

Another War Lie Exposed:

Thailand—Nixon's Mercenary Ally in Vietnam War

Judge Rules Favorably
in Ernest Mandel Case

Gun-Running in Eire

***Soviet Scientists Defend
Medvedev Against Kremlin***

How Princeton Responded to Cambodia Escalation

New York's Black Ghettos Solidly Opposed to War



LANUSSE: Main figure in shuffle of Argentina's military regime. See page 596.

Colorless Nitrides

Thousands of people in Japan may have consumed dangerous chemicals along with a popular delicacy, Alaska pollack, according to the June 6 issue of the English-language paper *Japan Times Weekly*.

On May 30 a team of researchers at the National Institute of Health in Tokyo warned that chemicals used to treat various fish products can cause bleeding and cancer of the liver.

The chemicals are a group known as colorless nitrides and include sodium and potassium nitrate and nitrite. They do not provide any nutritional or preservative value, but are used to improve the color and appearance of meat and fish products. In recent months they have been widely used in Japan on Alaska pollack roe, salmon roe, and caviar.

The researchers have shown that when used on fish products the colorless nitrides react with naturally occurring chemicals in the fish to form dimethylnitroamine (DMNA).

DMNA has been known for some time to cause bleeding and cancer in the livers of test animals, even when administered in small amounts. Mice fed with only two to five parts per million of DMNA in their food for two months develop liver cancer.

Several years ago a large number of mink in Norway were killed by liver diseases after being fed herring fishmeal that contained DMNA.

The *Japan Times Weekly* does not attempt to estimate the number of people who may have consumed DMNA, but it notes that in 1968 alone Japan produced 25,000 tons of Alaska pollack roe. A spokesman for the National Institute of Health said that "limited tests" had so far not found any DMNA in fish samples, which would indicate that not all fish products have been treated with the colorless nitrides.

The head of the research team has called on the government to outlaw the use of colorless nitrides "as soon as practicable," which presumably means as soon as it won't interfere with profits. One of the nitrides, sodium nitrite, is already illegal but has been used anyway by food processors.

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Thailand's Interest in Vietnam: Straight Cash

In testimony before the U. S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee made public June 7, administration officials admitted that the American government has paid Thailand some \$200,000,000 since 1966 to send a token contingent of 10,000 Thai troops to Vietnam. Other inducements were a \$30,000,000 boost in American military aid for 1968 and 1969 and a battery of Hawk anti-aircraft missiles.

Senator Stuart Symington (Democrat of Missouri) released what the *Washington Post* described as an "extensively censored transcript" of the secret hearings held last November 11-17. The transcript revealed that the Thai troops were dispatched at the request of the United States, not merely of the Saigon government as hitherto claimed by Washington.

Both Washington and Bangkok had previously insisted that the troops were paid for by Thailand. In fact, the Thai Foreign Ministry issued a statement last December 16 asserting there "has been no payment from the United States to induce Thailand to send its armed forces to help South Vietnam defend itself against Communist aggression."

The Senate testimony showed that American "assistance" to the Thai unit in Vietnam included equipment, training, logistic support, overseas allowances amounting to more than the base pay of each man, mustering-out and death benefits, and entertainment allowances.

A Thai private receives \$26 a month from his own country, plus \$39 a month from the United States, which also provides the benefits and bonuses listed above. A Thai lieutenant general receives \$370 a month base pay, plus \$450 from the United States.

Even the base pay — an insignificant part of the cost of keeping the men in the field — presumably has come out of the \$2,190,900,000 which administration officials told the Senate committee the U. S. has given Thailand in military and economic aid since 1949.

(Foreign aid figures are notoriously understated for the military dictatorships that are Washington's special,

but embarrassing, protégés. For example, figures on foreign aid for the period 1946-1969 published in the *Congressional Record* on November 19 — two days after the Thailand hearings closed — credited Thailand with having received only \$1,144,900,000, little more than half of the "real" figure. If the "real" figure of \$2.19 billion is entered in the November 19 chart, Thailand ranks fourteenth out of 121 countries that have received U. S. "foreign assistance." At least six of the thirteen that received more cash than Thailand are major European powers such as West Germany, France, and Great Britain. They received their "aid" under the Marshall Plan decades ago.)

