked the Sabena plane in Tel Aviv [May 9]."

The attack was said to be a commemoration of the fifth anniversary of the June 1967 Israeli aggression. But a more general strategic point was made:

"The enemy continues to attack ev-

erywhere. This attack against the enemy on our occupied soil is legitimate. . . .

"We remind everybody, and especially Dayan, of the massacres perpetrated against innocents, against the schoolchildren of Bahr el-Baar [Egypt], the factory workers of Abu Zaabal [Egypt], the citizens of Salt and Irbid [Jordan], the inhabitants of southern Lebanon."

The PFLP tried to justify the fact that the majority of the twenty-six people killed in the shooting were Puerto Rican Catholics who had come to visit religious sites in Israel: "We believe the tourists arriving at the Lydda Airport are not innocent, because they chose our occupied territory for their tourism. We consider that they have lined up with the aggressor-enemy. Furthermore, in September 1970, the PFLP warned tourists not to visit occupied Palestine."

"Operation Deir Yassin," as the airport raid was called, must be seen in the context of the defeats the Palestinian resistance movement has suffered since the 1970 civil war in Jordan. The fedayeen have been driven out of Jordan. The Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon in late February this year and the response of the Lebanese army, which subsequently moved into fedayeen territory, destroyed the last important bases of the movement. The elections Israel conducted in the occupied West Bank of the Jordan River revealed the political gains that have been made by Palestinian forces favoring collaboration with the Zionist occupier and the still significant political weight of the pro-Hussein "old notables."

The tremendous weakening of the fedayeen organizations, and their isolation from the Palestinian masses has had a dual effect: the plight of the Palestinian refugees has once again been shunted to the background of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and a certain feeling of desperation has clearly taken its toll among the fedayeen. The appearance of the Black September Organization is one consequence of

these developments. Operation Deir Yassin was another.

The dream of destroying the Israeli tourist trade through terrorist activities has been shown to be an illusion. The fedayeen, especially in their present weakened state, are incapable of protecting the Arab masses from Zionist aggression through heroic actions by small groups, and even the PFLP must realize this.

Operation Deir Yassin was not the product of any particular strategic conception of the dynamics of the Arab revolution, but rather of the lack of any such conception.

The consequences of the action are of benefit only to the Zionist ruling class and its allies. The indiscriminate killing of civilians isolates the fedayeen from their potential allies on an international scale. It draws attention away from the fact that the Israeli state is the major source of violence in the Arab East. It mystifies the nature of the Arab revolution by saying, in effect, to the Palestinian masses that their enemy is the Israeli population and not the Zionist state apparatus and its imperialist guarantors. It cuts across the mobilization of the Arab masses in their own behalf.

It also aids the Israeli rulers in the propagation of their most important myth: that the destruction of the Israeli state is equivalent to the destruction of the Israeli-Jewish population. It would be hard to think of a more effective means of binding the Israeli-Jewish workers more tightly to the Zionist ideology or of bolstering the political position of reactionary Arab elements.

Operation Deir Yassin grew out of the despair created by the recent defeats inflicted on the Palestinian movement. But the fact that the PFLP abandoned itself to that despair betrays the PFLP leaders' failure to understand the political mistakes that in part paved the way for those defeats. □

What's in a Name?

A U. S. "adviser" in Vietnam explained to the *Far Eastern Economic Review* why the program to train paramilitary cadres for the Saigon regime had its name changed from Revolutionary Development to Rural Development:

"At first there was the idea this would be some kind of revolutionary counter-revolution programme, but in 1968 and 1969 there was so much revolution around that no one wanted to hear the word."

Whites Demonstrate Solidarity With Black Students

Hundreds Jailed in South African Protests

More than 200 students and several high officials of the Anglican church were arrested during eight days of conflict between English-speaking white students and the South African police June 2-9.

The clashes were triggered by a police attack June 2 on a small, peaceful rally of white students expressing their solidarity with antiapartheid demands raised by Black students. Twenty Black students had been expelled in May from the University of the North in Transvaal because of their antiracist activities. The Black students then walked out in support of the expelled students, and white students began to organize demonstrations in solidarity with the Blacks.

On June 2 about 100 white students from the University of Capetown held a rally on the steps of St. George's Cathedral. The police tried to prevent one student from using a loudspeaker. A verbal exchange followed, and suddenly the police assaulted the students. *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Paul Dold described the attack in the *Monitor's* June 5 issue.

"With batons flailing, scores of uniformed police waded into about 100 men and women Cape Town university students demonstrating peacefully on the cathedral steps against the country's racist education system. Screaming students retreated into the church followed by police who allegedly dragged students from under pews, and chased others up the aisles, finally catching and beating them.

"Eyewitnesses reported the police were unprovoked and turned a peaceful demonstration into a show of violence which will long be remembered.

"The June 2 police action has dumbfounded correspondents here. A senior British journalist who was an eyewitness said the measures taken by the police astonished him. Never in any country had he seen police wade into a peaceful crowd as on the cathedral steps. . . .

"During the police charge pressmen were beaten and cameras snatched. The message was clear. The police apparently did not want South Africa

or the world to know what was happening."

The brutality of the attack, its indiscriminate character, and the fact that it was directed against whites gave rise to wide protest. Hans Strydom, president of South Africa's Society of Journalists, said the assault on reporters was a "hammer blow" against freedom of the press. Clive Corder, chairman of the University of Capetown's governing council, other members of the council, the acting principal, and the assistant principals all expressed their support of the students' right to demonstrate.

Several opposition members of parliament who had witnessed the attack asked Prime Minister John Vorster to initiate an investigation of the incident. He refused. "Such inquiries play into the hands of the Communists," he explained. He also complimented the police: "If the police had not acted in this way, I personally would have been disappointed in them." Minister of Police S. L. Muller said he thought the police had exercised "great tolerance."

Such government intransigence did not dampen the student actions. On June 4 some eight hundred persons packed St. George's Cathedral for an interdenominational service for "all Christians concerned over police violence." On June 5 the protest spread to another South African city. Students in Johannesburg defied a government decree that had been issued that day banning open-air political meetings at all university towns and cities, and marched through the streets chanting "Peace," "Freedom," and singing "We Shall Overcome." The demonstration was broken up by the police.

On June 5 in Capetown 7,000 to 10,000 students again gathered on the steps of St. George's Cathedral. Police launched tear gas cannisters, and scores of demonstrators were arrested, including the Rev. Edward I. King, the dean of St. George's; the Rev. Theo Kotze, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches; and the Rev. Bernard Wrankmore, a seamen's mission priest.

On June 6, the protests reached

Grahamstown, where about 400 students from Rhodes University held a march. The police broke it up and arrested about 100 demonstrators.

On June 7 police used truncheons to disperse crowds of students who had gathered, in defiance of the ban on outdoor meetings, at the universities of Capetown and Witwatersrand. According to a Reuters dispatch from Johannesburg appearing in the June 8 *New York Times*, the police used dogs to break up the Capetown meeting.

Minister of Police Muller claimed that the entire business was the work of foreign students from Northern Ireland, Britain, Rhodesia, Zambia, and Mauritius. As preposterous as this analysis of the student protest may be, Muller's selection of countries from which the agitators allegedly hail has some significance. Most of the police in South Africa are Afrikaaners, descendants of the Dutch settlers who first colonized South Africa. The students they have attacked have been almost exclusively English-speaking. In general, students at the Afrikaaner-speaking universities have supported the government and the police.

But more important than the split among the whites is the undercurrent of Black rebellion that triggered the entire development. While the student struggles were going on, nonwhite bus drivers in Johannesburg went on strike to demand higher wages. In the June 7 *Christian Science Monitor* Frederic Hunter commented: "While less headline-catching [than the student protests], the Johannesburg strike is perhaps more significant—especially since it has occurred in a public service. Under South African law, strikes by African workers are illegal. As a result of their action more than 300 drivers have been arrested and jailed. Another 100 are reported to have quit working in support of their colleagues."

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Burundi Death Toll May Exceed 100,000

By Jon Rothschild

"This time it appears that Burundi's Tutsis are aiming at the final solution to the Hutu question," wrote the West German weekly *Der Spiegel* in its June 5 issue. The exact number of persons killed in what the British *Sunday Telegraph* called the "biggest massacre since the Congo rebellion" is still unknown. The Burundi government puts the figure at 50,000; the *New York Times* speaks of 120,000 dead; the Paris daily *Le Monde* estimates the figure at more than 100,000; *Der Spiegel* reports that 150,000 may be dead. And this in a country whose total population is less than 3,500,000.

Everyone agrees that an atrocious slaughter has been under way in Burundi since the beginning of May. Everyone—except the Burundi regime—agrees that the vast majority of the victims belong to the Hutu tribe. But the precise reason for the massacre, its extent, and its meaning remain shrouded in the secrecy imposed by the government. Foreign journalists have been barred from entering Burundi, and the domestic press is under firm government control. Nevertheless, some facts do emerge from the fog.

Burundi lies in the heart of Black Africa. A tiny republic (slightly less than 11,000 square miles in area), it is densely populated, predominantly agricultural, and very poor. Its standard of living is among the lowest in Africa.

The current outbreak of tribal conflict is the product of centuries of feudal-like rule characterized by the domination of the minority tribe over the majority—a condition that was deliberately perpetuated by Belgian imperialism.

The population consists of three ethnic groups: the Hutus (also called Bahutus), a Bantu people who comprise about 84 percent of the total population; the Tutsis (Watutsis or Batutsis), a tribe of Hamitic origin comprising about 15 percent of the total; and the Twa (Batwa), a forest-dwelling people apparently related to the central African pygmies.

Over the course of several centuries the Twa—who were the territory's original inhabitants—have been driven deep into the forests by the other two tribes and now subsist as a despised marginal group.

The Hutus, who arrived before the Tutsis, were a predominantly agricultural people. When the Tutsis entered the scene (sometime around the fifteenth century) the Hutus were subjugated. In Burundi, that situation persists to the present time.

During the fifteenth or sixteenth century, two kingdoms, identical in ethnic composition but politically separate, were created in the area. They were known, until 1962, by their Swahili names: Ruanda and Urundi.

The Tutsis, who ruled in both kingdoms, set up a feudal system in which all land and cattle (the primary measures of wealth) were owned by the mwami (king) who distributed fiefs to Tutsi nobles. The Hutus lived under the most abject conditions, having no political rights, working the land, and turning over virtually their entire product to the Tutsi overlords.

The entry of Western colonialism did not alter this social structure in either kingdom. At the Berlin Conference of 1885 both kingdoms were handed over to Germany. But it was not until 1897 that the Germans were able to secure a military base in what is now Bujumura, capital of Burundi.

In 1916 Belgian troops occupied the two kingdoms, and at the end of the first world war Ruanda-Urundi was declared a "mandate" to be administered by Belgium. Following the second world war, Ruanda-Urundi became a United Nations trusteeship, still administered by Belgium. Belgian imperialism found the system of Tutsi-dominated feudalism useful as a means of indirectly controlling the colony. During the greater part of the period of Belgian rule, the internal feudal social structure was scarcely touched.

But during the 1950s, development in Ruanda and Urundi began to diverge significantly, a fact that bears

heavily on the current turmoil in Burundi. Belgium, in preparation for granting formal independence to Ruanda-Urundi, initiated some modest programs for eroding Tutsi dominance. A 1954-55 reform program removed some aspects of the forced-labor system and redistributed some land and cattle. In Ruanda, the program had some effect—the Hutus achieved a degree of political organization and a small but active Hutu elite emerged. But in Urundi, Tutsi opposition was able to block the program.

The Ruanda reforms triggered a Hutu emancipation movement in that country and also split the Tutsi population, one section favoring an easing of feudal control. In 1959 the Ruandese National Union, the party favoring continued strict Tutsi domination, seized control of the administration and launched a repression against both the Hutus and the Tutsi conciliators. The Hutus responded with a rebellion. Nearly 100,000 Tutsis were driven out of Ruanda, and several thousand were reportedly killed. Tutsi rule in Ruanda was broken.

The events in Ruanda had their effect in neighboring Urundi. Fearful that the Belgians would press for the implementation of a reform program in Urundi—a gambit that was, for the imperialist masters, nothing but a means of setting the two tribes at each other's throats and not at all an attempt to institute social equality—the Tutsis began agitating for independence. Paradoxically, the Hutus tended to cast their lot with the Belgians, seeing them as a counterweight to the Tutsi elite.

In 1962 political independence was granted Ruanda-Urundi. The two states of Rwanda and Burundi were created.

Between 1962 and 1966, the government in Burundi changed seven times. Two prime ministers were murdered, a third was seriously wounded in an assassination attempt. On several occasions Hutu revolts were put down with extreme brutality.

In 1965, for the first time, the Hutus managed to win a parliamentary majority in elections held in Burundi, which was then a parliamentary monarchy. But the king, Mwambutsa IV, refused to allow a new government to be formed. There followed a Hutu

rebellion that was crushed by the army.

Instrumental in putting down the revolt was a police captain named Michel Micombero. In July 1966 Micombero deposed Mwambutsa IV, placing the latter's son, Ntare V, on the throne. But in November of the same year, while Ntare was visiting the Congo, Micombero, who had crushed the Hutu rebellion in the name of the sanctity of the monarchy, seized power and declared the country a republic with himself as president—a post he still holds. Ntare fled to Europe.

Repression of the Hutus continued to be a feature of Micombero's rule. Each time conflict erupted within Tutsi ruling circles—monarchists versus republicans; northerners, who have tended to be more conciliatory toward the Hutus, versus more intransigent southerners—Micombero took the opportunity to suppress Hutu opposition. In late 1969 and in July 1971, for example, the discovery of alleged plots to overthrow the government resulted in jailings and/or executions of Hutu leaders.

So it was with the latest, and most brutal, repression. At the end of March Micombero invited the exiled King Ntare to return to Burundi—naturally under a promise of personal security. Ntare was flown to Bujumbura, but was immediately placed under "protective custody."

On April 29, most observers now agree, there was an attempt to overthrow the Micombero regime. The authors of the attempted coup are unknown—the government press has referred to them only as "enemies of Burundi and of Africa." On May 4 the regime announced that the coup had been defeated and appealed to the population to aid the armed forces "in their mopping-up operations" against "numerous criminals still at large."

In the Western press the coup has variously been described as an attempt to return Ntare to power, a leftist insurrection instigated by followers of Pierre Mulele, the Congolese rebel killed in 1968, and an attempt by the Hutus to take over the government.

The latter possibility seems very unlikely. The day before the abortive coup (April 28) Micombero dissolved his government and appointed military rulers over all provinces. This

would indicate that some serious conflict was afoot within the ruling apparatus.

But the Hutus apparently took advantage of the turmoil to move on their own. Even on this point, however, there is still lack of clarity. Eyewitness accounts published in *Le Monde* indicate that large numbers of Tutsis—some say as many as 20,000—were killed in the Hutu revolt during the first days of May. There has been no reliable report on the extent to which the Hutu revolt was organized, nor on whether any concrete demands were formulated.

The fact that the worst fighting took place in the south, where Tutsi tribal oppression is most intense, and the fact that the Hutu revolt seems to have been marked by undirected violence suggest that what occurred was essentially a spontaneous, uncoordinated uprising against the centuries of political, economic, and social exploitation the Hutus have suffered.

But whatever the character of the Hutu rebellion may have been, the regime responded with the most intense repression of recent African history. According to all reports in the Western press, the Hutu rebellion was crushed definitively in a matter of days.

