

Intercontinental Press

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Why the Democrats Chose McGovern



Reporters Witness Bombing of Dikes

**Australian CP:
Which Way for
the 'Maverick'?**

McGOVERN: Good at making promises—which he breaks even before the election. See p. 825.

Imperialist Attacks End Irish Cease-Fire

Miami Cops Plot Another 'Conspiracy'

When a white named Jerry Rubin and a Black named Harry Collins showed up in Miami Beach, Florida, site of the Democratic party's national convention, and said they wanted to join Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), they were immediately accepted. No one knew they were cops.

They were good at blending into their adopted milieu, reported Jay Levin in the July 8 *New York Post*. "Jerry Rubin had a really fine brown-red-grey beard and wore a fatigue shirt with a 'Legalize Marijuana' patch and a jungle cap with a Yippie button. Harry Collins looked like a hip dude with his big sideburns, small goatee and sloppy hat." They smoked pot along with the rest. They were hard workers. And they used common sense and good judgment in arguing against acts of provocation.

Except for once, according to Alton Foss, local coordinator for the VVAW. That was when they brought up the idea of getting weapons—grenades, antitank guns, and the like. "They asked me if I would be interested in talking to someone they knew about weapons," said Foss. "They said I should listen to him."

Rubin and Collins brought their "contact" to Foss's home one evening, but Foss was not at home. "They said the guy was mad because I wasn't there. But they never brought up the subject of weapons again."

Finally, a local Yippie recognized and exposed the two cops. They were really Jerry Rudolph and Harry Crenshaw, known among the police as Salt and Pepper.

The same day the cops were uncovered, however, eighteen antiwar veterans received subpoenas to appear before a grand jury, apparently on suspicion of plotting violence. "This is the kind of thing the Justice Department does to make conspiracy indictments out of," one VVAW leader observed. □

Summer Schedule

The next issue of Intercontinental Press will be the last until September, since we do not publish in August. Our regular weekly schedule will resume in September.

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Reporters Witness Bombing of Vietnamese Dikes

By Allen Myers

Agence France-Presse correspondent Jean Thoraval and other foreign reporters were eyewitnesses July 11 when U. S. planes bombed dikes near Namsach, thirty-seven miles southeast of Hanoi.

The observers, Thoraval reported in a dispatch published in the July 12 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, were unanimous in agreeing on two facts:

"The first is that the attack was definitely aimed at an entire dike system. There are in fact fifty-four kilometers of dikes in the Namsach region, and between 1968 and 1972 the population in this rice-growing region moved 2,000,000 cubic meters of earth in order to consolidate the dike system, which extends as far as the eye can see.

"The second fact that was apparent to those who witnessed this attack is that during the ten minutes the raid lasted, the American planes dropped their bombs more or less at random, with each bomb in fact not being able to help causing damage in a region consisting essentially of important dikes and embankments."

Some of the bombs, Thoraval wrote, struck the dike on which he and the other reporters were standing.

Although it received Thoraval's dispatch, the *New York Times* declined to publish it as written. Instead, the paper's editors first solicited the stock denials from Washington. On July 13 the *Times* permitted a few quotations from Thoraval's report to appear in an article by Seymour Hersh that bore the title, "U. S. Disputes French Newsmen on Bombing of Dikes." Hersh quoted Daniel Z. Henkin, an assistant secretary of defense, to the effect that the bombing pattern might have been an attempt to destroy an oil pipeline or anti-aircraft emplacement that for some reason were invisible to the reporters present on the scene.

At a press conference less than a week before the attack, U. S. Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird publicly provided the Nixon administration's justification for bombing the dikes.

"Some of the dikes and dams," Laird said July 6, "may be on roadways that are being used or they may be in a position where anti-aircraft weaponry is placed and, of course, our pilots are given the opportunity and



LAIRD: If he commits genocide "accidentally," it must be Hanoi's fault.

they should have this capability to attack North Vietnamese gun emplacements."

As Laird well knows, the dikes are not "on roadways," but roadways often run along the tops of dikes. And since the dikes form a network stretching some 2,500 miles, it would be virtually impossible to place an anti-aircraft site in North Vietnam without having it in the vicinity of some dike—even if the Vietnamese were suicidal enough to want to leave the dikes undefended. In short, Laird was saying that U. S. planes would continue attacking the dikes, while he and his boss maintain the fiction that destruction of the dam network is an "ac-

cident" or the fault of the North Vietnamese government. As Hersh quoted a "senior Navy officer" in the July 16 *Times*:

"We're not targeting the dikes. But if a SAM [surface-to-air missile] is a threat to you, you're certainly entitled to protect yourself."

Another officer added: "A military target is targeted, and if it happens to be near a dike, it gets hit."

The magnitude of the disaster that could follow destruction of the dikes was indicated in a July 10 dispatch by George McArthur of the *Los Angeles Times*.

"Prewar population figures," he wrote, "show that some 6 million people live in the Red River Delta. In some areas, the population density is one thousand per square mile. . . .

"The flow variation [of the Red River] between dry and wet season can be as much as 40 times the low of 844 cubic feet per second. During severe floods . . . the entire delta is well below the river's high water mark. Parts of Hanoi are as much as 25 feet below the high water mark."

While systematically attacking the North Vietnamese dikes, Nixon has continued the massive bombardment of South Vietnam, particularly the two northernmost provinces of Quangtri and Thuathien. Bombing by B-52s in support of the Saigon army's attempt to recapture Quangtri appears to be in the area of 1,500 tons a day. This figure does not include artillery fire and bombs dropped by the smaller fighter-bombers.

Although Nguyen Van Thieu claimed on July 7 that his forces had taken the city, at this writing the liberation forces have not been driven from their positions, despite the massive firepower directed against them. In the July 10 *New York Times*, Malcolm W. Browne described the advance of the puppet forces, in the process providing a graphic account of the reality behind "Vietnamization":

"South Vietnamese forces, as usual, are evidently determined to avoid risk-

ing heavy casualties by a head-on assault against the enemy. Instead, they wait for the artillery concentrations and air strikes to do their work.

"When the bombs and shells pause, the troops and tanks move forward, but only until Communist fire again becomes heavy. Then they pull back, and wait for more shells and bombs."

Nixon appears to have added still another weapon to the arsenal being used against the liberation forces. In a July 12 radio broadcast, the National Liberation Front charged that "toxic chemicals" had been used in the bombing and shelling of Quangtri province July 8-10. The broadcast said that the chemical weapons had killed hundreds of civilians in the city of Quangtri and the ham-

lets of Lukhe, Dongphong, Dongbao, and Lavang. Thousands were said to have been made ill by the chemicals.

Nixon's continued escalation of the war and the criminal refusal of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies to come to the aid of the embattled Vietnamese impose a greater duty than ever on the international antiwar movement. In the United States, the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) has scheduled a July 21-23 conference in Los Angeles to plan new protests against the U.S. aggression. It is to be hoped that the actions planned by NPAC will meet with a massive response from the U.S. public and from the antiwar movement around the world. □

nomination on the crest of a wave of general discontent in the United States, above all with the Indochina war. His campaign for the nomination was carried to success more by the legwork of thousands of young people desirous of social change than by the muscle of the Democratic party machine. The convention itself reflected this liberal reform aspect of the McGovern campaign. In line with reform regulations that McGovern had helped institute, state delegations were to reflect more accurately the proportions of women, minorities, and youth in the population. As a result, for instance, forty percent of the delegates to the convention were women, as contrasted with thirteen percent at the last one.

McGovern won the nomination handily on the first ballot, in spite of a last-ditch attempt by all his opponents to defeat him. His main opponents were: former vice president Hubert Humphrey, who was unable to shake the unpopular image he had earned defending the Vietnam war policy of the Johnson administration; Maine Senator Edmund Muskie, an early favorite in the race whom McGovern soon overtook; Alabama Governor George Wallace, the southern segregationist who made opposition to school busing as a tool for enforcing integration an issue in the campaign; Washington Senator Henry Jackson, who had the support of some sections of the labor bureaucracy; and New York Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, who had attempted to use her candidacy to rally Blacks into a voting bloc within the Democratic party.

Party leaders consciously attempted during the convention to identify the capitalist party with the growing mood of protest throughout the country. "Both political parties and their leaders are on trial this year," National Committee chairman Lawrence O'Brien told the opening session. Florida Governor Reubin Askew made a demagogic keynote speech referring to the Democratic party as a "party of the people" and calling for "a new coalition of protest." Yet as the convention proceeded, it became more and more apparent that McGovern's readiness during the primary election campaign to backtrack on liberal stands as he saw the nomination coming within his grasp was only a foretaste of

The Most 'Promising' Candidate

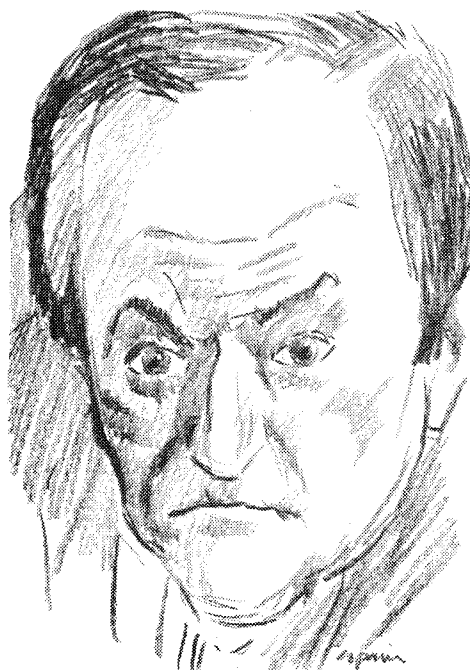
Why the Democrats Picked McGovern

By David Thorstad

When George McGovern, the recently nominated presidential candidate of the Democratic party, had an audience with Pope John ten years ago, he was director of the Food for Peace program, a program for dispensing surplus U.S. food throughout various parts of the world. It was not an unpopular program with the cattle and wheat farmers in McGovern's home state of South Dakota. The pope chose to stress the politician's philanthropy, however, not his *realpolitik*: "When you meet your Maker and He asks, 'Have you fed the hungry, given drink to the thirsty, and cared for the lonely?' you can answer, 'Yes.'"

When politicians face their "Maker," they are only, it seems, asked questions they find it easy to answer. Voters, however, tend to be harder to satisfy.

The Democratic and Republican parties have always tried to satisfy the voters with promises. Each attempts to outpromise the other and give the voters the impression that it is they who are making the decisions and not the big business interests that control both parties. "An election year is the people's year to speak," is the way McGovern himself expressed this hoax



HUMPHREY: Once again defeated by record on Indochina war.

of capitalist politics in his speech accepting the Democratic presidential nomination in Miami Beach, Florida, on July 13.

McGovern rode his way into the

the hardline wheeling and dealing of the convention. McGovern's willingness to compromise on issues that had drawn many of his supporters around him has left a bad taste in the mouth of many whom he has encouraged to look on the Democratic party as the party of change.

On July 10, for instance, he spoke before a caucus of 1,000 women delegates and promised them he would give "full and unequivocal support" to the challenge of the South Carolina delegation, in which women were underrepresented. The women had regarded this as a kind of test case in seeing if the party would live up to its own guidelines on encouraging participation by women. When time came for the roll-call vote, however, McGovern—in order to avoid a parliamentary precedent that might have harmed his own challenge on the California delegation—ordered enough of his supporters to vote against the challenge to defeat it by an absolute majority.

McGovern delegates were also instructed to lose the vote on whether to seat more Blacks in the largely white Alabama delegation.

McGovern showed his colors further during consideration of minority planks to the party platform. Several of these planks—such as those in favor of abortion, homosexual rights, and a \$6,500 guaranteed annual income—large numbers of his own supporters backed. The candidate, however, let it be known that he did not want to run on a platform that included such controversial planks.

The abortion issue was raised despite efforts by the McGovern forces to persuade the Women's Political Caucus not to do so. The plank, which did not even mention the word "abortion," called for respect for "each person's right to privacy, freedom of choice and individual conscience" in matters of human reproduction. It was defeated by a three-to-two vote.

The plank urging repeal of anti-homosexual laws and calling for civil rights legislation protecting gays from discrimination was defeated by a voice vote after a McGovern spokeswoman demagogically charged that a vote in favor of it would be a vote for child molestation and prostitution.

Discussion on both of these planks was conveniently held after 4:00 a.m.,

when most Americans would not be watching television.

Instead of the \$6,500-a-year minimum income provision that many of the poor and Black had been pressing for, McGovern indicated that he was in favor of the more elastic concept of an "adequate" income goal.

While McGovern has alienated some of his supporters as a result of this maneuvering, it has also helped win him less hostility if not more confidence from the more conservative sec-



MUSKIE: Former front-runner finished almost last.

tors of his own party and party regulars who were not too influential in his quest for the nomination but who will be indispensable in his campaign for the presidency. Now that he has the nomination in his pocket, his efforts will be devoted to putting together the kind of vote-catching coalition that can win in November. The image that helped him get the nomination will have to be "rounded out." Interest groups that did not support him will have to be appealed to. And in the process, even further modifications of McGovern's positions can be expected. This process has already begun.

McGovern has repeatedly promised to withdraw all U.S. troops from Indochina within ninety days of being inaugurated, for instance. But on July 12, he angered some of his supporters by telling families of American

prisoners of war that he would "retain the military capability in the region—in Thailand and on the seas—to signal and fulfill" his determination to win release of the prisoners. Many were upset by this hedging of his position.

The acceptance speech of this "peace" candidate included this warlike statement on the need to defend U.S. imperialism: "I give you my sacred pledge that if I become President of the United States, America will keep its defenses alert and fully sufficient to meet any danger. We will do that not only for ourselves, but for those who deserve and need the shield of our strength—our old allies in Europe, and elsewhere, including the people of Israel, who will always have our help to hold their promised land."

McGovern made no pretense about letting the convention delegates themselves choose his vice-presidential running mate, as many of his supporters wanted to do. He handpicked the candidate himself in accord with the qualities he thought necessary to "round out" the ticket. His choice, Senator Thomas Eagleton of Missouri, was selected in large part because he is a Roman Catholic (McGovern is a Methodist) and because he is considered a "friend of labor" and has a working relationship with the leading bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO, who were not in favor of McGovern's candidacy. Their financial and political backing is crucial to a Democratic victory in November, and Eagleton is already at work wooing them. □

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An Interview With Four Brazilian Trotskyists

[The following interview was granted to an American Trotskyist by four members of the Bolshevik-Trotskyist Faction of Brazil last February. The interview took place in an adjoining country.]

* * *

Question. When did your group begin?

Answer. The Faction began in the south of Brazil in 1968. It started with workers and students who broke away from the Posadistas.* The split was due to the sectarianism and bureaucratic functioning of the Posadistas. In the center and north of Brazil also, members of the Posadistas broke with Posadas. Most of our members never were Posadistas. They joined up after the split. The Posadas group used to be relatively strong. Today in Brazil, it no longer really exists.

At first we were regional groups. We attempted to organize various national conferences to discuss what our line should be. But our discussions and attempts to clarify our political line were interrupted in April and May of 1970 because of the violent repression against us. Almost our entire Central Committee was imprisoned.

Many of us had been imprisoned prior to 1970 and many of our people were in prison at that time. But the repression in 1970 literally took the entire leadership, thus seriously affecting our functioning.

In spite of these difficulties we continued to define our positions and to reorganize. All our discussions centered around the problem of how to build a Trotskyist party in Brazil.

Today we are in the process of forming a Trotskyist party, uniting with another Trotskyist current that exists inside Brazil and other groups that are moving towards Trotskyism.

Q. Are the majority of your members inside Brazil?

A. Almost all our members are inside Brazil. Our position on this is that our members must stay in Brazil except for extreme situations.

Q. Do you have any members in prison today?

A. Yes. Some of our central leaders are in prison. Many others have been captured. Actually, most of our members are being sought by the police, that is, they are on the wanted list. Nevertheless, all these comrades are continuing to function on a daily basis inside Brazil.

Q. In what areas of Brazil does your group exist?

A. We have functioning groups in various areas of the northeastern region of the country. Also in the heavily populated and industrialized areas in the central and southern coasts we are making headway, some of it rather good.

Q. What is your position on guerrilla warfare?

A. We think it is incorrect if applied as a general strategy. We favor becoming rooted in the working-class and student movement in order to consolidate a revolutionary party.

Although we oppose guerrilla warfare as a strategy, we do not reject using it when the class struggle has reached a certain stage. Guerrilla warfare is only one form of armed struggle which the masses may use in the process of the revolution. But guerrilla war as a strategy cannot build a vanguard of the working class that can lead the class struggle concretely day by day.

We are in favor of the Transitional Program as the approach for our movement.

We have had some very concrete and negative experiences with those who advocate guerrilla warfare. For example, we once succeeded in orga-

nizing a very strong group of thousands of agricultural workers in the sugar industry under extremely difficult conditions. We expected to win the trade union to a class-struggle line. Then one of these guerrilla groups, which had never done any work among the workers, decided to provoke an "uprising" by burning all the sugarcane. The authorities immediately accused us of having burned the sugarcane. The result was confusion among the masses and repression against the class-struggle wing of the trade union. The revolutionists working with the masses were imprisoned. The landowners were reimbursed by the government for their burned sugarcane and the trade-union elections in which the class-struggle wing would have won were suspended so that the union remained under bureaucratic control.

Naturally when guerrilla warfare is a product of mass struggles, that is different. But in Brazil all the guerrilla warfare people are from the petty bourgeoisie. They do not work and live with the masses. Actually, however, the prog guerrilla warfare groups hardly exist anymore inside Brazil.

Q. But is it possible to carry out mass work in factories and among students under the present conditions of repression?

A. We are doing it. We are carrying out limited work inside the working class. Basically we are building factory committees in the plants. These committees have to be clandestine or semiclandestine, but they can then intervene more openly inside the trade unions. We cannot mention the exact details of what we are doing for obvious reasons, but we are making important headway in certain factories and universities.

In trade-union work it is necessary to build broad formations with minimal demands. We integrate ourselves in the semispontaneous opposition groupings in each factory to provide an orientation and political clarity. Also, of course, we recruit the best

* The followers of Juan Posadas, a former leader of the Latin American Trotskyist movement, who broke from the Fourth International more than a decade ago.

elements to the party.

In the student movement we have raised the slogan of an alliance between students and workers. Our major opponents among the students used to be those who were for an ultraleft guerrilla line. Today that current has disappeared and is no longer a major problem.

Q. What is the opinion of your group of the Fourth International?

A. We believe that the Fourth International is in the process of being built.

Formally, we have not yet made a decision and will be discussing and deciding our position on the Fourth International soon. Part of our problem is our isolation, owing to the repression in Brazil. It is very difficult for us to get information on what is happening internationally.

Q. What do you think of the Russian, Chinese, and Cuban regimes?

A. Russia is a degenerated workers state. The leadership in Russia has nothing to do with a truly revolutionary movement. China is a workers state also with a bureaucracy, but we do not believe it is the same as Russia. In any case, we are for political revolution in both Russia and China. For us Cuba is also a workers state, but it does not have either a consolidated privileged bureaucracy or workers' democracy.