It was also noted in passing that the 42,000 U. S. troops in Thailand and the gigantic military apparatus they operate pump another \$200,000,000 a year into the Thailand economy.

Two American ambassadors to Thailand testified before the Senate committee. Both tried to picture the decision to send a Thai division to Vietnam as the responsibility of the Bangkok government. "But in different

ways both indicated that the United States had taken the initiative, starting in 1966," the June 8 *New York Times* reported, "and that Thailand would not have agreed without the assurance of American financial help."

The "assurance" came in a November 19, 1957, secret pact between Washington and Bangkok even the existence of which was denied at the time. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee was only given a "summary" of this document at its hearings last year. Except for a brief passage outlining the financial arrangements described above, this "summary" was censored out of the public version of the hearing record.

After they were promised cash benefits, the Thais sent the troops to Vietnam because they were requested to by the Government of Vietnam and by the Government of the United States," according to former U. S. Ambassador to Thailand Graham A. Martin. The censored version of the transcript did not indicate if Saigon's "request" to Bangkok also originated in Washington.

Yes, CIA Agents, And Not Only in Laos

On June 7, the same day it came to light that the U. S. was secretly paying Thailand to participate in the war in Vietnam, it was revealed that in Laos the CIA is carrying out military operations under cover of the American "aid" program.

The facts were admitted by John A. Hannah, head of the Agency for International Development (AID), during a radio interview in New York. When asked if his agency's economic aid program "is being used as a cover for CIA operations in Laos," Hannah replied:

"Well, I just have to admit that this is true. This was a decision that was made back in 1962 and by administrations from now until then, and it is the only place in the world that we are. . . ."

"We have had people that have been associated with the CIA and doing

things in Laos that were believed to be in the national interest but not routine AID operations."

These "things" that are not "routine AID operations" include the recruitment and training of the anti-Communist mercenary army of General Vang Pao, which takes its orders directly from the CIA. Other CIA activities include acting as air spotters and ground controllers for the massive bombing of areas of the country held by the Pathet Lao — estimated at 20,000 bombing sorties a month, higher than the bombing of North Vietnam before the "bombing halt."

The CIA agents pose as AID rural development workers, for which they are presumably supplied the necessary credentials by Hannah's agency.

The *New York Times* in a June 10 editorial called the disclosure "a body blow to the credibility of the peaceful

presence of the United States in neutral and friendly nations," adding that the fact "that it has thus persisted under three Presidents dramatizes the extent to which the debasement of national and diplomatic ethics has become a nonpartisan evil."

Even the bourgeois press was cynical about Hannah's assertion that

Laos was the "only place in the world" where the CIA operated through AID channels. The *New York Times* said "his claim that the situation in Laos is a unique transgression strains credulity."

Hannah is a man with long experience in providing respectable civilian cover for the CIA. This may have

been a not unimportant qualification when Nixon appointed him head of AID in 1969.

Hannah was president of Michigan State University when it agreed in 1955 to train police officers for the Ngo Dinh Diem dictatorship in Saigon. That program was secretly run by the CIA.

Coup d'Etat in Argentina

Military Junta Deposes General Onganía

"The Argentine republic cannot stand new confrontations outside the institutions created in June 1966," General Juan Carlos Onganía declared on the morning of June 8. "The time for putsches is past and will never return."

Later in the day, General Onganía, the military dictator of Argentina, was ousted by a junta composed of the chiefs of the three armed services. This latest coup came almost exactly four years after the one that put the general in power on June 20, 1966.

A change in government had been expected since the massive explosions of popular hostility to the regime that began in April 1969 and reached their peak in the Córdoba uprising of May 29-30 last year. Onganía had proved his inability, despite brutal repression and widespread arrests, to guarantee the stability desired by his bourgeois and imperialist backers.

The Argentine parliament has been closed since 1967. A state of siege has been in force for a year. Thus a change in the regime could be achieved through behind-the-scenes maneuvering or a violent confrontation between the opposing factions of the ruling armed forces. Apparently the internal conflicts in the military were too acute for peaceful resolution.