There followed a genocidal witch-hunt that lasted at least through the entire month of May and may be still going on.

The first to be struck down by the repression were the Hutu intellectuals, who, according to *Der Spiegel*, were defined by the government to include all those Hutus who could read and write. The students and primary-school pupils were next, and finally the peasant masses came under the gun.

Walter Geerts, a reporter for Belgian television, wrote in the May 28-29 *Le Monde* that 50,000 to 100,000 Hutus had been killed as of the third week of May.

Evidence that the slaughter had little if anything to do with the Hutu revolt was provided by the Belgian doctor Charles Henneghien, who was in Bujumbura from May 13 to 18. The "insurrection" of April 29, he wrote in the June 1 *Le Monde*, got no popular support in the city. Nevertheless, Hutus were arrested by the thousands. When the jails were filled but the arrests continued, Henneghien noticed trucks leaving the prisons. They were

loaded with bodies, which were carried to the outskirts of the city, dumped into mass graves, and buried with bulldozers. Henneghien estimated that 1,500 to 2,500 Hutus were killed in Bujumbura in a period of two weeks. The entire population of the city is about 70,000.

Henneghien also reported instances of Tutsi troops invading hospitals and carrying off Hutu wounded.

The June 1 *Le Monde* reported the testimony of one of its readers in Burundi: Refugees from the northern and eastern provinces, where there had been no Hutu revolt, said that Hutus in those areas came in for the same fate as their brothers and sisters in the south.

The *Le Monde* reader described the accounts of refugees who reported that Hutus—men, women, and children—were forced to lie on their stomachs, were kicked, beaten, and finally bayoneted—whereupon bulldozers finished the job.

The regime was aided in its extermination campaign by paratroopers from Zaire. The number of refugees (mostly in Tanzania) now stands at 15,000 to 20,000.

The government has insisted that Tutsis have been the victims of Hutu massacres. While it appears to be true that significant numbers of Tutsis were killed in the first days of the Hutu revolt, opinion is nearly universal that since the early days of May, nearly all the dead have been Hutus. So far, only one regime has publicly taken the side of the Burundi government. The June 1 *Le Monde* reported that "the new ambassador [to Burundi] of the People's Republic of China, in presenting his credentials to Colonel Micombero, assured the latter of the support of the Peking government." □

Which League Does NLF Play In?

We apologize to our readers for not reporting earlier on the U.S. baseball players' strike. The truth is, we hadn't realized the strike's significance in the international class struggle. This was explained to us by the May issue of *Vanguard Newsletter*, a mimeographed bulletin published by "independent revolutionary socialists":

"The first strike in the history of American baseball and the Quang Tri offensive of the NLF demonstrate the enormous fighting will of the international working class for a victory in a period of deepening capitalist crisis."

A Latin American Volcano Continues to Erupt

By Roberto Castellanos

[The following article appeared in the April 3 issue of *Universidad*, a student newspaper at the University of Costa Rica in San José. Its author is a student at the university. Translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

El Salvador is a country in which violence is a definite trait. The density of its population (almost 4,000,000 persons living in 22,000 square kilometers) and the unfair distribution of its wealth (especially land) make it the most explosive country in Central America. Its poverty, illiteracy (more than 60 percent), and infant mortality from malnutrition and curable diseases make it the country with the lowest standard of living in the area.

For more than forty years, every president has been a military man, and through them the officers have gone on filling nearly every important post in public administration. In this way they have managed to prevent the officers who are annually graduated in large numbers from military school from being unemployed.

Paradoxically, there are a great many teachers out of work and the Teachers College was "temporarily" shut down. The interference of the military in government has led to an abuse of power and a debasing of governmental institutions. Here is just one example.

A colonel responsible for the management of telecommunications under the last regime (the current manager is the president's brother) had all the technical employees use metal helmets: he was a distributor of war surplus goods. He sold telecommunications a specific make of motorcycles: it was the make for which he was the sole agent. He built buildings with the use of marble: he was the main stockholder in the marble works. He replaced all wooden poles with cement poles: he was also the main stockholder in that factory.

Even though military service is

obligatory for all Salvadorians over eighteen years of age, this requirement holds only for peasants, whose political consciousness is low enough that they can be placed under arms without attempting to carry out "subversive acts." The soldiers remain in the barracks for one year.

In addition, there are three professional bodies: the national police (urban), the national guard (rural)—with policemen armed with machetes and submachine guns—and plantation police (who, when necessary, take over the repression of popular movements). The policy of terror followed by these groups, and especially by the national guard, has contributed toward lowering the prestige of the military.

The Regime of Sanchez Hernandez

When the current president took office,¹ he was faced with an extremely serious situation. The previous government² had followed a laissez-faire policy, which had permitted an increase in victorious strike movements. The first general strike in many years had just taken place and a series of trade-union actions lay ahead. His naming of a colonel to head the Ministry of Labor set the tone for his approach. He likewise named José Alberto Medrano head of the national guard, a man who, as a member of the secret police during the fifties, had ordered the killing of thieves as a way of ending theft, and who had headed up the persecution and torture of leftists.

The first strike during Sánchez Hernández's administration, a teachers' strike, was frustrated when all primary and secondary schools were closed early for vacation. The teachers organized a strike the following

1. July 1, 1967. — *IP*

2. Headed by Colonel Julio A. Rivera, who held office from 1962-1967. He was appointed ambassador to the United States. — *IP*

year (1968) that ended when two union leaders captured a few days earlier were found murdered as part of an anticommunist terrorist campaign. Emulating the Guatemalan gorillas, Medrano had taken charge of organizing the "Mano Blanca" [White Hand], and machine-gunning the homes of progressive leaders became a common practice. The indignation that this aroused caused the official party³ to almost lose its majority in the Legislative Assembly.

In this setting, the war with Honduras became inevitable:⁴ It would restore the prestige of the army and serve as an excuse for rearming the security forces. The war was fought, the Legislative Assembly remained in

3. The PCN (Partido de Conciliación Nacional—Party of National Reconciliation). — *IP*

4. The five-day war began on July 14, 1969, when Salvadorian planes attacked Honduras. The immediate cause of the war, which left several thousand people dead, was disputes between the two countries over the 300,000 Salvadorian citizens working in Honduras. During the course of the conflict, Salvadorian troops also invaded Honduras.

Tensions in both countries had flared in June 1969 following two soccer matches. The first, on June 8 in Tegucigalpa, was won by the Honduran team. The second, on June 15 in San Salvador, was won by the El Salvadorian team. After each match, the press in the losing country whipped up hysteria by spreading rumors. Following the first, the San Salvador press claimed supporters of its team had been mistreated in Tegucigalpa. Following the second, the radio in Tegucigalpa asserted that "Honduran women were raped" and "the national flag was desecrated."

Crowds of angry inhabitants took to the streets in the Honduran capital, burning buildings and attacking stores owned by Salvadorians. By the time the war began, some 25,000 Salvadorian workers living in Honduras had fled the country. The El Salvadorian regime responded to the situation with its surprise attack on Honduras.

In 1970, both countries agreed to institute a demilitarized zone along their frontier. — *IP*

the hands of the official party, and in order to "undo the damage done to the economy" the sale of "national dignity bonds" was undertaken, the income from which was used to buy arms abroad. Subsequently, it was revealed that the invoices for this purchase were altered, tripling and even quintupling the true value of the goods purchased: The president and his closest associates had pocketed a nice profit of several million dollars.

The Right-Wing Regime

Two persons were kept in jail for almost one year without trial for having distributed in the stadium leaflets commemorating the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Lenin.

For lack of evidence, a judge refused to issue a warrant for the arrest of a student accused by the authorities of having taken part in a kidnapping. The judge was removed from office, and the first thing his successor did was issue the warrant.

Medrano, already dismissed from the national guard, was arrested for killing a policeman who was under orders to arrest him. When the government realized that Medrano had proof of embezzlement and crimes on the part of officials, it transferred his trial to a province in the interior, where it is easier to intimidate juries. The very day the headlines of all the major newspapers were announcing that the trial would begin in one month, he was acquitted—the jury had deliberated only five minutes after the prosecutor had made the threat: "We'll see if they're the kind of men who'll find a general guilty." One year later, Medrano became a presidential candidate.

The Recent Election

The presidential elections last February [20] occurred once again in the wake of a strike movement by teachers during which the government used bullets to break up demonstrations. In addition, the number of missing persons had grown scandalously.

Nonetheless, the election bore characteristics that were essentially different from previous ones: The opposition parties of the left—the Christian Democrats, the Revolutionary National Movement, the Nationalist Democratic Union—had joined forces [in the Unión Nacional Opositora

(UNO) — Oppositionist National Union] around a joint program for government that posed the urgent need for radical changes in official policies, including agrarian reform. Their electoral campaign denounced the government's crimes. At the same time, the division among the ruling classes had never before been so clear. This was reflected in the role of three right-wing parties: the



MEDRANO: In all modesty, has to admit his own heroism.

ruling PCN, with a reformist-imperialist program; the PPS [Partido Popular Salvadoreño — Salvadorian People's party], which represents big bankers and native industrialists; and the FUDI [Frente Unido Democrático Independiente — Independent Democratic United Front], which consists of big landholders who have come together around Medrano.

Oddly enough, Medrano was determined to wage a political campaign of criticizing the government, "which is made up neither of leftists nor of rightists, but of criminals and thieves." Perhaps he did this because he saw it as the only way for him to make sure he remained an important political figure once the elections—which he knew he would lose—were over. In his campaign, which was filled with demagoguery and tough talk, he called on Salvadorians to vote for either him or Napoléon Duarte, the candi-

date of the UNO—"We are the same, we are against the government"—and he offered to carry out agrarian reform *with Honduran lands*, boasting that while [Colonel Arturo] Molina, the official candidate stayed in the presidential palace, it was he, Medrano, who had been the "true hero" of the war with Honduras.

The unification of the opposition and the Medrano campaign awakened in Salvadorians a faith in the possibility of defeating officialism. In the past, the average turnout of voters had been around 35 percent of registered voters. In the recent elections, it went up to 65 percent—not counting an additional 10 percent of votes fraudulently credited to the ruling party. It could be said that all the new votes cast went to the opposition. The UNO obtained 326,900 votes, the PCN 317,500, Medrano 80,000, and the other group around 25,000.

Electoral Fraud

Since the results did not produce an absolute majority, run-off elections were held in the Legislative Assembly, where it was not thought a good idea for the official candidate to look like a loser even though the PCN majority in the Assembly assured his election. At first the Central Council concealed the election results for the Department of San Salvador, where the UNO led by 65,000 votes. When it found itself compelled to make the results public, it decided on a brazen maneuver, which consisted of stealing all the ballot boxes in the department and changing the ballots. In this way, it managed to turn the PCN's 9,000-vote overall lag into 9,000 votes for this same party. The very day the official results were made known, an unscheduled meeting of the Legislative Assembly was called, and in spite of the fact that a large number of the opposition deputies were not present but were on their way to the Assembly from their local areas, a new president of the Republic was elected within the space of a half hour, following no discussion and following the filing of a petition declaring the elections null and void.

Division Within the Army

Corruption in the army had given rise to a series of contradictions within leading circles. The crisis had

grown sharper with the selection of Molina, an obscure and politically incompetent military man, as candidate for president of the Republic. Many in the military were removed from their posts two months ago for having indicated their dissatisfaction with the choice of Molina, and many others were transferred to different quarters from those they were assigned to.

The dissatisfaction of these military men grew as a result of the electoral fraud. Since then, threats of a coup d'état resulted in the army being kept on a state of alert and in troops being transferred every day.

Coup d'Etat

On the morning of March 25, the head of the San Salvador artillery regiment, Colonel [Benjamin] Mejía — whose evolution had been along clear antigorilla lines, and who, in the words of a communiqué from the National Information Center (a fascist-type body), "had not been outstanding as an officer, and so he sought to compensate for this in certain literary activities" — together with other officers (mainly those found guilty of political crimes in January of this year) rose up, captured the president in his residence, and set up a ruling junta with the participation of a few civilians. The participation of Duarte, the UNO's candidate in the elections, is of course well known with his call for popular support to the insurgents. The junta held power until noon the day of the coup.

The failure of the rebellion can be traced to three main factors: The aerial bombing of insurgent quarters, some of which appears to have been done by Guatemalan planes (a foretaste of what Central American military cooperation would bring); the failure to distribute arms to the people at decisive moments; and the advance on San Salvador by the troops of the San Miguel regiment.

It is also well known that prior to the collapse of the movement, some of its leaders sought asylum in various embassies and others went underground. Duarte was violently pulled from the home of a Venezuelan diplomat and taken to national guard headquarters. Several dozen persons have been taken prisoner and, according to university sources, the repression against members of progressive

organizations has been bloody. Every day new bodies turn up on unused properties and the curfew is being harshly enforced.

It is very unlikely that there will be new insurrectional movements of this kind. All the same, popular discontent will not make the coming months the greatest period for Sal-

vadorian ruling circles. Molina will take office in July as the product of a fraudulent process, in the midst of widespread popular discontent, and in the wake of a military coup intended above all else to make sure that he not become the new president. All this will mean great difficulties for his administration. □

'Yankees Out of Vietnam! Yankees Out of Peru!'

Massive Union Support for Antiwar March

The massive antiwar march in Lima May 19 in which some 25,000 to 30,000 participated, was a "tremendous show of unity on the part of the Peruvian people with the peoples of the world who are struggling for their liberation," wrote the Lima daily *Expreso* May 20. It was the first such march ever held.

"Groups of priests, students and workers, journalists, intellectuals, miners, and white-collar workers representing various political tendencies formed a united front in order to condemn the aggression being carried out against a small country of the Third World struggling for its freedom and sov-

ereignty," the newspaper stated.

The thirty-block march filled the streets of the Peruvian capital for three hours with chants like "Yankees Out of Vietnam," "Yankees Out of Peru," and "Nixon, Murderer."

All along the route of the march, the demonstrators were applauded by onlookers who joined in the chants.

The demonstration was organized by a united front of the following organizations: the Confederación General de Trabajadores del Perú (CGTP — General Workers Confederation of Peru), the Movimiento por una Iglesia Solidaria (Movement for a Church That Belongs to Everyone), the Movi-



PART OF CROWD of 25,000-30,000 that marched in Lima May 19 to protest U.S. aggression in Vietnam. March received broad union support.

miento Sacerdotal ONIS (ONIS Priests' Movement), Federación de Mujeres del Perú (Peru Women's Federation), the Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad Católica (Catholic University Students Federation), the Federación de los Periodistas (Federation of Journalists), and the Frente Unico de Trabajadores de *Expreso* y *Extra* (United Front of *Expreso* and *Extra* Workers).

These organizations were joined by two dozen other groups, most of them unions, in issuing a call to the people of Peru to join the demonstration. In addition, more than seventy unions in the greater Lima area agreed to take part in the march under the banners of the CGTP.

"The march was headed up by fifteen members of the CGTP with National Liberation Front flags. Behind them came the leaders of the organizing groups holding high large flags of the NLF and Peru," reported *Expreso*. The huge CGTP contingent

followed a banner proclaiming the solidarity of the working class of Peru with Vietnam. Other signs stated that "The entire world demands: Yankees Out of Vietnam! Yankees Out of Peru!"

Students made up a large part of the march. *Expreso* estimated their numbers at more than 5,000.