Q. What is your opinion of the Allende regime?

A. It is a bourgeois reformist government, in no way a workers state.

Q. What is your opinion of the Allende regime?

A. We have gone through a prolonged process of discussion on this. We have no formal position at this time due to the repression which interrupted our discussion.

Q. Do you believe that the repression will lessen in the future?

A. The repression is different in different areas of Brazil. A complicated process is going on within the ruling sectors today. There are growing differences within the ruling class and

also an increase in the class struggle, especially in São Paulo. We do not believe that we should rule out the possibility of increased repression in the immediate period ahead.

Q. Is the repression aimed primarily at the guerrilla war groups?

A. No. It is aimed at all the groups. The difference is that they are more likely to kill those who participate in armed struggle. But worker leaders have also been killed. There are many cases of long imprisonment for working-class militants. As we have pointed out, today there are very few involved in armed struggle so that the repressive apparatus is orienting more towards the groups doing mass work in the factories and universities.

We might add that in some cases when prisoners have been named in protests outside of Brazil, they have been put in solitary confinement. In one such case we know of, a political prisoner has been in solitary confinement for two years now.

Q. Would you like to send a message to the revolutionary movement in the United States?

A. We are in full solidarity with the struggles there such as the anti-war movement, the workers and oppressed nationalities, and the women's liberation movement. The concrete struggles in the United States have directly helped our struggle in Brazil. In the future we hope to learn more about the revolutionary movement in the United States. □

No Reason to Cut Off Military Aid

Torture in Brazil O.K., Says U.S. Senate

An amendment by Senator John Tunney to the Foreign Assistance Act came up for a vote on June 27. The amendment would withhold some \$16,000,000 in military aid to Brazil "until such time as the President reports to the Congress that the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights has determined that the Government of Brazil is not engaging in the torture of political prisoners." The Senate voted by sixty to thirty to table the amendment. This means that before it can be brought back onto the floor, its supporters will need around fifteen additional votes. Tunney has indicated, according to a July 9 statement by the U.S.-based Committee Against Repression in Brazil, that if these votes are lacking when Congress reconvenes on July 17, he will ask the Senate Foreign Relations Committee or its Western Hemisphere Subcommittee to hold hearings on the issue of U.S. aid and torture in Brazil.

The majority of the senators were not impressed with Tunney's arguments in favor of his amendment, although they seemed quite restrained. "I can think of nothing in the American tradition which would justify our providing military assistance to a regime which tortures its own citizens,"

he noted. "I cannot understand the rationale which would support the contention that torture should be overlooked by American policy makers; that the United States should continue to provide military support to a government which, using the excuse of anticommunism, abuses, mistreats, and represses its own citizens."

In their vote to table the amendment, the senators not only disregarded Tunney's arguments, they disregarded the substantial amount of documentation of torture in Brazil that he read into the *Congressional Record*. These documents, submitted on June 26 and June 28 (the day after the vote), amounted to more than eight of the fine-print pages of the *Congressional Record*. They consisted not only of first-hand reports on torture by Brazilians on whom it has been used, but also reports from the bourgeois press, and fact sheets and statements by a number of international organizations, including the International Commission of Jurists, the National Council of Churches, the World Federation of Trade Unions, and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. Even the latter group, which is part of the Organization of American States, pointed out

that: ". . . the evidence collected in this case leads to the persuasive presumption that in Brazil serious cases of torture, abuse and maltreatment have occurred to persons of both sexes while they were deprived of their liberty."

In condemning torture in Brazil, the Latin America Department, Division of Overseas Ministries of the National Council of Churches of Christ, U. S. A., noted, in a June 5, 1970, statement read into the *Record* by the senator:

"The people of the United States are deeply involved in the economic, military, cultural, religious and political affairs of Brazil. That nation is the third largest recipient of U. S. economic assistance in the world. Over 600 U. S. industries operate in Brazil as well as hundreds of other U. S. based institutions and agencies. Approximately 2,100 U. S. Protestant personnel representing 120 denominations and mission sending agencies and 700 U. S. Roman Catholic personnel representing 38 religious orders and lay agencies live and work in Brazil.

"In spite of the vast range of this involvement the people of the United States have not been apprised of the extensive information regarding the repression, terror and torture by which Brazil is governed today. The result is that both public and private funds appear to support and strengthen a military regime which, in the name of law and order and of anti-communism, crushes dissent and all advance toward a free and open society."

And that, apparently, is just the way the United States senators want to keep it. □

Brazilian Prisoners' Appeal

Columnist Jack Anderson reported July 3 that a group of Brazilian prisoners have sent him "a poignant message through a network of intermediaries" appealing for help. "They learned in early June that they would be split up and transferred from São Paulo's Carandiru [prison] to other prisons throughout Brazil. Because they had dared to protest against inhuman conditions in the prison, they feared they were being transferred to break up their group and to kill them quietly and individually," Anderson wrote.

Before turning to Anderson, the pris-

oners had appealed to the director of the prison and to Archbishop Paulo Evaristo Arns, who had protected them in the past. They also announced that they were going on a hunger strike. The military authorities who control the prison refused to allow

the archbishop to talk with the prisoners.

"When this avenue failed," said Anderson, "they sent word to us that 'the survival of all prisoners' depended on help from those 'who love justice.'" □

Argentina

The Violence of Those at the Top

[The following is the final installment of a lengthy feature on repression in Argentina that appeared in the April 25 issue of the Buenos Aires newspaper *Nuevo Hombre*. Translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.

[The publisher of *Nuevo Hombre*, Dr. Silvio Frondizi, was arrested as a result of the publication of this issue, but subsequently released. The following issue of the paper was confiscated, and the paper itself banned.

[At the beginning of July, the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) received the following information on the case from a correspondent in Ar-

gentina: "As far as *Nuevo Hombre* and Silvio Frondizi are concerned, the situation at present is relatively normal, since the Justice Department dropped its charges against the newspaper, the police returned the confiscated issues, and at the moment there are no legal charges being brought against the publication. Nevertheless, parapolic repression is still going on, with the two gelignite-bomb attacks that first destroyed the offices of *Nuevo Hombre* and then the area surrounding the printing offices where it is published.]"

* * *

Organizations in Solidarity With Prisoners

As the repression continues with its murders, kidnappings, and tortures, the people are getting organized in various ways, whether in order to repudiate these acts and to provide material and moral support for those who suffer repression, or in order to expose the nature of this repression to all layers of the population. At first it was the immediate families of the victims who got involved; today, practically every organized social layer is involved, in many cases around this particular issue alone, and in others through political parties, unions, etc.

Nuevo Hombre looked into the solidarity organizations—though not all of them, since lately they are spreading throughout the entire country. Recently, the daily newspapers have picked up statements from the ENA [Encuentro Nacional de los Argentinos—National Encounter of Argen-

tinians], which is organizing its Comisión de Libertades [Civil Liberties Committee], from women active in political parties, from the lawyers' committee of the MID [Movimiento de Integración y Desarrollo—Movement for Integration and Development], and many others.

Nuevo Hombre asked two very concrete questions in this inquiry: 1) How can the struggle against acts of repression be advanced? 2) What possibility do you see of the groups fighting against repression coming together as a unified force?

The following are some of the responses.

Movimiento Nacional Contra la Represión y la Tortura [MNCRyT—National Movement Against Repression and Torture]

1. By denouncing all the forms that

the repressive aspect of the present dictatorship's policy takes, by spreading propaganda relating to the forms the system uses to silence any attempts to resist, by demanding democratic rights for the people in their opposition to the system, by winning the release of political prisoners and imprisoned trade unionists, and by making expressions of solidarity with the prisoners a reality.

2. We realize that the preceding objectives will have to be achieved by mass organizations, capable of involving broad layers of the population. We believe that only revolutionary layers can struggle consistently for such objectives, but it is also possible to share certain democratic tasks with *reformist* layers. Having stated this, the MNCRYT proposes that the decision to carry out joint work be based on agreement on the following points: opposition to imperialism, the monopolies, and the military, antiworking-class dictatorship; opposition to the political forms designed to perpetuate the dictatorship (the GAN [Gran Acuerdo Nacional—Great National Agreement], etc.) and its military methods of counterrevolutionary war; opposition to repression by the bosses and the police. But agreement on these points must not be reached at the expense of our positions recognizing the legitimacy of revolutionary violence when used by the people and our realization that repression and torture will only be ended once and for all through national and social liberation.

Organización de Solidaridad con Presos Políticos, Estudiantiles y Gremiales [OSPPEG—Organization for Solidarity with Political, Student, and Trade-Union Prisoners]

1. We believe it is necessary to do something that has not yet been done: convey the reality of the repression and torture to the people. How? By making people aware of it and thereby helping to mobilize them in support of human rights. What will this achieve? Despite the fact that the press will still not be carrying revelations on the repression and torture the masses will gain an understanding of it; and being conscious of it, they will take to the streets. In this way, and only in this way, that is, through a popular mobilization, will a stop be put to repression and torture. The

"Mendoza" shows us that the only force capable of making the government totter is the people, and not so much attacking the judges who uphold the present state of affairs, mobilizing lawyers alone, and such things.

2. We agree to participate jointly with other groups in order to unite our forces and to carry out increasingly effective actions.

Foro de Buenos Aires por la Vigencia de los Derechos Humanos [Buenos Aires Forum for the Enforcement of Human Rights]

1. The Foro de Buenos Aires por la Vigencia de los Derechos Humanos always views its effectiveness in terms of the extent to which it achieves its objective, which is, basically, to denounce not only repressive acts, but the system that allows, needs, and fosters them. Its members feel that by exposing these acts, they will be helping to shed light on a very complex problem, since the constant increase in repressive violence has been met in only a sporadic way with any massive response.

A systematic and well-founded denunciation of concrete incidents and a correct interpretation of what caused them would necessarily lead to an increase in the people's awareness and would break the silence or complicity of social layers or individuals who ought to be taking responsible steps to see to it that certain barbaric practices are no longer carried out. For the Foro, then, the question consists of coming up with suitable means for fulfilling this task.

In the first place, we feel that journalism is an adequate vehicle for accomplishing this, but for us the indispensable condition is the responsibility we have to step in and take charge of concrete situations; also, in a corollary sense, we think that world opinion plays a key role since the repressive system, whether through the present government or through the privileged persons who comprise it, always tries to present an impartial and civilized image that its cruel deeds belie.

We imagine there are other areas

*An uprising by some 10,000 inhabitants of the city of Mendoza at the beginning of April. (See *Intercontinental Press*, April 17, p. 430.)—IP

in which an awareness of these problems can be developed, but we also know that finding and being active in them is not the monopoly of the Foro. It seems to us that action by many institutions—those that, we believe, must also become involved in this struggle—can creatively contribute to pointing the way toward effective action. The Foro believes that the repression is generated by the very nature of a defective system, but the very truth of this idea makes it obvious. The task is to be able to communicate this fact in a language that is not obvious, and finding this language is an indispensable precondition for preventing whatever action is carried out from ending up—it too—in obviousness.

2. There can be no doubt that the victims of repression belong to various social layers, as well as to various political tendencies. This shows that it is the people as a whole who are the victims of repression. In this sense, there is a wide variety of possibilities for carrying out work among the people.

As a result, the Foro believes that all the various groups fighting against repression have something in common and can work together without compromising either their individual identity or their analysis. The Foro believes that support must be given to whatever is done to attain this common goal, even though the groups involved may be founded on differing principles; on the other hand, it also believes that closer organizational cooperation must be achieved, whether through a permanent exchange of information, whether through a working out of joint tasks, or whether through concrete aid in specific actions.

The Foro feels that this approach is both realistic and necessary in that on the one hand the repression has not ceased to be stepped up, and on the other hand the various organizations are projecting their tasks in a serious, organized, and ongoing fashion. In conclusion, through dialogue—which can only take place at a certain level—the necessary conditions can be created for a unification of forces that implies neither a subordination of individual points of view nor the opposite error—excessive atomization.

Partido Socialista Argentino [PSA—

Argentine Socialist party] (The reply is that of the party's lawyer, Dr. Ariel Carreira.)

1. Through the organized efforts of all professional persons who are dedicated to the defense of human rights, whether in professional groupings or in groups specially formed for this purpose—all the more so in view of the stepping up of attacks on these very groups.

2. I believe that ties must be made between all groups because as long as they are isolated, the action of the lawyers is ineffective. This is a job in which all groups must join together, each making its contribution toward bringing about a unified effort.

Comisión de Solidaridad de la CGT de los Argentinos [CGT (Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor) Committee of Solidarity with the Argentine People]

1. We believe that all the people's organizations must take part in aiding and expressing solidarity with the political prisoners. Every group that can must do so . . . trade unions, people's organizations, and political organizations. . . . The political parties have as yet had no experience in collaborating with each other, except for making a few statements against the repression. . . . But we are going to ask them to—all of them, including the Peronist party and all other parties. In addition, we are going to publicly denounce political parties and unions that refuse to help us. . . . If there are political prisoners—whether admitted or not—they must be defended by the people as a whole and demands that they be freed must be raised. . . . We are also going to see Rucci [general secretary of the CGT], to see what he is going to do. . . .

2. It is essential for us all to unite in the defense of the political prisoners. There are many possibilities. . . . In reality, most of the time, we have carried out actions in common without great differences arising—especially at the most difficult moments and when we were confronted with concrete problems. . . . But there must be a call for unity in all senses, and at all times. . . . We are optimistic. . . . What we are now experienc-

ing shows that we will unite. . . . The people are one. . . .

Most of the time we work together with COPAP, the *Movimiento Nacional Contra la Represión y la Tortura* [National Movement Against Repression and Torture], the *Comisión de la CGT A*, and very often also with COFADE [Comisión de Familiares de Detenidos—Committee of Prisoners' Families] in order to resolve innumerable concrete problems.

International Committees Against Repression in Argentina

The bestiality of the repressive stage opened up in 1966 by Onganía, and continued since by Levingston and Lanusse, first prompted the development of a broad movement to denounce tortures and kidnappings throughout the entire country. But as the systematic policy of extermination on the part of the repressive services mounted and was used against all those patriots who had embarked on the road to revolution, a response began to be heard in certain parts of the world where people were appalled by the escalation of police violence in Argentina.

First in the United States, and then in France, organizations arose that, out of solidarity with Argentine political and social prisoners, were prepared to denounce to the whole world the barbarism of the torture used by the police and the army in this country. The Bertrand Russell Foundation in Great Britain also responded by issuing a dramatic appeal for the lives of those who fall into the hands of the so-called security organizations in Argentina.

In New York, USA, an energetic campaign was launched by the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), an organization led by Dave Dellinger, Paul Sweezy, John Gerassi, Felix McGowan, Richard Garza, Anna Zentella, Naomi Joliffe, and Judy White. USLA's campaign focused on two basic demands: a) an end to the torturing of Argentine political prisoners; and b) freedom for all Argentine political prisoners. With firsthand information, the comrades were able to denounce the kidnapping and murder of Luis Pujals, Néstor Martins, Nildo Zenteno, and the Maestre and Verd couples.

The work of the North American

comrades along these lines is especially significant, since it has repercussions within the center of imperialism itself by stirring the conscience of thousands of genuine U. S. democrats with regard to the repressive situation in our country. The comrades put out a magazine, the *USLA Reporter*, which offers plenty of information on our country and which calls for an immediate mobilization in solidarity with the victims of repression in Argentina.

In Paris, France, the Committee to Defend Argentine Political Prisoners was also created to expose the situation in our country. The committee is headed up by Marguerite Duras, the priest Paul Blanquart, Daniel Guérin, Jean Picart-Ledoux, and the Argentinians Julio Cortazar and Copi, who live in that country.

The call issued by the French comrades not only denounces the kidnapping, murder, and torture of Argentine political activists, but also provides an explanation of the underlying causes of this situation.

The comrades state that the government is unable to cover up the daily acts of barbarism perpetrated by its repressive services in carrying out a "great national agreement" to drown in blood any signs of rebellion on the part of the people. The French committee's call claims that Lanusse's electoral pseudo opening breaks open a tiny crack through which the torture and kidnapping in Argentina can be exposed to the whole world. "Our task, therefore, is to mount a campaign to inform world public opinion and to mobilize it against the crimes of the Argentine dictatorship," the French comrades state. They likewise appeal for legal and material aid to the political prisoners and for taking all necessary steps to respond vigorously to any new crime of the dictatorship.

The Bertrand Russell Foundation, established by followers of the late British thinker who was a determined champion of human freedom, also joined in on this international campaign. In an appeal to world public opinion, this influential institution denounced the "unprecedented wave of police brutality and violence in Argentina." In a document signed by Edith Russell, Ken Coates, and Chris Farley, the foundation took up the kidnapping and murder of various

Argentine patriots and called for a strict respecting of human rights currently being trampled underfoot.

Similar organizations are being created in Italy, Belgium, and Germany. They are contributing to the worldwide exposure of torture in

Argentina. This is a crucial step toward isolating a dictatorship whose crimes have already been widely publicized throughout the world. The scope of these crimes clearly reveals the truly genocidal nature of the so-called Great National Agreement. □

Uruguayan Military to Try 'Subversives'

The Uruguayan government lifted the "state of internal war" against Tupamaro guerrillas July 11. The state of war had been in effect since April. Suspension of individual rights—permitting searches without warrants and arrest on "suspicion"—will be continued until September 30.

The "internal war" was canceled by a new law that empowers military courts to try suspected "subversives."

These courts will be allowed to impose sentences of up to thirty years in prison.

According to a July 11 United Press International dispatch from Montevideo, there are some 500 suspected Tupamaros who have been jailed since April. Seventeen Tupamaros are reported to have been killed in the same period. □

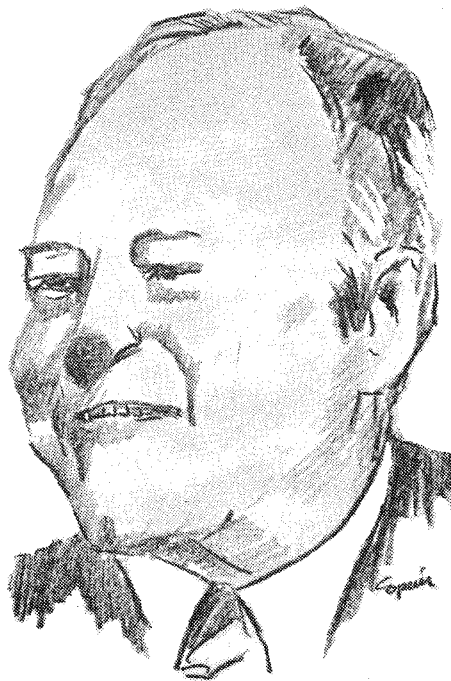
School for Democracy, Base for U.S. Navy

Rogers in Courtesy Call to Greece

U. S. Secretary of State William Rogers, who appears to be marginally related to decision-making in the Nixon administration, finally got his chance to take a trip around the world. Starting off by attending a meeting of the South East Asia Treaty Organization in Australia, he is dropping in on a series of countries that do not rate the presence of Henry Kissinger.

