

WORLD OUTLOOK

a labor press service

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WHY KENNEDY IS CHALLENGING JOHNSON FOR THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION

By George Novack

On March 16, a few days after Senator Eugene McCarthy received 42.4 percent of the vote in the New Hampshire Democratic primary, Senator Robert F. Kennedy announced that he, too, had decided to challenge Lyndon Johnson for the Democratic nomination. Unless, as is unlikely, the president refuses to run for a second full term, this portends a bitter battle between the two men at the Democratic convention at Chicago next August which will deeply divide the Democratic machine.

Kennedy's long deliberated decision to enter the race is a response to the serious predicament that has engulfed America's ruling class. It has been struck by the onset of three converging major crises: the specter of a military debacle in Vietnam created by the successful Tet offensive and the encirclement of Khesanh by the National Liberation Front and North Vietnamese forces; the disintegration of the international monetary structure; and the pending confrontation with black ghetto-dwellers in the urban areas.

Each of these critical situations is linked with the others. The chronic imbalance of payments has been steadily worsened by expenditures for the Vietnam war and rendered acute by Johnson's declaration that he will send more troops. The tax increase and reduction in appropriations projected by the president and Congress to slow down the attack upon the dollar virtually excludes any substantial steps to meet the needs of the Afro-Americans and dampens any hopes for measurable improvement in their conditions or prospects.

The alarm that Johnson's course has produced within ruling circles is evidenced by the opposition to its disastrous consequences expressed by publications ranging from the Wall Street Journal to the San Francisco newspapers. These soberer heads have been unable to persuade or pressure the man in the White House to reassess or revise his reckless policy in Southeast Asia. They feel an urgency to get rid of an unpopular and discredited president and prepare a replacement for him, as they shifted from Hoover to Roosevelt after 1932. (The significantly strong vote for McCarthy from both Democrats and Republicans in New Hampshire served to strengthen the fears which have already fissured the forces on top.)

This is the underlying reason for the sudden emergence of so-called "peace candidates," such as Senators McCarthy and Kennedy and Governor Rockefeller, in both the Democratic and Republican camps.

Each of these aspiring capitalist politicians hopes to ride the mounting popular sentiment against the war all the way to the White House.

Not one of the trio intends to turn against the global imperialist strategy pursued for decades by the Washington policymakers of both parties or to cut down the military machine which implements and enforces it. McCarthy was ready to serve as Johnson's running mate instead of Humphrey in 1964 and has voted for all war appropriations. While he talks about negotiations over Vietnam, he does not propose to withdraw U.S. troops from South Korea where they have been stationed for fifteen years after the truce there.

McCarthy noted that Robert Kennedy and his brother had chosen the two chief cabinet members Johnson entrusted with administering the war in Vietnam, Secretary of State Rusk and the recently retired Secretary of Defense McNamara. At the news conference announcing his candidacy, Kennedy told reporters that he favored stopping the bombing of North Vietnam to get negotiations started. But he added that "if the negotiations are unsuccessful or if they use that period of time in a way adverse to our military forces there, then I think that we can take retaliatory action."

At the same time both men are running on a platform of seeking to extricate the United States from the bloody mess in Vietnam. Kennedy declared that the only way to dispose of Johnson's "disastrous, divisive" policies was to change "the men who are now making them."

Although the "dump-Johnson" drive has picked up steam, it will not easily attain its objective. The ruling class has two ways of doing this within the framework of the two-party system. One would be for Kennedy to take the nomination from Johnson next August (McCarthy is not so formidable a contestant). The other would be for someone like Rockefeller to beat Nixon for the Republican nomination. Neither of these alternatives is assured.

This uncertainty makes it possible that, on top of the military, economic and social crises that have spurred Kennedy, McCarthy and Rockefeller to make their bids as presidential nominees, a crisis of political leadership for the American ruling class may be added.

A number of public figures and newspapers are saying that the country has not confronted an emergency of this magnitude

since the Great Depression and even since the Civil War.

This observation was confirmed by Fred Halstead, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers party, at a press conference in New York March 11 (on his return from a nationwide speaking tour). He said that the surge of radicalism he encountered in the places he visited, and especially on the campuses, was already in some respects as strong as that of the 1930s. While it centers around opposition to the war in Vietnam, this radicalism extends to questioning the basic

premises of American society today.

Kennedy and McCarthy have consciously undertaken the assignment of keeping this dissidence within the confines of the capitalist two-party setup and preventing it from engaging in or supporting what the senator from Minnesota calls "irregular political movements."

The purpose of the Socialist Workers party campaign, on the other hand, is to give the antiwar activists and young rebels a clear-cut anticapitalist alternative to all the upholders of the system responsible for the current crisis.

NOVOTNY FORCED OUT AS PRESIDENT OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The aggravated clash between the contending factions in the Czechoslovakian Communist party which led to Antonin Novotny's replacement as first secretary has resulted in his resignation from the ceremonial post of president March 22. The intraparty controversies passed beyond the Central Committee and have now drawn one segment of the people after another into heated nationwide debates.

The already weakened position of Novotny and the key members of his orthodox Stalinist faction was badly compromised by the flight of Major General Jan Sejna to the United States. He was the secretary of the Communist party unit of the Ministry of National Defense and a member of the presidium of the National Assembly. He is said to be the highest ranking official ever to defect from East Europe.

Sejna is officially charged with misappropriating \$20,000 worth of state-owned seed. But far more is involved. He reportedly conspired, as a partisan of Novotny and possibly in collusion with him, in an abortive coup d'état designed to keep the premier in power. Mlada Fronta, the newspaper of the Communist youth movement, disclosed that a tank division was mobilized for that purpose during a session of the Communist Central Committee last December. After the attempt was foiled, the general was protected by his superiors and allowed to escape the country.

The party section of the Czechoslovak army voted March 6 for a full investigation of the case and demanded that the public be kept informed regardless of the personages involved. Dubcek was first apprised of Novotny's scheme in late January by General Prchlik who replaced Miroslav Mamula as head of the security police.

Jan Prochazka, recently restored

deputy chairman of the Writers Union, wrote in its newspaper Literarni Listy: "It is now a public secret that this general was prepared to show the arm of power in the recent party dispute. History has taught and we are aware that whenever generals and colonels take a hand in politics they do not use only their hands."

He ironically regretted the flight of a figure "who could have contributed so much to the sociological study of morals." (The defection of so highly placed a military man to the U.S. imperialists certainly exposes grave moral and political rotteness at the top of the regime.)

Prochazka expressed surprise that the general was allowed to slip across the border "in the critical days when the state prosecutor had already asked for his arrest." He added that Sejna "is nothing but the tip of a floating iceberg and, as we all know, nine-tenths of all icebergs are submerged under water."

In a similar veiled reference to Novotny's complicity as a benevolent protector of the defecting general, the trade-union newspaper Prace reminded its readers "how he called on all of us to be on guard and class-conscious, and right under the candle so much darkness." The editorial asked: "Does he understand what he must do now?"

All the top officials linked with the army conspiracy are under heavy fire. Colonel General Vladimir Janko, a deputy defense minister, committed suicide March 14, twenty-four hours after the cabinet had discussed his involvement in Sejna's defection. The next day the government ordered the resignations of Interior Minister Jan Kudrna, director of the secret police, and State Attorney-General Jan Batusek after the presidium of parliament condemned their "illegal activities." Both men may face legal proceedings for their frame-ups of innocent victims.

Janko's superior, Defense Minister Bohumir Lomsky, appears on the way out. The Communist party organization of teachers at the Klement Gottwald military-political academy called for his resignation, charging that "in our opinion you were subordinating yourself in full to the will of Antonin Novotny and his apparatus."

The sentiment for Novotny's removal from the presidency was nationwide. At a meeting of students at the Prague School of Law, Professor Ota Sik, leader of the economic reform program, declared, to ringing applause, that those who have lost the trust of the people must be driven from positions of trust. Deputy Premier Oldrich Cernik made a similar demand in a question-and-answer session with coal miners.

A tumultuous rally of Communist students and young workers with a sprinkling of soldiers present culminated in the presentation of a resolution for Novotny's immediate ouster. It took an imploring appeal from Josef Smrkovsky, a member of the presidium, before an amendment was carried requesting Smrkovsky to bring the demand to the Central Committee's attention.

The meeting also adopted without dissent and to cheers a motion of support for the Warsaw students who are demonstrating against the censorship and repressions of Gomulka's regime. In obvious alarm Smrkovsky appealed to the audience to control themselves during the next few days. "We have the duty to see that nothing happens that affects our country, that nothing happens that would lead to disaster," he declared. Events like the student actions in Warsaw would be a "blow to our work," he said.

For the first time since February 1948 the Czechoslovak press, radio and television are free from effective censorship and the reformers now control all the mass media. Television officials have been in the forefront of the critics of Novotny.

In a further move toward democratization, the Justice Ministry passed a resolution calling for "immediate examination of the rights -- and especially the independence -- of the courts." The need for rehabilitation of and restitution to many people unjustly convicted and jailed in the past is frequently discussed in the press, radio and television. The president of the Supreme Court, Dr. Josef Litera, announced that his court planned to proceed with the needed rehabilitation and would amend the criminal law to insure the correction of judicial errors. These include the proposed establishment of an Institute of Complaints to which accused persons can turn for help.

Sharp debates between defenders and opponents of Novotny and his Old Guard featured many of the sixty-seven regional and local Communist party conferences held throughout the country March 10-11. In a major departure, most of the party meetings held secret ballots and elected new slates of officers for the party units involved.

At one of these conferences that was televised, Ladislav Kapek, director of Prague's largest factory and a leading conservative, revealed some hitherto unknown facts about the momentous December and January meeting of the Central Committee. He stated that the presidium at first appeared evenly divided between the two factions and then individuals changed sides according to which group they thought would win. He said people like himself have been "surprised and terrified" by the demands for change coming from people who have sat silently for years while the crisis that the committee meeting faced was building up.