The Frente Unico de los Trabajadores de *Expreso* y *Extra* published a statement in *Expreso* May 20 noting that it had taken part in the march. "Once again the workers of *Expreso* and *Extra* demonstrated their revolutionary militancy," it said. "We want peace for Vietnam, and to this end we demand the immediate withdrawal of the North Americans from Vietnamese soil and the complete cessation of all forms of aggression. The struggle of the people of Vietnam is the struggle of all people who want peace, industrial development, and independence." □

struggle.

The first thing defense lawyers of clients brought before the CFP do is specify the unconstitutional nature of such an instrument since it is a "special tribunal" that passes judgment on an ideological basis. This criticism is made by most if not all of those who feel that a repressive body of legislation exists in Argentina and that the CFP is one of its highest expressions. It is a well-known fact that all the defendants brought before this body are members—or alleged members—of revolutionary organizations that call for structural changes in the present social setup, but that the murderers of Silvia Filler¹—who were also clearly armed and operating in an "unlawful association"—are not brought before it. For them, ordinary justice suffices. Of course, neither has this court intervened in the investigation of the murderers of Pujals² or of other persons who have been kidnapped since it was created.

Asked about the guarantees lawyers have that they will be able to defend their clients, Dr. Jorge Sivak of the Asociación Gremial de Abogados [Lawyers Guild] told *Nuevo Hombre*: "From a technical point of view, Law 19.053 lays down a series of norms that in many cases render an adequate defense utopian. For example, only twenty-four hours are allowed to appeal a warrant for preventive arrest that, if served, could bring up to several months in prison for the defendant. Recently, this same court imposed a maximum period of ten days for the presentation of briefs; this means that evidence on the basis of which the prosecution may ask for life imprisonment or even the death penalty is presented within a time period that is so preemptory as to have the unquestionable effect of obstructing the task of the defense.

"But there is also the suspicion of complicity directed against lawyers

1. Silvia Ester Filler was an 18-year-old student in the Architecture School at Mar del Plata and a newcomer to politics. She was shot down while attending a peaceful student assembly there on October 8, 1971.—*IP*

2. Luis Enrique Pujals, a twenty-nine-year-old law student and a leader of the ERP (Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—Revolutionary Army of the People), was kidnapped in September 1971 and tortured to death by the police.—*IP*

Argentina

The Violence of Those at the Top

[The following is the second installment of a lengthy feature on repression in Argentina that appeared in the April 25 issue of the Buenos Aires newspaper *Nuevo Hombre*. Its publisher, Dr. Silvio Frondizi, has been

arrested and the newspaper has been banned as a result of the publication of this issue. Translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Legal Institutions of a Decaying Society

By Osvaldo Berterame

On July 15 of last year, an institution was formed that is designed to provide legal cover for the repressive activities of the dictatorship.

The Cámara Federal en lo Penal de la Nación [CFP—Supreme Criminal Court] by its very existence answers a need. On the one hand, it reveals the regime's lack of confidence in the legal instruments it inherited from its liberal stage, and on the other hand, it anticipates the form these instruments will take during the decline of capitalism.

It is in the interplay of contradic-

tions arising out of the gap between the legal instruments of a system and the political stages through which it is passing that some defense lawyers find room to support some of their arguments.

Law 19.053, which created the CFP, is only the culmination of a whole series of prior legal moves, among which should be singled out the restoration of the death penalty, the so-called national defense law, and finally, the famous Law 19.081, which provides for full participation by the armed forces in the "antisubversive"

who defend political prisoners. This suspicion takes the form of constant attacks on or arrests of lawyers, and it is one more way in which the government seeks to reduce the constitutional guarantees of the defense in a trial."

Respecting the Rules of the Game

As the creation of a dictatorial government and one that reflects its political features, the CFP has to respond and define itself in light of the so-called illegal pressures to which defendants that appear before it have been subjected. Up to now, in no case has there been any mention of such pressures, or if so, they have been ignored. The most common complaints by lawyers stem from the following: 1) After making their statements, the prisoners are returned to the headquarters of the DIPA [División de Investigaciones Policiales Antidemocráticas—Division of Police Investigations into Antidemocratic Activities], and therefore, if they make any statements about torture they will be tortured when they return; 2) the CFP will even accept statements made under pressure exerted upon prisoners while in the hands of the police, even when retractions are made before the judge; 3) according to the daily *La Opinión*, a judge went so far as to say that even silence is an indication of guilt: "Silence is cause for suspecting the prisoner."

Intensifying Repression . . .

But what is most indicative of the intensification of repression is the lengthening of prison sentences for those who are found "guilty." Whether this is the result of changes in the penal code or of a hardening of positions on the part of the judges themselves, the fact remains that the only thing not being handed down is the death penalty. Thus the CFP responds to the spreading popular struggles with more years in prison, and not only for guerrillas. Sticking up posters of Che can bring a year in jail or even up to seven or eight for unlawful association, disarming a policeman, etc. The sentence for Ramón Bernardo Etchegaray³ went as high

3. A member of the ERP, he was sentenced last March for participating in a guerrilla action in which food was distributed to inhabitants of a Rosario slum. —IP

as eighteen years in prison, and at this very moment, the prosecutor is asking that Jorge Molina—accused of belonging to the ERP—be simply sentenced to life imprisonment.

The defendants do not recognize the authority of the tribunal that sentences them. Nevertheless, when the prosecutor is not able to put together the proofs necessary for a long sentence, the defendant tries to operate within the limits imposed by the system in such a way as to obtain a lesser penalty or freedom, if possible. The only defense possible for a man of the peo-

ple is in fact to take advantage of the errors and weaknesses of the enemy.

To be sure, the Cámara Federal will not be the last punitive obstacle that the regime will raise against those who are struggling. As the people's blows are dealt with greater force, the repression will become more violent and merciless. It cannot be otherwise, and every person against whom a sentence is pronounced repudiates it with the simple battle cry, "Long Live the Fatherland," "Perón or Death," "Victory or Death for Argentina."

Forensic Medicine Makes It Legal

The Forensic Medical Corps of National Justice operates out of 1662 Arenales. Its dean is Dr. Tomás Onsausti. Besides him, fifty-three professionals are involved in its activities. It is they who are turned to each time a prisoner or a lawyer makes charges regarding the use of illegal coercion. In collaboration with lawyers, *Nuevo Hombre* is making public a few relevant facts.

When a prisoner is forced to undergo tortures, a medical examination is requested. This is handled by the forensic doctors. Normally, the judges do not allow persons making the charges of torture to offer the services of their own doctors, and therefore the task of verifying tortures remains exclusively in the hands of official practitioners. This is the beginning of the long process of clinical examination, which in practice can stretch out for months—first of all because the prisoner is held incommunicado, and secondly because the examination is carried out in police headquarters, where the prisoner will remain after being examined.

But, for the examination to be really serious and scientific, an electroencephalogram must be taken to determine whether electric shocks were used in the torture. Since the only such machine is in Villa Devoto, one has to wait one's turn. In short, a long period of time during which the signs of torture disappear—especially in view of the use of modern torture devices. All this occurs in the climate created by the previous chief of police, General Cáceres Monié, who complained to the courts about the inter-

ruption of investigations caused by accusations of torture.

In the latest revelations of torture, questions have been raised, including in the press, about the role of these forensic doctors. This was the case, for instance, with regard to the pressures used on María Elena Maucieri, which these doctors held were nothing but blows "produced by the impact of blunt instruments and not by electric shocks."

Last month, a textile worker, Eduardo Pablo Monti, died in Olmos Prison after being tortured. There were two conflicting medical reports in the matter.

In the first, the forensic doctors who examined Eduardo Pablo Monti attributed his death to a kidney injury, an enlarged heart, congested lungs, necrosis of the small intestine caused by blood circulation disorders (non-traumatic in origin and resulting in no internal bleeding), and intestinal infarct affecting the mucous membranes. They admitted that the injuries could have been the result of blows by heavy objects, but asserted that these could have caused neither death nor serious injury and could not have caused any inability to work for longer than one month.

This report, which was published in all the daily papers, prompted other doctors to draw up a reply, which they anonymously arranged for us to receive. In it they state: 1) Tortures were definitely inflicted, because there were hematomas on the head, the trunk of the body, the extremities, and the testicles, and blood in the stools; 2) the autopsy report attempt-

ed to isolate the intestinal infarct injuries from the other injuries without stating the cause of the infarct; 3) it is precisely these kinds of infarcts that usually occur in states of secondary shock brought on by a primary shock, which in this case was the torture. It is impossible to dissociate these two states of shock from one another. It was obviously the beatings and tortures that brought on the secondary state of shock, which in turn produced the intestinal damage that caused death.

To these criticisms can be added many others—and particularly from those who have been tortured themselves. One of them, Ana María Villareal de Santucho, even stated that the forensic doctors observed her through the bars without examining

her; they then denied that there was any evidence that she had been tortured.

It is hard to visualize the extent to which the definition of what constitutes medical practice can be stretched. In view of the fact that it was for one specific reason that the people paid the costs of training so many professionals who have now gone so far as to legalize torture—so that they could cure infectious diseases, the scourge of polio, infantile mortality, etc.—it is hard to accept the fact that so much scientific energy is being expended on filling up the torture chambers.

Hippocrates and hypocrisy have joined forces in the practice of forensic medicine.

[To be continued.]

Caracas Millionaire Kidnapped, Freed

Unidentified persons thought to be guerrillas kidnapped a Venezuelan industrialist, Carlos Domínguez, on June 2. Domínguez was reported to have been on his way from Caracas to his tin-can factory in the industrial zone of La Victoria, some fifty kilometers away, at the time.

The kidnapers demanded \$1,350,000, the largest ransom ever demanded in Venezuelan history.

Hours after Domínguez was kidnapped, police shot two men to death outside his home in Caracas. "They said the two dead men, both of whom were armed, were cruising past the Domínguez house in a car when a policeman recognized one of them as a well-known left-wing urban guerrilla," according to Reuters. The dead men, both said to be members of Punto Zero (Zero Point), were not known to have any connection with the kidnapping.

The family of the industrialist, who has a history of heart trouble and requires constant medical attention, immediately appealed to the police not to intervene in the case. They warned that they would hold the government responsible if anything happened to him.

By June 4, the family had delivered the ransom to the kidnapers, but Domínguez still remained in captivity, his whereabouts unknown. That day a note in his handwriting was left in the offices of a Caracas newspaper. Addressed to President Rafael Caldera and the minister of the interior, Nectario Andrade Labarca, the note contained the following brief message: "My health does not allow me to hold up long under these circumstances and it would be best to avoid any intervention on the part of the government. My condition is acceptable, but I don't think I can endure very long. Thoughtfully, Carlos S. Domínguez."

On June 11, a high police source in Caracas announced that Domínguez had just been freed and that he was being questioned by the Interior Ministry. He said the millionaire's family had received a telephone call from one of the captors indicating that he was about to be released. □

Serious Setback for Tupamaros

Police Raid 'People's Prison' in Montevideo

Uruguay's urban guerrillas, the Tupamaros, have suffered one of their most serious setbacks since the formation ten years ago of the MLN (Movimiento de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Movement). On May 27, police in Montevideo discovered a "people's prison" in which the Tupamaros had been holding two persons prisoner for more than a year.

The hostages were Carlos Frick Davie, a former agriculture minister, and Ulysses Pereira Reverbel, head of the state telephone company. Frick Davie was taken hostage on May 14, 1971, and Pereira Reverbel on March 30, 1971. Both were in good health when police raided the prison.

The people's prison was located less than one mile from the center of town under a small house inhabited by a family of six, including four children. The prison, which contained three cells approximately two meters square each, was linked to the garage by a tunnel. The guerrillas were in the process of digging a second tunnel. Four guerrillas who were keeping charge of the prisoners were arrested in the police operation.

According to a report by Philippe Labreveux in *Le Monde* June 1, police first blocked the prison's two exits. "Called on to surrender, the Tupa-

maros caught inside threatened to blow it up with dynamite. Finally, they gave in to the arguments of one of their companions, Mr. Hector Amodio Perez, who had been taken captive a few days ago. He convinced them that it was useless to put up any resistance."

The government, which declared a state of internal war on the Tupamaros last April, pointed to the setback to the guerrillas as a sign that its campaign was paying off. The minister of the interior, Alejandro Rovira, went so far as to assert, "We have information that will make it possible for us to destroy the subversive organization."

Since the step-up of military operations against the guerrilla movement, Labreveux reported, "several cells of the MLN have been demolished, and a hundred or so activists and sympathizers have been arrested. In rapid succession the security forces have discovered three 'people's prisons,' a field hospital, an underground shooting range, laboratories for preparing explosives, and arms and ammunition dumps." □

Don't Want to Call Attention to Themselves

Nixon's reelection fund has received \$10,000,000 from undisclosed sources.

The Deepening Political Crisis in Ireland

By Gerry Foley

Divisions in the Working Class

[Continued from last issue.]

As he moved away from the economic schematism of his earlier work toward an understanding of the place of national revolution in emancipating the Irish workers, James Connolly also came to understand the contradictions in the working class of his own country. In his article "British Labour and Irish Politicians," written in May 1913, he wrote:

"From time to time I propose to give some attention to the elucidation of the problems peculiar to Ireland and particularly to this part of it [the North]. For the present it is sufficient to emphasise the fact that the religious affiliations of the population of Ulster determine their political leanings to a greater extent than is the case in any part of Europe outside the Balkans. But the manner in which this has developed is also unique. I believe that it is true to say that, politically speaking, the Protestantism of the North of Ireland has no parallel outside this country, and that the Catholicism of the Irish Catholics is, likewise, peculiar in its political trend.

"To explain—I mean that, whereas Protestantism has in general made for political freedom and political Radicalism, it has been opposed to slavish worship of kings and aristocrats. Here, in Ireland, the word Protestant is almost a convertible term with Toryism, lickspittle loyalty, servile worship of aristocracy and hatred of all that savours of genuine political independence on the part of the 'lower classes.'

"And in the same manner, Catholicism, which in most of Europe is synonymous with Toryism, lickspittle loyalty, servile worship of aristocracy and hatred of all that savours of genuine political independence on the part of the lower classes in Ireland is almost synonymous with rebellious tendencies, zeal for democracy, and intense feeling of solidarity with all strivings upward of those who toil.

"Such a curious phenomenon is easily understood by those who know

the history of Ireland. Unfortunately for their spiritual welfare—and I am using the word 'spiritual,' not in its theological but in its better significance as controlling mental and moral development upward—the Protestant elements of Ireland were, in the main, a plantation of strangers upon the soil from which the owners had been dispossessed by force. The economic dispossession was, perforce, accompanied by political and social outlawry. Hence every attempt of the dispossessed to attain citizenship, to emerge from their state of outlawry, was easily represented as a tentative step toward reversing the plantation and towards replanting the Catholic and dispossessing the Protestant. . . .

"Then the Protestant always saw that the kings and aristocrats of England and Ireland were opposed by the people whom he most feared, and from recognizing that it was but an easy step to regard his cause as identical with theirs. They had a common enemy, and he began to teach his children that they had a common cause, and common ideals. . . .