In the morning of June 8, the army commander, General Alejandro Agustín Lanusse, sent a demand to Onganía that he adopt a "political plan" for ruling the country. Such a plan was to involve cooperative rule by the military government and the commanders of the armed forces, as well as consultation with civilian leaders.

Lanusse was supported by Admiral Pedro J. Gnavi of the navy and Brigadier General Juan Carlos Rey of the



ONGANÍA: Throws in towel.

air force. The president responded to the ultimatum by announcing that he had fired Lanusse and had assumed personal command of the army.

Some 500 pro-Lanusse troops took up positions around the president's offices, a June 8 Associated Press dispatch reported. Onganía barricaded himself in with the support of heavily armed cavalry troops that remained loyal to him. The armed forces heads announced that troops under their command were moving on garrisons considered favorable to Onganía. They also announced that the infantry was moving into the Buenos Aires area to secure "military objectives."

"A big crowd of people from the city gathered on the immense Plaza de Mayo [in front of the president's house] to demonstrate their hostility to the chief of state but also to the military leaders that ousted him," correspondent Philippe Labreux wrote in the June 10 issue of *Le Monde*. "The police dispersed the demonstrators at nightfall."

The president surrendered in the late evening. "General Onganía drove to Army headquarters tonight and delivered his resignation after spending much of the afternoon and evening barricaded in Government House protected by 1,200 troops loyal to him. He spent five minutes with the military commanders and then left for his residence in the suburb of Olivos."

It is not clear why Onganía decided to give up meekly after indicating his determination to fight. The demonstrations in the Plaza de Mayo may have convinced him that an open battle between the rival military factions would open the way for a popular insurrection.

On June 9 the junta officially took power. Although all the press accounts agree that Lanusse is the real strongman in the new government, formal leadership is to be rotated among the three commanders.

Admiral Gnavi was the first to take the role of spokesman for the regime. He "criticized Onganía for having refused to move toward reestablishment of civilian rule," according to a June 9 dispatch from *New York Times* correspondent H. J. Maidenbergh.

Most of the capitalist commentators described Lanusse and the new junta as "liberals." However, this term has a somewhat different connotation in

Argentina than it does internationally. Argentine "liberals" combine old-fashioned laissez-faire economic principles with a preference for outwardly constitutional forms of rule. They tend to be closely linked to the big imperialist interests.

The junta's first decree "lauded the economic attainments of General Ongania, who cut the annual inflation rate to 6.6 per cent last year from around 30 per cent when he assumed power in 1966," Maidenberg wrote.

These "attainments" were the result of an austerity program which the unions estimate has reduced the real wages of the workers by 40 percent.

The other main faction in the armed forces, besides the liberals, is the "nationalist" sector. This grouping favors corporatist-type demagoguery involving some concessions to the workers and especially the union bureaucracies. It is also linked to national capital and is ready to oppose imperialist interests to a certain extent.

Following the 1969 explosions, Lanusse forced a purge of "nationalist" officers, including General Eduardo Uriburu, commander of the fifth army; and General Eduardo Labanca, the commander of "key elements" in the Buenos Aires garrison, according to John M. Goshko, writing in the January 3 issue of the *Washington Post*.

The influential Paris daily *Le Monde* reported that the June 8 coup was preceded by a struggle among the repressive forces. An editorial in the June 10 weekly English-language edition said: "The kidnapping on May 29 of former President Pedro Eugenio Aramburu, who had become an influential liberal opponent of General Ongania, apparently precipitated the crisis, for it is now almost certain that it was engineered by a parallel police force [unofficial police agents]."

"Army and navy leaders have been unhappy about the growth of police forces, which have become a tool in the hands of right-wing factions. These forces were responsible for the recent

kidnapping of a Soviet diplomat, and possibly that of the Paraguayan consul last March."

Lanusse may have feared that a proliferation of poorly controlled gangs of rightist thugs and gangsters on the police payroll would dangerously complicate the administration of a large and relatively modern country like Argentina. Moreover, the development of such groups would inevitably introduce terrorism into the conflicts within the ruling circles themselves.

In a press conference May 7 in the provincial city of Rosario, one of the centers of the recent unrest, Lanusse stressed that the repressive forces of the country were, in effect, engaged in a war against the people and that this war had to be conducted in an efficient manner:

"We are facing enemies who are not of the traditional kind, since they presently arise from the population of the country itself. Therefore all forces must be integrated in a common struggle. . . . I think we are at war."