On July 4, the anniversary of the signing of the U. S. Declaration of Independence, he showed up in Greece. This was the first visit by a secretary of state to that country since the 1967 coup that placed the colonels in power in Athens, but it follows sojourns by Vice President Agnew, former Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans, and Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird.

Concerned about the increasing importance of Greece as a staging area for NATO operations, the State Department has been making noises—very quiet ones—aimed at convincing the colonels to improve their antidemocratic image. Toward this end, Rogers invited a series of opposition leaders to a reception held July 4 at the U. S.



WILLIAM ROGERS

embassy in Athens.

Most, however, refused to attend. Panayotis Canellopoulos, who was premier when the colonels took over,

issued a statement denouncing the Rogers visit "as an act of courtesy toward a regime which has deprived it [Greece] of its liberties, and as an encouragement for further violation of the principles which made the Fourth of July . . . a great anniversary for all peoples throughout the world who love liberty."

But Canellopoulos was way off base if he thought he could bring about a change in U. S. policy by appealing to Rogers's nostalgia for the first American bourgeois revolution. Upon his arrival at the airport, Nixon's messenger referred to ancient Greece as "the school of individual liberty and democracy." He briefly noted that "differences of view" exist between the Athens and Washington regimes, a statement that was interpreted by some to be a reference to the colonels' domestic policies.

After spending several hours discussing with Premier George Papadopoulos and senior aides, Rogers told the press that whatever differences still existed, the United States would strengthen its cooperation, above all military, with the colonels. The Rogers-Papadopoulos meeting appeared to have centered on finalizing arrangements for the construction of a U. S. naval base at Piraeus.

In his parting shot, Rogers praised the "constructive contribution" to Nixon's summitry policy being made by the Athens junta. This was, he said, "part of an effort for all countries, large and small, to live in peace." The colonels seem to have gotten the message. They recently established diplomatic relations with Albania, with which country Greece has been in a formal state of war since 1940, and also recognized the Mao regime. Peking and Athens will soon exchange ambassadors. □

A Balanced Ticket

In the Democratic party convention roll-call vote for vice-presidential nominee, thirty-nine persons got votes, as delegates took the opportunity to blow off some steam.

At about 1:30 a.m. one state delegation cast seven votes for "Mondragon," who is the lieutenant governor of the state of New Mexico. The hour was late, the floor was noisy, and the delegate had spoken unclearly. The recording secretary, who repeats each vote, had misunderstood. She announced, with no visible expression of surprise, "Seven votes for Mao Tse-tung."

Which Way for the Australian Communist Party?

[The following article was written by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers League (SWL) of Australia and is reprinted from the May issue of *Socialist Review*, a monthly journal published jointly by the SWL and the Socialist Action League of New Zealand. The editorial note preceding the article is by *Socialist Review*.]

* * *

The CPA [Communist party of Australia] is unique among the CPs of the world. It has gone farther than any other in the direction of a break with Stalinism. How far it can go in this direction and what it will evolve towards are crucial questions for the revolutionary left. As part of an answer, the following article on the CPA's past has been prepared by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers League. Other articles will follow: on the CPA's industrial policies, on its role in the antiwar and women's liberation movements and its view of the youth radicalization as well as its recent course.

While with the benefit of hindsight we can say that Stalinism has been the historical stumbling block of the CPA, the leadership and membership have not wanted to, or been able to, confront the full Stalinist history of the party. The main pressure on the leadership against doing this has been that they personally came to power as Stalinists under Stalinist norms. It is only since the disintegration and fragmentation of the Stalinist monolith beginning with Khrushchev's Secret Speech of 1956, that they have been breaking, unevenly, with Stalinism. As for the membership, the party's history since World War II has been one of continuous decline in members, caused not so much by reactionary pressure (fierce as it has been) but by inability to accept political lines handed down from above—particularly regarding the ALP [Australian Labor party], the political situation in the USSR, the Hungarian events of 1956 and the Sino-Soviet dispute—without being given the opportunity for full internal discussion of these within the party.

The remaining membership has been insulated from real appreciation of anti-Stalinist positions, partly by lack of materials and communications, partly by loyalty to their own party and leaders, born of the proletarian instinct that unity is strength and organisation means power to fight the class enemy.

But unless the party membership reappraise their entire history in detail, then further ideological and political crises coupled with incorrect analyses are bound to occur. The party will just continue to

stumble on, as it has since 1956, groping for some panacea.

So far, Stalinism as it developed in the CPSU [Communist party of the Soviet Union] has been better examined and analysed than has the development of the same phenomenon in the CPA itself.

A few histories of the CPA have now been written. All, however, are extremely inadequate. On the one hand we have the byzantine histories of the Stalinist school of falsification, while on the other, that of Davidson's *The Communist Party of Australia*, 1969, represents the empirical-factological school of liberal academia. The factual data below is drawn from Alastair Davidson's book, which in turn was based on Davidson's ANU [Australian National University] PhD thesis, and on John Playford's unpublished PhD thesis, *Doctrinal and Strategic Problems of the Communist Party of Australia 1945-62* (1962). This work is available in the library of the Institute of Advanced Studies, ANU. Another useful source is the 50th anniversary issue of *Australian Left Review* (No. 27).

There is no official history of the CPA to replace the now discredited Stalinist works used previously: Sharkey's *The Australian Communist Party: Outline History* (1944) and E.W. Campbell's *History of the Australian Labor Movement: A Marxist Interpretation* (1945). We would suggest, as a starting point, the work by Davidson cited above—except for a very important reservation: that is that Davidson at no stage distinguishes between democratic centralism as practised by the Bolshevik party in Lenin's lifetime and that completely degraded form of it practised after Stalin gained control. He argues that this uniform Leninist-Stalinist "democratic centralism" is an alien form of organisation ill suited to Australian traditions.

We maintain that there should be two basic organisational principles held in mind by readers of Davidson's work: (a) democratic centralism, and (b) bureaucratic centralism.

By the first, we mean that form of organisation developed by Lenin and the Bolsheviks, under which:

(i) the supreme policy making body of the party, *in reality*, was the congress.

(ii) there was full right of tendency for the inevitable factions to organise in support of their own viewpoints.

(iii) but once party policy was decided by the congress, it was mandatory on the whole membership to put it into effect—to be justified by the majority and attacked by the minority at the next congress, at which new alignments could overturn it.

This formula enabled one party to con-

tain diverse viewpoints within itself without splitting (and internal factionalism was a continuous feature of Lenin's party, particularly between the revolution and 1921, when under the emergency circumstances then existing, factions were suspended).

Bureaucratic centralism, as developed by Stalin and introduced subsequently by the Stalinised Comintern to all the world's CPs:

(i) outlawed factions and tendencies—opportunistically using the 1921 precedent—and attached great importance to party "unity": i.e., unity around the policies of the bureaucracy.

(ii) through the practice of expulsion (and in the workers states, imprisonment and killing) of oppositionists, established a regime within the party where any sort of dissent from the leadership's line was treachery. Congresses, by this process, coupled with dilution of the old Bolsheviks in the CPSU after Lenin's death with a great influx of self-seekers and people of a generally low political level, were converted into rubber stamps. In Australia until the 1960s they automatically adopted whatever was the current line of the CPSU.

The enormous prestige of the CPSU in the world communist movement was the main factor leading to acceptance of its methods of organisation after 1924 and its policy lines by the rest of the CPs of the world.

It is not our purpose here to give a full analysis of why and how Stalinism rose and the CP degenerated in the Soviet Union. For that we recommend *The Revolution Betrayed*, *The First Five Years of the Communist International*, *The Third International After Lenin*, and *The Stalin School of Falsification*, by Leon Trotsky, and Isaac Deutscher's biographies of Stalin and Trotsky.

However, we stress that any Marxist analysis of this must base itself on two vital factors: the severe economic condi-

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tions and loss of Bolshevik cadres resulting from the civil war, and the ebb of the world revolution after 1920. It cannot explain it as arising out of Leninist forms of party organisation (the line taken by Jack Blake in *Revolution From Within*) or from the change in relations of production (the line taken by bourgeois theorists).

What follows is an outline history of the CPA, which sets out the historically based problems which the party membership must honestly face up to.

* * *

Formation and Affiliation to the Third International

The party was formed at a meeting in Sydney on October 30, 1920, which was attended by twenty-six people. Their inspiration for what they were doing came from the Russian Revolution, but their understanding of Marxism and Leninism was very incomplete, due mainly to lack of contact with Europe, and with the Bolsheviks and their writings before the latter became world famous.

At its foundation, the party encompassed three main groupings: former IWW [Industrial Workers of the World] militants led by Jock Garden, members and former members of small socialist parties, and the largest socialist party then in existence—the Australian Socialist party.

Two months after its formation, the party split over a question which was to beset it to this day: its strategy toward the ALP. The IWW group favoured "bor-ing from within", the people from the socialist groups favoured a more sectarian approach. Rivalries carrying over from the pre-amalgamation period led the ASP also to distrust the Garden group, and it shortly refused to pool its resources into the new party.

The ASP and the CPA thus came to compete with one another for the honour of becoming the Australian Section of the Third International, the world revolutionary party founded by Lenin and the Bolsheviks in 1919. Finally, after delegates from both parties had attended the third congress of the International, the CPA was granted affiliation (August 1922). The bulk of the membership of the ASP then left their former party to its fate and joined the CPA.

While the founding congress of the Third International (known also as the Communist International and later as the Comintern, and referred to hereafter as the CI) had adopted a policy of open hostility towards the labour and social-democratic parties which had betrayed the working class in World War I, it changed that in 1921, after the ebb of the world revolution. It changed to a policy of forming united fronts with labour parties, a tactic devised principally by Lenin and Trotsky to prevent the newly formed communist parties from becoming isolated sects, sealed off by traditional working class allegiance to the mass par-

ties. (See Lenin's influential book, *"Left Wing" Communism—An Infantile Disorder* (1920), also *The Communist International: Documents 1919-1943* ed. J. Degras.)

The CPA gradually took up this policy, but the ebb of militancy in Australia reduced its influence in the labour councils and elsewhere almost to zero. Nonetheless, even before the adoption of this new CI policy, the CPA membership, following IWW and socialist tradition, had largely joined the Labor party.

A proposed official united front policy at leadership level between the ALP and the CPA was defeated due to the ALP bureaucracy's suspicions and instinct for survival. ALP leaders too, had heard of Lenin's famous dictum that communists should support them "as the rope supports the hanging man". The CPA won a brief success at the 1924 conference of the NSW [New South Wales] branch of the ALP when it was granted affiliation. But it was expelled a few months later.

In an atmosphere where members had to decide individually between open membership in one of the two parties, most stayed in the ALP. Membership fell from 750 in 1923 to 280 in 1925.

Jack Kavanagh, who arrived in Australia from Canada in 1925, led the party into an essentially propagandist role after 1926, doing much in the process to improve members' understanding of Marxism.

But meanwhile, in a way not understood by any of the CPA members, the CPSU—and thus the CI—had been undergoing profound changes which were to have disastrous consequences for the whole world communist movement, including the CPA. After the civil war, and famine of 1921, a parasitic bureaucratic caste began to emerge in the USSR, a development made possible by the severe economic dislocation of Russia in World War I and the civil war, the cultural and political backwardness of its peasant masses, the loss of most of the best militant workers in the civil war, and the overwhelming war-weariness of the masses: a weariness not relieved by news of fresh revolutionary successes abroad. (For an excellent first-person account of life in the USSR and the CPSU in this period and after, see Victor Serge, *Memoirs of a Revolutionary*, Oxford University Press, 1963.)

Another contributing factor, but not the cause, was the suspension of factions inside the CPSU—a decision taken in response to the desperate economic circumstances of 1921.

Towards the end of his life, Lenin became deeply disturbed by these developments. Steadily, the bureaucracy came to support the conservative policies of Stalin and the groups in alliance with him (Zinoviev and Kamenev first, and then after their removal, Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky) against the old Bolsheviks in the Trotskyist opposition.

On the death of Lenin, Stalin's position in the party was consolidated by the "Le-

nin levy", in which—ostensibly as a great mass tribute to Lenin—the party's membership books were thrown open and self-seekers, careerists and opportunists by the thousands joined up, diluting the old Bolsheviks. These new members looked to Stalin naturally, because as General Secretary he distributed patronage.

But Stalin's battle to stay in power involved him and his supporters of the moment in continual changes of the party line, as policy after policy ended in disaster. Through their attachment to the CI, in which the CPSU had overwhelming influence, these policies arising out of the domestic needs of the Stalinist bureaucracy in its efforts to hang on to power in the face of its domestic opponents, were transferred to the rest of the world's CPs, who shortly developed styles of internal life modelled on that of the degenerating CPSU.

The Party After Stalin's Rise

Three crucial policy lines emanating from Stalin in the period of the CPA's infancy had enormous subsequent effects:

1. The "united front" policy (in reality a *popular front* policy), as advocated by the Stalinist leadership of the CI and taken up reluctantly by the Chinese CP, was for it to form an alliance with the Kuomintang and submit to the leadership within it of Chiang Kai-shek. During the growth of a revolutionary crisis in China in 1926, the CI under Zinoviev insisted that this policy be strictly adhered to, despite the protests of the Chinese CP leaders. This led to the massacre by Chiang of the bulk of the CPC, beginning in 1926 in Shanghai, and ending in Canton in 1927. The cost to humanity of the long subsequent delay of the Chinese revolution, like that of the German Stalinist betrayal, has been incalculable.

2. Under attack over China, Stalin embarked on a rapid left turn. Against the prediction being advanced by Bukharin and his followers in the CPSU that there would be no depression, Stalin advanced the theory (already spelt out by some bourgeois economists) of imminent depression and revolutionary upheaval. This was essentially an appendage to a left turn taken as a tactic in the infighting going on in the CPSU.

The CPs were instructed to break off the united front with the social-democratic parties, who it was argued, were not the opposites, but the "twins" of the growing fascist parties. This plunged them around the world into wildly sectarian policies towards the labour and social-democratic parties of their own countries, and led to the smashing of most of them between 1928 and 1935—most of all in Germany. For no attempt was ever made to differentiate between the leaderships of these parties and the masses who followed them. They were all "social fascist".

In the period 1930-32, brawls between CPA and ALP members were common, and were welcomed by the CPA leadership as a sign of growing class conscious-

ness. The most radical elements of the ALP came in for the same treatment as their reformist leaders. Communists came to be regarded by the bulk of the mass following of the ALP as raving fanatics, inhibiting greatly the opportunities of the party to take advantage of the capitalist crisis in order to build membership. The ALP leadership dealt return blows against the party and its front organisations.

Organisationally, this turn by Stalin had important effects on the CPA. Jack Kavanagh, leader of the Central Executive, opposed the CI policy on the ALP, and was supported amongst others by Jack Ryan, who had been in Shanghai during the 1926-27 period and was convinced that the ALP and the Kuomintang were not comparable.

The pro-Stalinist opposition to Kavanagh was led by Lance Sharkey, J. B. Miles and Herbert Moxon. After the Kavanagh leadership decided to work for the return of an ALP federal government in the 1929 elections, the Sharkey group, ignoring the CI ban on factions, appealed to the CI for support. They got it, but the Kavanagh leadership still refused to follow CI policy.

In December 1929 the CI condemned the Kavanagh group as right deviationist. At the CPA conference at the end of 1929, they were almost completely removed from the Central Committee. However, they were not beaten: they were shortly afterwards reelected to the Sydney and NSW committee of the party.

Thereupon the Sharkey group applied the Stalinist procedure of dispersal and expulsion. Kavanagh was sent to Adelaide against his wishes, where the CPA branch was small, and his close comrade Jack Ryan was expelled. (Ryan was summoned to a meeting to hear the charges on a Thursday, and told when he arrived that the meeting had been the previous Tuesday, at which, in his absence, it was decided that he be expelled. His wife was expelled a year later, for having remarked to a fellow comrade while riding on a Sydney tram that she thought Trotsky was better than Stalin. And many other ex-Communists of the period have similar histories.)

The followers of Kavanagh and Ryan were told that they would be given the same treatment if they continued their oppositional activity. Shortly after, the CI sent a delegate, Harry Wicks of the CPUSA (known in Australia as Herbert Moore), to reorganise the party on Stalinist lines.

In 1933, following the disastrous application of the "social fascist" theory by the German CP towards the German Social Democratic party—the result being the removal of the only blockage in Hitler's path—the Stalinist CI made another turn.

3. Now it called for the CPs to ally themselves not only with the "social fascists" of the immediate preceding period, but with "progressive" elements of the bourgeoisie as well. The popular

fronts were ushered in. But as no alliance with bourgeois elements could stand if the CPs retained a revolutionary policy, the CPs had to maintain that they were fighting fascism for the preservation of bourgeois democracy: not to overthrow capitalism.

This led to further defeats in revolutionary situations in France and Spain in 1936.

In Australia the CP had no success in its overtures to the ALP leaders for a united front. However, as the depression wore on, the party began to grow in size and achieved a small mass following of its own through front organisations established to lead the unemployed workers, militant minorities in unions, the struggle against the growing threat of war, and for support of the Spanish republican cause.

However, the party membership, because it did not know the domestic politics behind Stalin's policies, was unable to come to a scientific Marxist assessment of them. Consequently, throughout the rest of the history of the CPA, up until very recently, and even in some ways until today, we find a lingering residue of those two disastrous Stalinist lines: sectarianism towards the ALP, and the popular front policy.

The CPA leadership was caught completely off guard by the Nazi-Soviet pact of 1939, in much the same way as the Maoists were by the recent turns of the Chinese leadership. They issued contradictory explanations of it, then went on to oppose the war against Hitler, only to switch to all-out support after the Soviet Union was invaded in June 1941.

During the war, which was a tremendous crisis for the imperialist bourgeoisies on both sides, it adopted a completely anti-revolutionary, class-collaborationist policy. CP union officials were under instruction to oppose strikes and absenteeism, and to work to maximise production—which brought them into conflict with the workers in many industrial disputes. In some cases they found themselves leading strikes despite party policy. This was the logical result of the class-collaborationist popular front policy, and of the fact that the CI after Stalin got control had become a mere adjunct of zig-zagging Soviet foreign policy, and with it the CPs of the world.

The CI itself had become just another of Stalin's poker chips in the wartime dealing with Roosevelt and Churchill, and in 1943, as a concession to Roosevelt, he had it dissolved. In the atmosphere created by the Anglo-Soviet war alliance, the Teheran decisions and the UN, a new era of peaceful transition was ushered in, in the minds of many communists, particularly that vast number who had joined in the war years. Earl Browder, Secretary of the CPUSA, took this to its logical conclusion and proposed merging the CPUSA into the mass movement, as he saw America's transition to socialism as coming through a series of popular front victories. However, he was unfor-

tunate in his timing: he immediately ran into a left turn taken by Stalin in response to the start of the cold war.