"The Catholics, for their part, and be it understood I am talking only of the Catholic workers, have been as fortunately placed for their political education as they were unfortunately placed for their political and social condition. Just as the Socialist knows that the working class, being the lowest in the social system, cannot emancipate itself without as a result emancipating all other classes, so the Irish Catholic has realised instinctively that he, being the most oppressed and disfranchised, could not win any modicum of political freedom or social recognition for himself without winning it for all others in Ireland. Every upward step of the Catholic has emancipated some one of the smaller Protestant sects; every successful revolt of the Catholic peasant has given some added security even to those Protestant farmers who were most zealously defending the landlord. And out of this struggle the Catholic has, perforce, learned tolera-

tion. He has learned that his struggle is, and has been, the struggle of all the lowly and dispossessed, and he has grown broadminded with the broadmindedness of the slave in revolt against slavery."

Connolly used the *historical* Marxist method; he did not argue about the real economic differences in the position of Protestant and Catholic workers like a vulgar bourgeois sociologist. Of course, he ended his article with the assertion that with the prospect of home rule, that is, democratic reform of the British system, the differences between Protestant and Catholic were fading away. But from his own argument this seems to have been just a hope. And the "civilization" he saw coming to Ireland with this reform has not only been delayed in that country but throughout the world; civilization in general has tended to go backward. The age of reform was already over when Connolly wrote those lines. In the age of capitalist decay, it is hard to imagine the British ruling class definitively giving up such a strong prop of reaction as the Orange caste, at least not as long as there is any threat of a nationalist revival in Ireland.

Lenin and Trotsky did not see the working class in a romantic glow that concealed its contradictions and weaknesses. Most of all, they looked at the workers from the standpoint of the system as a whole. They knew that the workers had had to fight sections of their own class in Russia in order to win. They knew that the working class revolution had been inseparably and directly combined with struggles for civil rights and national liberation. They knew that when the working class itself melted away in the civil war, the party representing the historic interests of the class had preserved the historic foundations of workers' power. They had no sympathy with the successors of the Narodniki who thought that the party should "serve the people." Russian Marxism was built in a fight with this theory of dissolving into the mass-

es and carrying on an aimless round of economic struggles. The party had to be the general staff of revolution and intervene in history in a single-minded, purposeful, and scientific way.

When the Stalinist bureaucracy rose to power in the Soviet Union and destroyed the party that had made the revolution, workerism and the "stages" theory made a comeback. These concepts served the Soviet bureaucrats in the same way they had served the trade-union bureaucrats and electoral politicians of the Social Democracy—as a justification for reformism. The Kremlin bosses lost all interest in extending the revolution, which might endanger their positions by reviving the revolutionary aspirations of the people they ruled. Like all intermediate social layers—including the conservative "nationalists" in Ireland—they maintained their position by balancing between the fundamental forces in society.

By exploiting the prestige of the party that they in fact liquidated, the Stalinist bureaucrats were able to inculcate reformist concepts into the minds of generations of militants who may have begun with revolutionary aspirations. These false ideas have become part of the general baggage of the left. In some cases, they have even had a fitful revival in the recent period, as some youth have tended to romanticize the Stalinism associated with the great class battles of the 1930s and the expansion of the Soviet sphere of influence immediately after the second world war. A reaction against the ultraleftism of the early phases of the youth radicalization has also produced a certain nostalgia for the "organization" of the Stalinist parties and the "realism" of reformist trade-unionists.

The romantic populism and work-erism of some young radicals fits in very well with the general underpinnings of Stalinism, just as many aspects of Narodnikism did with Stalinism during the period of the rise of the bureaucracy. (The theory of Socialist Realism, for instance, represents largely a revival of Narodnik theories that were combated by Russian Marxists, including Lenin.)

Stages and Revolutions

Although reinforced by general pragmatic ways of thinking, the "stages"

theory in the Official republican movement clearly has a Stalinist source, although it may not be direct. The formulation in the "Manifesto of the Irish Workers' and Farmers' Republic," reprinted in August 1971, is the classical Stalinist one, touched up with some of the scholastic fuzziness typical of the British Communist party:

"Both the national independence revolution and the socialist revolution are two stages of one democratic transformation of society, separate in time, each stage of which entails political and economic change in the interests of the mass of the people. How long a time elapses between the establishment of real national independence and unity and the establishment of a socialist form of society will depend on the interaction of the democratic forces of the Irish people and British imperialism together with the allies and clients of the latter within the country. In favourable conditions this may become a matter of gradual steps; it is not possible to be dogmatic about it."

By stressing the separateness of the two stages of the revolution, this passage in effect denies that socialism or socialist demands and perspectives have any relevance for the present, except as ideals. In the last sentence, it even holds open the prospect of peaceful evolution to socialism. The concept is clearly a reformist one in all its practical implications.

Because of that, this dogmatic approach can paralyze practical political action. In an age when capitalism as a whole is in crisis, partial struggles cannot be conducted effectively unless the leaders understand that any mass struggle tends to run up against the system, reaching a point where it can only be carried forward by raising socialist demands.

Whether or not the possibility exists for carrying the process all the way, at such times important ideas can be gotten across to the masses and advanced positions gained for the next wave of struggles.

However, unlike the Communist parties, it seems that most of the membership and the leadership of the Official republican movement have not drawn outright reformist conclusions from this and other formulas. In fact, the "stages" theory seems to have had a rather contradictory history among the republicans.

To the extent that the republicans

learned that there are different phases and levels of social struggle and different tasks appropriate to each, the "stages" theory was at least an advance over the previous romantic and moralistic absolutism of the republican tradition. At least partially under the influence of this theory, they seem to have moved away from the old dead-end notion of trying to restart the guerrilla war of 1919. They moved instead toward the idea of mass social struggle based on demands arising out of the most acutely felt aspirations of the widest possible sectors of the population.

The civil-rights movement led by the republicans achieved the first major breakthrough against the repressive system since the war of independence. However, this movement did not achieve the modest goals the republicans set for it; instead it created an explosive, potentially revolutionary situation, which they apparently did not expect, were unable to exploit in any consistent way, and seem not to have wanted. Now the "stages" theory is obviously holding them back. Only a consistently revolutionary social theory explaining the interaction of democratic and socialist struggle can point the way forward.

The Official republicans were proved correct in their fight against the ultra-lefts who wanted to liquidate or divert the mass struggle for civil rights. But by failing to see that in Ireland democratic and socialist tasks are inseparably intertwined, they seem to have promoted dogmatism and adventurism in their own ranks.

In a period of deepening crisis, the lack of a bold and unified revolutionary strategy will inevitably give rise to adventurism in some sections of the movement that are more undisciplined or feel more acutely the forces of "order" moving in for the kill.

Furthermore, the youth in Northern Ireland know that the capitalist system offers no future for them. For three years they have fought the repressive forces largely on their own, without following the directives of any political or military organization. The young intellectuals, in particular, in the midst of this social turmoil can see the capitalist system faltering all over the world. Only four years ago, they saw it come to the brink of collapse in the neighboring country of France. And everywhere they have seen capitalism become steadily more

repressive and reactionary.

These potential cadres of the revolutionary movement cannot be persuaded to accept the utopian concept of a long "democratic stage" ahead, especially when the most enthusiastic proponents of this idea are the dismal reformist hacks of the Northern Ireland Communist party. Only a revolutionary conception of the role of the civil-rights struggle can win these youth to accepting the discipline of a revolutionary mass party.

It has to be explained to these youth that by mobilizing the masses around modest and reasonable-seeming demands, they can set in motion revolutionary struggles that can lead to the overthrow of the capitalist system in the "short run," and not at some problematic future stage. This is exactly what the history of the civil-rights movement shows.

It has to be explained also that the basic techniques of making a revolution are political—the science of knowing what to do and when to do it.

In order to train and discipline their revolutionary instincts, the youth need to learn that you can exploit the contradictions of capitalist ideology without becoming entrapped in it.

For example, a republican in the civil-rights movement does not have to say: "If policemen did not carry guns and were under effective civilian control, they would be respected members of the community." A revolutionist does not have to say: "All the people want is democracy; they would be satisfied with that." That is repulsive kowtowing, totally unworthy of honest revolutionists. But a socialist can say: "If the British and the Unionists claim this is a democratic system, they must at least give us all our democratic rights."

It is not necessary to accept the framework of the parliamentary system to make such demands. There is no point either in relying on paper rights. But you can demand that the British authorities who stand behind the Northern Ireland regime either maintain democratic rights or get out. How they do it is their problem. As long as the mass pressure for democracy is maintained, without making any compromises with the British system, any formal concession will be a spur to further struggles.

On the other hand, projecting complete plans for democratization pre-

sumed to be acceptable to one or another section of the British establishment only spreads illusions in the possibility of democracy under the British system. The effectiveness of the new Whitelaw regime in Northern Ireland in using completely false promises of reform to split the nationalist population is eloquent testimony to the dangers of encouraging such illusions.

The problem of revolutionists is not to try to figure out what concessions the ruling class can give, or how to make it easy for them; the problem is to mobilize the masses, to expose the system and prove by experience that it has to be overthrown. In the period of capitalist decay, the imperialists do not give reforms in general because the demands are reasonable; they give them under the threat of development toward revolution. If the leaders of the masses accept the limitations of the system from the start, there is no incentive for the capitalists to grant any concessions.

What is important is that the demands seem reasonable to the masses and that they expose the fundamentally and irreparably antidemocratic nature of British rule in Northern Ireland. This kind of demands can cut the ground out from under reformists, or promisers of reform, who want to split and demobilize the oppressed community. Calls for democracy are entirely reasonable and the opposite of reformist in this context, in that they reach the masses at their present level of consciousness and lead them in a revolutionary direction by exploiting the contradictions of the system. This is the *transitional* approach, the revolutionary method of mobilizing the masses.

But if mass work is regarded as "reformist" activity by nature, and in the long run subordinate to the revolutionary job of creating a "people's army," then it is obvious that as the young members of the republican movement radicalize they will become more and more attracted by "revolutionary" tasks, which are defined by this method as armed action. And, what is equally bad, the leadership in mass work will be left to genuinely reformist elements.

Aimless Generalities

At the same time, while the core of the republican movement is organized

on a military basis, it is politically very loose. Agreement is on very general concepts: "We are for the ordinary people and against the bourgeoisie North and South; we are for socialism." Discussion in republican circles seems oddly rambling and narrowly pragmatic, usually confined within the limits of a few commonly accepted assumptions. You seldom hear a systematic analysis of the dynamics of specific situations or an assessment of past predictions. Such an organization cannot help but be politically very slow moving. It cannot maneuver like a revolutionary combat party to take advantage of cracks in the system and respond immediately to new opportunities and new dangers.

If, for example, the republican movement tried at some point to give critical or conditional support to a militant move by a section of the Catholic establishment, a move that might develop under the pressures of the situation, the ranks would be disoriented. All the propaganda is devoted to denouncing these elements without explaining their contradictions in a scientific way. By nature such generic concepts are static. In practical politics, they leave no room for any stance but head-on attack or, perhaps more accurately, marching in place.

In the same way, raising the slogan of uniting the workers without explaining the contradictions in the working class in a scientific way, without explaining the historical dynamics of socialist revolution, opens the way for romanticizing economic struggle, that is, for dogmatism in this field.

It is easy for sectarians to say that the civil-rights struggle has polarized Catholic and Protestant workers rather than brought them closer together. Since political struggle against the caste system alienates the Protestant workers, in this view the fight obviously should be conducted on a purely economic basis, or at least there should be a relatively long "economic stage." On this level it is presumed that both Protestant and Catholic workers have the same interests. If the republicans do not understand what the civil-rights movement has accomplished, if they do not understand how it challenges the fundamental structures of the capitalist system in Ireland, they may have a difficult time answering these arguments. The sectarians can also add the emotional argument that civil rights are

not going to improve the economic condition of the workers or alter their basic position in society.

In the first place, the republicans could point out that it is an oversimplification to say that all workers have the same interests. Under conditions of scarcity and insecurity, even minute economic or social advantages can cause deep divisions. And, in a stagnant system, it is not going to do very much good to explain how unimportant these differences are in an absolute sense or relative to the advantages all the workers could have if they combined. Such a line would presuppose a socialist political consciousness on the part of the more advantaged workers.

But fundamentally, the republicans could explain that these sectarians have a one-dimensional, static view of reality. Economistic dogmatists cannot see capitalist society as a complete political, social, and economic system. They cannot understand that in historical evolution, while economic forces are the fundamental drive, other secondary factors can reflect back on and even change the course of economic development. If this were not true, the great Marxists have explained, socialist revolution itself would be impossible.

Marxism is not a theory of economic determinism; economic determinism is essentially a bourgeois theory with conservative implications. For the Stalinists and Social Democrats, economism is a way of justifying political immobility. Trade-union activity and piecemeal agitations are presented as the way toward progress. The political party of the working class becomes submerged in the routine of daily work and loses all perspective of making a centralized attack on capitalism. The classical motto of revisionism is that the movement is everything, the goal nothing.

The workerism of ultraleft sectarians is just the reverse of the coin. They arbitrarily interpret all economic agitation as *ipso facto* revolutionary. Every strike is a revolutionary episode. The effect is the same. Motion toward the goal becomes lost in aimless "militant" agitations and phrase-mongering.

The economists of both stripes accuse the republicans of being "inconsistent" in their orientation toward the Protestant workers. Fortunately, the republicans *are* inconsistent, or their

activity would be as sterile as the other idealizers of the Protestant workers. But the situation in Ireland seems to have reached the point where the republicans can go no further unless they develop a consistent approach based on utilizing the positive lessons of the civil-rights movement, its revolutionary lessons.

The danger now is—since the civil-rights movement has not proceeded as expected and the republican leadership was evidently not prepared politically for the actual results—that disorientation will set in. Under the blows brought on by the political and organizational weaknesses of the movement, the disorientation could quickly become very grave.

If any of the republican leaders are really intellectually committed to the "stages" schema—that is, are ideological centrists in the full sense—the only direction they can go now is toward the right. The course set by one of the republican movement's political advisers, Roy Johnston, is probably a good example. After resigning from the movement, he published an "apologia" in the March 31 issue of the liberal Dublin biweekly *Hibernia*, in which he suggested that the whole idea of a mass, militant civil-rights movement was a mistake.

"In retrospect, I am now convinced that the timing was wrong. We know that the mixture was explosive, but we underestimated, seriously, the difficulty of controlling the magnitude and direction of the blast.

"If the republican clubs had had a chance to find their feet, get engaged in local political activity, draw a few conclusions for themselves, establish some links with the students, etc., the idea of a civil rights movement would have emerged naturally.

"This was beginning to happen. By 1966 the Belfast republicans were beginning to be interested in tenants associations; there had been successful agitations about pedestrian crossings, etc."

The natural tendency for the centrists will be to try to reduce the civil-rights movement to a liberal pressure group linked to the "democratic" establishment in Britain. The position of the British Communist party in the trade-union movement and the various respectable left groups will be a key element.

Now that the imperialists have succeeded in splitting the nationalist com-

munity and restoring the position of the moderates, moreover, all the pressures of the establishment will be exerted to drive the mass movement to the right and demobilize it.

A *New York Times* editorial of June 1 was a good illustration of this tendency:

"Catholic leaders are now participating with Protestants in an advisory commission appointed by Mr. Whitelaw and the Social Democratic and Labor party has added its powerful voice to the demand for an end to violence and for Catholic cooperation with the British administration 'to give peace a chance.' The Official I. R. A. withdrawal leaves only the Provisionals and the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association as holdouts on the Catholic side."