Despite their disarray, the Novotny forces are attempting to counterattack. On March 10 one of his defenders, Martin Vaculik, leader of the Communist party of Prague, called on Novotny to appear before the people and ask for an expression of confidence. Vaculik charged that he himself had been silenced in recent weeks by the press and radio. In reply the chief editor of Czechoslovak television invited him to state his views the following night on television. There Vaculik denied that his leadership was conservative but argued that he was opposed to radical and extreme statements.

Novotny's partisans are visiting factories, seeking to line up the workers on their behalf by playing upon fears that the economic reforms will worsen their standards of living. There is an element of validity in their demagogy since the relaxed control over the play of economic forces stemming from the economic reforms may well bring unemployment and growing inequality of incomes in Czechoslovakia as they have done in Yugoslavia.

However, Prace, the trade-union paper, is firmly with the anti-Novotny camp. Alluding to demands for his resignation, it wrote: "Few people know how to leave in time. This art is mastered by most athletes but not by politicians."

Under pressure of the campaign against Novotny's supporters in high places, three leaders of the trade unions, its chairman, Miroslav Pastyrik, and two secretaries were forced to resign March 12. It is reported that Pastyrik would be placed on trial on grounds of misfeasance.

Newspapers have published numerous resolutions from local and regional trade-

union bodies criticizing national leaders for their failure to give prompt and enthusiastic backing to the new course adopted at last January's Central Committee meeting.

Most significant was the joint statement of solidarity with Dubcek and his new Central Committee majority issued after a combined meeting of the Communist party works committees at two of the biggest and most politically important industrial centers in the country: the mines at Kladno and the CKD Sokolov machine plant in Prague.

The latter was one of the factories visited by Novotny in his earlier efforts to stir up support and sympathy among the workers. (See: "New Concessions to Demands for Liberalization in Czechoslovakia" by George Novack, World Outlook, March 15, pp. 226-27.)

The statement indicted Novotny along with other senior government officials for refusing to come out openly and admit errors and abuses of the past. The joint meeting wound up with a three-point demand. (1) An early meeting of the Central Committee to adopt the democratic "action program" on which the whole future of the country could depend. (2) The early dismissal of those "unfit for office." (3) A thorough analysis of the causes which allowed the outrages of the past in order to ensure that the "process of democratization become a permanent feature in the development of the party and of the whole of society."

The liberalizers are clearly in the ascendant and on the offensive. Thus, Jan Prochazka, who has come forward as one of their most trenchant spokesmen, wrote in the newspaper Mlada Fronta: "In those days (before Dubcek's election) many people did not dare use the telephone openly and they are still not sure they can. Silent fingers reach for your correspondence. Watchful eyes follow everywhere. It was better to avoid some people because they served more than one employer."

"We have often heard the word 'democratization' in the past years and it was always described as a gift from above. It was never a real democracy. It was only an adaptation of the length of the reins."

This widespread fear that the present phase "may just be a thaw between two winters" strengthens the determination to prevent any reversion to the Stalinist past.

Replying to pro-Novotny complaints against "extremists" who disparage the past too much, Milan Weiner, a radio commentator, stated that the nation's future

must be decided by the entire population, not just Communists. He asserted that at the fateful Central Committee meeting last December and January, "not much was needed for the other side to have had the majority."

If this had happened, he added, Czechoslovakia would have been thrown back to the totalitarian atmosphere of the 1950s. In preparation for such retrogression, Mr. Weiner said, "I have been told that the police had already been alerted and warrants for arrests prepared and I have no reason not to believe this."

Other political tendencies are beginning to come to life. The employees of the publishing house of the Socialist party, which has been a puppet of the CP, printed a resolution calling for different parties to be given a "democratically open chance to win support." A demonstration of political significance took place at the grave of Jan Masaryk, the bourgeois-democratic foreign minister, whose unexplained death coincided with the assumption of power by the Stalinist regime in February 1948.

While rejecting the idea of unlimited freedom to form political parties, Josef Boruska, a new member of the presidium, indicated that a program of action under consideration by the Central Committee would include provision for a wider role for other parties. (The National Front now includes two other parties besides the ruling Communist party together with their Slovak counterparts).

The Dubcek leadership is trying to establish a new balance of forces between the government and the people which would facilitate and consolidate the shift of power from the old-line Stalinist diehards to the new team of technocrats and permit the graduated introduction and application of the proposed reforms. But it is experiencing great difficulties in arriving at such an equilibrium.

The New York Times correspondent observed on March 9 that "in recent days there have been signs that Czechoslovakia's quiet revolution was moving too fast for Mr. Dubcek and some of his 'progressive backers.'" Despite the refusal of the Old Guard to disarm, Dubcek appears reluctant to engage in a thoroughgoing cleanup of the apparatchiks who will not admit defeat. Meanwhile, he must keep one eye cocked on Moscow's reaction to his course and the other upon a restless population which is elated with its new-found freedom of expression.

When the gigantic statue of Stalin overlooking Prague was torn down, its base was left standing. Will this incompleting job of demolition be equally symbolic of the Dubcek regime?

STUDENT CLASHES WITH POLISH REGIME RESOUND THROUGH EAST EUROPE

By George Saunders

Polish students are showing determination to continue their fight for socialist democracy despite harsh police repression and an unparalleled campaign of slander against them in the official press.

Student demonstrations in Warsaw began March 8 and culminated March 12 in an outpouring of tens of thousands, including many workers, who fought police for eight hours. Then, as street protests subsided in Warsaw, students in outlying areas began solidarity demonstrations.

In Cracow and Poznan March 13 student demonstrators clashed with police. Solidarity meetings in Lublin, Gliwice, Gdansk, Lodz, Szczecin, and Wroclaw were calm. Cracow students who began a boycott of classes March 14 were joined by the Warsaw students the next day. Some Warsaw students were reported planning a 72-hour sit-in strike.

The Gomulka regime has responded with many arrests and has begun to purge liberal elements within the party; relatives of demonstrators and Jewish party members have also been ousted.

In a judicial amalgam of the Moscow-trials type, the regime is blaming Zionists, liberals, and -- of all things -- old Stalinists (!) for the disorders. With phrases such as "Zionist and cosmopolitan" the ruling clique of the Polish party is reviving memories of the last months of Stalin's rule which culminated in the "Jewish Doctors' Plot."

By mounting a virulent press campaign and staging rallies against "the enemies of People's Poland," the regime obviously hopes to whip up mass hysteria against the dissidents and demonstrators. Worst of all, it is clearly trying to stir up an ugly tradition of anti-Semitism for its reactionary political ends.

The leading clique, headed by party chairman Wladyslaw Gomulka, President Jozef Cyrankiewicz, and Interior Minister Mieczyslaw Moczar, is using the occasion to strengthen its hand by removing from the party those with differences on various questions. The existing differences within the party over Mideast policy are really incidental. The truth is that the leading group fears that the protests of students and intellectuals, paralleling recent events in Czechoslovakia, may cause a split within the bureaucracy which could mean that the present leading group might share the fate of Novotny and his entourage. They are shoring up their defenses in advance, not only by repressing the

dissident students and intellectuals but by removing "unreliable" elements from their own midst.

The students have borne themselves well in the face of the regime's methods of violence and pressure. A meeting of 8,000 at Warsaw Polytechnic School adopted a resolution that included the following demands:

- Respect of the constitution, especially its guarantees of freedom of speech.
- Release of all students arrested since March 8.
- Punishment for those who called police onto school grounds in violation of university autonomy.
- Guarantees against persecution of teachers who sympathize with the students.
- Public accessibility of proceedings of all court trials.
- An end to distortions in the official press.
- Publication of this resolution in all newspapers and on the radio.

Political positions taken in the resolution were as follows:

- Assurances to "our professors and all Poland that we wish to study and build socialism."
- A stand dissociating students from anti-Semitism and also Zionism, and rejecting "anti-Russian tendencies."

The key question is to what extent the working masses will intervene in the situation. The regime's campaign of rallies against "enemies of People's Poland" is aimed at heading off such an eventuality. In Poznan the students responded by chanting at workers coming back from such a rally, "Long Live the Workers of Poznan" and "We Are Not Zionists."

There were reports that workers were not responding enthusiastically to the official campaign. According to one report, half the workers at the Zeran auto factory in Warsaw disobeyed orders to attend a rally against the student demonstrations. In a speech to workers in Gdansk, one party official used wording that indicates lack of popular support for the present line: "Our party has often taken difficult and unpopular decisions."

What brought the present crisis to a head? There has been increasing irritation among students and intellectuals over a series of repressive actions by the Gomulka regime in recent years. In 1964, thirty-four writers who signed a letter to President Cyrankiewicz requesting more cultural freedom and less censorship were denounced by the regime.

In 1965 two teaching assistants at Warsaw University, Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, both Communists and sons of high party officials, were arrested and jailed for circulating an "Open Letter" to the Communist party, which called for the establishment of workers' democracy and a return to proletarian internationalism. (Both men, released in 1967, were rearrested at the height of the current Warsaw demonstrations as the alleged ringleaders of the actions.)

In October 1966 the noted philosopher Leszek Kolakowski was expelled from the party for his outspoken lecture on the tenth anniversary of the "Polish October," which criticized the Gomulka regime for not developing the democracy hoped for as a result of the 1956 upheaval. During 1967 many of those who came to Kolakowski's defense were also expelled or otherwise victimized. Among them was Adam Michnik, a Communist student expelled from Warsaw University. (See World Outlook, June 30, 1967, p. 650.)

Irritation over continuing repressions came to a head in January around the order suspending performances of the play "Dziady" at the Narodowy Theater in Warsaw. "Dziady," a play by the nineteenth-century revolutionary nationalist poet Adam Mickiewicz, contains some harsh anti-Russian lines. At the time it was written these were directed against the tsarist occupation, but apparently the modern players and audiences were giving them a contemporary reference. The cancellation of "Dziady" was met with a protest demonstration by several hundred students. Police dispersed them, arresting fifty.