The fourteenth congress of the party, held in August 1945, adopted a program calling for a socialist, classless society, a prerequisite of which would be the nationalisation of the key industries which were in the hands of a few monopolists. Nationalisation would be carried out by the will of the majority, and imposed on the monopolists by parliament. A call was made for the continuation of wartime controls on private enterprise and the party expected that a peaceful transition to socialism would be possible some time after the war, although it expected a new rise in the class struggle.

Sharkey admitted later that some members at this stage had wanted to drop all mention of socialism and Marxism from the program.

On the industrial front in 1945, the wartime policy was still being applied despite the growing resentment of the workers which was to explode in the new postwar strike wave. In one instance, at Mort's Dock in Balmain Sydney, Nick Origlass led a strike of dock workers against the combined opposition of the company, the ALP bureaucracy and the Communist party, which resulted in a breakaway branch of the Ironworkers Union (a communist union) being set up in Balmain.

In 1946, with the onset of the cold war, the party's industrial policies changed in favour of renewed class struggle, and it led a series of strikes and won control of a number of unions in basic industries, adding to the number won in the 1930s. By 1949 the party leadership felt itself to be in a position to challenge the Chifley ALP for leadership of the entire labour movement, although it was not united on this. Some were dubious as to the possibilities in view of the growing political isolation of the party from the masses, who were succumbing to cold war propaganda. The party had also lost the strategic Ironworkers federal office in 1948 when a grouper [right-wing ALP] fraction led by Laurie Short took over.

Nonetheless, in 1949 the communist leadership of the Miners' Federation was instructed to stage what was to be a political strike against the Chifley government, although there can be no doubt that the miners themselves were eager to strike at the time for improved pay and conditions. However, the hostility aroused within the ALP over this brought the old "social fascist" theories once again, and when the right-wing, class-collaborationist Chifley Labor government decided to try saving itself at the miners' expense by moving troops in to operate the mines, the party propagandists proclaimed that fascism had arrived.

Despite the outcome of the seven weeks' strike, which was a severe defeat for both the miners and the CPA (leading to a loss of CP leadership positions in the

union), it was hailed by Jack Blake on behalf of the CPA as a victory because it exposed the true nature of the rotten ALP.

The strike was the main contributing cause in the fall of the Chifley government in 1949. After his election, Menzies proceeded to put into effect the promises he had made to outlaw the party.

In this new crisis the CPA was forced to turn to the ALP for help, and until 1955 its main concern was with its continued legality—a legality which was only preserved in the end by the Evatt ALP leadership's opposition to Menzies in the 1955 referendum on the banning of the party.

Nonetheless, until 1966 it pursued a sectarian policy towards the ALP, running its candidates (hopelessly) against the ALP in parliamentary elections, while making the more sensible unity ticket approach in the unions. Although the workers have been quite ready to vote in communist candidates in their unions, the CPA had only a brief period of electoral success, the high point of which was the election of Fred Paterson to the Queensland Parliament in 1944.

Through this period, CPA members were not only active in unions: they even adopted an entrust policy towards Parents' and Citizens' Associations, where their attempts to introduce left politics were regarded as unwelcome and inappropriate by most P & C members. There was no attempt made to strengthen the left wing of the ALP through CPA members joining that party, even though there was an historical precedent of relative success in that area, namely the entry of CPA cadres into the ALP in the late 1930s, which made possible the creation of the Hughes-Evans ALP executive in NSW in 1940.

In 1958, in accordance with the peaceful coexistence, peaceful competition and peaceful transition line emanating from the CPSU under Khrushchev, the eighteenth congress of the party advanced a theory of the parliamentary road: that socialism would come, not through the creation of proletarian dictatorship, but through the election of popular front members to parliament, whereupon it would be transformed into a "People's Parliament". This line, which harked back to 1945, was eventually displaced by the "left coalition" strategy of the Aarons leadership which took over gradually in the '60s from Sharkey and Dixon.

The strategy followed by the CPA in the anti-nuclear and antiwar movements of the late 1950s and 1960s had its roots in the lingering concept of the popular front. In the anti-nuclear case, the lowest common denominator was chosen for a demand: one concerned with the "broadest" possible appeal, namely for the abolition of all nuclear weapons by all nations, otherwise known as multilateralism. That the demand could certainly mobilise "progressive" sectors of the bourgeoisie is unquestioned. The problem was that the most reactionary layers of the bour-

geoisie, led by the Menzies government, could claim this was their desire too.

Against this approach, the smaller CND [Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament] movement emerged outside the CPA's Peace Committee-AICD [Association for International Cooperation and Disarmament] orbit around a unilateralist policy: that Australia *on its own* should renounce nuclear weapons and refuse to become a nuclear base. This was in fact a transitional, consciousness-raising demand, unacceptable to the bourgeois rulers.

This division was repeated in the larger and more important movement against the Vietnam war. Against the transitional demand of "withdraw all troops" the AICD under CPA influence attempted to build its antiwar movement around the slogan "stop the bombing, negotiate!"—again the lowest common denominator chosen to build the maximum "broadness" in the movement, and easily defused when the warmakers made a tactical bombing halt and cynically began negotiations in Paris. That, plus the fact that radical students and other youth making up the backbone of the antiwar movement inclined far more to the withdrawal demand, caused the CPA to change its antiwar line accordingly. Time has shown which was appropriate.

In the 1960s the CPA leadership made no attempt to encourage the ALP unionists and union officials under its influence to adopt a more radical approach inside the ALP. Instead, the ALP left capitulated continuously to the right wing, until the political effects, not of the CP but of the mass radicalisation around the antiwar movement, forced a change. To a CP still bent on building itself from outside of, and in competition with the ALP, there was no advantage to be had in the appearance of a Marxist left wing inside the ALP: the perspective of which is now clear since the formation of the Socialist Left, particularly with the growing likelihood that the country will have a Wilson-type Whitlam Labor government by the end of 1972.

The decline of Stalinist theory in the CPA has proceeded somewhat faster than that of Stalinist practice. However, that process was accelerated by the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, which put the party into the biggest political crisis it has experienced since the war.

Breaking as it did with the CPSU over Czechoslovakia, the party was forced to try to develop a new political line in order to recruit from the mass radicalisation. At the Left Action conference held in Sydney after the Soviet invasion, the CPA took a political stance designed to woo the ultraleftists then making up the bulk of the conscious political segment of the antiwar movement, and supported the proposals of the ultraleftist Laver group from Brisbane Students for Democratic Action, and of the Maoists from Monash University, Victoria, that the central demand of the Moratorium be switched from "withdraw the troops" to

the more advanced (but less popular) slogan of "support the National Liberation Front".

However, the party neither recruited from the antiwar ultraleftist formations as a result, nor put this line afterwards in the Moratorium committees.

The party's policy towards the ALP has changed many times since 1920, sometimes through directives from Moscow, and sometimes—as in the 1950s—more through the felt needs of the leadership. The present perspective of a coalition of the left appears to be evolving into a united front policy with the Socialist Left of the ALP, but an active orientation appears to have been ruled out by the 1972 congress draft political statement, *The Left Challenge for the Seventies*, which rejects it as the main strategy for building a mass revolutionary party.

At the same time, the popular front threatens to surface in yet another guise—on the vital future issue of foreign investment. A mass movement against foreign investment, uniting in the one coalition the Maoists (who are vitriolic over the sellout of Australian resources and companies to US and Japanese enterprises, and who see a progressive role being played by types like Gorton—bourgeois who want to retain as much Australian capitalist ownership of Australia as possible), the CPA, the old guard Stalinists, the ALP, the Australia party, and sections of both the Liberal and Country parties, is not at the time of writing beyond the bounds of possibility.

Yet if foreign ownership is opposed, the key question is "what is to be fought for to replace it?" The Australian bourgeoisie will not support nationalisation under workers' control, but the working class could be conceivably led (or misled) as in the past, to support their own capitalists against imperialism. In such a coalition, to keep the "progressive" bourgeois layers in, demands would have to be limited to Australian capitalist ownership of Australia.

This is already being advocated by such groups as the Worker-Student Alliance and the Maoist Hill-led CPA (M-L) [Communist party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist)]. It is argued in support of this strategy that once the imperialists have been dealt with the next task will be the expropriation of the Australian bourgeoisie. But proletarian revolutions from 1917 onwards have not worked that way: they have been continuous processes which have shown equal disrespect for national and foreign capital. By contrast, the popular front is a reversion to the Menshevik theory: revolution by stages, with all its disastrous history through this century.

Yet having said all of this, it is clear to us nonetheless that the CPA is, if not the most advanced, then one of the most advanced CPs in the world. This has been particularly true in the short period of time which has elapsed since the

party leadership broke its traditional links with the world communist movement over Czechoslovakia.

The Organisational Effects of Stalinism in the CPA

Essentially, the history of Stalinism in Australia is that of the transfer of CPSU norms of inner party life to the CPA. Factions and internal organisation around oppositionist political positions were stamped out completely by the Sharkey leadership, which itself came to power as an oppositionist Stalinist faction. "Unity", against the best Leninist tradition, became the supreme virtue, and the needs of the Stalinist leadership, naturally enough, were automatic obedience of the rank and file to the (numerous) about turns in policy.

Davidson asserts in his book that "the large number of defectors of the years 1946-48, after the worst years of the Cold War, left not because of persecution, but because of disagreement with the policy and organisation of the party, both products of an alien tradition that had virtually nothing in common with that of the Australian labour movement."

The membership, it is clear, was not only alienated from effective control of its party policies—a feature it shared with the membership of the ALP in many respects—it found itself continually being called on to justify to people outside the party the bizarre and hideous realities of Stalinist Russia, and to support policies today which had been anathema yesterday. Yet of the thousands who were driven out of the party one way or another in that period, we have very scant information, apart from the anecdotes all militants hear in the course of their lives in the labour movement. We have far better information about the leaders, overall. Nonetheless, what happened at the top simply reflected what was happening at all levels of the party organisation.

We have already mentioned the fate of the Kavanagh-Ryan faction. They were shortly followed out of the party by the new General Secretary, Herbert Moxon, who was purged twice in 1931, first for "rightism", and then for "leftism". Through the 1930s, party members left or were expelled, or were required to perform de-personalising and humiliating "self-criticisms" for any deviations from the ever-changing Stalin-Sharkey-Dixon line.

For ten years after the war the CPA followed "sectarian" (i.e. stressing its exclusive role against all other groups in the making of the revolution) policies, which finally provoked an intellectual opposition in the party which was crushed in 1956-58. Essentially, this was over the issue of whether the party should continue to follow the traditional Stalinist policies coming from Moscow, or to develop new ones in line with this country's conditions and traditions.

The bulk of the intellectuals had left in 1945-46, although the period 1945-

49 was the heyday of the party's university branches and of the Labour Clubs. But in 1948, after the 15th Congress moved officially away from an Australian path to socialism to unity behind the Cominform line, the remaining intellectuals began an opposition. They objected first to the attacks on Yugoslavia, and to the move away by the party from the People's Front programme inspired at the time by the Yugoslav example, to a new one stressing the exclusive leadership of the party.

This was seen in other issues. The CPA disputed the view of the British Communist party that the election of the Labour government after the war was the beginning of the British transition to socialism, and that the ex-colonies should remain in the British Commonwealth (the Sharkey-Pollit controversy). Sharkey accused Pollit of Browderism, and via Pollit, a segment of his own party.

In 1948, Jack Blake and J. Henry—who, although Stalinist sectarians, had always been mavericks in the eyes of Sharkey—were brought to Sydney from Melbourne and Brisbane respectively. Particularly in the case of Blake, this was also due to the fact that he had been developing far too much of a personal following in Melbourne, and the Sydney-based officials thought it wise to transfer him away from his power base. In Sydney, Blake was put in charge of the "verification campaign". Those who had been dodging political work—mostly because they disagreed with the sectarian line towards the ALP and the peace movement—were weeded out.

Australia's Path to Socialism (1951) was a programme setting out a perspective for Australia of a "people's movement" leading to the formation of a "people's democracy" as in Eastern Europe. The broad popular alliance was to convert parliament into a popular instrument. But the discrepancy between what was said in this programme (under instructions from Stalin, who at the time was urging the CPs to adopt their own "national communist" strategies), and what the party was actually doing, provoked the first "national communist" revolt.

Over this, the leadership itself began to split. In 1953-54, Blake and Henry moved from a "sectarian" to a "national communist" position (Blake having lately carried this a long way further). Against the views of the Sharkey faction, they advocated a new united front at the grass roots level ("from below") with the ALP, and a more passive role in mass organisations for the party itself. In 1954, they were replaced on the secretariat by the Sharkey supporters Laurie Aarons and E. F. Hill.

In 1955, the leadership caused further disturbance by cynically reinstating Yugoslavia. Then in 1956, there was a full-scale revolt of the party intellectuals over Khrushchev's speech to the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

The party leaders maintained that the

speech was a State Department fake, even though they knew from Hill, who was present at the Congress, that it was substantially correct. Such was their confidence in the masses and their own membership. In July 1956, Jim Staples circulated a document demanding a full internal discussion of Khrushchev's speech and other matters, but was compelled to withdraw it from circulation and then expelled a week after the beginning of the Hungarian events of that year. A further movement of criticism of inner party life was stamped out in November, Hill doing most of the axe work.

The Khrushchevian "cult of the individual" theory of Stalin was accepted uncritically subsequently by the leadership, but by that time most of the leading intellectuals were out—loosely grouped around the magazine *Outlook*, or having got right out of politics.

Despite the line of the programme that the party was developing an Australian path to socialism, in fact the Sharkey-Dixon-Hill group had continued their automatic responses to Moscow, as dating back to 1930. Only through real changes in the distribution of power in the party could any progress be made, or even the official programme be put into action.

When the Sharkey leadership sided with the Chinese at the beginning of the Sino-Soviet dispute in 1959-60, an opposition to Hill's Victorian state leadership developed. This opposition was strongly influenced by the prevailing Italian and Polish theories. Upon investigation by a Central Committee commission, the leaders of this group were dispersed. One of them, Bernie Taft, was sent as far as Moscow.

Subsequently, Hill had Geoff McDonald expelled for "Trotskyism"—in reality for demanding an open discussion of the dispute. This lack of tolerance for conflicting viewpoints was far more serious for the party's health than the specific reasons for the leadership's brief switch from Moscow to Peking and back again: though on the latter point it is worth noting that an important Chinese position was disagreement with the line on Stalin taken at the 20th Congress of the CPSU by Khrushchev. This had its attractions for old guard Stalinists.

Since the rise of the Aarons leadership, tolerance of inner party differences has greatly increased, and not for a while has the CPA had a more lively internal political life, with party members more and more being forced by today's conditions to work out new positions for themselves. A wide range of eclectic theory has been introduced—Gramsci, Althusser, Garaudy, Marcuse: and even sometimes Trotsky.

However, in its continuing post-Czechoslovak crisis of growth, while continuing to ban factionalism officially, the leadership has in fact gone to the other extreme. It is not that any party member can say anything he or she likes within the party, that is not the point. It is that

the party has ceased to function as a disciplined political organisation. Party members in the unions, the Moratorium committees and elsewhere do not function always as a team, applying only the majority line whatever their personal views. They vote against one another, and have recently emerged in one vital industrial dispute supporting exactly the opposite policy than that being advanced by the *Tribune* [the CPA's weekly newspaper]; J. Halfpenny, CP secretary of the Metal Workers' Union did this by supporting, along with Hawke and the right-wing officials of the ETU, a return to work in the recent Victorian SEC [State Electricity Commission] dispute.

The legacy of Stalinism, with which the CPA has broken only in part, and haphazardly, is responsible for the continuing Stalinist reputation it has in the community. For members of the CPA to be able to make a useful contribution to revolutionary struggles in the future, they must make a clear, open, principled and publicised break with their own history. This means also that they must attempt to build a democratic centralist party along Leninist lines, something which the CPA today is obviously not, with divergent and conflicting public political positions.

The history of Stalinism was, after 1956, swept under the rug with the anti-Marxist formula of the "personality cult". Since then, no serious effort has been made to fully analyse the history of the CPSU. While the CPSU itself has put out three official histories—all lamentable falsifications—the CPA has left it all to simmer, with an admission that Stalin was pretty bad, and that bureaucratisation developed in the USSR.

We believe that this gap in party theory has its origin, both in the reluctance of present-day leaders to confront their own past beliefs, and in the fact that a return to 1924, and an analysis of who was right and who wrong in that crucial conflict within the CPSU, places the overwhelming bulk of modern revolutionaries in support of the Trotskyists. And a continuing analysis of world communist history shows that both the Leninist strategy for making revolution and Leninist inner party norms have been preserved and developed by the Trotskyist Fourth International, which alone inherited and carried on that Leninist tradition abandoned by the Stalinist CPs. That is what present-day communists have to come to grips with.

Concretely, for the CPA to reject Stalinism and turn to authentic revolutionary socialism would involve it in:

(a) The adoption of Leninist democratic centralist organisational principles, along the lines of the statutes of the Fourth International.

(b) A recognition and adoption of a programme based on or essentially similar to *The Transitional Program of the Fourth International (The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth*

International), which still retains its vital relevance for today although written by Trotsky in 1938.

(c) A recognition of the two major traps which have caught the party several times through its existence, namely:

(i) sectarianism towards the ALP (despite the fact that the party has only once, and briefly, practised the same thing towards right-wing unions—to the AWU through the small Pastoral Workers' Union, 1930-36.)

(ii) allowing changing political circumstances to lead it into class collaborationist "popular fronts" with bourgeois elements—inevitably in periods of great capitalist crisis.

(d) A recognition of the need for an international revolutionary party similar to the Third International of Lenin, to which the CPA was originally affiliated in 1922.

In our opinion, the CPA is not capable of effecting this reorientation. All the ev-

idence of recent years points to the conclusion that the CPA and its leadership cannot make a complete and decisive break with Stalinism. The CPA has made a partial break with Stalinism in some areas, but it has not on that account taken up revolutionary socialist positions. Neither in its internal organisational norms, nor in its program nor in its conception of internationalism has the CPA moved towards Bolshevik positions. Often, genuine Bolshevik conceptions have been written off as part of the baggage of Stalinism.

However, in the ranks of the CPA there are many sincere and devoted revolutionaries. Many more will join the CPA believing that it is the revolutionary party. To these comrades we say, join with the present supporters of the Fourth International organised in the Socialist Workers League, and together we shall build the mass revolutionary socialist party in Australia. □

U.S. Women Vote Fall Abortion Campaign

More than 800 women from thirty-one states attended the conference of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) in New York City July 15-16. The conference, which was held at Hunter College, took place in the context of a growing antiabortion campaign throughout the country. This was noted in the major action proposal to the conference, which stated: "Today the abortion issue is a national political question, a question that will not disappear but will become more important in the period ahead of us. Just these last few months have seen the near defeat of the liberalized New York abortion law, the intervention of President Nixon in support of the Catholic Archdiocese, abortion as a major issue in the 1972 election campaigns, and consistent attacks and struggles around a woman's right to choose in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Connecticut."