The deceitfulness of this paragraph is obvious. The Official IRA has, presumably, withdrawn from using terrorist methods. The Provisional IRA is committed to a terrorist campaign. The Civil Rights Association, on the other hand, has only said that it will not cooperate with the government until at least the concentration camp system is ended.

The IRA and Religious War

The propaganda line taken by the *Times* also illustrates the danger in the Official IRA argument that it is essential not to provoke a Protestant backlash. The logic of this argument can be used to push the revolutionary militants further and further onto the defensive and eventually paralyze them.

The altruism of the IRA cannot reduce or head off Protestant reaction. The fanaticism of the proimperialist community is not a result, fundamentally, of any "unreasonableness" on the part of the nationalists; it is the result of the historical structure of society in northeast Ireland. If the Orange fanatics see a chance to "put the Taigs in their place once and for all," they are going to take it, regardless of professions of brotherhood by any section of the nationalist population.

Furthermore, if the British authorities think that a general pogrom can be carried off without serious resistance (and too quickly for world public opinion to realize what is happening), there is no reason for them to oppose it. A terrorized Catholic popu-

lation will be all the more grateful for small concessions. The position of the "moderates," moreover, will be reinforced, because the prejudices of the Orange caste will be fully reestablished as the ultimate limit of what is politically possible in Ireland. And what is more: How will the revolutionists be able to mobilize world opinion in support of the persecuted nationalist population when the leaders of the oppressed community themselves concede apologetically that the Catholics are largely or even equally responsible for the bigotry in Northern Ireland?

The fanatical opposition to change of 1,000,000 Protestants, more than one fifth of the total population of Ireland, is a formidable obstacle to revolution in Ireland. But the balance of forces does not come down to comparing the organization and equipment of the nationalists on the one hand and the Unionists and the British army on the other. Political factors both in Ireland and internationally come into play. As long as they are mobilized on a reactionary political basis, the Protestants remain in the last analysis under the control of the bourgeoisie. Thus, their fighting capacity is limited by the will of the bourgeoisie, that is, by the political strength of the capitalist system in Britain and internationally. If this system appears to falter and hesitate in defending the status quo in Ireland, sections of the Protestants may become neutralized or susceptible to revolutionary propaganda. That is, they may come to realize that the caste system cannot be maintained even "in the short run."

In such a context, gestures of goodwill and reassurances from the revolutionary forces can promote a breakup of the Unionist bloc. But fundamentally only the pressure of the mass movement in Ireland and internationally can overcome the Protestant caste mentality, which is reactionary to the core.

Therefore, international support is vital to the success of the nationalist people's struggle. Although it is essential that this movement be as broad as possible, it needs a revolutionary axis.

By focusing pressure on the lines of cleavage in capitalist society—that is, by exploiting its contradictions—a militant action movement can draw in nonrevolutionists and even sections

of the establishment behind it. The U. S. antiwar movement is an example of this. It has pulled the whole consensus of the country far to the left and opened up the way for substantial growth of the revolutionary forces.

The antiwar movement did this, however, by mobilizing the masses independently in the streets, maintaining the campaign even in periods of steep decline in activity. It mobilized the masses on the basis of principled demands that challenged the basic contradictions of the system in a concrete way. In this case, the demand was for immediate withdrawal of American troops, which meant in practice that the people of the U. S. had no interest in suppressing the Vietnamese revolution, the U. S. had no right in Vietnam, the American government was the source of the problem, and the Vietnamese people had a right to establish a socialist regime in their own country, regardless of the objection of substantial minorities historically backed by imperialism.

On the other hand, if the focus shifts from action in the streets to the lobbying of reformists in bureaucratic and liberal organizations, political energy will be drained out of the movement and the masses will fall into indifference, waiting for salvation from their influential "friends." Then, no matter how "broad" the support of the movement, or how many respectable personalities or "mass workers' leaders" (that is, reformist bureaucrats who may still be capable of a few radical gestures) have given it their blessing, the stage will have been set for the establishment to smash the movement or render it harmless. The history of Social Democracy and Stalinism is full of such examples.

Building the Vanguard in Action

The explosive development of the civil-rights movement has no doubt made many nostalgic for the relatively peaceful economic agitation of previous years, which was only a nuisance to the system and not a deadly threat. It is possible that activity will return to this level. But it must be understood that a general confrontation with the capitalist system has been developing for the last three years. It will lead eventually either to victory or defeat. If it is defeated, conditions will not return to where they were before the civil-rights movement

started. If the defeat is complete, the situation may well be thrown back further. If the capitalists regain control of the situation, it is foolish to think that they will not take every step to eliminate the threat of future revolutionary developments.

In these circumstances, shifting back to economic agitation will not represent a change in tactics but the consequence of a defeat pushing the movement back to a lower level, to its knees.

Along with the threat of a rightward evolution of centrist elements, the revolutionary youth, who have been given only very general notions of socialist struggle, are likely to move in a more and more adventurist direction. The centrists moving right and the leadership displaying political immobility would strengthen the hand of ultraleftists who are anxious to lead the movement in that direction.

Sincerely revolutionary leaders of the republican movement sometimes complain that the speed with which the crisis has developed has prevented them from politically educating their ranks. That is a general problem in an age of crisis by no means confined to Ireland. It would be an elitist illusion to believe that great social movements can be turned on and off to suit the convenience of vanguard organizations.

Furthermore, revolutionary groups themselves are, to some extent, the product of broader movements and conditions. Deep changes have taken place in the consciousness of the Irish people as a result of the civil-rights movement, and it is probable that these changes have been reflected in the internal life of the republican movement and in the leadership's consciousness of its revolutionary perspectives.

Revolutionary education is not a smooth, automatic process comparable, say, to the programming of studies in universities or trade-union schools. By its nature, it involves conflict, argument, and learning from experience. It involves teaching a revolutionary view of the world and a precise technique for overthrowing the present system, not general philosophical concepts alone, or the views of the various socialist thinkers.

The most important element in revolutionary education is the program of the organization. It now seems clear, and the republican leaders

would probably acknowledge it, that the political program of the Official republican movement has been insufficient and dangerously equivocal in some respects. Therefore, it could not serve as the basis for giving a rounded political education to the ranks. The leadership itself was learning from experience and from reality, which apparently did not develop as it expected. The republican movement's most important educational tools are its paper, its political statements, and the political discussions. While the republicans were clearer on some fundamental questions than the other tendencies in Ireland, such as the need for political struggle and mass action, their political tools have been shown to lack a sharp cutting edge. This can only be a problem of leadership, a political problem. It could not be expected that abstract education could make up for this deficiency, although theoretical education of the ranks is obviously an essential task in developing the movement.

Next Stage for the Republicans

In the present situation, the sincerely revolutionary core of the Official republican leadership seems to have come to a crossroads. The situation calls for a bold reorientation. The movement, however, is in a good position in some respects to carry this out. Dead traditions have been severely shaken, if not yet entirely eliminated; and this has opened up the way for casting away archaic forms that stand in the way of carrying out the real tasks of making the revolution in Ireland.

In particular, challenging the ban on political activity in the North and gaining recognition as a legal party in the South offer the possibility for effective revolutionary propaganda campaigns. By demanding the right to engage in legal political activity, the republicans can defend themselves in the most effective way against repression and at the same time consolidate solid gains. This, of course, does not mean that a "democratic phase" is opening up. All democratic freedoms are precarious in this epoch and especially so in Ireland. But the system can be forced to grant a certain room for maneuver at times, which must be used to advantage.

Through their campaign against the

Common Market, the republicans appear to have gained valuable experience in conducting centralized agitations around key issues. They can move on from this to other acute issues facing the country. In the present situation, it is essential that these campaigns have a clear national focus and challenge the weak points of the system in the clearest way.

Elaborate schemes for reforming local government, education, etc. are not very useful for revolutionary agitation, especially given the resources of the republican movement. A few simple themes are needed on which all the propaganda of the movement can be focused, that is, transitional demands. Such demands should seem reasonable to the people they are intended to appeal to and at the same time should expose the contradictions of the system. In a period of general crisis, moreover, local and piecemeal economic agitation stand in secondary place for a revolutionary party. The most important thing is to give political direction and to wage a concentrated campaign against the enemy class, which itself is highly centralized and conscious of its general interests. It is not necessary, furthermore, for members of the movement to initiate and lead all local activity. Getting out the political ideas that can inspire and direct a broader vanguard is likely to generate more real activity and on a higher level.

By its devotion to the ideals of socialism and its uncompromising fight against all the conservative forces in Ireland, the Official republican movement has won the support of a large number of dedicated revolutionary youth. By waging centralized political campaigns and by giving clear political direction, it can weld these youth into the best political fighting force in Europe. The main instrument of this process, however, cannot be an "army of the people"; it must be the *party* of the Irish revolution.

The perspective of armed struggle must be brought into closer consonance with realities. The truth is that trying to stick to the old-fashioned structures of a "secret army" is likely in the long run to limit the armed self-defense of the Irish people rather than advance it. This policy seems to lead the IRA to think in terms of avenging the people, of small-scale commando actions, and seems to keep it from

turning its mind to the tasks of organizing the mass popular militias needed to defeat imperialism.

Effective political education is possible, in the last analysis, only within the framework of a party that has a fully developed program and a consistent way of looking at things. In such a context, developments can be continually analyzed and the analyses constantly and systematically reevaluated and deepened through democratic discussion.

As a result of its unique history, the republican movement is a very broad organization which has been evolving toward more consistent political positions. It includes various branches and allows considerable room for local variations. But it is dealing now with much more fundamental questions than it has before, and it can be expected that the movement will have to make some changes in its methods of organization in order to handle these effectively. Some more systematic form of discussion seems to be needed as a basis for education and developing positions that are both consistent and flexible. The various tendencies that exist in embryo have to have an opportunity to develop their positions fully and see them tested in debate and practice. Otherwise, the fundamental questions can only be discussed in a superficial way. The disagreements will not be resolved but will be left to fester and express themselves in unprofitable ways. And, most importantly, the political program of the organization will remain on a vague general level and be largely useless as a practical guide to action for achieving fundamental changes.

At this point in its evolution, the Official IRA has many advantages. But like every new revolutionary force that has emerged in this period (and the Official IRA is basically a young radical movement, despite its long tradition and continuity), it is faced with the challenge of developing a consistent and integrated revolutionary approach. □

Maybe He Doesn't Trust NATO

Perhaps the Danes are an unusually pacific people, or perhaps New York City Mayor John Lindsay is worried about something he hasn't stated publicly. Whatever the reason, New York's police force is now larger than Denmark's army.

After Ratification of Brandt's Eastern Treaties

[On May 17, the West German Bundestag ratified Chancellor Willy Brandt's treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland. The ratification was made possible by the abstention of the conservative opposition party, the Christlich-Demokratische Union (CDU—Christian Democratic Union).

[The CDU had originally announced its opposition to the treaties, the cornerstone of Brandt's *Ostpolitik* (Eastern policy). The CDU's object was not so much to prevent ratification as to mobilize right-wing opinion and force the disintegration of the governing "social-liberal" coalition of the SPD (Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands—Social Democratic Party of Germany) and the liberal FDP (Freie Demokratische Partei—Free Democratic party). This strategy did in fact result in the defection of several members of the FDP to the opposition.

[On April 27, on a "constructive no-confidence" motion, the CDU attempted to topple Brandt and replace him as chancellor with CDU leader Rainer Barzel. This motion failed by only two votes. The next day, the CDU defeated Brandt's proposed budget on a tie vote, 247 to 247.

[The CDU had been trapped by the unexpected success of its own strategy. The party wanted to establish its credit with the revanchist right wing, but did not really want to block the treaties.

[Moreover, it had failed to reckon with the response of the West German working class. The attempt to topple the SDP-FDP government was met by a wave of demonstrations and protest strikes. The largest of these protests mobilized 30,000 in the streets of Bonn the night before the "constructive no-confidence" vote.

[In this situation, Barzel began negotiations with Brandt, seeking a formula that would permit ratification of the treaties. The eventual result was the abstention by most of the CDU on May 17.

[The following analysis of the treaty vote and the political situation resulting from it is from the May issue of *Was Tun*, the magazine of the

Revolutionär-Kommunistische Jugend (Revolutionary Communist Youth, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The same Barzel who wanted to bring down the SPD government, and who thus made a complete fool of himself and antagonized the population, may take comfort in the concerted "save Barzel" campaign of the SPD.

The CDU is in crisis as never be-



RAINER BARZEL

fore. Barzel's coup was blocked; the electorate is incensed; the CDU can no longer get around the question of the Eastern treaties, on which it lightheartedly said "no" so long as the government had a majority to pass them anyway. All the "no" voters and turncoats are grouped around Barzel; he nearly has a majority, but now—in the interests of capital and the Western powers—suddenly he has to come out in favor of the treaties.

Barzel, the sorcerer's apprentice, has

to lay his cards on the table, as opposed to his party rivals [Franz Joseph] Strauss and [Gerhard] Schröder, who can still claim to be against the treaties. But "Rainer the Pure" has not lost. The SPD helps and helps and helps. CDU general secretary Kraske can now afford to explain that Barzel's no-confidence vote was aimed at "preventing the blocking of the Eastern treaties"—and that says everything about the situation created by the SPD.

The SPD leaders throw themselves headlong into "summit talks" on the most absurd, trivial questions, the results of which are immediately retracted; they spare their treaty-partners in Moscow no embarrassment, thus assuring that the talks will get nowhere—and thus undermine their base among the population, which while it demonstrated against the attempt to bring down the regime, is now beginning—tired, disappointed, and confused—to withdraw from the scene.

"Alliances whose first proviso is separation; struggles whose first law is indecision; . . . heroes without heroic deeds; . . . development whose sole driving force seems to be the calendar, wearying with constant repetition of the same tensions and relaxations; antagonisms that periodically seem to work themselves up to a climax only to lose their sharpness and fall away without being able to resolve themselves; pretentiously paraded exertions and philistine terror at the danger of the world coming to an end, and at the same time the pettiest intrigues and court comedies played. . . ." It is striking that Marx's words from *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* so well describe the events in Bonn during the first week of May.

In its unrestrained degeneration, the Soviet bureaucracy defended objective Soviet interests in the whole affair in the worst conceivable way. In the series of agreements on Berlin—in whose success Nixon, because of Vietnam, had the most vital interest—Moscow had a powerful lever in its hands. The bureaucracy had only to stick to the text of the accords,

which sufficiently expressed its desire for "normalization."

But instead, it plunged into the parliamentary intrigues going on in Bonn. This was to the detriment of the political usefulness of the agreements, was of no use at all to Brandt and the SPD, and made sense only as part of the "save Barzel" campaign.

The Soviet leaders' willingness to make concessions surprised even the social-liberal coalition. Once they climbed onto the Bonn merry-go-round the bureaucrats could avoid no absurdity. Falin delivered the ratification documents of the Soviet leaders to Bonn as a "token" for the CDU. "Thus, the Soviet ambassador suddenly found himself, against his will, thrust into the role of arbiter between two quarreling families," wrote Augstein on the parliamentary-leadership talks with Falin. Only in this case it was the "judge" himself who had to pay the price, and at that he gave some fuel to the real opponents of the treaty.