On March 2, the Warsaw Writers Union, at its first extraordinary meeting in its 48-year history, adopted a resolution after heated debate criticizing the regime's cultural policy and calling for an easing of censorship. A resolution by party members of the union condemning antigovernment demonstrations was defeated.

Clearly encouraged by the writers' action, the students poured out of Warsaw University March 8, demanding release of two of their number jailed for leading the January 30 protest. One of those two was Adam Michnik. The students shouted "Long Live the Writers!"

In striking at the dissent of students and intellectuals, the Gomulka regime, like other bureaucratic regimes in the East European workers' states, is primarily trying to stave off elemental pressures for democratization. Like the literary personalities before them who have often been political rebels, intellectuals and students are today expressing the deeper, not yet fully stated strivings for democracy among the masses.

That the crisis in Poland is only a local variant of similar trends elsewhere in Eastern Europe can be seen from some of the international ramifications of events in Warsaw. The Warsaw students, in their first demonstrations, raised the cry "Long Live Czechoslovakia," clearly encouraged by the example of liberalization underway there.

These sentiments of solidarity were reciprocated in Czechoslovakia. A rally of Communist youth in Prague March 13 adopted a resolution of support for the Polish students and condemned the official Polish press attacks on them. Earlier it was reported that a group of Czech students had asked for radio and TV time to broadcast their "solidarity with the Warsaw students," but their request was denied by officials, at least temporarily.

On March 16, a rally of 1,200 Czechoslovakians who had fought in the Spanish civil war or against Hitler in World War II passed a resolution protesting the use of anti-Semitism by the Polish party and government in its campaign against the students.

The East German regime of Ulbricht took a peculiar measure to prevent the spread of the contagion from Poland and Czechoslovakia. It announced a ban on outdoor demonstrations...against the Vietnam war! It obviously feared that anti-imperialist action would overflow into antibureaucratic channels.

By way of ironic contrast, in West Berlin March 13 a group of 500 young people, most of whom had participated in recent anti-Vietnam-war demonstrations, marched down the Kurfuerstendamm to express "solidarity with students and workers demonstrating against authoritarianism." Carrying red flags and a giant portrait of Trotsky, their placards bore such slogans as "Against Stalinism in Poland" and "Against Cyrankiewicz's Instigation of an Anti-Semitic Pogrom."

Among the marchers was Peter Brandt, son of Willy Brandt, German Social Democratic party leader and foreign minister in the present Bonn government.

The demonstrators went to the Polish consulate to deliver a protest letter

addressed to the chairman of the Polish cabinet. Met by locked doors, they nevertheless read their message aloud over a bullhorn and left it attached to a telephone pole outside a window of the consulate.

Bureaucratic nervousness in Moscow was evidenced in a blackout of news about developments in Warsaw and Prague, with Pravda stressing "national pride" as the strongest counter to the influences of foreign "bourgeois propaganda."

Security measures and the checking of personal documents was reportedly

tightened up at Moscow University. There had been rumors that a group of Soviet dissenters were planning a march in Moscow, concerning their own grievances. But memories of protest demonstrations at the university during the Soviet intervention in Hungary in 1956 must have made the authorities extra sensitive.

Even in quiet Bulgaria the Zhivkov regime called a special meeting of state security and party officials. First Party Secretary Zhivkov told them of "certain matters" of the foreign and internal situation and reminded them of the responsibilities entrusted to them by the party.



YOUNG REVOLUTIONARIES IN WEST BERLIN demonstrate in support of Polish students. These young people are representative of the new waged radical forces that in the past year waged dramatic and effective struggles against authoritarianism in West Germany. One of those holding the portrait of Leon Trotsky is Peter Brandt (right), "wayward" son of Willy Brandt, leader of the class-collaborationist Social Democratic party (SPD) and foreign minister in the Bonn government. Like others of his generation, young Brandt has broken from his elder's procapitalist stand.

"I believe Trotsky has very great meaning for the revolutionary youth movement today, because of his idea of permanent revolution," the young man was quoted in the newsweekly Spiegel. The magazine did not say how Willy Brandt felt about his son's views, but a guess may be made from the recent expulsion from the SPD of two left-wing*deputies to the West Berlin parliament -- for participating in a demonstration against the Vietnam war.

Part of a banner in the background reads "Against Stalinism in Poland."





RESPIRE FOR WASHINGTON: THE TWO-PRICE GOLD SYSTEM

By Dick Roberts

There is one opinion that is almost unanimously held by American financial authorities about the "two-price" gold system patched together in Washington March 17: it won't work -- at least, not in the long run.

This view was asserted by Edwin L. Dale, Jr., the New York Times economic expert in Washington, the day before the two-price system was announced:

"The seven governments gathered here cannot solve the crisis. They may well set free the London gold price by refusing to supply any more monetary gold to private buyers.

"But the resulting 'two price' system has unknown and possibly dangerous consequences for the monetary system. For example, if, as expected, the free price rises, there will be a strong temptation for central banks around the world to cash their dollars for gold at the U.S. Treasury and turn a profit by selling it on the free market. This could quickly drain the U.S. stock."

And the day following the decision in Washington, the Wall Street Journal opened a front-page article on it with the categorical assertion:

"Creation of a two-price system for gold is only a stopgap solution for the world monetary crisis -- if that. And any attempt to make it a lasting solution could plunge the U.S. dollar into even more trouble than it was in last week."

Why should the two most authoritative American newspapers be so gloomy about the prospects of the central bankers' decision?

In the first place they are under obligation to keep their readers who have considerable interests at stake informed about the realities of the situation. The two-price system is founded on a compromise between governments which none of the contracting parties puts much confidence in maintaining.

The European nations agreed not to exchange dollars for gold, allowing Washington a respite from its balance-of-payments problems. For the time being, the contracting parties agreed to settle deficits through reciprocal credit arrangements. This displaces the dollar from its once privileged role as the recognized reserve currency; and at the same time it is supposed to prevent gold from usurping that position. But this ambiguous action conceals rather than solves

the difficulty.

By setting up a two-price gold system, the central bankers in fact have partially devalued the dollar, or more exactly, they have set up a two-price system for the dollar. One price is its fixed exchange rate between central banks. Its other price will be determined by the free market price of gold.

If a wide discrepancy emerges between these two prices, as there is every reason to assume will happen, this would further undermine confidence in the dollar -- and other currencies along with it. It would provide a strong incentive, as New York Times economist Dale pointed out, for governments to pull out of the agreement and purchase gold.

At the same time it would cast suspicion on trade relations in general, with exporters less and less willing to sell products to nations whose currencies were in doubt. The result would be a potentially disastrous shrinkage of trade, at a time when there is already a decline in the growth of world trade. And this undoubtedly accounts for some of the pessimism in the capitalist press about the two-price gold system.

But this way of dealing with the monetary crisis only scratches the surface of the problem facing the American ruling class. Far more fundamental are the problems of dollar inflation, chronic balance-of-payments deficits and a war that appears prohibitively expensive even if a "victory" could be won.

The deeply critical articles in the daily press want to know what the Johnson administration is planning to do about these major problems. They don't want Johnson to use the temporary agreement on gold as an excuse for ignoring the underlying problems of the economy.

On March 15, the day Britain's banks were forced to close down in face of the onslaught on gold, the New York Times delivered this scathing denunciation of the Johnson administration:

"The current gold rush is a manifestation of much deeper feelings -- rational and irrational. In a real sense, it represents a massive vote of no confidence in the way that the world's most powerful and richest nation is managing its political and economic affairs.

"There is no other explanation for this unprecedented flight from the dollar ... They are seeking protection against a

nation that has squandered much of its vast resources, that has become mired in an escalating war that they think it cannot win, that appears paralyzed and divided, undisciplined and leaderless."

And what do the editors of the New York Times propose to rescue this nation from paralysis? "If the existing monetary system is to be preserved, it is essential to take the harsh deflationary medicine of a tax increase of major proportions." This is what Britain's labor misleaders are doing to rescue capitalism in that beleaguered island.

When new Chancellor of the Exchequer Jenkins proposed the British budget March 19, the New York Times editors were consumed with enthusiasm: "[It] is much

more austere than even those calling for austerity had anticipated. Mr. Jenkins had been expected to ask for authority to hold down wages as well as to impose an increase in taxes to curb demand -- and he did so. But the tax increases, all indirect, are about twice as large as had been predicted....

"Mr. Jenkins may go down as Britain's iron chancellor."

The U.S. rulers would like to duplicate this model on a larger scale. When President Johnson called for "national austerity" only a few days following the gold price decision this is what he had in mind: depressing wage levels and living standards to salvage the dollar.

20,000 MARCH IN LONDON TO PROTEST VIETNAM WAR

London police surrounding the U.S. embassy attacked 20,000 demonstrators on March 17 in what was the largest action against Washington's war in Vietnam yet seen in England. The giant protest was organized by the Vietnam Ad Hoc Committee, a united front of organizations opposed to the war.

Two thousand police "quelled Sunday's embassy assault with mounted police and club-swinging charges across the tulip beds of Grosvenor Square," a London UPI dispatch said. Thirty demonstrators were taken to the hospital for treatment, as were some twenty-five police. New York Times London correspondent Alvin Shuster said over 200 protesters were arrested.

Those arrested were charged with assaulting or obstructing the police, possessing offensive weapons and disorderly conduct, Shuster reports.

"As the mounted policemen charged, some demonstrators shouted 'Cossacks!' Some threw their anti-American banners at the policemen," Shuster said. It took the police an hour to drive the protesters from the area.

U.S. Ambassador David K.E. Bruce called the police attack "magnificent."

The demonstration began in Trafalgar Square, which was "jammed, not leaving an inch for the pigeons and tourists who usually flock there," Shuster said. "Students from universities all over Britain participated."

Speakers at the rally in Trafalgar Square included actress Vanessa Redgrave, who read a letter she had written to Ambassador Bruce. She said the only path to peace was for the United States to with-

draw immediately from Vietnam. Later Miss Redgrave led the marchers to the embassy building, wearing a white crepe headband, the Vietnamese sign of mourning.