Proponents of an aggressive counter-offensive by women around the abortion issue noted that it will be a difficult struggle: "Our opponents are formidable: the state and national governments and the other institutions that prop up the laws that deny women the right to choose whether or not to bear children. The powerful Catholic Church hierarchy is playing a prominent role as financier,

organizer, and mouthpiece for the antiabortion movement, despite the fact that many Catholics support the right to abortion."

The action proposal adopted by the conference calls for holding "an International Tribunal on Abortion, Contraception, and Forced Sterilization—Two Days of Denunciation of Crimes Against Women" in New York City October 21-22, 1972. During the two-day gathering, there will also be a march to an appropriate federal institution in the city "to publicly present WONAAC's demands for total repeal of all abortion laws, repeal of all restrictive contraception laws, and an end to forced sterilization."

In addition, the conference decided to initiate a nationwide petition campaign in support of the Abortion Rights Act of 1972, a bill that, if passed, would effectively eliminate all state and federal restrictions on women's right to abortion.

Among the conference workshops on more than twenty topics were the following: Working women, Blacks, Latinas, Antiabortion attacks and the Catholic Church, How to involve Catholic women, and Gay women.

Besides delegations from throughout the United States, a delegation was sent from the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws. □

Ontario NDP Bans Left-Wing Caucus

By Gary Porter

[The following article is reprinted from the July 3 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist biweekly published in Toronto.]

* * *

Against massive and growing opposition in the ranks of the party, the right-wing reformist leadership of the Ontario NDP [New Democratic party, the Canadian labor party] rammed through a motion proscribing the left-wing "Waffle" caucus from the NDP, at a tumultuous meeting of the provincial council June 24 in Orillia.

Only an hour after the decision, however, it was evident from the mood and views expressed at an overflow meeting of over 400 Waffle supporters that the party and trade-union brass had won only a battle—not the war.

Said one Waffle supporter: "I almost quit this party when they passed that resolution against the Waffle. Then I thought, hell, I've spent eleven years working for this party and I've ruined two cars. Why should I let the establishment stop me now? I'm going back to my riding association to tell them just what happened here."

The Orillia meeting culminated an attack launched at the March council meeting by ONDP leader Stephen Lewis after which the provincial executive set up a three-member commission headed by party president Gordon Vichert, which recommended forcible dissolution of the Waffle, in spite of widespread opposition from ridings across the province. The executive accepted Vichert's proposal.

What followed was an upheaval of discussion, debate, and protest completely unprecedented in the eleven years since the founding of the party, and strong enough to rock the party apparatus and create divisions within it.

Efforts, sometimes frantic, were undertaken to find a way out which would save face for Lewis and the executive. After a flurry of proposals, Desmond Morton and Gerald Caplan (former executive assistant to Lewis) put forward a proposal which incorporated the recommendations of the Vichert Commission but added a few platitudes about the right of caucuses to exist in the NDP. This motion, shoved through the Toronto Riverdale riding association, became the rallying point for the divided party machine and was put to the 305 Council delegates for debate before some 700 observers (mostly pro-Waffle) at the tense Orillia meeting.

In a carefully staged production, speak-

er after speaker from the NDP and trade-union hierarchies rose to motivate the Riverdale motion. Some described it as a compromise which permitted the existence of caucuses—except of course for the presently existing Waffle caucus. Others more honestly presented it as the kind of motion which, in the words of long-time United Steelworkers staffer Bob MacKenzie, "gives us the tools to do the job"—that is, get rid of the Waffle and any other organized opposition that might develop in the future.

Waffle members hammered at their readiness to sit down and work out a reasonable settlement. Mel Watkins urged the delegates to "pull back from the brink," pointing out that this was the desire of the rank and file. Jim Laxer reminded the council that no one was supporting the original Vichert proposals because they are "completely unacceptable to this meeting and this party." He went on to describe the Riverdale motion as a sugar-coated, reworked, and reworded motion amounting to exactly the same thing.

Krista Maeots attacked the Riverdale motion as an attempt to purge the Waffle. "We are being publicly whipped and punished," she said, "simply because we have been criminal enough to argue ferociously for a free Canada."

Pauline Jewett, former Liberal MP and a recent recruit to the NDP, directly opposed the brass assault on the Waffle. She called for "as much freedom as possible for groups within the party and let them call themselves what they like."

Former NDP candidate Steve Penner, taking up a Steelworkers official who had said there was not room in the party for the ideology of the Waffle, posed the question: "What is the ideology of the Waffle that is so unacceptable to Lynn Williams? Our ideology is socialism. We support the struggle of working people against plant closures and for workers' control; the struggles of people throughout the world, particularly the Vietnamese, against imperialism; and the struggle for women's liberation. Is that ideology incompatible with the NDP?"

As the debate drew near the 3:00 p.m. deadline set by the chairman, Donald Macdonald, former ONDP leader, the brass moved in to ram their motion through the council. Ian Deans, NDP MLA from Hamilton-Wentworth, brushed aside compromise proposals by the Waffle, saying they had no right to propose compromises. Stephen Lewis, in a thinly veiled threat to resign as leader if the motion was defeated, said: "I can't cope as leader with the present situation any longer. . . . I choose to fight," he said in measured

words, "without the Waffle forever an encumbrance around my neck."

Lewis supporters, perhaps 200, rose in a standing ovation. The rest of the audience, about 800, sat, and many booed. As the vote was called, the youthful audience spilled onto the floor of the meeting. When Chairman Macdonald asked for votes against the Riverdale motion, they stood on their bleacher benches, some shouting, "Count us, count the rank and file. . . ." But the motion was adopted 217-88.

The executive, most trade-union delegates (overwhelmingly conservative officials), the federal and provincial parliamentary caucus representatives, and some riding delegates who were confused about the intent of the Riverdale motion and unwilling to face the leadership crisis which would inevitably result from defeating the motion, comprised those in favor.

The opposition vote represented close to half the riding votes.

The council adjourned for the day immediately after the motion was adopted. While Lewis sat in Le Lido Motel gloating to his cronies that "the Waffle as it existed is dissolved," the Waffle was reaffirming an earlier decision that the caucus "will not disband" and deciding to call a full-scale Ontario-wide Waffle conference before August 15 to chart the course ahead. "We've got to organize now," Watkins told the meeting. "We have to move fast so that we'll have the broadest possible representation at our convention."

When he heard that the Waffle planned to fight its proscription by the council, Lewis threatened expulsions. Persisting in a course of disaster for the NDP, he said: "But if the cumulative effects of their resolution, as it works in practice, is to maintain the Waffle in a provocative public way . . . there will simply be an executive meeting and we will commence the action which we were authorized to undertake by the party."

Meanwhile, at the Waffle meeting, Laxer was saying: "Any institution which persists in its opposition to this radicalization will end up in the Smithsonian Institution."

It seems clear that the split which the brass is attempting to foist on the party has so far resulted in a deepening crisis in the party and a stiffening of the Waffle's resistance. The coming Waffle conference and the December convention will be focal points of the struggle that lies ahead for the Waffle to turn back the assault by the reformist bureaucrats who dominate the NDP. □

Some "Art" Is Eternal

Chinese handicraft workers are reported to be abandoning socialist realism for more traditional works, which sell more easily on the Western market. We presume, however, that this will not mean a reduction in the output of Mao buttons.

Regime Attempts Amalgam With Croat Reactionaries

Three Yugoslav 'Trotskyists' Facing Trial

[M. Nikolic and P. Imsirovic, students in Belgrade, were arrested by the Yugoslav security police on January 7 on charges of having "organized against the people and the state" and of having distributed "enemy propaganda." At the time of the arrests, *Borba*, the newspaper of the Savez Komunista Jugoslavije (League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Communist party), reported that the "arrest came as a consequence of the distribution of leaflets and various materials whose contents were hostile to the state. . . . The group was linked to certain groups and organizations abroad."

[Since the arrests, the official press in Yugoslavia has sought to link these leftist students with the reactionary trends in the Croat nationalist movement. But there has been no trial as yet.

[The following article on the case has been translated from the July 1 issue of *Rouge*, weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

It will soon be six months since M. Nikolic, P. Imsirovic, and Y. Klaic were imprisoned in Yugoslavia, and still none of the counts against them has been proved and there has been no trial. No doubt we can expect that the latter will, as if by accident, take place during summer vacations while the students are away. But such a procedure will not prevent full exposure of this trial and all its attendant slanders.

Here, we would like to give an illustration of the climate maintained by the official press, a climate that *Student* (the magazine published by the students in Belgrade) denounced in its April-May issue.

The tone was set by the articles the magazine *Svet* began to print in January 1972, just after the arrests. For example, the January 14 article: "Are there relations between the nationalists and the so-called new left?" Question: "Who are the students Nikolic and Imsirovic and why were they arrested? [The third arrest occurred

somewhat later.] Who brought the Trotskyist leader Ernest Mandel to Belgrade? The new party and the five-member cell, Revolutionary Combat."¹

Then, with no transition, the "journalist" goes on to the recent arrests of some Croat nationalists and recounts their more or less clear theses on the perspective of a third world war out of which they could draw some advantage. With no further explanation, the article goes on: "A little while after the jailing of the lawyer Subotic . . . we hear of the arrest of the two students," etc. What is the relation between these two facts? No one knows.

But further on it is stated, "More clever, better armed 'theoretically,' the Trotskyist organization does not advocate outright a third world war (sic!) as do the backward documents unearthed in the 'Subotic affair.' *But their aspirations are similar, if not identical* [our emphasis—*Rouge*]." There! The amalgam is neatly made. And justified a few lines further on: "The Marxist critique and analysis of society has demonstrated right down to our day—although we have not sufficiently proclaimed this—that it has been able to unmask, *at first glance*, the subtle and paradoxical relations between different ideological currents and their attempts to discredit socialism, democracy, freedom, and self-management. . . ."

This "first glance" is really striking. It shows the same clairvoyance as marked those "Marxists" of yesterday who called Titoism "fascist."

We still wait, but in vain, for the "Marxist analysis" that will demonstrate that those same people who are accused of denouncing social inequalities in Yugoslavia and the "capitalist relations" developing in the factories, those who show the present limitations of the self-management system, those who proclaim their adherence

1. Actually, Mandel was invited to Belgrade by the Student Cultural Center. He spoke to an open meeting attended by 200 people November 22, 1971, on the topic, "The Role of Trotskyism in the Contemporary Worldwide Liberation Movement."

to the working class and to socialism—those people are waging the same fight as the Croat reactionaries!

We know that their fight is contrary to the aspirations of the Croat nationalists. The latter seek to reintroduce into the factories social inequalities based on the nationality of the workers; they oppose any redistribution of income from rich Croatia to aid the development of the poorest regions; their demands could only lead to strengthening the same inequalities that the "Trotskyists" denounce.

And this denunciation is not to our knowledge the work of a small minority hostile to socialism. It is the product of a social reality that is today so in crisis that the self-management congress itself broadly described these "centrifugal technocratic and financial pressures that usurp the rights of self-management." In 1968, when the unions and students of Yugoslavia denounced the development of capitalist relations in Yugoslavia, weren't they recognized as authentic defenders of socialism? And after these movements, didn't the government itself take measures to restrict the extension of the private sector and the development of the GRPs,² which were undermining the self-management system?

Our "journalist" ought to go down in history alongside his Stalinist colleagues who in their time (the Rajk trial is not so long ago!) knew how to heap slander on the Yugoslav revolution itself.

And just as we defended this revolution against Stalin with all our means, so will we defend those who fight for socialism and are today repressed in the purest Stalinist traditions. □

2. The GRPs are factories of groups of individuals, a camouflaged form of group, as opposed to state, property.

In Case Anyone Was Worried

The Baden-Wuerttemberg state organization of West Germany's Social Democratic party [SPD] recently retracted an embarrassing typographical error that had appeared in a press release:

"Please excuse the unfortunate error that occurred in our press release. It should not refer to the 'socialist state office'. . . . This was definitely a slip of the pen and in no way does it represent the programmatic goal of the Baden-Wuerttemberg SPD."

Dissidents' Reply to Kremlin on Bukovsky Trial

By George Saunders

Recently *Intercontinental Press* has run the full text, in translation, of the transcript of a political trial staged in Moscow this past January 5, the trial of Vladimir Bukovsky.

What is the significance of a transcript like this? What does it mean for the Marxist revolutionary movement, and for the worldwide struggle for socialism?

In his biography of *The Young Lenin* Trotsky describes how the spark of anger against the cruelties of the czarist regime was constantly reignited among the critical intelligentsia of old Russia in the 1870s and 1880s: Unauthorized transcripts of political trials and texts of protest statements by victims of czarist oppression circulated clandestinely, helping to build the revulsion against the status quo that ultimately took the form of a mass revolutionary movement.

Today in the Soviet Union that tradition has been revived under different conditions. The privately circulated documentation of unjustified repression has acquired a name appropriate to the changed circumstances. *Samizdat* is a play on the acronyms used in Soviet Russia for the publicly owned, postcapitalist publishing houses (for example, *Gosizdat* means State Publishing House). But the official publishing agencies do not serve the needs of the population, or do so only in distorted form, while the primary interests they serve are those of a privileged upper layer of bureaucrats analogous to conservative labor officialdom in the capitalist world.

Under these conditions, *samizdat* (or Self-Publishing House) functions as a noncapitalist means of producing and distributing information that serves the needs and expresses the wide variety of ideas and interests of the mass of the Soviet population, through its more conscious layers.

The Soviet bureaucracy is frightened by this growing expression of uncensored opinion. It is conducting a harsh campaign against *samizdat*. Anyone caught possessing or circulating such material can face severe

prison sentences, as the Bukovsky case, among many others, shows.

The New York *Daily World*, which expresses the views of the pro-Kremlin Communist party U.S.A., has joined in the international campaign meant to justify the drive against dissidence in the Soviet Union. For example, the July 1 *Daily World* has an article by Erik Bert, who has been doing a whole series attacking Soviet dissenters. Bert describes *samizdat* as "the arsenal of Radio Liberty [a U.S. government-sponsored anti-Soviet station broadcasting to the USSR in Russian and other languages], prepared by the Central Intelligence Agency, for suborning treason in the Soviet Union, for preparing the overthrow of the Socialist Soviet system."

The truth is that by documenting the crimes, arbitrariness, and violation of civil, social, and national rights by the privileged bureaucracy, *samizdat* is helping build a revulsion against the status quo, not of socialism, but of *Stalinism*. The mass revolutionary movement that will develop out of this expression of autonomous protest will not aim at restoring czarism, landlordism, or capitalism. Those are gone forever. Its goal will be to restore the soviets as organs of workers' control and workers' democracy as in the early years of the revolution. It will carry out, not a social, but a *political* revolution, abolishing the monopoly on government and management held by the privileged bureaucratic caste. Brezhnev will no longer be able to expand his private automobile collection, for example; he may even have to go to work.

The transcript of the Bukovsky trial, then, was like much else that appears in *samizdat*, that is, the fruit of an effort by Soviet citizens to make known the truth about the regime's violations of "socialist legality." What the regime wanted the Soviet people to know about that trial was considerably different.

We are printing in this issue a text that shows rather clearly how the

Kremlin wanted Soviet citizens to view the Bukovsky case. It is a translation of the only newspaper story on the Bukovsky trial printed in the Russian-language Soviet press. Readers will no doubt find it interesting to compare the unofficial transcript point-by-point with this official report, which is subtitled "From the Courtroom." (The unofficial transcript appeared in *Intercontinental Press* in the issues for May 22 through June 26. Bukovsky's final statement to the court appeared earlier, in the issue for January 31, 1972.)

Some further information about both the *samizdat* transcript and the sole official news story has become available from the most recent issue of the leading *samizdat* newsletter, the *Chronicle of Current Events*.

The *Chronicle* issue No. 24, dated March 5, 1972, devotes first place to news on the Bukovsky case, including the following passage:

"The only official source of information about the trial of Vladimir Bukovsky for Soviet readers was the article "A Life of Shame and Villainy" [Biografiya Podlosti] by A. Yurov and L. Kolesov in the newspaper *Vechernyaya Moskva* for January 6. The nature of this article is indicated sufficiently by the fact that it failed even to report the verdict in full—the parts of the verdict concerning the term in prison and the payment of court costs were left out."

(The *samizdat* transcript gave the verdict as follows: ". . . seven years of confinement, with the first two years to be spent in prison and the last five in a corrective labor colony; this sentence to be followed by five years in exile. The court also orders Bukovsky to pay court expenses in the sum of 100 rubles."

(By contrast, the *Vechernyaya Moskva* article reported only that Bukovsky "was sentenced to a term of seven years of imprisonment in a corrective labor colony of strict regime, and to five years in exile after that." Even the *Daily World's* coverage was more accurate. In its brief report on

January 7, it included mention of the two-year prison stipulation, though it too left out the fact that the victim had to pay court costs.)

Commenting further on the *Vechernyaya Moskva* story, the *Chronicle* cites another example of factual distortion: "The article states that 'Bukovsky went so far as to commit a criminal offense—and was sentenced by a people's court to three years of imprisonment for disturbing the peace,' without indicating that the 'disturbance of the peace' was a demonstration organized by Bukovsky to protest the arrests [in January 1967] of Yu. Galanskov, V. Lashkova, and others."

(For more information about Bukovsky's 1967 arrest and trial, see "Excerpts from Litvinov's Letter on Bukovsky Case" and "Vladimir Bukovsky's Pleas for Soviet Democracy" in *Intercontinental Press*, February 9, 1968, p. 104, and February 16, 1968, p. 143, respectively. Also see the book *Demonstration at Pushkin Square*, edited by Pavel Litvinov (London: Collins-Harvill, and Boston: Gambit, 1969), which is Litvinov's compilation of materials on Bukovsky's 1967 trial and the related trial of dissident protester Pavel Khaustov.)

The March 5 *Chronicle* also described numerous protests in Bukovsky's behalf, both within the Soviet Union and beyond its borders. One of these was an open letter replying to the *Vechernyaya Moskva* article. The authors of that open letter, which is circulating in *samizdat*, are T. Khodorovich and S. Khodorovich, dissidents long associated with the Initiative Group for Defense of Human Rights in the USSR. The text of their rebuttal has not yet become available outside the Soviet Union.

This most recent issue of the *Chronicle* to reach us also has some interesting information about the trial transcript itself:

"A detailed transcript of the trial of V. Bukovsky has appeared in *samizdat*. The compilers of this transcript state in a foreword: '. . . The responsibility for the fact that this is not a word-for-word reconstruction of the proceedings rests not with those who have done everything in their power to establish the truth but with those who would not allow friends of the defendant into the courtroom . . . denying them the opportunity to openly make a stenographic record or to use a portable recording apparatus.'