The SED [Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands—Socialist Unity party of Germany, the East German Communist party] leadership was no better. In its erroneous belief that it could influence the no-confidence vote, it concluded the travel agreement by making concessions and got hardly anything in return. Then the SED added to this clumsy maneuver by answering the question of whether they would have given so much to Barzel with a ridiculous "No, no, a thousand times no." Besides this, the SED even joined the "save Barzel" campaign by reprinting in *Neues Deutschland* a commentary from the West Berlin *Telegraf* that granted Barzel a "sense of responsibility" toward the agreements.

The Eastern treaties establish normal political-diplomatic relations, and on this level they represent a long overdue normalization and signify an adjustment of the treaty-situation to reality.

The capitalists have no reason to oppose the treaties, which are the political preconditions for gaining the same trade benefits with the East as the other capitalist states have. Besides, as Brandt said, "nothing was yielded that was not already lost."

The workers have no reason to oppose the treaties, because they have no interest in the continued existence

of pretexts for revanchist propaganda, and because the *Ostpolitik*—regardless of the intentions of its authors—tends to undermine anti-communism.

It is completely absurd to see in these treaties a victory for "peace politics," "security for the workers," or any other success for the West German workers, as the DKP [Deutsche Kommunistische Partei—German Communist party, the "legal" Communist party in West Germany] does. It is just as absurd to call the treaties a "Moscow-Bonn war pact," as do the Maoists, who no longer recognize class lines, or to regard them as a step toward the restoration of capitalism in the USSR, as do the SAG, the Lambertists, and others. The German-Soviet trade that will result from the treaties is in no way different from the Soviet Union's participation in the world market in Lenin's time—so long as the state monopoly of foreign trade is not jettisoned, and no one is suggesting that.

The passage of the Eastern treat-

ties can have an important effect on class politics in West Germany—a powerful political defeat for the CDU, the favorite party of the bourgeoisie, and thus a setback to the drive for a Strauss regime, with all its tendencies toward "strong statism." The Brandt regime and the SPD—with the ardent assistance of the Kremlin, the SED, and the DKP—will push this possible effect for all it is worth.

Barzel claims the laurel for ratification of the Eastern treaties, which was a relief for all the participants. The steam has gone out of the situation, and a new "constructive no-confidence vote" pushed by new agents of the CDU economic councils will scarcely find any more support among the population, whether the candidate's name be Barzel, Schröder, or whatever.

The SPD has again demonstrated how a "people's party" prepares its own defeat. It owes its continued control of the government not to its own tactical facility, but to the bourgeoisie's crisis of leadership. □

Soviet Union

Arrests by KGB Continue in Ukraine

By Ted Harding

The toll of victims of bureaucratic repression in the Ukraine continues to mount. Since the Central Committee decision last December 30 to put an end to the production and circulation of underground periodicals, repression in the Ukraine has been severe.

In mid-January, the KGB (secret police) arrested well over 100 Ukrainians in an attempt to silence the most militant voices of opposition. (See *Intercontinental Press*, April 10, 1972.) Show trials of some of the dissenters are scheduled to begin sometime this summer.

A new departure from the traditional Stalinist slanders of the Ukrainian opposition movement involves attempts to link that movement with China. In addition to the charge of "slandering" the Soviet state, three of the hundred or so arrested—Vyacheslav Chornovil, Evheny Sverstiuk,

and Ivan Svitlichny—have also been accused of conspiring with a Belgian student tourist, Y. Dobosh, for the purpose of spreading "anti-Soviet propaganda." Dobosh was arrested around the same time as the others and charged with being an agent of an émigré nationalist organization.

The full meaning of Dobosh's arrest was revealed in an article in the Ukrainian press entitled "An Infamous Alliance" (*Radianska Ukraina*, February 26). This article documents China's developing dialogue with Ukrainian émigré nationalist organizations and states that Dobosh's "enemy activity" was indirectly financed by the Chinese; through Dobosh, it links the Ukrainian dissidents with Mao's "anti-Leninist . . . overt and malicious anti-Sovietism."

Protest in the Ukraine against the mid-January wave of repression was immediate and widespread. This pro-

test, according to the latest reports from the Ukraine, brought on yet another repressive wave as approximately fifty persons, primarily students, were arrested in Lvov and Ivano-Frankovsk for coming to the defense of the victims of the previous arrests.

Dissident sources also report that the KGB is continuing to carry out an unusually widespread campaign of arrests, interrogations, and searches of persons suspected of active opposition.

Ivan Dzyuba, author of the book *Internationalism or Russification?*, has been arrested. Dzyuba was born into a peasant family in a village in the Donbass coal-mining region of the Ukraine in 1931, and became a prominent literary critic. He did much to encourage new trends in Ukrainian literature. In September 1965, a week or so before the arrests of Synyavsky and Daniel, numerous arrests of young intellectuals took place in the Ukraine. On September 4 Dzyuba, together with V. Chornovil and I. Stus, staged a protest in the "Ukraina" cinema in Kiev. He also spoke at Babi Yar in 1966, calling anti-Semitism "the fruit and satellite of a long slavery and lack of culture, the first and inevitable offspring of political despotism," and he condemned anti-Semitic campaigns. His book is an examination of the Leninist policy on nationalities and its subsequent betrayal by the Stalinist bureaucracy. His arrest comes after years of harassment by the secret police.

Nadia Svitlichna, sister of Ivan Svitlichny, a prominent literary critic and one of the best-known dissidents in the Ukraine, was arrested on May 19, according to a report in the British press. Nadia Svitlichna, who is around 30 years old, was sacked from her job as a librarian in Kiev in 1969 for signing documents pleading for greater freedom.

As part of the extended crackdown on those suspected of "anti-Soviet" activity, Dr. Vyacheslav Gluzman, a Kiev psychiatrist, has also been arrested. Gluzman is a close friend of Ukrainian author Viktor Nekrasov, who was recently interrogated by the secret police.

Leonid Plyushch, mathematician and founding member of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Civil Rights in the USSR, has been detained by the police. Plyushch was suspected of

involvement in the production and distribution of uncensored *samizdat* material, including the bimonthly *Chronicle of Current Events*.

Whether the arrests will deter other dissidents from continuing their activity is doubtful. Commenting on the circular effect of police repression, Valentyn Moroz declared during his trial: "Our society has entered a stage

of development when repressions produce results diametrically opposed to your [the KGB's] intentions. . . . The movement has acquired the potential to produce new leaders to replace those removed by you. . . . Is it possible that you do not comprehend that you will soon be dealing with social movements of massive proportions?" □

Prefers 'Democracy' to Franco

Nephew of Spanish Minister on Trial

Alejandro Rojas Marcos, a member of one of Spain's most prominent families and nephew of the minister of the interior, went on trial in Madrid June 3 on charges of carrying on illegal propaganda. He was put on trial after giving lectures in Seville and Granada. According to a report by *Le Monde* correspondent José-Antonio Novais June 6, the thirty-one-year-old Rojas Marcos "believes that the future of Spain lies with democracy."

He is being defended in court by the rector of the University of Seville, Manuel Clavero, who asked for an acquittal. This is the first time that a rector has argued before a special tribunal set up to handle cases involving persons charged with subversive activities.

In 1966, Rojas Marcos was elected a town councillor in Seville by heads

of local families, but he resigned in 1968. He helped found a Catholic daily, *Correo de Andalucía*, and is on the editorial staff of a Christian-Democratic magazine. In 1969 he was put on trial for "illegal propaganda" and acquitted. He spent a year in jail during the state of emergency in 1971.

The prosecutor stated that the defendant had visited the archbishop of Seville, Cardinal Bueno Monreal, to request his help in an effort to re-establish article 18 of the constitution, which forbids any Spaniard from being illegally detained. The prosecutor dwelt on what he considered "the grave danger represented by the political behavior of Mr. Rojas Marcos, a danger that is much greater than that of the activists of various political parties" because "the defendant is a person who belongs to high society and is extremely cultivated." □

Waves of Arrests Continue

New Government Formed in Turkey

Turkish President Cevdet Sunay has approved a twenty-five-member new cabinet proposed by prime minister designate Ferit Melen on May 22. The country had been without a formal executive apparatus since the April 17 resignation of Prime Minister Nihat Erim.

The new government includes seventeen ministers who were cabinet members in Erim's government and adds eight new faces. Eight of the

ministers are members of the Justice party, which holds the majority in parliament; five are from the Republican People's party; two are from the Reliance party; one senator and nine others who currently hold no parliamentary positions were made ministers.

Sunay had had some difficulty coming up with an acceptable list. After Erim's resignation, he appointed Suat Hayri Uygulu prime minister and

asked him to form a cabinet. On May 13 Urguplu submitted a list of ministers, but it was rejected by Sunay, who fired Urguplu and turned the assignment over to Melen.

The new cabinet is said to be "above politics," which means it is a coalition of contending forces who are under instructions from the military not to contend. Melen has pledged that his government's first job will be "ending anarchy" in Turkey.

By government standards this may well involve putting the majority of the population behind bars. At a May 28 press conference, General Faik Turun, commander of Istanbul under a state of emergency, released statistics on the number of persons hit so far by the "antianarchy" campaign.

The general said that during the first quarter of the year, 1,290 persons had been subjected to police inquiries, 404 had been arrested on charges of having engaged in "anarchist activities," 77 persons had been placed under house arrest, and 153 had been sentenced to prison terms ranging from one to thirty-six years. Turun also claimed that the government had seized 780 rifles, 56,000 revolvers, 12,000 daggers, and large amounts of other arms in raids on "leftist hideouts."

The regime seems to have a relatively broad notion of what constitutes complicity in acts of "terrorism." Last November, five prisoners escaped from a military prison; 300 civilians and military personnel will soon go on trial for having allegedly organized the escape. Sixteen persons have been arrested on charges of having organized the May 3 hijacking of a Turkish jetliner to Sofia. Among those charged with that offense are Altan Oymen, a correspondent for a West German press agency, and Emin Galip Sandalci, former head of Turkish radio and television programming.

There is no sign that the government will slack off in the second quarter of 1972. On May 26, authorities in Ankara announced the arrest of sixty-eight alleged leaders of a newly formed leftist underground organization called the Revolutionary Workers and Peasants party of Turkey. □

They're the Ones You Have to Watch

Right-wing opponents of Nixon are distributing a book that calls him a tool of "leftist international bankers."

Israel

Anti-Zionist Faces Five-Year Jail Term

Giora Neuman, a nineteen-year-old Israeli anti-Zionist, was scheduled to go on trial June 11 before a military tribunal on charges of draft evasion. If convicted, Neuman could face a five-year jail term.

A member of the Israeli Socialist Organization (known by the name of its journal, *Matzpen*, which means "compass" in Hebrew), Neuman was first arrested last November for refusing to serve in Israel's army of occupation. The usual procedure in Israel is to sentence people who refuse induction to thirty-five days in jail, and then draft them again, repeating the thirty-five-day sentence if they still refuse service. Neuman received five such terms before the state finally decided to bring him to trial on more serious charges.

One reason the Zionist authorities may have made this decision is the fact that resistance to serving in the army has been growing in the country, even reaching sectors of the population that are not necessarily anti-Zionist. In March, the Israeli New Left (Siah) published an advertisement in the mass-circulation daily

Ha'aretz urging all Kibbutz members and adherents of left-Zionist youth movements to refuse military service in the territories occupied by Israel since the June 1967 war.

The English-language magazine *Israel and Palestine* (published in Paris) reported in its April issue that more than forty youths from Jerusalem's slums had returned their draft cards to military authorities, saying they would refuse any service in the armed forces as long as problems caused by poverty had not been solved. That action was said to have been organized by the Black Panthers, the antigovernment group created last year by Sephardic Jews.

Among those who have served at least one term of thirty-five days are Arie Bober, a *Matzpen* leader, who refused to be sent to the Golan Heights during the Israeli operations against southern Lebanon in February; and Irith Yacobi, a nineteen-year-old woman who said, in refusing army service, "I refuse to inflict on the Palestinians what others have inflicted on the Jews." □

Filmed for West German Television

Three in Baader-Meinhof Group Captured

"Baum filmed the apartment house at 2-4 Hofeckweg and he was only worried about one thing. 'Hopefully there will be something to shoot because this is something we won't be able to do a remake of.'

"The German people saw and heard this unique scene eight times over television last Wednesday [May 31]. Armored cars, armored policemen, shooting, screaming, short phrases over a loudspeaker: 'Come out one by one. Nothing will happen to you. You are surrounded . . . Think about your lives; you are young.'

This is how the West German weekly *Der Spiegel* introduced a fifteen-page cover story in its June 5 issue report-

ing the capture in Frankfurt of three members of the Baader-Meinhof group, which has claimed to be waging armed resistance to imperialism in Germany. The report continued:

"One came out in bathing trunks. That was Holger Meins, thirty years old. The second, who had been shot, Andreas Baader, twenty-nine, was dragged out. The third man, Carl Raspe, was arrested by the police in the garden."

Der Spiegel stressed the proclamations of the group, such as "the armed struggle has begun," and "the war will be taken into the residential districts." Much of the report was written in a lurid "spy story" style. In the June 2

issue of the *New York Times*, Bonn correspondent David Binder tried to link the group with a wide range of urban guerrilla organizations:

"They are believed in police circles here to have international connections to like-minded groups in Italy, Japan and France. Baader and Miss Meinhof and others reportedly received weapons training in the Middle East from Palestinian guerrillas during the summer of 1970 after Baader was freed from jail in Berlin by masked gunmen."

The Baader-Meinhof group has been

blamed for a series of bombings in May, in which four American soldiers were killed. In the past year, three members of the group were reportedly killed by police during a series of raids to obtain money for a guerrilla campaign.

The police captured Baader and his two associates at 5:00 in the morning of May 31-June 1 in Frankfurt. The co-leader of the group, Ulrike Meinhof, is reportedly still free. Other groupings, such as the Red Army Faction, are also said to be operating in West Germany. □

who are expected to hustle the votes in November. "The closer Mr. McGovern comes to winning the Democratic nomination," wrote James Naughton in the *New York Times* May 19, "the more he looks, acts and sounds like a conventional politician." Having first attracted the support of critics of the system—among them many active in the antiwar, Black, Chicano, women's, and homosexual liberation movements—he now feels secure in shifting to the right. "Our strategy all along was to co-opt the left," observed McGovern's campaign manager, Gary Hart. (*New York Times Magazine*, May 14.)

McGovern recently told journalists that even the "most committed idealists" working on his behalf "would understand and would welcome any success I have in reaching a better relationship with the party regulars." A prerequisite for success in capitalist politics is compromise. But in the compromise of his supporters' views that McGovern is rushing to work out, there will be winners and losers—and in such wheeling and dealing, the capitalists never lose.

McGovern, who sometimes describes himself as a "conservative," has been energetically devoting himself recently to shedding the "radical" image he has acquired among conservatives and even among some on the left. He told an interviewer in Michigan in May: "I don't accept the notion that I'm a left winger. I don't think it's left wing to say that corporations ought to pay their fair share of taxes. I don't think it's left wing to say we ought to end the war. I don't think it's left wing to say people who are hungry ought to be fed, people who are jobless ought to have jobs."

McGovern earned his image as a "peace" candidate in spite of the fact that he voted for the Tonkin Gulf resolution that gave Lyndon Johnson a green light in escalating the war in 1964 and in spite of the fact that he voted for appropriations for the Vietnam war as late as 1969. He promises to end the war three months after being elected, and has found his main base of support among those who want to see the United States get out of Indochina.