Another speaker was Christian Semler, twenty-nine years old, of the Socialist Students Federation [SDS] in West Berlin.

After the rally, as they marched to the embassy, the demonstrators stopped to protest at the London offices of the Dow Chemical Company, which produces napalm. The UPI dispatch says they "thundered through the usually sedate Mayfair sector that London calls 'Little America' with cries of 'Yanks go home,' 'Ho Ho Ho Chi Minh,' 'Burn baby burn,' and 'Hey, hey, LBJ, how many babies did you kill today?'"

"In the end it took a mounted police charge and club swinging to rout the demonstrators. It shattered luxurious Grosvenor Square, smashed 13 windows on the glass, steel and stone embassy, left the nearby U.S. Navy headquarters building's eagle smeared with paint.

"The police had come in buses, deserting their usual weekend posts at the nation's giant soccer matches. The buses rumbled off with defiant, sometimes bloodied demonstrators."

The "offensive weapons" police charge the demonstrators with using were "rocks, poles, dirt clods" thrown at the embassy and used in defense against the police attack. Shuster also said that flour, paint and smoke bombs were thrown at the embassy.

One member of Parliament criticized police for the club-swinging and use of mounted police.

INDIAN TROTSKYISTS HOLD NATIONAL CONFERENCE

By Magan Desai

A three-day conference of the Socialist Workers party, the Indian Section of the Fourth International, concluded in Baroda (Gujarat) on February 4, 1968, after electing a thirteen-member Central Committee with Comrade Magan Desai as the secretary.

More than forty delegates and observers from various states, including West Bengal, Bihar, Kerala, Maharashtra and Gujarat states, attended. The SWP was formed at a conference of Indian Trotskyists held in Bombay in August 1965.

The conference adopted an eighty-page document outlining the programme of the SWP. The objective of the party has been defined as the achievement of socialist revolution and the establishment of a workers' government supported by the poor peasantry in India.

The programme has characterised the present Indian state as a capitalist state based on a constitution defending capitalist property relations. It has said that none of the basic problems of the people, including agrarian problems, industrialization, employment and democratic liberties, could be resolved within the present capitalist framework. It has characterised the Congress, Swatantra party, Jan Sangh, Bhartiya Kranti Dal, Hindu Mahasabha, Muslim League and the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam as the parties of the Indian capitalist class; the PSP [Praja Socialist party] and the SSP [Samyukta Socialist party] as the parties of the middle class; and the Right and the Left Communist parties, the RSP [Revolutionary Socialist party] and the SWP, as working-class parties.

While stressing that the working class alone can lead the masses towards socialism, the SWP has sharply criticised the policies of the traditional workers' parties like the CPI [Communist party of India -- the pro-Moscow CP], CPI(M) [Communist party of India (Marxist) -- the pro-Peking CP], and RSP, of seeking opportunist alliances with the capitalist and the communal parties in the name of building so-called "non-Congress coalitions," especially after the fourth general elections.

The programme has said that the Congress government during the last twenty years has sought to build capitalism, under the false pretext of constructing a "socialist pattern of society." It has asserted that the capitalist property relations can be transformed only through a socialist revolution, through revolutionary mass struggles of the exploited classes.

On the international situation the SWP has called for demonstrations of solidarity of the international working-class movement with the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism as well as with the anti-imperialist movements of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples against imperialism.

The programme also expressed solidarity with the struggles of the working people and the intelligentsia in the Soviet Union and other workers states against the present bureaucratic regimes and for the establishment of proletarian democracy.

The programme has sharply criticised the sectarian refusal of the Chinese and the Soviet bureaucracies to forge a fighting united front with other workers states for the defence of the Vietnamese Revolution against world imperialism.

The party has pledged its defence of the property relations in the Soviet Union and other workers states, including Cuba, but has characterised the regimes in Soviet Russia, China, and the East European states, etc., as bureaucratically degenerated workers states. It has called for political revolutions against the bureaucratic privileges and for the revival of workers' democracy in these countries.

The programme has also referred to the deepening crisis of international capitalism and has said that U.S. imperialism, which has established its unchallenged hegemony over the capitalist states, has been paving the way for a third world war -- a nuclear holocaust -- to "make the world safe for capitalism." This catastrophe can be averted only through the revolutionary intervention of the proletariat to establish a socialist world.

In a separate resolution adopted on the "non-Congress governments" in different states, the conference has strongly criticised their opportunist multi-class character and has said that the so-called non-Congress governments -- even the left-dominated governments in West Bengal (now dismissed) and in Kerala -- have subserved the interests of the capitalist class and played the role of the defenders of bourgeois property relations. In West Bengal, where the left-dominated United Front Ministry had been dismissed by the Centre, it criticised the policies of the traditional left parties to confine the mass upsurge to the bourgeois constitutional framework on the basis of an opportunist multi-class coalition, instead of developing the struggle of the

masses with the perspective of a workers and peasants government in India.

The resolution has called for the creation of a united front of workers and peasant parties and for the creation of new organs of mass struggle in the form of workers councils and peoples committees in West Bengal.

The conference adopted a resolution paying revolutionary tribute to the Cuban revolutionary leader, Ernesto Che Guevara, "a symbol of the internationalist traditions of the October Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky." It also mourned the untimely deaths of Comrade Mallikarjun Rao of Andhra, a member of the organizing committee of the SWP; Comrade Kamalesh Banerjee, a former Trotskyist leader; and Comrade V.R.Nagarkatti, a party activist.

The newly formed Central Committee has elected a five-member secretariat. The conference concluded with a mass rally held at Gandhi Maidan in the centre of the city on February 4. Delegates and observers led a procession of workers to the rally from the venue of the conference.

The rally was presided over by

Comrade Ranchodbhai Dalal, a prominent peasant leader of Gujarat, and was addressed by Comrades Chitta Mitra, secretary of the West Bengal Committee of the SWP, Somendra Kumar of Bihar, Sharad Jhaveri of Gujarat, and Magan Desai, the newly elected secretary of the SWP. Comrade P. Mohamed, secretary of the party's Baroda Committee, welcomed the visiting delegates and observers from other states on behalf of the reception committee.

The National Conference of the SWP is an important landmark in the history of the Indian Trotskyist movement, especially after its regroupment as an independent party in 1965.

The SWP has established its functioning units in six states including West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, Maharashtra, and Kerala. Several militant members of the traditional left parties including the CPI, CPI(M), SSP and the RSP who are dissatisfied with their leadership have joined the SWP during the last two years.

The party has built a substantial base in the trade-union and peasant movement in several states of India.

BOLIVIAN PEASANTS REVERE GUEVARA

When the Barrientos dictatorship in Bolivia, working hand in glove with the CIA, murdered Che Guevara they spread the story that the revolutionary hero and his guerrilla band were isolated and without support from the peasants.

A recent Reuters dispatch from La Paz, however, reports that the dictatorship is so nervous about Guevara's influence among peasants around the village of Higuera that they razed the village school where Che was murdered. The school had "taken on the appearance of a local shrine," Reuters said.

"Recently," the dispatch continues, "evidence has come to light that peasants

around Vallegrande [a town near Higuera] were not, as had been reported, unfriendly to Guevara and his guerrilla band.

"A roll of photographs found in Guevara's haversack when he was captured showed the guerrillas with the peasants, eating and chatting with them, according to reliable sources.

"In one, Che can be seen cradling two children on his knee while an old man directs their attention to the camera."

The dispatch also reports a widespread sale of photographs of Che among peasants in the region.

A NEW ISSUE OF "ARAB REVOLUTION"

The February issue of Arab Revolution contains articles on a wide range of topics of importance to the Arab workers movement. Arab Revolution is an Arabic language magazine, published by the Organization of Revolutionary Socialist Youth Abroad.

Articles in this issue include:

(1) The June '67 Aggression and the Present Middle East Crisis; (2) Che Gue-

ara's Death; (3) Armed Struggle and the Latin American Revolution; (4) The OLAS Conference; (5) Stalinism on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution; (6) Latest Developments in the "Cultural Revolution" in China.

To obtain this issue, which sells for 3 shillings [3 shillings = US\$.36], write: Editorial Board, Arab Revolution, % Pioneer Book Service, 8 Toynbee Street, London, E.1, England.

TORTURE OF GREEK PRISONERS REPORTED

[The ruling military junta in Greece, given Washington's blessing in the form of recognition of its regime last January 23, is continuing its brutal repression of all opposition. Following is the full text of a January 27 report by Amnesty International on the torture of political prisoners.]

[Amnesty International sent a delegation of eighteen to Greece on December 30 to investigate the extent of the so-called Christmas Amnesty proclaimed by the colonels with such fanfare. After a four-week investigation, the delegation reported that the junta had claimed to have released 284 prisoners, although "some of these were not in fact released, but simply transferred under Law No. 509 to the islands..." The delegation estimated that at the end of January there were approximately 2,777 political prisoners being held without trial in Greece. The subheadings appear in the original.]

* * *

Torture

The following account presents in summary form the evidence the Amnesty International delegation took from the sixteen people they saw who reported that they had been tortured, and from the thirty-two people still in prison about whose cases they received secondhand evidence which they found convincing because it was in many cases corroborated.

Organizations, Places and Persons Engaged in Torture

Torture as a deliberate practice is carried out by the Security Police (Asphalia) and the Military Police (Ethniki Stratiotiki Astinomia). The delegation heard firsthand evidence that the army and the gendarmerie also carried out torture, but it was difficult to determine if these were isolated cases or standard procedure.

Those whose names are most frequently mentioned as directing and carrying out torture are: Inspector Lambrou, the director of the Security Police Headquarters in Athens at Bouboulinas Street, and the following officers -- Mallios, Babalis, Karapanayiotis, Kravaritis, Spanos, Yannicopoulos, all of the same office; Major Theophiloyaiannakos of the Military Police located at the Dionysos camp outside Athens. Others mentioned frequently were Zagouras at Dionysos, Lt. Kapoglou, director of Asphalia at Aigeleo, and Kouvas of the Asphalia in Pireus.