"Those who compiled the transcript have subsequently noticed three inaccuracies that crept into the document and would like to call them to the attention of readers of the *Chronicle*. First, the transcript states that issue No. 17 of the *Chronicle* was confiscated from Sebreghts, i.e., the same issue of the *Chronicle* that was confiscated at Bukovsky's apartment on March 29, 1971, when he was arrested. In fact, according to the official records on the search of Bukovsky's apartment and on the interrogation of Sebreghts, it was issue No. 18 of the *Chronicle* that was taken from Sebreghts and No. 17 that was found at Bukovsky's.

"Second, in the last part of the verdict, before the words 'V. K. Bukovsky is guilty of having carried out criminal activity in violation of Article 70 . . . ,' the following sentence was omitted: 'The court considers it proven

that Bukovsky pursued the aim of subverting and weakening Soviet power.'

"Third, Nikitinsky's name is Arnold Yosifovich, not Arnold Eduardovich."

It is interesting that the *Chronicle* refers in the plural to the unnamed compilers of this document. A young Soviet dissident, Aleksei Tumerman, has openly taken responsibility for compiling it and supplying it to Western newsmen and to the International Association of Jurists. He has since been forcibly confined in a Soviet psychiatric hospital. The text that Tumerman sent out contains the same errors cited by the unnamed compilers in this statement in the *Chronicle*. Thus, apparently theirs is the same text, and Tumerman presumably took full responsibility for it with the aim of protecting others from the police reprisals sure to follow. □

Appeal for Yakir Reported in Moscow

The first protest statement has appeared in the Soviet Union against the arrest and threatened trial of oppositionist Pyotr Yakir. (For details of the case, see *Intercontinental Press*, July 3, p. 762, and the press statement by three of his former associates, which appears in the Documents section of the present issue.)

The Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR, a loosely knit body with which Yakir was active, is reported to be circulating in Moscow an appeal addressed to Soviet Prosecutor-General Rudenko. The appeal asks that Yakir be released on the recognizance of the seven signers. The protesters refer to the recent victory against repression in the United States in the Angela Davis case. Davis, they point out, was finally released on bail before her trial, even though murder charges were involved. They ask the Soviet judiciary to do as much for Yakir, who is apparently being charged only with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

The Initiative Group appeal emphasizes that Yakir has always adhered to lawful methods in his public activity and that his anti-Stalinism is closely linked with his work as a historian, his strong personal feelings against social injustice, and his own personal

experience. The son of a Red Army general, Yona Yakir, who was shot by Stalin in the 1937 purges, Pyotr was held in prison and camps for seventeen years as the son of an "enemy of the people." Both father and son were cleared of all charges in 1956.

As friends and associates of Pyotr Yakir, the signers of the appeal testified that they had never observed him to display hostility by word or deed toward either Soviet society or the Soviet system.

Signing the statement were the seven Initiative Group members still free in the Soviet Union: Tatyana Velikanova, Aleksandr Lovut, Grigory Podypolsky, Tatyana Khodorovich, Anatoly Yakobson, Viktor Krasin, and Sergei Kovalyov. The eighth member who is still free, but no longer in Moscow, is Yuri Shtein, who signed the separate protest statement in Rome as an Initiative Group member.

According to earlier reports, Yakir is being held in Moscow's Lefertovo prison. Attempts by Valentina Savenkova (his wife) to see him have reportedly been unsuccessful.

The arrest and possible trial of Yakir is aimed largely at suppressing the nascent civil-rights organization

that the Initiative Group represents. The bureaucracy, through its secret police, has recently put renewed pressure on the other nongovernmental civil-right organization, the Human Rights Committee, whose most prominent member is Academician Sakharov.

On July 6, Valery Chalidze, like Sakharov a physicist and a political moderate, was summoned to KGB headquarters in Moscow and reportedly warned again to stop his activities.

Chalidze was accused in *Izvestia* last January of passing "anti-Soviet slander" to a visiting U. S. congressman,

a charge that he has denied. He was also attacked in the official press in 1971 in connection with a visitor he received in March of that year, a Belgian named Hugo Sebreghts, who claimed to be with a Flemish civil-rights committee. The Sebreghts incident became one of the bases for the framing of Vladimir Bukovsky last January.

Up to this point, however, Chalidze himself, as a prominent scientist, has not been subjected to anything more than police and press harassment. But as the regime grows more desperate, the time of trials may come for the Chalidzes and Sakharovs as well. □

tants in Lenadoon Avenue, Andersonstown, who were afraid because of their isolation and the general level of violence in the district, and Catholics were moved in."

The reactionary Protestant terrorist organization, the Ulster Defense Association (UDA) threatened the Catholic families with violence if they tried to occupy the empty houses on Lenadoon Avenue. When the squatters, defended by about 400 supporters, tried to move in anyway, they were halted by the British army. In the July 8 *Irish Times*, Holohan described the confrontation:

"At about 6.30 p.m. some 400 youths, carrying hurling sticks or wooden clubs and dustbin lids drew up along the avenue. At their front was a lorry load of furniture intended for one of the empty houses. After talks between the local Army commander, Colonel Mike Tomlinson, of the 2nd Field Regiment, and Mr. Gerry O'Hare, representing the families, the crowds dispersed." On Saturday another clash between the Catholics and the troops was narrowly averted. The blowup came on Sunday July 9. Henry Kelly reported in the July 10 *Irish Times*: "On Saturday, local Provisional I. R. A. leaders met the British Army and it is understood that the I. R. A. gave the Army until four o'clock yesterday afternoon to agree to protect the families as they moved into their new houses.

"As four o'clock approached, crowds began to gather on Lenadoon Avenue and two lorries carrying furniture and accompanied by 1,000 people, men, women, and children, began to move towards the empty houses.

"British troops put a barbed wire barricade across the path of the advancing crowd, and there was an immediate confrontation. As one of the furniture lorries continued, it was rammed by an Army Saracen car and stones and bottles began to fly. Army chiefs on the spot appealed to the crowds to disperse, but the confrontation continued and then troops fired rubber bullets and CS gas and used a water cannon against the crowd.

"This riot continued for about half-an-hour and then the shooting started. The I. R. A. used a variety of weapons and the British Army replied. Hundreds of shots were exchanged and I. R. A. leaders in the area claimed

Northern Ireland

Imperialist Attacks Shatter Cease-Fire

By Gerry Foley

Violent attacks by British troops and proimperialist terrorists on the nationalist ghettos of Northern Ireland seemed to be reaching the level of a new pogrom by the end of the second week in July, which is still only the beginning of the period of Protestant ascendancy marches.

Rising tensions between the proimperialist and nationalist communities prepared the way for the new outbreak of fighting. Just as the mass civil-rights movement was sparked off three years ago by a case of a single Protestant woman being given a house ahead of large Catholic families, the latest explosion resulted from a housing issue.

There has never been enough municipal housing to go around in Northern Ireland. But the communal violence of the last three years has aggravated the problem still more. Not only have a considerable number of dwellings been destroyed in the fighting but the movement of populations caused by the polarization of the two communities has created growing difficulties. Even before the new outbreak of fighting, *Irish Times* correspondent Renagh Holohan took note of the rising pressures. In the July 7 issue of the Dublin daily, he wrote:

"Intimidation in Belfast, which has been increasing for the last fortnight,

has now reached such proportions that there is a danger of the city's housing areas becoming entirely Catholic or entirely Protestant. A further move toward complete segregation, begun back in July, 1969, is expected at the weekend."

Catholics in particular have suffered from the anger of the dominant group in the society, which feels its position threatened by the ferment in the oppressed community.

"The 200 or so families on the housing list . . . appear to be Catholics who have been forced out of East Belfast, Donegall Pass, Rathcoole, Manor Street and Oldpark and the West Circular Road. Generally they lived in isolated positions and were singled out for no particular reason. Because of their isolation they were unlikely to have been in any way troublesome or militant."

As for those families who cannot prove that they were forced out by intimidation: "Most of these families end up squatting in vacant, but safe, houses.

"The Central Citizens Defense Committee on the Falls Road helps Catholics in such a position. . . . They have helped more than 100 such families in the last week or two. The C. C. D. C. rehuses these people anywhere there's an empty house. Eighteen houses were vacated by Protes-

as many as a dozen British soldiers hit."

Following the clash, the commander of the Belfast Provisional IRA, Séamus Twomey, declared a new offensive throughout Northern Ireland. He said:

"The truce is broken. The truce which we fought hard to maintain was today breached on a number of occasions. . . .

"Despite hours of talk, and the fact that we withdrew on two occasions, British representatives bowed the knee to pressure from the sinister U. D. A. and refused to permit families who have been legally allocated houses in the Horn Drive, entry to their own homes.

"When a lorry with furniture for one of the families tried to gain access to the south side of Lenadoon Avenue, it was rammed by a Saracen armoured car and almost overturned, much to the delight of the U. D. A.

"The British forces then opened up on the crowds of civilians with rubber bullets, CS gas and a water cannon, injuring many people including some schoolchildren. It is again most unfortunate that our people here become targets for British Army oppression. In the circumstances, we have no other option but to resume offensive operations against the British forces of occupation."

On the same day, July 9, British troops attacked Catholics protesting a march of Orangemen and hooded UDA goon squads through their area in the border town of Portadown. The spokesman of the Official republican movement in Northern Ireland, Malachy Toal, accused the British army of beating up and injuring civilians, including women:

"Their [the troops'] action was deplorable and in sharp contrast to their attitude to the U. D. A. barricades. Such action could result in the entire people of the Six Counties being driven to further rebellion against the crown forces.

"In the name of humanity we call on the British forces to stay out of this area and appeal to the Orangemen to change their plans in regard to marching through this area on Wednesday or Thursday of this week."

Following the start of the new Provisional offensive, gun battles and explosions took place throughout Belfast. Some 5,000 shots were reportedly

exchanged. The British government complained that the Provisional IRA had begun to use rocket launchers. Explosions also occurred in Derry, Northern Ireland's second largest city. About 700 British troops occupied the Andersonstown ghetto in Belfast. Massive sweeps took place in other areas, such as the Falls Road ghetto.

By the weekend of July 15-16 more than 5,000 Catholics had fled to the formally independent part of the island. Many of the refugees complained of organized Protestant terror.

Despite the extent of the military repression, the British authorities apparently still feel that they cannot afford to pay the political price of launching an all-out attack on the nationalist population. In Derry they were forced to back off by peaceful protests. The July 16 *New York Times* reported:

"The Londonderry confrontation began when British Army engineers tried to build a brick wall across William Street, which leads directly from the city center to the Catholic Bogside and Creggan areas. . . .

"Dozens of Bogside and Creggan people forced their way through a gap in the barricade and marched toward the soldiers building the wall.

"Women stood on the spot where the wall was to be built. Soldiers attempted to continue their work, but the women stopped them from doing so." After negotiations, British officials agreed to give up the project.

It is still not entirely clear why the Provisionals resumed their military campaign when they did and on such a scale. Almost immediately after their announcement ending the truce, they seemed to be waging an unprecedentedly violent struggle. Although pressure had obviously been building up before the Lenadoon Avenue incident, there did not appear to be sufficient justification for resuming all-out urban guerrilla warfare.

It seems likely that the British authorities openly taking the side of the Protestant reactionaries could not help but exasperate the Catholic population. For the past three years, they have suffered constant and systematic terror and gained no satisfaction of their grievances.

So, it is possible that a significant proportion of the nationalist minority at least passively supports the new

Provisional offensive, even if they see it only as a desperate protest against a hopeless situation. But the least that can be said is that the political conditions for resuming violent struggle seem disadvantageous for the nationalist community.

There was no political preparation for the renewed offensive. A peace offensive had been gaining momentum in the nationalist community for some time, which finally forced the Provisional IRA to declare a truce. The peace offensive was also reflected in a growing indifference in the formally independent part of the country, which was shown by the lack of support for the Provisional political prisoners' protest in Mountjoy jail several weeks ago. Since there was no campaign of mass action to highlight the housing problem and the attitude of the British authorities, the resumption of military activity by the Provisionals came as a complete surprise to public opinion.

There are, however, reasons for believing that the Belfast Provisional IRA was unhappy with the truce and anxious to resume its campaign. The organization drew support mainly on the basis of the appeal of military action against the troops. During the two weeks of the truce, the Provisionals seemed to be fading rapidly out of the picture, leaving the stage to the old "moderate" Catholic politicians.

After the outbreak of the new violence, British Secretary of State for Northern Ireland William Whitelaw gave this account of his negotiations with the Provisional IRA, as reported in a July 10 dispatch from London by *New York Times* correspondent Alvin Shuster:

"But the I. R. A. men made unacceptable demands, he [Whitelaw] said, and they also asserted that they had received nothing in return for their two-week-old cease-fire."

Almost immediately after the start of the new Provisional offensive, the leader of the political wing of the movement, Ruairi O Bradaigh, announced in Dublin that he was hopeful a new truce could be negotiated.

Thus many questions are still to be answered about the meaning and effect of the Provisional offensive. But the role of the British troops as defenders of the caste system in Northern Ireland has become absolutely clear. □

Fifteen Months in an Israeli Jail

[The following interview with the Israeli-Arab poet Fawzi Assmar is reprinted from the April issue of *Israel and Palestine*, an English-language magazine published in Paris. It was conducted in Paris, where Assmar stopped on his way to a speaking tour in the United States.

[Assmar was imprisoned in Israel under administrative decree from August 8, 1969 to November 5, 1970. During that time, no charges were brought against him. Upon his release from prison, he was restricted to the town of Lod. During this time he was not allowed to leave his parents' home between sunset and sunrise. His permanent address is in Tel Aviv, and he asked the Supreme Court to rescind the order restricting him to Lod because he was unable to make a living there. That request was denied.

[On November 5, 1971, Assmar was finally released from house arrest in Lod. But he is still barred from entering Jerusalem, the territories occupied by Israel since June 1967, and wide areas inside Israel itself—the so-called closed zones.

[The only explanation Assmar was ever given for his detention was that some members of the Palestinian resistance movement who had been captured by Israeli security forces had discussed Assmar—without his knowledge—as a possible recruit.

[Assmar explains that it was his relative fame that compelled the Israeli authorities to release him. Hundreds of other Arabs, formally citizens of the state of Israel, are not so lucky. Under Israel's Emergency and Defense Regulations, originally passed by the British for use against the Zionists in Palestine, any person may be held indefinitely without ever being charged or brought to trial.]

* * *

I&P. Fawzy, after your arrest, what did your interrogators ask you?

Assmar. The interrogation was divided into three parts: first, on the day of my arrest, after I was brought to Rehovot police station, they accused me of belonging to the PFLP, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. They said they had proof of this. Then they asked me whom I know personally, and specifically whom I know in Jordan.

On the night of the first day I was brought to the "Russian Compound" jail in Jerusalem, the so-called Moskewieh. There they charged me with belonging to Fateh and asked me about some people who live in Ramallah, in the occupied territories, and about possible contacts with them.

Also in Jerusalem they started asking

me about my literary work. This was, in my opinion, the main reason for my arrest: I had published, a fortnight before my arrest, a book of Arabic-language poems, *The Promised Land*, which was censored of some of its contents but still considered by the authorities—in spite of the deletion of various poems, and indeed of isolated words inside some of my poems—as a political work. Arabic poetry in Israel is generally considered political work, not literature.

My interrogation went on for seventy-two hours.

I&P. What did they want to know about your literary work? Did they discuss it or try to find out if it was seditious, in their opinion?

Assmar. They did not discuss my work. They just asked me questions such as, "Why did you not write poems about Jews killed in the Mahaneh Jehudah bomb outrage?" or "Why does the Jew fail to appear in your poems?" To the first question I answered that I had not written either about Arab children killed by napalm bombings by the Israeli air force, in Jordan. To the second—that if they thought so they just did not understand my poetry, as I wrote about men as such, not about their nationality.

I&P. Was there anything else political?

Assmar. I was questioned about some of my acquaintances, particularly about Jewish ones; people such as Moshe Machover of *Matzpen*, the late advocate Mordechai Stein of the now disbanded Third Camp party, and Knesset member Uri Avnery, of New Force. They charged that people such as me are "indoctrinated by bastards of that kind." I told them that my relations with these men were my personal business only.

I&P. Was force employed during your interrogation, and if so, how?

Assmar. From the moment I was brought to the Moskewieh in Jerusalem, I was questioned by two men wearing plain clothes. One of them was a native Israeli Jew, a "Sabra" as we say, called David. He behaved correctly. The second interrogator was called Sami, probably an Iraqi Jew. He behaved brutally, and hit me repeatedly. He kicked me and slapped my face strongly. In Jerusalem I also could not sleep as I was held in a cell from where I could hear how people were beaten up, next door, during interrogation.

In Rehovot, when I was first questioned, a third man interrogated me for a short

time. He was a German-born Jew, if one is to judge by his accent. He also kicked me several times. After my transfer to Jerusalem, I did not see him again.

I&P. Were you threatened in any way?

Assmar. I was threatened. They said, first, that I would not be allowed to see a lawyer; second, that I would be brought before military interrogators; and third, that they would make me undergo "seven grades of torture such as you cannot even imagine."

I&P. Why is it a threat to be interrogated by military men in Israel?

Assmar. Some Arabs, mostly Israeli citizens, are interrogated by the police, who are assisted by security service men. Others, mostly occupied territories' citizens, are questioned by army men. They take them to military questioning camps. There, conditions are depicted by people who have been through this as "diabolical."

I&P. Did they fulfill these threats?

Assmar. No.

I&P. How come?

Assmar. First of all, because of the uproar caused by my arrest. Also, because they had to bring me before a magistrate, after forty-eight hours questioning, as the law demands. The magistrate ordered the police to allow me to have a lawyer, so that took care of this. It is also possible that the threats were mainly psychological pressure.

I&P. You told me about the first seventy-two hours of interrogation, during which you got beaten about. What happened after that?

Assmar. They held me in solitary confinement for twenty days, in Jerusalem. Then my lawyer, Mr. David Rimalt, came and told me that I would not be brought to trial. They had decided to hold me as one of those administrative detainees against whom nothing has been proved. At the time I was arrested there were some sixty Israeli- and Jerusalem-born Arabs thus detained according to the administrative decision of Defence Minister Dayan or of the chief of staff of the army. In the occupied areas there were virtually thousands of administrative detainees.

I&P. Why did they not bring you to trial?

Assmar. They found nothing which would allow them to proffer charges—why don't you ask them?

I&P. If so, why did they keep you in jail?

Assmar. The Israeli Emergency Regula-

tions empower the authorities to arrest anybody, without bringing him even before a magistrate and then to hold him without a trial indefinitely. It may be they wanted to make an example of my case. As for the real reason of my administrative detention—I think they wanted to make me pay for my political stand.

I&P. Which is . . . ?

Assmar. Above all, against the occupation of the territories. And against the Zionist regime.

I&P. Are you against the existence of the state of Israel as such?

Assmar. As a left-winger and a socialist, I do not accept any national framework.

I&P. Not even a Palestinian national state?

Assmar. Not even that.