In the past McGovern has lent his support to the mass demonstrations of the antiwar movement. This year, however, he refused to endorse or speak at the April 22 protests, in spite

'Strategy All Along Was to Co-opt the Left'

McGovern Campaign Shifts Into 'Conventional' Gear

By David Thorstad

"The goal of the American political system is to contain protest and rage within the electoral process, thus keeping it from bursting into the streets as revolution," wrote *New York Times* analyst R.W. Apple Jr. May 5. "The goal of the [Democratic and Republican] parties is to provide a vehicle for such protest. . . ."

The kind of "vehicle" Apple has in mind, of course, is not one that provides for the massive expression of desires for social change but in fact precisely the opposite—drowning those desires in the ballot boxes of the two parties that serve as the political mainstays of capitalist oppression at home and imperialism abroad. In a country like the United States, where there is neither a mass left-wing party nor a labor party, this trick can be accomplished by feeding the widespread illusions of the discontented that fundamental change is possible within the existing capitalist "two-party" system.

In the current presidential election campaign, the candidate who is most effectively nourishing these illusions is the liberal Democratic senator from the state of South Dakota, George McGovern.

McGovern's campaign for the Democratic party nomination, which was announced as early as January 1971,

has been organized and carried to success in state after state without the backing of much of the official party machine. Instead, it has largely relied on a small army of hard-working, inexperienced young people, most of whom have been attracted to his campaign by McGovern's image as an antiestablishment figure and critic of the Vietnam war. Few political pundits gave the senator more than a slim chance of actually winning the nomination prior to the first primary election last March. But McGovern was already the front-runner by the time of his crucial victory in the June 6 California primary over the other major contender, Hubert Humphrey. He now has a total of 950 committed delegate votes, with 1,509 needed for nomination and hundreds of delegate votes still to be decided. It is now considered quite possible that McGovern will win the nomination on the first ballot at the Democratic party's national convention in Miami July 10-13.

Now that McGovern smells success in his quest, he is taking steps to make his "antiestablishment" campaign acceptable to sections of the capitalist class and to those who run or influence the Democratic party—party bosses, Southern Dixiecrats—and to the conservative labor bureaucrats

of the urgency surrounding them in view of the just-announced step-up in U.S. bombing of North Vietnam. "I used to participate in those demonstrations, as you know," McGovern hypocritically explained. "But I've decided the best thing I can do now is run for the Presidency so I can speak out every day, not just on April 22." His campaign headquarters in Boston refused to allow April 22 literature to be displayed there.

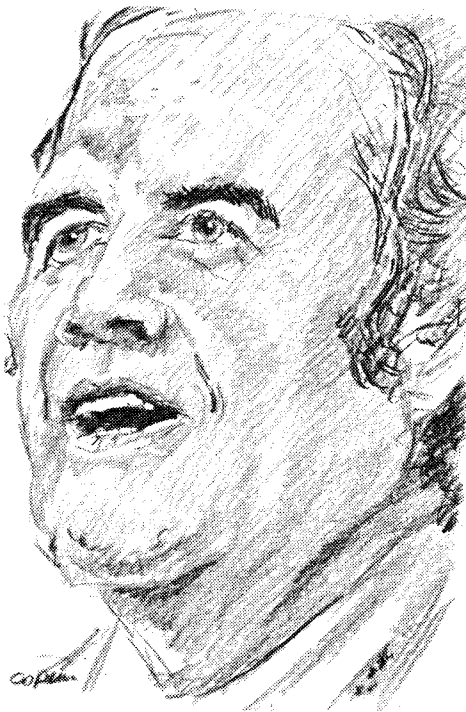
Even Nixon's decision to mine the harbors of North Vietnam could not move this "peace" candidate to support protest demonstrations. "Let us not react in blind fury and dangerous demonstrations," he pontificated, "but let us work quietly and firmly to put forward in 1972 a new agenda of peace—and end at long last the futile and destructive war in Southeast Asia."

The war is not the only issue on which McGovern has begun to demonstrate his real views. His maneuvering on the question of abortion has been particularly adroit. Thousands of women have been attracted to his campaign because they thought he supported full rights for women. It must be said that the candidate encouraged them in this belief. He put out buttons with his name together with the women's rights symbol. And his New York headquarters published a leaflet aimed at women claiming among other things that "to Senator McGovern abortion *is* a woman's right. He is in favor of repeal of all abortion laws and he condemns forced sterilizations."

During the Nebraska primary at the beginning of May, however, McGovern responded to the mounting antiabortion campaign spearheaded by the Roman Catholic church throughout the United States by stating that the issue of abortion should be left up to the states to decide: "I simply don't think the federal government should be involved at all. I have proposed no action in this field. As president I would propose no action. This is an issue in which the state has sole jurisdiction. I don't propose to enter this area." This position is identical to that of Richard Nixon.

McGovern has acquired part of his reform image by giving his campaign audiences the impression that he favors radical tax reform that would soak the superrich. He has come to

be identified with such concepts as an income ceiling of \$50,000, a 100-percent tax on inheritances over \$500,000, and elimination or tightening of investment tax credits and depletion allowances. On May 22, however, he placed an advertisement in the *Wall Street Journal* explaining to its capitalist readers that he has not proposed any of these steps. And while he "supports" tax reform, he re-



MCGOVERN: Out to quiet "rage" of "vast majority of Americans."

minds the rich who now benefit from generous tax loopholes that it is only Congress that can initiate tax measures anyway; thus, anything the candidate proposes is designed more to win votes than anything else.

McGovern also reminds the Wall Street bankers that his intentions are only to serve them and their system better: "In traveling about the country, I have found the vast majority of Americans in a rage against the injustices of our present tax system. I believe that their anger is justified and, if not soon rectified, represents a threat to the free-enterprise system in which you and I so strongly believe."

Early in the primary season, McGovern dismissed the issue of school busing to bring about racial integration—an issue the racist demagogue George Wallace has manipulated to considerable advantage—as "number 92" on his list of issues. At other times

he endorsed busing. But during the May primary in Michigan, where the antibusing movement is strong, he publicly hoped that the courts would reconsider and reject the cross-busing of children between the often Black inner cities and the largely white suburbs. Following his California primary victory, liberal McGovern has spoken of offering Wallace a post in a McGovern cabinet. Might he have in mind the post of secretary of health, education, and welfare?

The opportunist inconsistencies of McGovern's positions are part of the stock-in-trade of American politicians attempting to weave a net big enough to catch the maximum number of votes. This requires the candidate to water down his positions and speak out of both sides of his mouth at the same time. McGovern apparently feels he has not done enough of this.

One commentator compared McGovern's problem with that of another Democratic contender, Edmund Muskie, this way: "Muskie's problem was that he was clearly seen as a guy with vague positions. McGovern has been vaguely seen as a guy with clear positions."

The only candidates who are clearly seen to have clear positions on all the issues are those of the Socialist Workers party: Linda Jenness for president and Andrew Pulley for vice president. The SWP announced their candidacies at its August 1971 national convention. Immediately they began what is the most ambitious and energetic election campaign in the party's history.

In addition to speaking tours throughout the United States, they have combined speaking with fact-finding tours abroad—Pulley to Northern Ireland and to military bases in Europe where he talked with GIs about the war and Black liberation; Jenness to several countries in Latin America.

Jenness and Pulley, in contrast to McGovern, have used their campaign to build the mass movements for social change. They stress the importance of remaining independent of the capitalist parties and attack the illusion that McGovern or any other liberal can accomplish meaningful change "within the system." Even before he has the Democratic nomination wrapped up, McGovern is beginning to demonstrate the truth of what they say. □

REVIEWS

Behind the 'Brainwashing' of George E. Smith

Despite streams of hypocritical propaganda, the U. S. government has found it difficult throughout the course of the Indochina war to convince domestic public opinion that American prisoners are victims of "brainwashing" or physical abuse. An impartial survey would probably show that most Americans believe—rightly—that the greatest danger to prisoners of the liberation forces comes from the tons of bombs dropped daily by U. S. aircraft.

One of the reasons for Johnson and Nixon's propaganda difficulties has been the occasional release by North Vietnam or the National Liberation Front of captured U. S. soldiers, some of whom have been willing to describe their experiences honestly despite threats of prosecution for "aiding the enemy."

At first glance, George E. Smith would seem to have been an unlikely candidate to learn anything from the experience of being captured, much less to tell the world about it. A Special Forces (Green Beret) sergeant, he was by his own admission a professional soldier, dedicated to following orders without much concern for what those orders required him to do.

Smith was sent to South Vietnam early in 1963, supposedly as an "adviser" to the army of dictator Ngo Dinh Diem. The process of disillusionment set in almost immediately when Smith found that the main assignment of his Special Forces team was to protect a rubber plantation belonging to Madame Nhu, Diem's sister-in-law.

The Special Forces camp at which Smith was stationed was overrun in November 1963 by the National Liberation Front—apparently with the cooperation of the forces that Smith was supposedly training to defend the Saigon regime. For the next two years, Smith was held in various NLF prisons in South Vietnam, being moved occasionally as U. S. air raids came closer. He must have been, as he observes, a tremendous nuisance to his captors—requiring a guard force that could have been better used elsewhere,

and slowing them down when it was necessary to move.

Smith's change in attitude toward the Vietnamese began with the contrast in the treatment he received and that meted out to those unfortunate enough to fall into the hands of the Green Berets or their puppet-army pupils. (Smith reports that the Spe-

P. O. W. — Two Years With the Vietcong by George E. Smith. Ramparts Press, Berkeley, California. 304 pp. \$5.95. 1971.

cial Forces are given detailed instruction in torture techniques under the guise of training them to "resist enemy brainwashing.")

Another factor in Smith's education was the military skill and the determination of the NLF, which he could not help comparing to the poor morale of the Saigon army.

During his captivity, Smith sometimes found himself treated more like a guest than a prisoner, although this was reversed for a time after another prisoner took advantage of the guards' casual attitude in order to escape. He was asked to work, but was not disciplined if he refused.

The only "brainwashing" to which Smith was subjected was conversations with NLF political cadres, who patiently explained to him the Vietnamese position on the war and why the United States had no business being involved in it. When Smith became convinced of the accuracy of what he was told, he made several written statements mildly critical of the U. S. intervention.

Smith was released in November 1965 as a gesture in response to the self-immolation of Quaker Norman Morrison on the steps of the Pentagon and the activities of the U. S. antiwar movement.

At a press conference in Pnompenh following his release, Smith and another Special Forces sergeant released

with him announced their intention to join the antiwar movement. As a result of this remark, they were held by the army on Okinawa for six months—despite the fact that their terms of enlistment had expired—while the U. S. government tried to figure out how to silence them.

They were eventually informed that they would be court-martialed for "aiding the enemy"—a charge that could bring the death penalty. This threat was then used to bludgeon the isolated soldiers into accepting a less-than-honorable discharge.

They were warned not to describe their captivity to anyone, especially such details as the fact that they had received Red Cross parcels and had seen bombing raids by B-52s. They were forced to sign a written acknowledgment of the warning and were told that any violation could result in federal prosecution.

It was not until 1969 that Smith was ready to tell his story publicly. He was then interviewed for *Ramparts* magazine by Donald Duncan, who provides an introduction and epilogue for this book.

It is regrettable that Washington succeeded in silencing Smith for a time, for his story would have been far more useful to the antiwar movement in 1965 than now, when the overwhelming majority of the U. S. public wants an immediate end to the war. Nevertheless, Smith's book still has value, particularly in countering the Nixon administration's propaganda about the "plight" of U. S. prisoners of war.

—David Burton

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DOCUMENTS

Transcript of the Bukovsky Trial--V

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

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

* * *

Speech of Prosecutor A. Bobrushko

This concludes the court examination of the case of Vladimir Konstantinovich Bukovsky, born in 1942, of Russian nationality. The acts of which the defendant Bukovsky is accused are classified as a crime under the provisions of Article 70, Part I of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. But, before I say anything else, I am going to digress a moment to describe the world situation at it exists as this case is taking place.

The rapid growth of the material and spiritual strength of the Soviet Union and of other socialist countries and the success of the worldwide communist and workers' movement have led to an unprecedented diffusion throughout the planet of the great ideals of communism. There are no powers that can hold back the revolutionary influence of these ideals on the fate of humanity.

The course of the worldwide revolutionary process arouses deep anxiety among the imperialist reactionaries. And they utilize every means of struggle against the forces of social and national liberation and against the socialist world. The conscious work of the Soviet people and of the workers of the fraternal socialist countries serves as an inspiring example for the peoples of every continent. Bourgeois propaganda conducts a desperate struggle against the ideas of socialism, striving above all to discredit the Soviet regime and to slander the historic achievements of our people. One campaign of slander replaces another, new critics and "oracles" replace old ones. But the exist-

ence of anticommunism as the main trend of the policy and ideology of imperialist reaction remains. We are now facing one more round of this anti-Soviet drive.

In this drive, Messrs. Imperialists and their lackeys do not shun any sort of means—from fabrications about "communist aggression" and "the Soviet military threat," the composition of fables about the "absence of freedom," or "persecution of the Jews" in the Soviet Union and similar nonsense, to the most blatant and cynical subversive activities—in which we find, all tangled together, agents of imperialist intelligence agencies, venerable professors of misinformation, and mercenary scribblers of the bourgeois press.

But, however zealous these anti-Soviet gentlemen may be, it is not within their power to attain the goal they strive for—to destroy popular faith in the ideas of communism and socialism. That goal is unrealizable. And it is by no means an accident that in the camp of reaction voices keep resounding which admit the failure of the anticommunist propaganda. The American newsweekly *Time* says through its teeth, "Marxism controls one-third of humanity. The attraction of the Marxist vision of the world will be preserved until such a time as contemporary bourgeois society finds more effective means than it has until now for explaining to the masses its nature and intention."

In search of these "more effective means" present-day imperialism utilizes a colossal propaganda apparatus for the maintenance of which no expenses are spared. The press, radio, television, so-called research institutes, propaganda departments, and special services disseminate day and night the poison of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism to every corner of the earth, in attempts to poison the minds of the people.

In the recent period we have seen a step-up in the falsification and slander emanating from the Western centers of ideological diversion, whose

task is to use every possible means to show the Soviet Union in a bad light, to distort the foreign and domestic policies of the USSR, to slander the Soviet people and the Soviet Communist party. Even *New York Times* columnist [Harrison] Salisbury, who would hardly be considered a Soviet sympathizer, actually admitted in regard to rumors about the situation in the Soviet Union which were recently publicized in the American press that these false materials were fabricated in one of the centers of anti-Soviet falsification.

While slandering the socialist world, imperialist propaganda tries with all its strength to conceal the exploitative, inhuman nature of the bourgeois system. The imperialist ideologists know that against the background of the achievements of the world revolutionary process and the undeniable success of the countries of the socialist bloc, the laboriously, yet crudely concocted "image of the free world" collapses, while the prestige of the capitalist powers is rapidly disintegrating.

How can imperialist apologetics conceal the fact that the "image of the free world" is full of holes? Having no positive ideals to their name, having no sort of constructive program—like a drowning man grabbing a straw—they clutch at the venomous weapon of anticommunism. The step-up in anticommunist activity, and especially anti-Soviet propaganda, is obviously aimed at obscuring and blurring the consciousness of people in the troubled countries of the West, in an attempt to alienate them from the compelling ideas of progress and freedom, forcing them to resign themselves to the burdensome abomination of imperialism.

Such are the aims of our ideological enemies. What means do they use?