The places where the most serious torture was reported in the Athens area

are the Bouboulinas Asphalia, Military Hospital 401, and the Dionysos camp.

Techniques of Torture

A. Physical Torture

1. The standard initial torture reported from every Asphalia station is the so-called falanga. The prisoner is tied to a bench and the soles of his feet are beaten with a stick or pipe. Between beatings the prisoner is usually made to run around the bench under a heavy rain of blows. We examined the feet of a person who suffered this treatment four months before and his sole was covered with thick scar tissue. One prisoner now in Averoff prison had his foot broken under this torture. As he went without medical attention, the bones have not set properly and he is crippled. The next step in this method is to strike the prisoner on the sternum. Prisoners vomiting blood from the lungs have generally undergone this treatment. Falanga is almost always accompanied by other inflictions of pain on the prisoner. In general five or six men are engaged in the torture of one prisoner. Common methods accompanying falanga are: pouring water down the mouth and nose while the prisoner is screaming from pain; putting "Tide" soap in the eyes, mouth and nose; banging the head on a bench or on the floor; beating on other parts of the body, etc.

2. Numerous incidents of sexually-oriented torture were reported. In the case of women, the torturers shove as many fingers as possible, or an object, into the vagina and twist and tear brutally. This is also done with the anus. A tube is inserted into the anus and water is driven into the prisoner under very high pressure. In the case of men, beatings on the genitals with long, thin sandbags have frequently been reported. One trade unionist was beaten so much that a testicle was driven up into his body.

3. Techniques of gagging are frequently reported. The throat is grasped in such a way that the windpipe is cut off, or a filthy rag (often soaked in urine) is shoved down the throat. Suffocation is prevented only at the last moment.

4. Beating on the head with sandbags or beating the head against the wall or floor are standard procedure. Many cases of concussion have been reported.

5. Beating naked flesh with wires knotted together into a whip.

6. Prisoners have been hung up for long periods of time. Usually the wrists

are tied behind the back and the prisoner is suspended from the wrists.

7. Jumping on the stomach.

8. Tearing out the hair from the head and from the pubic region.

9. Rubbing pepper on sensitive areas of the body, such as the genitals, underarms, eyes, nose, etc.

10. Pulling out toenails and fingernails.

11. Different methods of inflicting burns, including putting out cigarettes on parts of the body.

12. The use of electric shock. This is done at Military Hospital 401 and unconfirmed reports state that it is done at the Asphalia Station at Bouboulinas.

Physical beatings by the army and police as a method of intimidation and interrogation are general. Physical beating can be classified as torture if it is done in a systematic way. One man of over sixty contacted by the delegation was beaten steadily for periods of up to five days. Generally from four to six men beat a prisoner with their fists and kick with their booted feet, or use instruments such as planks, pipes, canes, etc. At the Dionysos camp, which houses Greece's elite soldiers, prisoners are made to run a gauntlet. A reliable secondhand report from this camp is that a man literally had his eye knocked out of his head. The Amnesty International delegation spoke with others who had broken ribs, noses, eardrums, etc.

B. Nonphysical Torture

Many informants who have undergone torture consider that the nonphysical methods were more difficult to bear.

1. Certain prisoners are intentionally moved to cells within earshot of other prisoners who are being violently interrogated. This has caused a number of nervous breakdowns. One informant said that listening to the cries of the others was worse than undergoing the torture, one wanted to run in and be beaten rather than listen to the sufferings of another. It is reported that Mikis Theodorakis, the composer, who was never physically tortured, suffered a nervous collapse under this method.

2. Conditions of detention in some places are particularly bad. One technique is to leave the prisoner in a tiny, dark cell without food, water or blankets, for some days. The cells at Dionysos, which are cut into the side of Mount Pendelli, have ten centimetres of water in them all the time. There is an iron bench

in the cell. As prisoners held here are not allowed to go out of the cells, the water is filled with their own excrement. The cells in the basement of Bouboulinas used for solitary confinement are full of vermin.

3. Threats to kill, maim and rape. People who had been tortured were often told that it would be repeated at a certain hour in the night, and were kept in constant terror by threats that they would have to undergo again what they had just experienced.

4. Stripping prisoners naked is particularly effective in Greece, where the association of nakedness with shame is very strong in the culture.

5. Mock executions were frequently reported. The prisoner faces a firing squad, is blindfolded and the rifles are fired. Some prisoners experienced this more than once. It is often done at Kesaryni, in the place where wartime executions took place.

6. Signing declarations is considered by many to be the most inhuman technique of the regime. Compulsion to sign a paper denouncing parents, wife or political beliefs particularly affects a person of highly developed conscience and ideals. This is used in a deliberate way to break down the spirit of the prisoner.

The expert in these matters is Mr. Tournas, promoted to be director of Greek prisons under the regime. He begins by getting the prisoner to sign something innocuous, then tears up the paper, and makes the prisoner renounce more and more that he holds sacred.

The delegation interviewed people who had signed under this pressure, and all were in some sense broken.

One particularly moving case was that of a man who signed in order to be free to see his daughter who was dying of cancer. She died before he was released and he has had a nervous breakdown.

The Security Police and the Military Police are unrestricted today in Greece. Since, in Mr. Patakos' words, "the laws sleep," the police may arrest anyone, in any place, at any time, with no obligation to charge him or inform anyone of his arrest. Believing that their own position is threatened by opposition to the government, they have reacted brutally to those engaged in opposition.

Those who have particularly suffered at the hands of the security forces are the young people, those who are not known abroad, and those believed to be of the left.

SOVIET COLLECTIVE FARM CHAIRMAN PROTESTS TRIAL OF INTELLECTUALS

[Typewritten copies of scores of letters protesting recent trials of political dissenters are reportedly circulating in all major Soviet cities.

[Some of the social forces behind this development are described in the March 6 Christian Science Monitor (Boston) by Paul Wohl, as follows:

["The Soviet Union's hundred million citizens of less than thirty years of age are speaking up. The country's more than four million graduate students and its 400,000 scientists are stirring. The younger writers, teachers, and artists are in the forefront of the protest movement."

[Of course, this is a precursor of deeper stirrings among the masses, especially the young generation of workers.

[One letter, signed by over 200 persons, including many scientists, protested the "tendentious" procedures at the Moscow trial of Aleksandr Ginzburg, Yuri Galanskov, Aleksei Dobrovolsky, and Vera Lashkova, which took place January 8-12, 1968. The letter stated:

["The conduct and outcome of this trial alarms us greatly. In recent years there have been several violations of legality, especially in political trials. From trial to trial (these violations) become increasingly rude and obvious. In the latest trial they took on a character of complete arbitrariness....Under these circumstances no one can feel safe."

[The letter demanded a review of the Ginzburg-Galanskov trial with representatives of the public present, "especially from among the signers of this letter." Like many others, it called for punishment of those responsible for the improper procedures.

["The blatant arbitrariness of the KGB (the secret police) and the violation of principles of the Soviet constitution" were also denounced in another letter signed by sixty-four intellectuals.

[An open letter by Y. Shiffers, a theater director, declared that if the illegalities were not corrected, "I beg to join my name to those of the innocent-ly sentenced."

[More recently, ninety-nine Soviet mathematicians, including seven Lenin Prize winners, signed a joint statement protesting the incarceration in a mental hospital of Aleksandr Yesenin-Volpin, who has been prominent among those actively fighting such injustices as those against

Ginzburg and Galanskov.

[Outstanding among these growing expressions of protest is a letter by Ivan A. Yakhimovich, chairman of the Ya'una Gvarde (Young Guard) collective farm in the Kraslava district of Latvia, the text of which we reprint below. Yakhimovich was singled out for praise by the Soviet paper Komsomolskaya Pravda in 1964 as an "honest and just" Communist and a model farm director. His letter is addressed primarily to Mikhail A. Suslov, the chief Politburo ideologist, who is credited by some as the foremost advocate of stamping out intellectual dissent and discontent.

[The Yakhimovich document is most striking as a symptom of conflicting currents within the ruling Communist party in response to the pressures exerted by diverse sectors of the masses.]

* * *

I do not have sufficient information to judge the degree of guilt of those persons subject to repression, but of one thing I am firmly convinced and one thing I know -- the type of trial that took place in the Moscow City Court January 8-12, 1968, is causing enormous damage to our party and to the cause of Communism, both in our country and elsewhere.

We celebrated the glorious anniversary [of the October Revolution], we pride ourselves on our achievements in economic and scientific techniques, and we ourselves, at the very time the United Nations has declared 1968 the Year of the Defense of the Rights of Man, are handing the enemies of Communism trump cards to be used against us. It is absurd!

We were naked, hungry, indigent, but we won, because we placed in the foreground the liberation of man from injustice, outrage, lack of rights, etc., and we can lose everything, despite our rockets and hydrogen bombs, if we forget the origins of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

From the time of Radishchev [eighteenth-century writer sent to Siberia for opposing serfdom], the trials of writers have always been an abomination in the eyes of progressive, thinking people. What were our homegrown leaders thinking of when they shut Solzhenitsyn's mouth, made a fool of the poet Voznesensky, "punished" Sinyavsky and Daniel with forced labor, and involved the KGB in spectacles with "foreign enemies"?

* Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, best known for

One must not subvert the confidence of the masses in the party; one must not speculate with the honor of the state, even if a certain leader wants to end "samizdat." ["Samizdat," literally self-publication, is Soviet slang for the uncensored material that circulates widely in typed or handwritten form. The recent political trials aim to stifle this phenomenon, which has become prevalent since 1956.]

Samizdat can be destroyed only by one means: the development of democratic rights, not their violation; observation of the constitution, not its violation; the realization in practice of the Declaration of Human Rights, since [former Foreign Minister] Vishinsky signed it in the name of our state, not by ignoring it.