Poll Taken by 'Muhammad Speaks'

New York's Black Ghettos Solidly Opposed to War

A recent poll shows overwhelming opposition to the war in Indochina among residents of the huge black ghettos in New York. The poll was conducted by the paper *Muhammad Speaks* and reported in its June 5 issue. *Muhammad Speaks* is the newspaper of the Nation of Islam or "Black Muslims."

The poll was conducted in three areas of New York City: Central Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, and East Harlem. In the latter area, those polled were primarily Spanish-speaking Blacks of Puerto Rican ancestry.

The sampling included 3,200 persons. They were asked their opinion of Nixon's decision to send troops into Cambodia. Only 2 percent approved; 8 percent said they had no opinion; and 90 percent were opposed.

By a margin of 81 to 12 percent, those polled said that the Indochina war was a racist war.

Few seemed to be taken in by Nix-

on's "Vietnamization" policy. Asked what the U.S. should do about the war now, only 9 percent favored a gradual withdrawal of troops; 73 percent said the U.S. should get out "as soon as possible"; and 10 percent said "immediately." An insignificant minority—1 percent—favored trying to win the war and 7 percent didn't know what plan they favored.

The pollsters also asked about attitudes toward participation in antiwar demonstrations. A majority of those polled—62 percent—had never joined in an antiwar demonstration or rally; 17 percent had attended such activities only once; and 21 percent had done so more than once.

Those who said they had never participated in an antiwar demonstration were asked why they had not done so. Only 1.5 percent said it was because they supported Nixon's policy. Another 15.5 percent said they didn't know why.

The often-heard explanation that Blacks identify antiwar demonstrations as a "white thing" was not borne out by the poll: only 12 percent gave this as a reason for not attending demonstrations.

The largest number, 41 percent, said that they had not had time to participate, and 22 percent gave personal reasons—"it's not my thing." Finally, 8 percent said they'd never been asked to attend a demonstration or rally.

The fact that 38 percent of the population of New York's black ghettos has participated in at least one antiwar action is highly significant, showing that there is a potential for involving large numbers of Blacks in active opposition to the U.S. aggression.

Likewise, the nearly unanimous opposition to the war revealed by the poll indicates that Blacks will be joining in mass antiwar demonstrations in larger and larger numbers.

Soviet Scientists Defend Medvedev Against Kremlin

By George Saunders

The arrest of a Soviet scientist prominent in the opposition movement has brought to a head a significant trend toward dissent in Soviet scientific circles, including leading figures in the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Jaurès A. Medvedev,* a geneticist and molecular biologist, was seized by security police and forcibly confined to a mental hospital on May 30. He had been head of the department of molecular biology at the Institute of Medical Radiology in Obninsk up to a year ago, at which time he was fired for not restricting himself to purely scientific writing—i.e., for taking oppositional political stands.

The arrest of Jaurès Medvedev was taken as a blow at dissident scientists in general. Obninsk, a specialized scientific community sixty miles south of Moscow that serves as a center for nuclear and other advanced research, has been the scene of considerable oppositional activity in recent years.

Author of monographs on the biosynthesis of proteins, on gerontology, and on genetics, Jaurès Medvedev is best known for his opposition to Trofim D. Lysenko. Lysenko was the intriguer and charlatan who dominated Soviet biology and agricultural sci-

ence under Stalin and whose advocacy of the inheritance of acquired characteristics made Soviet genetics the laughingstock of the scientific world. Lysenko's theory was attractive to the Kremlin bureaucracy—they even retained him throughout the Khrushchev era, though he was a notorious Stalin supporter—because he had a magical solution that was unbearably attractive to the Kremlin fatheads: the breeding of improved strains in a few generations. This promised a quick end to the agricultural crisis endemic since Stalin's disastrous collectivization through military-bureaucratic means instead of through example and persuasion.

The eventual ouster of Lysenko in 1965 is partly attributed to the efforts of Jaurès Medvedev in fighting the Lysenko school. Medvedev's views were aired in the Soviet press at one point (in the monthly magazine *Neva* in 1963). But the president of the Soviet Agricultural Academy blasted Medvedev's contribution in August of that year.