Entire groups of pseudoscientific "Sovietologists" compose "works," crammed with "schemes" and "models" for the annihilation of socialism. The assistance of the propaganda crew of imperialism is mobilized behind them. In close collaboration with the intelligence agencies, this crew persistently searches in our country for material to slander the socialist regime. The task is a thankless one and clearly backbreaking. The monolithic Soviet people, proud of their achievements, of their unity and confidence in the triumph of the high ideals which

they defend, resist imperialism with all their strength. There is only one choice for the enemies of the Soviet people: to ransack the dregs of society; to search for prey among the rotten souls who are ready to sell anything and everything for a foreign mess of pottage.

One of the bosses of the American propaganda effort—chairman of the "Committee of Political Information" General Jackson—with cynical frankness one day revealed what kind of "sources" the anticommunists resort to: "In the ideological struggle against communism we need not the truth, but subversive activities. In such a war all the cutthroats and gangsters we can secure by whatever means are necessary." Apparently, the affairs of the opponents of communism have gotten into such a sorry state that in order to turn up anti-Soviet propaganda they have to resort to the services of criminal elements, various kinds of renegades, parasites, rogues, and swindlers, and even people who could only be of interest to psychiatrists.

For want of appropriate "materials" the Western propaganda apparatus slobbered for a long time over the names of Tarsis and his ilk, playing up their talentless anti-Soviet crudities as "masterpieces of Russian literature." Having received no recognition in their native land, these malignant creatures willingly passed along their slander of the Soviet people to the capitalist countries, where it was published.¹

The English reactionary press tried to create a "sensation" around the appearance in London of the graphomaniac Tarsis, who is mentally ill. The "Sovietologists" warmly recommended him to the English public as a "persecuted Soviet writer." The sensation very soon subsided because after Tarsis's two delirious statements on television and in newspapers his patrons acknowledged with embarrassment that they had before them not a writer but a candidate for a

1. Valery Tarsis, a dissident writer, was published abroad in the early 1960s. Among his works was *Ward 7*, an account of his incarceration in a mental hospital because of his political views.

In 1966, Tarsis was permitted to go to England for a lecture tour. While he was there, Soviet authorities stripped him of his citizenship and denounced him as both traitorous and insane. — IP

mental hospital. The English quickly and without fanfare forwarded him to the United States.

The professional anticommunists are constantly being pressed by their masters for more materials to prepare more misinformation. And this is not the first year that a number of Western newspapers and magazines have tried to suggest to readers that among scientific and literary circles in Moscow there exist certain "rebellious intellectuals" who serve, moreover, as "reliable sources," systematically informing certain foreign correspondents about reality in the Soviet Union. Reports from Moscow, which are published regularly in newspapers like the *Washington Post*, are often accompanied by references to these "sources." It never occurs to the unsophisticated reader that under the guise of "learned literati who disagree with the system" are hidden mercenary ignoramuses.

Take for example a certain A. Amalrik, whom the *Washington Post* glorifies as a "historian" and author of "gripping, brilliant" works. In fact he has been involved not so much in history as scandalous and criminal episodes.²

In 1961, he was dismissed from Moscow University for loafing and failing to meet academic standards. With that, Amalrik's "scholarly career" was ended. He neither wanted to study nor to work. Starting out by selling his papa's library, he soon led the life of a consummate parasite. He became acquainted with the organs of

2. Andrei Alekseyevich Amalrik is the author of *Can the USSR Survive Until 1984?*, which predicts the destruction of the Soviet Union in a war with China. Amalrik was expelled from Moscow University in 1963 (not 1961, as the prosecutor states) for writing a paper on Norse influence in the founding of the Russian state.

In February 1965, he was sentenced to two-and-a-half years of exile in Siberia for circulating allegedly "anti-Soviet and pornographic" plays. His conviction was overturned by a higher court after sixteen months. Amalrik described this period of his life in the book *Involuntary Journey to Siberia*, which depicts life on a Siberian collective farm.

Amalrik was arrested again in May 1970, and in November of that year was sentenced to three years in a restrictive-regime labor camp for "defaming" the Soviet state. He is reported to be in extremely poor health as the result of an untreated heart disease. — IP

Soviet justice and took, in his words, "an involuntary journey." Returning to Moscow, Amalrik decided to begin working for a living at the correspondent centers of several Western publications. Almost every day Amalrik haunted the thresholds of foreign correspondents' offices, palming off to these masters his filthy rumors and gossip, which were later modeled into "reliable reports."

These renegades, begging for whiskey and cigarettes in exchange for their foul fabrications, are only a miserable handful.

Even their benefactors themselves have had to admit this. Associated Press correspondent Holger Jensen, for example, has observed that these people are "a tiny minority." Henry Kamm, former Moscow correspondent for the *New York Times*, admits that for every renegade there are 100,000 devoted Soviet patriots. Despite this, day after day the thousand-tongued imperialist propaganda apparatus focuses not on the immense and remarkable life of our people but on this insignificant handful of mercenary self-seekers. Still, there is a certain logic to this. A bent for fabrication and falsification and an attraction toward the scum of a society have long since become second nature to the militant anticommunists.

Having suffered a fiasco with the rogues and schizophrenics of this kind, the heralds of anticommunism decided to resort to provocations on a grander scale and to create a sensation around the name of A. Solzhenitsyn, with his tacit agreement.

A. Solzhenitsyn's lampoons of the Soviet people, slandering the heroic feats and achievements of our motherland and the dignity of the Soviet people, turned out to be suitable material for the routine anticommunist campaign built up in the West.

An internal *émigré* in spirit, alienated from and hostile to all aspects of Soviet life, Solzhenitsyn was promoted by imperialist propaganda to the rank of "great Russian writer," and not long ago was awarded a Nobel prize. The Nobel committee sided with the anticommunist profiteers who raised Solzhenitsyn to such a height not on the basis of "talent" but only because he denigrated Soviet reality.

Frauds, coarse insinuations, isolated rogues—these are the weapons used by our ideological enemies.

Today another slanderer and venomous anti-Soviet has stood before the court—Bukovsky. His Western backers try to present Bukovsky as an authority on Soviet life. But in real life this impudent young man authoritatively knows only the foyers of Western correspondents in Moscow. Only half-educated and expelled from the university for unsatisfactory performance, he lists himself as employed, but he knows only one kind of work—loitering around the apartments of foreign correspondents to trade anti-Soviet nonsense for cheap gifts.

In an attempt to curry favor with his Western patrons, Bukovsky has invented the slanderous tale that in the Soviet Union representatives of the intelligentsia are placed in psychiatric hospitals for their "democratic" views without any sort of hearing, where inhuman treatment is administered to them. With the aim of disseminating these anti-Soviet fabrications, Bukovsky, as he himself admitted to the court, gave an interview to AP correspondent Holger Jensen and to the head of the Moscow bureau of CBS television, William Cole, who at the present time has been expelled from the Soviet Union for activity incompatible with the ethics of journalism.

Afterward, as had been previously planned, this slander was picked up by such foreign newspapers of anti-Soviet bias as the *Washington Post*, the *Daily News*, and others, as well as by Radio Liberty, the BBC, and the Voice of America—well known for their rabid anticommunism. The court has reviewed the commentaries carried by these newspapers and radio stations as part of the evidence testifying to Bukovsky's activity. What, after all, are this interview and these commentaries on it all about? They are about people who committed socially dangerous acts in a state of mental imbalance or who, while under investigation or on trial, developed mental illnesses that deprived them of the capacity to be aware of their actions. In compliance with existing laws such people, on the basis of rulings by competent judicial and psychiatric experts and by the decision of a court, are subject to an order to be treated in psychiatric hospitals of a general or special type.

The half-educated Bukovsky, who is totally ignorant of medicine, does not even recognize the absurd situation

in which he has placed himself. Why, he takes it upon himself to lecture and contradict medical specialists, representatives of the Soviet school of psychiatry, who have earned the respect and recognition of the world. The well-known Soviet scholar and director of the Institute of Psychiatry of the Academy of Medical Sciences of the USSR, Academician A. V. Snezhnevsky has stated, in a conversation with *Izvestia* correspondent K. Briantsev that "The highest humanism, the goal of helping the mentally ill feel as though they are part of society, these goals have always distinguished Soviet psychiatry. Therefore, the absurd report that in the Soviet Union sane people are placed in psychiatric hospitals, this wild fabrication, cannot help but arouse a feeling of deep indignation."³

In the court proceedings all aspects of the indictment returned after the preliminary investigation were studied

3. Snezhnevsky is reported to have shown "deep indignation" on other occasions. One of these was in June 1970, when biologist Jaures Medvedev was confined in a psychiatric hospital until domestic and foreign protest forced his release. At that time Snezhnevsky expressed himself to the doctor in charge of Medvedev's commitment: "In a year's time there is going to be an international psychiatric congress in Mexico City. How do you think this is going to make our delegation look?"

The delegation, led by Snezhnevsky,

as carefully as possible. Irrefutable evidence of the guilt of the defendant Bukovsky on all the points in the indictment were presented to the court.

I ask the court to take note of the personality of the accused. Bukovsky had previously been convicted under Article 190 (3) of the RSFSR Criminal Code. After serving the sentence (three years) he continued his anti-Soviet activity, systematically distributing slanderous materials discrediting the Soviet state and social system, despite repeated warnings by officials of the prosecutor's office.

I ask the court also to note who certainly abetted the crime. I refer to the mother of the defendant, Nina Ivanovna Bukovskaya. She herself established in her own home a setting favorable for receiving foreign correspondents, thus encouraging her son's criminal activities. For this, Bukovskaya received 100 rubles from

looked rather bad, although it did prevent the November 28-December 4, 1971, congress from discussing forced psychiatric confinement of political dissenters in the Soviet Union. When speakers attempted to bring up the matter, Snezhnevsky led a walkout of the Soviet delegation, saying they could not discuss the matter because there was no official interpretation into Russian! See "Why Psychiatric Congress Failed Soviet Prisoners," *Intercontinental Press*, February 28, 1972, p. 213.—IP

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her son's Western masters. One hundred rubles—that is how much these Western anti-Sovietists value their zealous assistant.

In the investigation, Bukovsky behaved defiantly, refusing to cooperate. Taking into account all the aforesaid, I ask the court to impose the full

punishment on Bukovsky provided under Article 70, Part I of the RSFSR Criminal Code—imprisonment for seven years to be served in a corrective labor camp of the strict order, with the first two years in prison; to be followed by five years in exile.

[To be continued.]

Stockholm Conference Official Calls for Response to Nixon's Escalation

[The following public letter, dated May 12, is by Bertil Svahnstrom, chairman of the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam. The conference was the sponsor of the Assembly for the Peace and Independence of the Indochinese Peoples, which was held in Versailles February 11-13.]

* * *

In his May 8th declaration, President Nixon reveals himself as a desperate madman, who threatens world peace by self-defeating measures.

He mines the entrances to North Vietnamese ports, thereby risking conflicts with other nations. He announces that US forces will "take appropriate measures within the internal and claimed territorial waters of North Vietnam" to block delivery and supplies. He announces that rail and all other communications will be severed "to the maximum extent possible". And all these measures were taken against a country, a people, which has never threatened the US and has neither the intention or the capacity nor the will or the wish to do so.

In our lifetime only Adolf Hitler has been capable of such acts of aggression and provocation. We have to condemn them with all means at our disposal and invent new and more efficient methods of action so as to meet the present emergency situation with adequate measures. At this moment world opinion should be able to play a decisive role in stopping this criminal attempt against world peace by Nixon and his counsellors.

Then what Nixon is doing now, if he is allowed to continue, is an attempt against humanity as a whole. The so-called Vietnamization may develop into the gangsterization of the whole world. It must not be possible that one of the makers of the destiny of the world who tries to annihilate a whole people which does not want anything but to live peacefully on its own little part of the globe, is treated as an honorable statesman and is received as a guest by other nations. Rumors that Nixon will come to Stockholm on the occasion of the UN conference on the human environment are not true. The whole Swedish people would

rise in revolt against such a visit, and everybody knows that it is physically and politically impossible in the present circumstances. Nixon takes to-day a calculated risk of general war. He feels confident that he can take this risk. But what if the mining of the ports will turn out not to be efficient as it probably will? If, as we hope, the liberation forces continue their advance? If they, in a few weeks, are directly threatening Saigon and the 60,000 US GIs in their bases? What then? New measures, stronger, more efficient measures, will be necessary. There is always the threat of nuclear war in the background. And Richard Nixon is moving straight forward in that direction.

Most people say: He would never dare to throw the first atomic bomb. A few weeks ago, nobody would have thought that he would dare to mine the ports of the DRV. The day after to-morrow the "tactical" atomic bomb may be his only chance. He will begin with the smallest so-called tactical nuclear warhead he has.

This morning I heard on the radio from Washington that the circles around Nixon regard the reaction of the other world powers to his latest actions rather as an "encouragement", as the governments restrict themselves to protests without indicating any countermeasures, and as Nixon's visit to Moscow is not even cancelled.

Nixon is allowed to move one step after the other, and in the meantime he spreads death and horror in Vietnam.

National Days of Action in the US

The US anti-war movement during these days prepare National Days of Action to stop the war and save the Vietnamese people from the destiny prepared for them by president Nixon, which is death equals peace.

The actions begin on May 16. On the 18th there will be actions to put pressure on the US Congress, on the 20th there will be demonstrations at army bases by GIs, war veterans and civilians.

This series of demonstrations will culminate on May 21 and 22—a march in Washington on the 21 and demonstra-

tions at the Pentagon on the 22. It would be a rather paradoxical situation—and an undeserved triumph for president Nixon—if he is received in Moscow the same day as the biggest effort so far by the US people to stop him culminates in his own capital.

Our US friends ask for strong international support for their actions during the coming week. Demonstrations during the same days are desirable.

Actions in Sweden

Here in Sweden the movement has been activated as never before. The first "result" of Nixon's announcement about the blockade of North Vietnam's ports was that the Swedish Committee for Vietnam and the United NLF Groups decided to organize the following day—for the first time—a common demonstration. It was considered that no political or other differences may at this moment hinder united action to stop the war. In spite of the fact that there was only one day's notice 12,000 people took part in a demonstration to the US Embassy, the largest Vietnam demonstration ever organized in Sweden. And still more people are expected to participate in a second demonstration on May 17, among them many members of parliament.

On May 10, a delegation from the Swedish Committee for Vietnam saw Prime Minister Olof Palme and presented to him the following 5 demands, urging the Swedish government

1) to use all means available to help stop the war and bring the US back to the Conference table,

2) to freeze down diplomatic relations with the US by recalling the ambassador from Washington,

3) to break off immediately the remaining diplomatic ties with the Saigon regime,

4) to recognize immediately the PRG,

5) to allocate immediately 100 million kronor (\$20 million) to the DRV and the PRG.

The Committee also sent a cable to the Soviet Prime Minister Alexei Kosygin, appealing to the Soviet government not to receive president Nixon in Moscow at this moment.

The UN Environmental Conference

As to the UN environmental conference there will be in Stockholm, from June 3 on, hearings and other manifestations organized by the International Commission of Enquiry into US Crimes in Indochina in cooperation with the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam and the Swedish Committee for Vietnam. All organizations are invited to help in this action to draw the attention of the world to the ecocide committed by the US in Indochina. We do not want to accept the hypocritical talk of safeguarding the human environment while at the same time the first really ecocidal war in history is rapidly escalated. □