Incidentally, it appears that Articles 18 and 19 of the Declaration read: "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion... Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

You know Article 125 of our constitution perfectly well; I shall not quote it. I only want to recall the thought of V.I. Lenin to the effect that "we need full and true information, and truth should not depend upon the question of whom it should serve." ("Works," fifth edition, Vol. 54, p. 446.)

I believe that the persecution of young dissenters in a country where more than fifty percent of the population is younger than thirty years of age is an extremely dangerous line -- adventurism. It is not toadies, not a public of yes-men (O Lord, how they have multiplied!),

his novel of Stalin's prison camps, protested in May 1967 against the refusal by the authorities in recent years to publish his works. Despite strong pressure on his behalf by many writers, the censors still refused in December 1967 to allow the monthly Novy Mir to print one of his works.

Andrei Voznesensky was involved in a dispute with the bureaucratic masters of the Soviet Writers Union in June 1967, when, because of his support to Solzhenitsyn, they refused on various transparent pretexts to let him travel to the USA for a poetry reading.

Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel are the two writers jailed in February, 1966, primarily for having their anti-Stalinist satirical writings printed abroad without benefit of censor.

not mama's boys who will determine the future, but rather those very rebels, as the most energetic, brave, and high-principled members of our young generation.

It is stupid to see in them the enemies of Soviet power, and more than stupid to let them rot in prisons and make mock of them. For the party, such a line is equivalent to self-strangulation. Too bad for us if we are not capable of reaching an understanding with these young people. They will create, inevitably they will create, a new party. Ideas cannot be murdered with bullets, prisons, or exile. He who does not understand this is no politician, no Marxist.

You, of course, remember the "Testament of Palmiro Togliatti" [former head of the Italian Communist party, who died in 1964]. I have in mind this part of it:

"A general impression has been created of foot dragging and opposition in the matter of a return to Leninist norms, which would insure both within the party and outside it more freedom of utterance and discussion on questions of culture, art, and politics as well.

"It is difficult for us to explain to ourselves this foot dragging and this opposition, particularly in view of contemporary conditions, when the capitalist encirclement no longer exists and economic construction has attained grandiose successes.

"We have always proceeded from the thought that socialism is a system in which there exists the broadest freedom for the workers who participate in the cause, who participate in an organized way in the leadership of social life as a whole." (Pravda, September 10, 1964.)

Who benefits from a policy of foot dragging and opposition? Only overt or covert Stalinists, political bankrupts. Remember: Leninism -- yes! Stalinism -- no! The 20th congress of the party did its work. The genie is at large and cannot be confined again! By no forces and nobody!

We are on the eve of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Soviet army [February 23]. We are on the eve of the consultative meeting of the fraternal Communist parties [in Budapest]. Do not complicate your work for yourselves, do not darken the atmosphere in the country.

On the contrary, Comrade Podgorny [Soviet president] could amnesty Sinyavsky, Daniel, Bukovsky,* and order a review of

* Vladimir Bukovsky was sentenced to three years in jail September 1, 1967, for having led a demonstration for free speech in Moscow in January 1967.

the case of A. Ginzburg and others. The Moscow City Court, in this last case, permitted the grossest violations of legal procedure. Prosecutor Terekhov; Judge Mironov; the commandant of the court, Tsirkunenko, should be punished in the appropriate fashion, primarily for acting like idiots and abusing their power.

One cannot achieve legality by violating the laws. We will never permit anyone to prostitute our Soviet courts, our laws, and our rights. They should be thrown out with a vengeance, for they are doing Soviet power more harm than all your NTS's, BBC's, and Radio Liberty's taken all together. [NTS, the Narodno-Trudovoi Soiuz or People's Labor Alliance, is a reactionary white emigre organization which Ginzburg and Galanskov were charged with being agents for, a charge they consistently denied.]

Let Novy Mir again print the works of A. Solzhenitsyn. Let G. Serebryakova publish her Sandstorm in the USSR and E. Ginzburg her Journey into the Whirlwind.* Anyway, they are known and read; it's no secret.

* Both Galina Serebryakova and Evgenia Ginzburg (no relation to defendant Aleksandr Ginzburg) are Communist party women who were jailed in the Stalin purges, and since "rehabilitated." The book titles named are their accounts of that experi-

I live in the provinces where, for every electrified home, there are ten un-electrified, where in the winter the buses can't get through, and the mail is late by whole weeks. If information has reached us on a broad scale, you can well imagine what you have done, what kind of seeds you have sown throughout the country. Have the courage to correct the mistakes that have been made, before the workers and peasants take a hand in this affair.

I don't want this letter to be passed over in silence, for the cause of the party cannot be a private cause, a personal cause, and, even less, a second-rate cause.

I consider it the duty of a Communist to warn the Central Committee of the party and I insist that all the members of the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union be acquainted with the contents of this letter.

The letter is addressed to Comrade Suslov with this in view.

With Communist greetings!

I.A.Yakhimovich

ence, which have circulated widely as "samizdat" but which the censors will not publish. Editions of both books have appeared in the West.

THE FREE WORLD: GREECE

With such things as the report by Amnesty International on the use of torture by the Greek "gorillas" (see page 277) being made public, the Greek dictatorship has apparently decided it could use a little professional help in improving its "image" in the United States.

The March 7 Le Monde reports that the Greek generals, recently welcomed into the family of free-world nations by nothing less than official and bona fide recognition by Johnson himself, has hired a

Madison Avenue public relations agency to "sell the Greek Government to the Americans."

The firm of Thomas J. Deegan has been charged with the job, and is expected to carry it out with the same fervor that it is already selling Coca-Cola, another of its clients.

The gorillas will pay \$243,000 for the first year of the face lifting.

THE FREE WORLD: "CHINA"

"Investment-wise Asians are discovering a gold mine of investment opportunity in their own part of the world," explains a blurb titled "More Profit in Taiwan" in a booklet put out by the Chiang Kai-shek gang in what it calls the "Republic of China."

Chief among the advantages listed for profitable investment in Taiwan is

"abundant intelligent labor at wages lower than in Hong Kong or Japan." And, it must be admitted, that is pretty low.

Other features foreign capitalists may find attractive are: no corporate income tax for five years; no sales or commodity taxes on exports; no import duty on capital goods; and no limit on repatriation of profits.

HUGO BLANCO TELLS OF NEW REPRESSION IN PERU

[The following report on new repressions in Peru, containing information from Hugo Blanco, the imprisoned Peruvian peasant leader, was released February 14 by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), in New York.]

* * *

An urgent letter from Hugo Blanco in Peru's El Frontón prison has just been received by the USLA Justice Committee. Blanco describes how families of political prisoners are threatened by government expropriation of their lands and personal belongings. The authorities are trying to exact what they call "civil reparation" to the tune of 165,000 soles (US\$1=26.82 soles). When you consider that the per capita income in Peru is \$115 per year and the only source for securing a livelihood for these innocent peasant families is the piece of land on which they raise their crops, the gravity of the attack becomes apparent.

The letter from Blanco serves to underline recent news from the CODDEH [Comité de Defense de los Derechos Humanos -- Committee for the Defensa of Human Rights], about a new wave of repression. Some incidents follow.

The brutal suppression of student activities; the arrest of student leader Ruffo Carcamo; and the demand of chief of

the PIP [Policía de Investigaciones del Perú] to interrogate Hector Bejar about a recent bank robbery. Hector Bejar has been held prisoner for two years and could not possibly have organized, still less participated in a bank robbery. The police want to get their hands on him to liquidate him as a leading political opponent of the regime.

The government's new attack is now aimed at campesinos whose only crime is kinship to people in opposition to the present regime. The method of punishing the families, or making them responsible for the acts of their kin, brings back the Nazi practice of exterminating whole villages because someone in the village fought against the Nazis.

By taking away the land the Peruvian government knows it is condemning these peasants to slow death through starvation.

Hugo Blanco says in his letter: "I believe if a wave of protest is raised, the blow can be staved off. We trust in you."

In response to this letter the USLA Justice Committee urges protest action against the deepening witch-hunt and the punishment of innocent peasants currently going on. Communications should be sent to the president of the Republic, Fernando Belaúnde Terry, Lima, Peru.

REVOLUTIONARY FRENCH YOUTH SOLIDARIZE WITH POLISH STUDENTS

[The following statement was issued by the JCR (Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire -- Revolutionary Communist Youth) in support of the Polish students who are struggling for democratic and socialist freedoms in their country. The JCR was formed in 1966 by a group of French youth who were expelled from the "official" Communist youth movement, largely because of their criticism of its failure to defend the Vietnamese revolution. A delegation of 300 from the JCR participated in the February 18 rally against the Vietnam war in West Berlin (see World Outlook, March 8, p. 198). This statement was printed in the Paris daily Le Monde of March 15. Since the statement itself was not available to us at press time, it is the Le Monde version that is given here.]

* * *

The Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire (JCR) affirms "its solidarity with

the courageous antibureaucratic struggle being conducted by the Polish students. Today to the sound of the Internationale thousands of students in Warsaw and Cracow are rising up against a Stalinist system which no longer has anything in common with Bolshevik tradition. The struggle of the Polish students is part of a vast offensive which revolutionary students throughout Europe are waging against oppression and reaction.

"The JCR appeals to all who are fighting to establish a socialist society based on workers democracy to come to the aid of the Polish students by sending petitions and telegrams to the Polish embassy demanding an immediate end to the police repression and liberation of the imprisoned students."

The JCR will distribute thousands of copies of the "open letter to the Polish CP by Comrades Modzelewski and Kuron, who have now again been imprisoned."

THE CRISIS IN ALGERIA: ITS MEANING AND PERSPECTIVES

By Larbi Hamdane

During the night of December 14-15, a number of tank units led by Tahar Zbiri, the chief of staff of the ANP [Armée Nationale Populaire -- the National People's Army], and several officers rolled toward Algiers. They were halted at El-Affroun after the air force stepped in. The head of the first military region, Saïd Abid, "committed suicide" in circumstances which were, to say the least, obscure (some claim that he was shot with the customary formalities).