I&P. Nor an Arab united state?

Assmar. Not even that.

I&P. If not those—then what?

Assmar. I am for a socialist framework that will include all the peoples in the Middle East; the Kurds, Armenians, Persians, Arabs, the Israeli people now living in Israel, etc.

I&P. Are there any—Arab or Israeli—organizations which hold a position similar to your own?

Assmar. I do not know about the Palestinian side; I am not an expert on that, the information I got in Israel was limited. I think maybe there are such. On the Israeli side there are both groups and individuals who hold such positions, but they are few and isolated.

I think, too, that any sincere socialist must see this position as self-evident.

I&P. As long as the national frameworks—Israel, Jordan, etc.—do exist, how would you define your relationship to these frameworks, their laws, and so on?

Assmar. Wherever I live, in a state, I can choose between two paths: either I go underground, or I work openly for my aims. To each the responsibility for the path he chooses.

I&P. Which path do you choose?

Assmar. The second one, that of working openly.

I&P. What is the price you pay?

Assmar. Fifteen months in administration jail, house arrest, limitations of move-

ment, persecution, and economic hardship.

I&P. Don't you think you will also be criticized in the Arab camp for your choice?

Assmar. That is possible.

I&P. Let us go back to your arrest. Did the interrogators propose any deals?

Assmar. Five hours after my arrest, the first questioner already offered to release me provided I did leave Israel for good. I refused. During the fifteen months of my administrative jailing they renewed this offer, altogether, four times. The last time was shortly before my release. Then, too, I refused steadfastly.

I&P. What do you have to say about Israeli reactions to your arrest and jailing?

Assmar. As I have said, after my arrest there was an uproar both in Israel and abroad. This was the work of relatively few men and women. The results were enormous. There were joint demon-

strations of Jews and Arabs in Israel. There were demos of Israelis abroad, among others in Frankfurt and London. There was a petition circulated among Tel Aviv and Jerusalem intellectuals. There were discussions as to the illegitimacy of the Emergency Regulations. My case was brought as a typical example. There were discussions of the case both in Israel and abroad. Myself, as well as the rest of the administrative detainees, were happy about the reactions outside, which really did help us a lot.

We held two hunger strikes, the first was only of administrative detainees, to the second adhered other prisoners, sentenced men. On both opportunities, demos of Israeli Jews and Arabs were held outside the walls of Damoun jail, where we were being held, and we heard the chorused slogans in Hebrew, from the outside, while we sat in our cells. More than a thousand Arab prisoners participated in the second strike.

I&P. Now, after all you have lived through, you are abroad. Do you intend to go back to Israel?

Assmar. Of course. □

Omani Sultan Dependent on Hired Officers

Paper Lifts Lid on Britain's War in Dhofar

London

Oman and its province of Dhofar, strategically located on the borders of Saudi Arabia and South Yemen in an area that supplies 70 percent of Western Europe's oil needs, are clearly of strategic economic and political importance to imperialism and its allies. Until recently a veil of secrecy has covered British "diplomatic activities" there. A report published in the June 25 London *Sunday Times* has now illuminated some of this activity.

Judging from the report, written by Brian Moynahan, there is good reason for the secrecy. Moynahan reveals quite explicitly how the British government is involved up to its neck with the Sandhurst-trained Sultan Qabus bin Said, whose predecessor—his father—was overthrown in 1970 by "a coup almost certainly planned by British officers who knew their Mao and Giap."

The Sultan is presently engaged in a war against the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf (PFLOAG), which exercises considerable influence in that part of Dho-

far that is closest to the South Yemen border. It is a war for which the sultan's army is neither adequately staffed nor well equipped, and as Moynahan explains: ". . . there is little doubt that without the British pilots and officers the war would fold up within a matter of days." Despite attempts to hide this fact, such as camouflaging British officers in "jaunty Arab headdresses," the imposition of British military culture is obvious.

The recruitment of officers is carried out in a semimercenary fashion. Since the sultan's secretary of defence is a colonel of English nationality, prospects for promotion are good: "There is no defence agreement with Oman: the British are there either through their own direct contracts or by secondment through the Ministry of Defence in London. Since none of the sprinkling of Omani officers is ranked above captain, the 31-year-old Sultan is utterly dependent on the British."

As one contract officer let slip: "This war is Brit down to its desert boots." Most of the weapons employed by

the sultan, such as "nine Strikemasters, two Caribous, eight Skyvans, four Beavers, 12 helicopters and a few jet Provosts," are presumably British exports.

The hired officers apparently see themselves as a dam holding back a flood of revolution sweeping its way from South Yemen through Dhofar and onward towards Oman. They have erected what they call a "hedgehog line" consisting of barbed wire and radar anti-personnel posts in order to "protect" the Omanis.

Lacking the British sense of priorities, the Omanis are not very enthusiastic about the war effort:

"The oil income is £52 million a year and unlikely to increase. Recurring defence costs are officially put at £13.2 million, but a more realistic estimate is that almost half the country's oil money goes on the war.

"And it is going on a fraction of Oman's 500,000 population (not more than 30,000 live in Dhofar). This is bitterly resented in the rest of the country where the economy is moving slowly despite [sic] an influx of American businessmen."

If the evaluation of the strength of the PFLOAG and the estimate of annual defence expenditures are correct, then it is costing roughly £26,000,000 a year to do battle with 800 rebels.

Should any fainthearted British capitalists feel concerned about this flood of revolution inflicting a blow on British prestige or profits, they may be pleased to hear that help is close at hand. "[Jordanian King] Hussein has sent 25-pounders and advisers and could send more officers if the British presence becomes embarrassing. The Shah has sent an ambassador." □

the establishment of Jewish settlements on the fenced-off land, near Rafa, to establish an Israeli buffer zone to separate the populated area of Gaza from the Sinai. . . . " □

Giora Neuman Gets Eight-Month Sentence

Giora Neuman was sentenced to eight months in prison July 11 by an Israeli military court for refusing to be inducted into the army. Neuman has already served five previous thirty-five-day sentences for refusing induction. He is a member of the Israeli Socialist Organization, also known as *Matzpen*, the name of its journal.

Neuman refused to enter the army because of its record of "oppression, degradation, and expulsion" of the Palestinians and other Arabs in the occupied territories. The military judge, in announcing the verdict, termed these charges a "slander."

A draft counselor who appeared as a character witness for the defense testified that he had counseled ten persons, including Neuman, to avoid military service by claiming that they used drugs. Neuman, the witness said, was the only one of the ten to reject this advice.

Under Israeli law, Neuman could have received a sentence as long as five years. However, his case attracted considerable attention. Petitions were sent in his behalf from Great Britain, France, the United States, and Australia. In June, an appeal for Neuman by Jean-Paul Sartre received wide coverage in the Israeli press. All this publicity may have deterred the Zionist government from imposing the maximum sentence. □

Drop Bombs Where?

A new handbook of English phrases for Cambodian soldiers indicates that Lon Nol's army is not exactly brimming with confidence. The *Far Eastern Economic Review* reports that the phrases include the following:

"Help! I am lost. How far away is the enemy? Please show me. Please help us. Please drop bombs. Please give air support. I am sick. We are wounded. We are under attack. Can these people be trusted? We need reinforcements. We have many casualties."

Israel

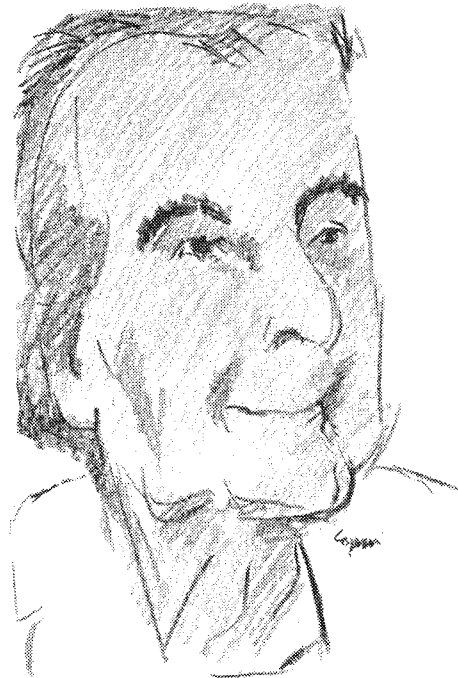
Cabinet Criticizes Form of Land Thefts

In its weekly cabinet meeting July 9, the Israeli government acknowledged what it called "bad judgment" in two cases of attempts to dispossess Arabs in the occupied territories. According to a dispatch from *Jerusalem Times*, Premier Golda Meir "chided" Defense Minister Moshe Dayan for what she said were "painful irregularities" by the army.

The incidents in question were "irregular" not because they departed from the traditional Zionist attitude toward the Arabs but because they received attention and some adverse comment in the Israeli press.

In one case, the army had decided it wanted a 125-acre area of farm land on the West Bank as a firing range. Israeli troops forced Arab farmers off their land by spraying the crops they had planted with poisonous chemicals.

The other incident, in the Gaza Strip, involved the dispossession of Bedouins by the simple expedient of fencing off their land. In this case several Israeli officers were disciplined for exceeding their authority,



MEIR: Nothing so "painful" as an atrocity that gets into the news.

an action that must have made them feel like scapegoats.

"It has since become clear," Grose wrote, "that Government policy favors

Pakistani Troops Fire on Demonstrators

Forty-Seven Dead in Language Battles

The centrifugal tendencies locked up in the pseudo nation of Pakistan again burst to the surface July 7-11. As usual, the results were bloody—at least forty-seven persons were killed by police and army troops. The location of the latest troubles was of special significance. President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's home province of Sind may yet prove to be the weakest link in the Pakistani chain.

Sind is one of Pakistan's three minority provinces. (The others are the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Baluchistan. The Punjab is the home of 60 percent of the country's inhabitants.) The NWFP and Baluchistan have in the past been scenes of mass autonomy movements. While Sindhis constitute a distinct ethnic group, the composition of the province's population has attenuated that fact somewhat, but has made questions such as language especially thorny.

Just after the 1947 partition of the subcontinent, most Hindu Sindhis moved across the border to India. Non-Sindhi Muslims moved in the other direction, so that today only about 55 percent of the Sind population speaks Sindhi; the rest speak Urdu, a lingua franca that is the official language of Pakistan.

The post-partition immigrants are concentrated in the urban areas of Sind (such as Karachi, Pakistan's largest city), and have, according to the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "a near-monopoly on trade, industry, the professions, and government jobs. The situation worsened during the military dictatorship when lands irrigated by newly-built dams passed on to the Punjabi and Pathan 'brass hats' and civil servants."

Sindhi resistance to being phased

out of the life of their own province gave rise to struggles in defense of the Sindhi language. In the post-Bangladesh governmental reorganization, the NWFP and Baluchistan agreed to make Urdu the official provincial language. The Punjab recognized Punjabi and Urdu as equal state languages. But in Sind, on July 7, the provincial assembly passed a law making Sindhi the sole official language of the province.

That very day, pro-Urdu demonstrators took to the streets, and in two days of clashes with the police, at least three persons were killed. On July 9 a twenty-four-hour curfew was clamped on four suburban areas of Karachi that were centers of the demonstrations. The same day, troops were called out in Hyderabad, another major town in Sind and Pakistan's second largest city.

Bhutto appealed for calm, but the protest marches continued. By July 9 sixteen were dead, and troops had moved into Karachi to bolster the police.

The July 11 *New York Times* reported that marchers had "erected roadblocks and set fire today [July 10] to a main Government building in Karachi. . . .

"Witnesses said that policemen had fired into a protest march in the industrial suburb of Korangi, killing four persons and wounding at least six others. At least two more persons were killed in a clash in Lair, another suburb, hospital authorities there reported." Deaths were also reported in Hyderabad, Hala, and Tando Allayhar.

On July 11, the situation in the province was said to be normal again. Whether or not that report was true remains unknown, since press censorship had been imposed on Sind the night before and the government was the only source of information.

On July 15, Bhutto announced in a nationwide radio speech (delivered in English) that an accord had been reached between Sindhi- and Urdu-speaking leaders after five days of negotiations in Rawalpindi. The

Sindhi-only law would go through, but the Urdu-speaking section of the population would be given twelve years to learn Sindhi.

Bhutto's ability to give in to Sindhi demands but also to assuage the feelings of the Urdu-speaking group seems to have once again prevented a major explosion. But the deeper conflict remains. Symbolic of the underlying discord was the statement June 20 of G.M. Syed, one of the founders of the West Pakistan National Awami party, who now heads a Sindhi front. Recognition, he said, of a "Sindhi nation" was vital if "they" want "us" to stay in Pakistan. According to the July 1 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "The chairman of the front's student wing threatened at a press conference a day earlier that a new *desh* (land) like Bangladesh would be born if Sindhis continue to get a raw deal." □

Philippines

Offensive Launched Against Guerrillas

Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos ordered a full-scale military assault by the army, navy, and air force against guerrillas in the north of the country on July 9. "A small force of policemen and troops has been battling the rebels for the last four days after intercepting a ship believed to be about 100 tons and of North Korean origin, smuggling arms to a group called the New People's Army, identified as the military arm of the outlawed Philippine Communist party," according to a Reuters dispatch from Manila July 9.

The military attacks on the guerrillas began at dawn on Diguyo Point, in the Palanan Bay area, where the rebels were reported to have a big ammunition and supply dump. The following day both air and naval units of the armed forces began the bombing of suspected guerrilla positions. In addition, General Romeo Espino, the armed forces chief of staff, announced that a navy gunboat had been sent to attempt to tow the ship, which the Maoist-oriented guerrillas are fighting to recapture. □

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REVIEWS

How Teamsters Made Minneapolis a Union Town

Teamster Rebellion by Farrell Dobbs.
Monad Press, distributed by Pathfinder Press, New York, N. Y. 192 pp.
\$2.25, £.95. 1972.

In 1933, a truck driver in Minneapolis, Minnesota, worked an average of sixty hours per week and earned an average of \$11 for his labor. By 1941, when leaders of the Socialist Workers party and Local 574 CIO were railroaded to prison under the Smith Act for opposing Roosevelt's war aims, the average truck driver in Minneapolis worked only forty-four hours a week and earned three times as much as before.

Teamster Rebellion, by Farrell Dobbs, is the history of how the workers began the struggle that accomplished those gains, written by one of the strike leaders.

In the United States, 1934 was the year in which the movement for industrial unionism showed its first real gains. Militant strikes rocked the country: Especially successful were those in Toledo, where the United Automobile Workers got started by organizing a general strike and kicking the National Guard out of town in less than two weeks; and the strike of drivers and general workers in Minneapolis, a stronghold of the employers and their "Citizens Alliance." Minneapolis was transformed into a union organizing center in the course of one summer.

Local 574 International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) was a "business union," that is, an organization of the higher-paid levels of the working class, who, as Dobbs puts it, "left most of the workers to shift for themselves." It was organized as a general union in the IBT, under the stipulation that when there were enough members who were milk drivers, or coal drivers, or what have you, they were to split away and form their own separate craft organization.

As it is not customary for bureaucrats to organize energetically, the union remained tiny from its inception in 1915 until the upsurge in 1934.

Despite their small numbers, Minneapolis Trotskyists—at that time organized in the Communist League—found it comparatively easy to work inside Local 574, not only because of its "general" composition, but also because the Communist party refused to work in it because of its "social-fascist" craft-union orientation.

The Trotskyists began their campaign for union organization during a winter coal-yard strike, in which they gained significant respect as leaders among the rank-and-file workers. The coal strike was won in a short period of time, and, in spite of the fact that more could have been won from the employers during the negotiations (which were conducted by the IBT bureaucrats), it helped kick off the process that would eventually halt all transport in the city of Minneapolis.

A voluntary organizing committee was formed soon after the coal strike. This body proceeded to build up the local in preparation for a strike. The Trotskyists who led the organizing committee were in effect building up an industrial union—which made the difference between success and failure. Platform workers, helpers, carriers, and drivers were all included in the drive.

After sufficient strength was gained, the strike was called in opposition to the wishes of the national leaders of the IBT. Because of this opposition, and the power of the employers in Minneapolis, the strikers had to be especially resourceful and militant.

Throughout the strike the workers themselves made the vital decisions. The general-membership meeting was the highest body of the strike, followed by the "Committee of 100," which delegated the negotiating team. Workers' democracy proved to be one of the strikers' most valuable assets. The workers were not lawyers, but teamsters, yet they countered some of the shrewdest contract hustlers that President Franklin Roosevelt could supply the Minneapolis bosses. (One of these persons spent considerable time in a sanitarium after his tour of duty in the negotiations had come to an end.)

Another instrument contributing to

their victory was a daily newspaper. After the sour experiences of the workers at the feet of the IBT bureaucrats, this gave the workers their own voice. The strike daily made it nearly impossible to disrupt the unity of the strikers through panic mongering on the part of police agents. But also it was a tool for organizing support outside the striking union itself. A strikers' newspaper could effectively fight the lies of the capitalist press on a day-to-day basis.

Local 574 made alliances with militant organizations of the farmers and the unemployed in the area, pointing out that the strike action was a struggle for all workers and not just that of the teamsters. These alliances helped the workers immensely both in the short term of the strike and in the subsequent long struggle to organize the upper middle-western part of the United States.

A women's auxiliary was formed; it was by no means a social club. Its members helped organize and win the strike, serving as pickets who both took and dealt their share of punishment, as nurses for the strike hospital, as cooks for the strike commissary, as willing hands wherever they were needed. This also helped alleviate a problem of many long strikes of the period—the weakening of morale among women who were not directly involved in the strike and who consequently became a restraint on the militancy of the strikers.

Teamster Rebellion can be called a manual on winning a strike. It is concise and easy to read, yet it presents the mountain of lessons of the strike in an understandable form.

The Minneapolis strike was a tremendous battle: Martial law was declared, police violence reached a new high, the National Guard occupied the city and, for a time, the strike headquarters itself, all the major union leaders being placed under arrest or forced into hiding.

It was an uphill fight all the way, but the union won. As the August 24, 1934 issue of the *Minneapolis Labor Review* said: "Winning of this strike marks the greatest victory in the annals of the local trade union movement. . . . It has changed Minneapolis from being known as a scabs' paradise to being a city of hope for those who toil."

— Robert Duncan
Intercontinental Press

Kremlin's Version of the Bukovsky Trial

[The following account of the trial of Vladimir Bukovsky appeared in the January 6, 1972, issue of the Moscow newspaper *Vechernyaya Moskva* under the title "From the Courtroom: A Life of Shame and Villainy." Signed by A. Yurov and L. Kolesov, this article was the only account of the trial to appear in the official Soviet press.

[This translation from *Vechernyaya Moskva* was done for *Intercontinental Press* by Marilyn Vogt.

[Elsewhere in this issue, George Saunders discusses the significance of this article and its relationship to issues raised by the Bukovsky trial.]