So much for the most spectacular and well-known events which marked the crisis. Was this, however, a mere episode in a power struggle within the same "family" -- that is, the group which removed Ben Bella on June 19, 1965 -- or a more profound crisis. For my part, I consider that no struggle for power, even within a highly bureaucratized apparatus is outside the dynamic of the social forces, the struggle among these forces, or the relationship of forces at a specific moment.

Therefore, I will analyze the meaning of this crisis in the light of Algeria's evolution since 1962, and more specifically of the development of class relationships since the crisis in the Near East, as I described this in my previous article. [See "Algeria in the Year Five," World Outlook, January 12, p. 10.]

The Official Version

Let us first review the official interpretation. After Algeria took its well-known position on the problem in the Near East, this version holds, it became imperialism's number one target. The question then was whether imperialism would move from without or from within the country. Of course, it chose to move from within, through the intermediary of a band of unscrupulous and dim-witted adventurers (this is said about the head of the ANP).

However, according to this version, the revolutionary veterans plus the maturity of the people foiled the plans of these adventurers. And Algeria and the Algerian state came out of the crisis with increased stature and are continuing their triumphant march toward socialism.

None of the political differences which, according to Boumedienne, developed between Zbiri and the Conseil de la Révolution [Revolutionary Council] after November 1 are revealed. Only one thing stands out from this pseudorevolutionary verbiage: the pressure of the masses is still strong enough to force the liquida-

tors of the revolution to set themselves up as its defenders. The crucial task of revolutionaries in the coming months is to transform these vague aspirations of the masses into a developed understanding.

The Social Base of the Regime:
Compromise and Political Crises

For my part, I will place this new crisis in the context of Algeria's short history since independence and seek the explanation therein. The fundamental characteristic of the Algerian regime since 1962 is that it has not been an expression of the dictatorship of a class or social stratum but the result of an always very precarious equilibrium -- of a compromise among forces which are violently antagonistic, but not one of which is sufficiently formed, nor possesses sufficient homogeneity, cohesion, organization, or self-consciousness to crush the others.

But it appeared very quickly that this compromise was not viable, because it was based on a special equilibrium of forces at a specific moment; and the dynamic of social forces has altered this balance. What basically has happened is that the bureaucracy has grown stronger within the state apparatus and the bourgeoisie has organized, while the masses have been demobilized by the petty-bourgeois apparatchiks of the party and the unions.

In the first period, the weight of the worker and peasant masses made itself felt and the balance often leaned in their favor. They paid a very high price for this compromise, however. They were completely disorganized. This was the reason for their passivity at the time of the coup d'état of June 19, 1965.

The equilibrium was broken toward the end of 1964 by an extensive series of strikes followed by the Second Congress of the UGTA [Union Générale de Travail Algérien -- Algerian General Labor Federation]. This was the cause of the coup d'état of June 19, which was a victory for the reactionary forces: it was the qualitative transformation of the molecular changes which had been occurring day by day in the state apparatus and in class organization and consciousness.

But the result of this coup was a new compromise, a new equilibrium of forces. This balance would tip more and more in favor of the right; but this did not mean total victory for the right or the crushing of the revolution because the bureaucracy still lacked homogeneity;

it was still far from being cemented to the bourgeoisie and it was fearful of the reactions of the masses.

But this new compromise was to reveal itself still less viable than the first. Moreover, as I have already shown in my previous article, "Algeria in the Year Five," the crisis in the Near East played an important role in deepening the cleavage between the classes and in fostering class struggle. In fact, the first four issues (Nos. 125-128 of November and December 1967) of Révolution et Travail [Revolution and Labor -- the organ of the UGTA], which was the barometer of the activity of the Algerian workers in this period, show that they conducted their struggles against the employers, the management of the state corporations, and the bureaucracy with stubbornness and determination.

It was in this context that the second coup [December 10-12] occurred. At the same time, this equilibrium among more and more antagonistic forces had produced a total deadlock in the system, an inability to choose among completely different orientations on all of the major problems -- planning, agrarian reform, the state corporations, and foreign policy.

This second coup saw a much clearer reactionary take-over with the elimination of the party executive secretariat and the rise of Kaid Ahmed, the ex-minister of finance to the top post [party secretary] in the FLN [Front de Libération Nationale -- National Liberation Front -- the official party in the Algerian one-party system]. This development came a few days before Tahar Zbiri's revolt, which was a hopeless outburst by the victims of the December 10-12 coup d'état.

It seems then that the sharpening of the class struggle in recent months was the real and underlying cause of the upset in the balance of forces which led to the coup d'état. The UGTA communiqué of December 18 [see below] was quite symptomatic in this regard.

The Situation After the Outbreak of the Crisis

Let us take note first of all of the total absence of a response among the masses. Once again this showed the failure of political action confined to the apparatuses and divorced from action among the masses -- despite the good intentions of a Zerdani and a few others.

The response in the UGTA has been ambiguous. The last issue of Révolution et Travail (December 18, thus more than a month ago, and it is a weekly!), published a communiqué calling for the democratiza-

tion of the state enterprises, the organization of a vanguard workers party, and struggle against the bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie. This issue has not been sold on the newsstands but only in the factories by trade-union activists.

But, on the other hand, in a meeting called by Kaid Ahmed, the executive commission of the UGTA -- or at least a part of it -- aligned itself with the government position and decided to call a congress in the near future (this had already been decided once and then postponed), which would be under the leadership of the party.

But the most significant developments immediately following the revolt took place in the Oran region. In Oran the party leadership quite logically thought that it could now move against the left. And there had been an agitated situation in the region with numerous strikes, extending even to civil service functionaries -- the civic hospital workers in Oran.

So, without informing the army, the party leaders arrested the principal officials of the UL [Union Locale -- Local Union] in Oran as well as oppositionist students. Various pressures were exerted by the union, ranging from telegrams of protest to Boumedienne to strike threats, while attempts also were made by the party strongmen to intimidate the recalcitrants. Finally, after the intervention of the army, everyone was set free.

This incident is interesting in more than one respect. It shows, on the one hand, the depth of the crisis, the fact that the UGTA was at its center, and that in the coming months the trade-union organization will be the object of a decisive struggle between the bureaucracy and the workers. On the other hand, it shows the nature and the profoundly reactionary role of the party. And the upshot of this affair shows the choice made by the various forces present at the outcome of the crisis -- to seek a new compromise.

But what was the reaction of the new regime -- aside from the important fact just stressed of the mildness of the repression and its extremely limited character -- what steps did it take? The only thing that stands out in Boumedienne's speech to the party and state cadres was his veiled attack on self-management in agriculture. He let it be understood that it was not to be excluded that certain state farms would be broken up and plots of land distributed to landless peasants.

The main concern of the leadership team, however, has been to reassure the masses. To this end it has taken a whole series of steps, around which a propa-

ganda campaign has been orchestrated, which are designed to get across the idea that a wholesome wind of democratization is blowing in Algeria and that finally a "return to the source" -- the people -- is on the order of the day. This is the reason for the creation and appointment of the Département* Economic and Social Assemblies -- which could have been done more than a year ago, since they are composed of the chairmen of the Peoples Community Assemblies [Assemblées Populaires Communales] of every département. This is the reason also for the announcement of a reorganization "from the bottom up" of the party and the trade-union organization.

The real goal is to organize the state on a base broader than the army, which has completely failed: to exercise a much closer control over the masses at the neighborhood level through the FLN and at the point of production through the UGTA -- to totally integrate the party and the trade-union organization into the state.

Is this program realizable? First of all, it must be determined who the new regime represents and on whom it is based. In the person of Kaïd Ahmed, it can be said that today it rather clearly represents the top functionaries of the state apparatus, the technocrats, the merchants allied to the traditional agricultural sector, and a large part of the army commanders. Fundamentally, the instruments by which power is exercised are the state apparatus, although it is very feeble, the secret police forces, certain military security bodies, and what remains of the party apparatus -- commissars, inspectors, and officials in general, who are mostly linked to the various secret police forces.

However, all these bodies are unable to execute an all-out repression because, as I have already emphasized, the dominant social strata are not sufficiently well constituted to face the consequences of this. Therefore, they are seeking a compromise, especially with the UGTA leadership. Since repression is excluded for the moment, the two principal objectives of the ruling clique for the coming year are organizing the party and gaining control of the trade-union federation.

The Party

Virtually nothing remains of the party. Immediately after the first party congress in April, 1964, directives were issued to block rank-and-file participa-

tion and organization. A turn was made from organization in the factories and at the point of production to organization on a territorial basis in kasmass [cells] and federations...in which the politicalized sectors were in a distinct minority.

But even this form of organization was to be sabotaged because neither the kasmass nor the federations had a concrete program of work. As an indication, I might point out that even publication of the Charte d'Alger [Charter of Algiers] was held up for several months because the political bureau felt that it was not required that the rank and file study a document which many elements considered too dangerous.

At the time of the June 19 coup, ninety percent of the kasmass consisted of leaders alone and they had almost ceased meeting. After the coup, the situation only continued to deteriorate until the party was virtually liquidated. The basic cause of this situation was the insoluble contradiction between the interests of the social stratum which the party leadership represented and the program of the party -- the Charte d'Alger -- whatever its limits.

Of course, in making repeated statements hostile to the First Congress of the FLN and thereby to the Charte d'Alger, Kaïd Ahmed tried to solve this contradiction. However, it can be predicted that as long as the class compromise lasts, as long as the bureaucracy is incapable of independent expression, any attempt to build the party will be a labor of Sisypheus.

The Union

A little history is necessary to explain the UGTA's role since independence. In January, 1963, the party secretary, Khider, perceiving the danger represented by a strong workers movement, decided to strike a decisive blow. He executed a veritable "coup" in the best fascist-gangster style to impose on the UGTA a leadership subservient to the party clique. From that time on, the Algerian workers movement has suffered repeated blows, which the reactionaries who infiltrated the government and the party have inflicted on the Algerian workers and peasants "in the name of the socialist revolution" and in the interests of the "nation."