* * *

In the late evening of July 28, 1970, American television viewers watched a routine farce, this time under the pretentious title "Voices of the Russian Underground." It was the intent of the program's authors that these "voices," if one can call them that, would relate "the truth" about the Soviet Union. The "voices" sweated and strained to earn their thirty pieces of silver. They tried their hardest: heaping muck upon the Soviet system.¹

The producer of this provocative undertaking was the former chief of the Moscow bureau of the CBS television network, William Cole, who not long before this broadcast was expelled from our country for activities incompatible with the ethics of journalism.

Subsequently, in accordance with a previously worked-out program, the Associated Press and the newspapers *Washington Post*, *Daily News*, and

1. The interviews shown in the CBS film were with Bukovsky and two other dissidents: the recently arrested Pyotr Yakir and Andrei Amalrik, who is now serving a sentence in Siberia under very harsh conditions. Translations of their statements may be found in the London magazine *Survey*, No. 77, 1970. Far from being "anti-Soviet slander," these are very interesting discussions of the state of the opposition in the Soviet Union and of the policies of the ruling bureaucracy. — IP

others picked up and repeated the slander.

Joining in the chorus, naturally, were "Voice of America," BBC, and others — all celebrated for their blatant anti-Communism.

Who did the slicksters of CBS count on in this vulgar sweepstakes? Whose voice resounded from the television sets of the American viewing audience? In the broadcast they called him a "Soviet writer."

They called Vladimir Konstantinovich Bukovsky a "writer." We must say, by the way, that only the CBS people could explain how that title came to be applied to this ward of theirs. Bukovsky does not have a single published work to his name, and never had.² To make up for it, he has always had more than enough vanity to distinguish himself in one way or another from the rest of the people of his age, so as to pass for "special." And he leaned over backwards to seem that way. But not for his work, and not for the love of learning does he want to be praised. In his not quite thirty years, he has worked about one and a half.

They tried to reason with this loafer at one time; they talked with him and warned him. But he would not draw any conclusions for himself.

And what's more, Bukovsky went so far as to commit a criminal offense — and was sentenced by a people's court to three years imprisonment for disturbing the peace.³

But having served his sentence, Bukovsky did not heed the voice of reason. He didn't want to do honest work.

Two or three months after his re-

2. Bukovsky's short stories are known in the Soviet Union, although it is true that no official Soviet publisher has printed them. Several of his "Miniature Stories" have been translated in *Russia's Other Writers: Selections From Samizdat Literature*, Praeger, New York, N. Y. — IP

3. See George Saunders's article in this issue for a more detailed account of Bukovsky's "criminal offense." — IP

turn from imprisonment Bukovsky secretly passed one more batch of "material" to Holger Jensen, a correspondent for Associated Press. Under flashy headlines — "A Russian Who Struggles Against the Regime" and "A Soviet Dissenter Speaks Out" — he received publicity in the *Washington Post*, the *San Francisco Examiner*, and other newspapers. "Radio Liberty," of course, rushed to comment on this — what would we do without that station? Yelping through the fence at countries of the socialist camp has been its specialty for some time now. Otherwise, it might lose its routine dole from the CIA.

They called Bukovsky to the prosecutor's office. Again conversations, again counsel, and warnings to abandon the dirty work, to stop slandering the USSR, the organs of the Soviet state, and the people.

It didn't help. The life of shame and villainy went on. The presumptuous scandalmonger and provocateur plays his role in a studied fashion whenever he gets his cue, even on the American television broadcast with which we began the story. This time Bukovsky gives an interview to William Cole, not in Moscow, but in a remote forest. As though to let his friends across the ocean see how difficult it is for him, poor fellow. It's possible that they pay extra for "hardship."

But they didn't have a chance to send the extra.

* * *

"All stand! Court is in session!"

In the defendant's seat is Vladimir Bukovsky. Scrupulously, detail by detail, the Moscow municipal court reviews the phases of his downfall. An unsightly picture unfolds. Beginning to nibble the bait from the fishing rods of the bourgeois propagandists, yesterday's criminal was transformed into an inveterate scoundrel — an enemy of our regime. No, no — not into a principled fighter, as he wants to appear, but into a mercenary, a venomous political speculator.

. . . The words of the indictment resound: "With the aim of subverting and weakening the Soviet system, he systematically spread slanderous fabrications, in oral and written form, discrediting the state and social system, kept materials of such a nature, and conducted anti-Soviet agitation."

Every line accuses. And every line is confirmed. There are witnesses, documents, and finally, the film which American television viewers saw on July 28, 1970.

We watch it as we sit in the courtroom. We watch it with a feeling of disgust and indignation. There is so much cheap and bitter lying in this television interview, so much vile slander about the Soviet Union.

But the activity of the "dissenter from the Russian underground" does not end here. For Bukovsky it was not enough to distribute provocative leaflets. He wanted to place his "business" on a far firmer footing. And for this he needed nothing less than a press.

Before the court is witness A., an employee of the airport: Once Bukovsky, making use of their longtime acquaintanceship, hinted to A. that he needed his help. All he had to do was "not notice" the portable press and illegal literature that would be delivered to him, Bukovsky, from abroad.⁴

As confirmation of his "highly placed" connections, Bukovsky showed the witness the journal *Possev* — the organ of the notorious NTS.⁵

4. In the *samizdat* transcript of the trial [reprinted in the May 22-June 26 issues of *Intercontinental Press*] the airport employee is named as Arnold Nikitinsky, a former schoolmate of Bukovsky. Why the Kremlin journalists choose not to name him is unexplained. Shouldn't the press honor the state's witnesses for exposing such a dangerous "anti-Soviet criminal"? Or might this prove embarrassing to them—and to the political police, whom Bukovsky suspected of being Nikitinsky's employer? The same questions may be asked concerning witnesses "R. and T." mentioned below in the text. The *samizdat* transcript describes them as Soviet army personnel named Bychkov and Tarasov. — *IP*

5. The NTS [Narodno-Trudovoi Soiuz—People's Labor Alliance] is a reactionary emigre organization based in Munich that evidently has close ties to the CIA. Despite the official charges, no prominent Soviet dissidents have ever acknowledged either organizational links or political agreement with it. However, the Soviet secret police, the KGB, has found the NTS to be a useful whipping boy. Where the victims of the 1936-38 purge trials were called agents of Hitler and the Mikado, the defendants in many show trials of the 1960s and 1970s have been framed as allegedly in league with the NTS or similar CIA-backed emigre groups. There have also been charges by Soviet dissi-

As is well known, this organization, which has long since discredited itself, has nothing in common with the people or with labor. The renegade White Guard emigré riff-raff entrenched in this organization have set themselves the goal of replacing the existing system in our country with a capitalist one. The NTS is unscrupulous: espionage, sabotage, and terror are all in its arsenal.

It costs a lot to "keep" this mistress. The U. S. Central Intelligence Agency pays dearly so that the NTS can stay in business.

Incidentally, the following fact testifies to the NTS's interest in Bukovsky: A letter was taken from the tourist Gerstenmeyer—an emissary of this anti-Soviet alliance—addressed to one of the heads of the NTS, S. Utekhin, in which the accused, Bukovsky, was termed "one of ours" and recommended for use in "serious business."⁶

Still other witnesses were R. and T. Bukovsky took a seat next to them last winter in the Molodyozhnoe Cafe at the Kursk station. The accused, sitting at the table with people he didn't know, told them his attitudes toward the Soviet regime: He was not pleased with it, you see. The accused also proposed that they take down the telephone numbers of several foreign correspondents so that information for foreign papers could be transmitted subsequently. What kind of information? Bukovsky did not specify. But he knows very well what interests certain sections of the Western press. And not just the press.

The evidence of the Belgian citizen Hugo Sebreghs, who came to the USSR on the instructions of an anti-Soviet organization, the so-called Flemish Committee, is considered by the court. Hugo, while he was still in Belgium, was given Bukovsky's phone number and address. He was instructed to get in touch with Bukovsky and take whatever documents

dents that in some cases the KGB deliberately smuggles *samizdat* writings to the NTS so that after that organization has published them, the KGB could brand them as demonstrably "anti-Soviet" and prosecute the authors. — *IP*

6. This alleged incident is not mentioned in the *samizdat* transcript of the trial. One cannot help wondering why "tourist Gerstenmeyer" did not wait until he had left the Soviet Union before writing such an incriminating letter. — *IP*

he had. These materials were confiscated from the Belgian. It was not very difficult to be convinced of their anti-Soviet nature.

In the courtroom as well as during the investigation, Bukovsky conducts himself in a defiant manner. Pressed by irrefutable facts and the testimony of witnesses, he lies, dodges, and fidgets. But it doesn't work; he lets the cat out of the bag.

"Did you prepare beforehand for the interview with William Cole?" the public prosecutor asks.

"No. Since I frequently meet with foreigners, I am always ready to answer any of their questions," answers the accused.

Remarkable readiness! If only he had such readiness for honest work.

Thus, step by step, the court retraces the activity of Bukovsky—activity that helped the enemies of our state conduct ideological sabotage against the Soviet Union, against socialist society.

The enemies of our country are bent on doing this. The trial we are writing about is taking place at a time when the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism is being sharply aggravated, when the entire colossal apparatus of anti-Communist propaganda is focused on weakening the strength and unity of the socialist camp and the international Communist movement in order to undermine socialist society from within. And Bukovsky became one of the people whom this apparatus uses for its purposes. He became an insignificant instrument in the filthy hands of the anti-Sovietists.

Renegades are not born. They are made. Only it is difficult for a normal person to understand the psychology of persons who betray the land that nursed them and nurtured them. The contempt of all honorable persons surrounds them.

... "In the name of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic . . ." resounds in the hall.

Yes! In the name of the republic. In the name of the country on which he heaped malicious slander. In the name of our socialist regime, in the name of all the people, whose enemy he became.

In accordance with Part I of Article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, Vladimir Konstantinovich Bukovsky was sentenced to a term of seven years

of imprisonment in a corrective labor colony of strict regime and to five years in exile after that.

A well-deserved punishment. As you sow, so shall you reap.

* * *

And now, we will allow ourselves a bit of a digression. At the time of the trial, Bukovsky was presented with documents and items taken from his apartment. Among the slanderous writings—translations of articles from the foreign press maligning the USSR—a notebook was uncovered in which Bukovsky had painstakingly recorded by hand the phone numbers and addresses of some correspondents of the Western press, accredited to the Soviet Union. It is clear why he needed to keep this list for himself. Who but they, his friends, will make noise

"about the conviction of a dissident"? Who else will be moved by his "persistent struggle" against the socialist regime? Who else will lament the "trampling" of democracy in the Soviet Union?

We can foresee exactly what will be said, and therefore we want to answer these "Defenders of trampled democracy" beforehand. Bukovsky was born and raised in the Soviet Union—a state with a real people's socialist democracy. And he could have been satisfied with this. He was given the opportunity of a free education through secondary school and to obtain a higher education. Despite his vile activities, he was nursed along for a long time; people patiently explained to him and reasoned with him. But how long can a vicious enemy be endured in one's own home! □

the Soviet Union. They appeal not only in behalf of Yakir, but of Bukovsky, Grigorenko, Chornovil, and others. And they correctly see the Yakir case as a qualitative step in the chain of mounting repression to which the bureaucracy is resorting.

[Perhaps they will be able to use their position in Western Europe to advantage for the Soviet democratic movement. With freer access to information and the opportunity to encounter the ideas of the anti-Stalinist and anti-imperialist left, it will be interesting to see in what direction these dissidents evolve and whether their views on the struggle within the Soviet Union will develop in a more revolutionary direction.

[The translation from the original Russian of their July 5 press statement on Yakir is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Three Soviet Dissidents' Appeal for Yakir

[The following statement to the press about the arrest of Soviet oppositionist Pyotr Yakir was made by three dissidents who have recently emigrated from the Soviet Union. The statement was dated July 5, and was issued in Rome, where many dissidents who have left the Soviet Union have gathered.

[The signers were Aleksandr Yese-nin-Volpin, Yuri Shtein, and Leonid Rigerman. In signing the statement, Volpin described himself as a "logician, mathematician, and 'expert' associate of the Human Rights Committee in the Soviet Union." The statutes of the moderate but officially frowned-upon Human Rights Committee, whose founders were physicists Andrei Sakharov, Valery Chalidze, and Andrei Tvyordokhlebov, define an "expert" as "a person who is not a member of the committee but is acknowledged to be qualified in the field of human rights." Volpin has long been a vocal advocate of civil liberties in the Soviet Union, his writings being frequently encountered in *samizdat*. The committee, set up in November 1970, elected Volpin an "expert" that December.

[Yuri Shtein signed himself "film director and member of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human

Rights in the Soviet Union," a loosely knit group with which Yakir's name has been prominently associated since its founding in May 1969.

[Shtein and Volpin were among the five signers of a protest statement in March which described the wave of repression the Soviet bureaucrats launched at the turn of the past year. The five signers stated that they had all been granted exit visas, and wished to give their assessment of the struggle for democratization before leaving the country. (For the text of their statement, see *Intercontinental Press*, April 10, p. 406.) In particular they reported warnings that reprisals against Yakir were being prepared.

[The third signer, Leonid Rigerman, signed himself as a "doctoral candidate at Columbia University [in New York] and a member of the International League for the Rights of Man." Rigerman was a Soviet citizen who was born in the United States to an American family. In 1970 he registered as an American citizen in Moscow and, after police harassment and much publicity, was allowed to emigrate to the United States.

[The statement on Yakir indicates that these particular former Soviet dissidents have not turned their backs on the struggle of their compatriots in

Whenever a citizen of any country is arrested for antigovernment activity, world public opinion inevitably takes a greater interest in the case. And that is logical, since in all such instances one of the most vital concerns of modern democratic thought naturally rises to the fore—namely, what activities are to be considered antigovernmental and what antigovernmental activities are to be considered criminal acts. The way these questions are treated in a court in a given country is of great importance since it reveals most clearly that country's attitude toward those questions as applied in practice.

The arrest of Pyotr Yakir in Moscow on June 21, 1972, for "anti-Soviet activity" is of special significance precisely for these reasons. Yakir, age 49, is the son of the well-known Soviet military commander Yona Yakir, who was liquidated by Stalin and [after Stalin's death] rehabilitated posthumously. Pyotr Yakir spent seventeen years of his youth in confinement, the usual fate for children of those persecuted during the Stalin period. Rehabilitated in 1956, Yakir subsequently devoted himself to active struggle against the survivals of Stalinism in the Soviet Union. His determination, civic honesty, and irreconcilability to Stalinism won him recognition and respect among his fellow citizens, and he soon became a symbol of the democratic movement for the

observance of legal norms in the Soviet Union and for the establishment of real guarantees against a repetition of the violations that resulted in Stalinism.

This movement, even in taking its first few steps, ran up against the resistance of the authorities. Many of Yakir's closest associates and cothinkers have been arrested and confined in prisons or psychiatric hospitals. These include Pyotr Grigorenko, a well-known general, who fought in the war against the fascists, and who has been ruled insane and is wasting away in a madhouse; Vladimir Bukovsky, recently sentenced to seven years of confinement and five of domestic exile; Vyacheslav Chornovil, the well-known Ukrainian journalist; and many others.

However, as long as Pyotr Yakir was free, the hope survived that public opinion independent of the government could exist in the Soviet Union. Now with Yakir's arrest such hopes become very shaky. This arrest is the culmination of a series of recent reprisals against prominent participants in this movement, and may serve as the starting point for even more wide-reaching measures of repression.

We the undersigned are deeply convinced that a country where independent public opinion is systematically and radically repressed can, as the sad lessons of history show, possibly become a danger not only to its own citizens but to those of other countries as well. In this connection, we who have known Pyotr Yakir well hereby testify to his great civic honor and respect for the law. We urge all people of good will to consider carefully what can happen in a country where the struggle against Stalinism is declared to be "anti-Soviet activity."

We call upon all persons who share our concern to do everything possible to insure that Pyotr Yakir have a public trial, that independent Western observers be allowed in the courtroom, that Pyotr Yakir be allowed to select a defense attorney of his choice, and that he be allowed to summon witnesses and present proof of his innocence.

We call on world public opinion to follow the court proceedings, because it is precisely through public awareness of courtroom proceedings that the necessary groundwork is laid to insure legality.

We urge you—without forgetting about the dangers implied by the arrests of the other persons mentioned earlier—to come forth in defense of

Pyotr Yakir, as individuals and by organizing committees or other civil-rights defense organizations for this purpose. □

Sakharov's Statement on Soviet Repression

[The intensification of political repression by the Kremlin leadership in 1972, as evidence of protest in the Soviet Union mounts, reached a kind of culminating point with the arrest of Pyotr Yakir.

[In response to this sharpening trend the noted physicist Academician Andrei Sakharov recently made public a confidential memorandum he had sent to Brezhnev in March 1971. (See *Intercontinental Press*, July 3, 1972, p. 764, for further details.) He accompanied the memorandum with an "Afterword" dated June 1972, the Russian text of which has now become available.

[The following is a section of Sakharov's "Afterword" describing the wave of political persecutions and presenting his analysis and attitude on it. Sakharov is a gradualist and a moderate. He has held on to hopes of gradual democratization, even of self-reform, of the privileged bureaucracy. But the extreme sharpening of tensions in Soviet society—as expressed in the coming trials of Yakir and of Ukrainian oppositionists and other representatives of national struggles—has clearly forced Sakharov to speak out more sharply, abandoning more "confidential" methods that receive no response from the party hierarchy.

[The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Of particular importance among the conditions necessary to revitalize our society is the elimination of political persecution carried out by judicial and psychiatric means or any other means at the disposal of our bureaucratic and stagnant system with its totalitarian state intervention into the lives of citizens—dismissal from one's job, expulsion from universities, denial of travel visas, limitations on advancement in one's work, and so forth.

The sprouting of a moral revival among the people and the intelligentsia, which began after the extremes of

Stalin's nakedly terroristic system were curtailed, has not been met with proper understanding by the ruling circles. The fundamental social-class and ideological features of the regime have not undergone any essential changes. With hurt and alarm I am forced to note that in the wake of a largely illusory liberalization there are renewed efforts to limit ideological freedom, suppress information not favorable to the government, persecute persons for political and ideological reasons, and deliberately exacerbate the national question.

The fifteen months that have passed since I first sent my memorandum have brought new and alarming evidence that these tendencies are growing. Particularly alarming is the wave of political arrests that occurred in the first months of 1972. Numerous arrests were made in the Ukraine. There were also arrests in Moscow, Leningrad, and other parts of the country. The trial of Bukovsky in Moscow, that of Strokotova in Odessa, and others have captured the attention of public opinion in these months.

Exceptionally dangerous in its consequences and an absolutely intolerable violation of human rights is the use of psychiatry for political ends. The numerous protests and statements on this issue are well known. At the present time Grigorenko, Gershuni, and many others are still being confined in psychiatric institutions that serve as prisons. The fate of Fainberg and Borisov remains unknown. And there are further data attesting to psychiatric repression, such as the case of the Kuponos in the Ukraine [believed to be the first use of psychiatric repression against Ukrainian dissidents]. □

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