In late 1964, the apparatus installed to keep a rein on the masses proved incapable of blocking numerous strikes in which the workers engaged. Ben Bella, using all his authority, tried again to take the leadership of the union for the party. But the congress overruled his attempt and imposed a leadership which, while the product of a compromise,

* Algeria like France is divided into départements which constitute the second level of government. -- Translator.

was much less servile than the preceding one; however, it was completely incapable of implementing what nonetheless remains a fine program -- the Charte Syndicale [Trade-Union Charter].

The coups carried out at the time of the First Congress of the UGTA, the struggle against "syndicalism" of 1963-1964, the arrests of trade unionists during the congress of the Union Locale d'Alger-Centre [the Central Algiers Local Union] in 1966 and the numerous arrests which trade-union leaders have suffered since independence -- make necessary a deeper analysis of the evolution that the union has followed for the past five years and of the measures necessary to avert the total nullification of the socialist objectives established by the First Party Congress, of which the Charte Syndicale was to be the guide to implementation.

The first fact which emerges is that the UGTA leaderships have accepted compromises: at the decisive moment they have either capitulated or at best retreated. The result has been a considerable decline in trade-union activity.

The second fact emerging is that while the years 1962-64 were characterized by opportunist collaboration with the state, since 1965 there has been a more or less strictly observed "refusal to collaborate"; this is a gain but a belated one because in 1963-64, the reactionaries used the trade unionists for their own purposes, having seduced them with slogans, while they installed a repressive apparatus and organized a party within the party.

The trade unionists stifled all their criticisms; they "toed the line" and helped to make the workers and the peasants "toe the line," leading them to believe that they were building socialism. But the trade-union leaders were perfectly aware of the blows being dealt the revolution in high places.

Why did they serve as accomplices of the enemies of the revolution? Some doubtless out of opportunism, others out of cowardice. But the majority, I would like to think, did so out of a lack of understanding, out of a lack of a correct analysis of Algerian society, of the social classes which go to make it up -- and above all, of the role of unions in the development of socialist revolutions and their place independent of the state and political organizations.

Party-Trade Union Relations

Already in March, 1965, there was an attempt to make it compulsory for union leaders at all levels to be party members. But today Kaïd Ahmed, the secre-

tary of the party, considers that not only is this an obligation but that trade unionists must submit to party discipline.

The consequences of this would be: first, that the UGTA would no longer be the organization of the workers but a mere appendage of the party apparatus from which all who did not follow the party line would be expelled; second, that the UGTA, like the party today, would lose all its authority for the masses and in very short order would be totally liquidated. If this situation develops in the wake of the Third Congress of the UGTA (which is theoretically to take place around July 1968), the workers should create a new instrument for the day-to-day defense of their economic, cultural, and political interests.

The Second Congress of the UGTA rejected any formal requirement of party membership but gave permission for union leaders to be active in the FLN. The fact that Kaïd Ahmed poses this question again today and in such terms is proof of the party's extreme weakness, since no party member has been able to win the confidence of the masses sufficiently to be elected to a leadership position in the union.

However, the bureaucracy has not given up hope of controlling an instrument which, as the UGTA does, has the support of the masses. This is why Kaïd Ahmed set up three regional preparatory commissions for the Third Congress. These commissions were presided over by préfets [chief administrators of the départements], army commanders, and party cadres, while unionists played subordinate roles.

What Is To Be Done?

On December 20, 1967, the UGTA leadership capitulated before this new coup. It accepted being an accomplice of a new machination against the masses. However, the experience of the last months of 1964 already showed that the Algerian workers can break out of the limits of a compromise made at the top and demand their rights. The struggle has now begun and it is yet to be decided whether the Third Congress will be a wake or the stepping-off point for a life or death struggle against reaction in all its forms.

The workers know what the reactionaries want; they also know the consequences of compromises -- June 1963, June 1965, and December 1967. They must rise up to break the alliance of the big landowners, the big merchants, the high functionaries, and the capitulationist elements of the working class; they must provide themselves with a leadership capable of putting into practice the Charte Syndicale of the Second Congress. They must struggle against all forms of compromise at all levels and above all at the level of the production point.

An uncompromising line means unremitting denunciation of the schemes of the reactionaries and the maintenance of a strong, active trade-union organization at the local, regional, and plant level. And this organization must base its activity on an effective organization of all the rank-and-file workers, hold regular meetings, and keep the ranks informed on a daily basis; it must develop a structure which can withstand police repression.

If the paper Révolution et Travail does not appear every week in every factory, this lack must be compensated for by assemblies. The workers must be kept up to date on the local and national situation -- and the same goes for the local and regional unions. The struggle will be a hard and bitter one and will require devoted militants. Anyone who loses his nerve, who does not respond to the demands of the struggle must be replaced on the spot.

Today it is said that the "war reflexes" of the trade-union movement during the national liberation struggle must be replaced by a proper attitude for the period of "building" socialism. Quite the contrary, however, these "war reflexes" must be relearned, because this is a new war, a class war, also to be won.

The party could be liquidated but the Algerian workers will not allow their trade-union organization to become an apparatus directed against their interests.

They will not allow it to be led by a puppet party serving the new Algerian bourgeoisie.

The Third Congress then will be held in the expectation of a sharpening of the class struggle. Therefore, it is necessary that the revolutionary potential of the masses find full expression at it -- this potential was able to be realized not so long ago against enemies much more powerful and astute than those who stand in the way today.

However, no matter what leadership and program come out of the UGTA congress, the fundamental strategic task of the Algerian working class remains that of organizing and developing a workers party which would fight for a government of the worker and peasant masses.

Today the development of class structures is much more advanced. The reactionaries are more clearly declaring their objectives. The state and party leadership are more homogeneous and openly reactionary. Therefore the two inseparable and complementary axes of the daily activity of every Algerian revolutionary must be: (1) struggle for a mass trade union which would fight on clear class bases, and (2) contribution to building a vanguard workers party. The future of the socialist revolution in Algeria is at stake.

January 28, 1968

SOLIDARITY WITH THE POLISH STUDENTS!

[The following statement was issued March 15 by the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International. This is the World Party of Socialist Revolution founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938.]

* * *

The revolutionaries and workers of the entire world must support the students of Warsaw, Cracow, Poznan, and Gdansk who have courageously demonstrated for basic democratic freedoms. They must support these students who are calling for real enjoyment by all citizens in a workers state, of freedom of opinion for socialist tendencies and of freedom of artistic and literary creation, for the right to exist in a workers state of all political forces opposed to a restoration of capitalism, for respect for rights formally written into the constitution but which have never been honored.

The conservative bureaucrats are slandering these students by accusing them of being tools of "Zionism." In

this way, they are trying to mobilize against them the anti-Semitic prejudices which persist in a section of the Polish people. The Fourth International, which extends full support to the Arab revolution and denounces the pro-imperialist, expansionist role of the state of Israel, brands with infamy this shameful maneuver. This tactic links up the methods of the bureaucratic government in Warsaw with those of all the reactionary regimes which have ruled Poland in the past.

No less shameful is the Gomulka-Moczar team's demagogic attempt by this means to appeal to the workers against the students. This team has liquidated the gains which the workers made in October 1956. It drained the workers councils of all content. It has held down the workers buying power. It has encouraged a high cost of living, the black market, speculation, and corruption.

To win socialist democracy in the Polish workers state and to strengthen

the bases of the socialized economy, the Polish workers must join in the students' battle and fight for a transfer of all power to democratically elected and centralized workers councils and for improving the workers standard of living through the abolition of all bureaucratic privileges, the reduction of all income inequalities, and by a thoroughgoing reorganization of the nationalized economy, basing this on workers management, which would eliminate bureaucratic waste and theft.

The struggle of the Polish students is an integral part of the struggle of the students of Europe, North America, and Japan against authoritarian bourgeois power and the imperialist aggression in Vietnam. It is an integral part of the worldwide upsurge of revolutionary forces which seek to create a new socialist world by coordinating the struggles against imperialism, capitalism, and the usurpation of power in the workers states by a privileged bureaucracy. It is highly symbolic that the Czech students organized a march against the imperialist aggression in Vietnam which at the same

time was directed against the bureaucracy in their own country, as the Yugoslav students had done before them.

By their fight for the victory of socialist democracy based on councils, the Polish students have strengthened the anti-imperialist front of Vietnam, Cuba, and all the insurgent masses of the world. For, cutting out the bureaucratic gangrene from the countries which have abolished capitalism will deprive imperialism of one of its last political arguments.

Free Modzelewski, Kuron, and all the imprisoned high-school and university students!

Long live the united struggle of the Polish students and workers for socialist democracy based on councils!

Long live the united struggle of the students and workers of all countries against imperialism and for the defense of the Vietnamese revolution!

Long live the world socialist revolution!

In this issue

	<u>Page</u>
DRAWING: Robert Kennedy	265
Why Kennedy Is Challenging Johnson for the Democratic Nomination	
-- by George Novack	266
Novotny Forced Out as President of Czechoslovakia	267
Student Clashes with Polish Regime Resound Through East Europe	
-- by George Saunders	270
PHOTO: Young Revolutionaries in West Berlin Demonstrate	
in Support of Polish Students	272
Respite for Washington: The Two-Price Gold System -- by Dick Roberts	273
20,000 March in London to Protest Vietnam War	274
Indian Trotskyists Hold National Conference -- by Magan Desai	275
Bolivian Peasants Revere Guevara	276
A New Issue of "Arab Revolution"	276
Torture of Greek Prisoners Reported	277
Soviet Collective Farm Chairman Protests Trial of Intellectuals	279
The Free World: Greece	281
The Free World: "China"	281
Hugo Blanco Tells of New Repression in Peru	282
Revolutionary French Youth Solidarize with Polish Students	282
The Crisis in Algeria: Its Meaning and Perspectives -- by Larbi Hamdane	283
Documents:	
Solidarity with the Polish Students! [Statement by International	
Executive Committee of Fourth International]	287

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