After that, and even after Lysenko had lost favor, officialdom refused to permit publication of Medvedev's views. The book he prepared on the subject, *The Rise and Fall of T.D. Lysenko*, was circulated only by Samizdat in the USSR. Copies got abroad, and the book has now been issued in an English translation by Columbia University Press (1969).

Thus Jaurès Medvedev was in the vanguard in the struggle to free science from Stalinist obscurantism; and because of that his arrest was taken as a serious threat to independent, critical thinking in Soviet science in general. Within a day, four members of the Soviet Academy of Sciences sent protest telegrams to the authorities in Kaluga, the regional capital and site of the mental hospital in which he was incarcerated. The academicians sending the telegrams were Pyotr Kapitsa and Andrei Sakharov, both nuclear physicists known for their efforts to win greater freedom of discussion;

Vladimir A. Englehardt, a biochemist; and Boris L. Astaurov, a geneticist.

Also sending telegrams were Aleksandr T. Tvardovsky, recently ousted as editor of *Novy Mir*, and Roy Medvedev, the twin brother of Jaurès.

This initial protest had some effect. A team of psychiatrists sent from Moscow to examine Jaurès Medvedev acknowledged on June 1 that he was normal but ordered him held for one week of "observation."

The men in the Kremlin have used the tactic of confining dissidents in "special psychiatric hospitals" as a way of avoiding public trials—which had bad results and sparked wider protests in the cases of Sinyavsky-Daniel, Ginzburg-Galanskov, and the Crimean Tatars. The cynical device of declaring someone insane means they can be put away indefinitely until they "come to their senses." And this tactic permits the Brezhnev-Kosygin regime to deny that any political issue is at stake.

Although Jaurès Medvedev was initially ruled normal, the fact that he was held for further observation was cause for concern.

When it was learned that a second team of psychiatrists from Moscow was going to examine Medvedev, concern turned to alarm. The composition of the "psychiatric commission" caused Medvedev's family and friends to protest emphatically.

"The seven-man commission," reports the June 6 *Washington Post*, "apparently included Grigory Morozov, director of the Serbsky Institute in Moscow, and D.R. Lunts of his staff. The Serbsky Institute is the clinic that has ruled a number of Soviet political dissidents insane. Lunts was named by former Maj. Gen. Pyotr Grigorenko as one of his harrowing examiners. Roy Medvedev reportedly appealed for the replacement of Morozov and Lunts on the commission by other doctors."

To protests about the Morozov-Lunts team, the regime responded by . . . having that team hurry up with its work. An emergency hearing was held

* Medvedev's first name is often transliterated as "Zhores"—from the Russian letters that represent that French name. Jean Jaures, French socialist leader martyred as a result of his stand against World War I, is a heroic figure in the revolutionary movement. Medvedev's parents obviously had strong internationalist feelings: his twin brother is named Roy, after an Indian Communist leader.

Roy Medvedev, a historian who has written a three-volume work on Stalin that circulates as Samizdat, has also been prominent as an oppositionist. In early 1969 Roy Medvedev wrote an open letter opposing the rehabilitation of Stalin, then being signaled by an article in *Kommunist*. In March of this year, Roy cosigned a programmatic document with Academician Andrei Sakharov and physicist V. F. Turchin. It urged democratization at a gradual pace, the freeing of all political prisoners, and improved industrial management to solve the economic difficulties of the country.

on June 4, a day ahead of schedule, and the commission ruled that Medvedev should be kept under examination for an entire month, instead of just one week.

A formal protest letter had been drafted in the meantime, addressed to the Soviet minister of health, the minister of internal affairs, and the prosecutor-general. A number of prominent scientists signed the statement, which expressed support for Medvedev and declared that the precedent of his arrest endangered any scientist who dissents.

The statement described Jaures Medvedev as "a major scientist whose public activity has played a role in exposing the antiscientific direction in Soviet biology and helped strengthen the international prestige of Soviet science."

It added that "his work on the problems of the international community of scientists shows the importance of creative ties for the progress of science and for the prevention of national tragedies like the well-known crisis of biology in the Soviet Union."

"The psychiatric health of J. A. Medvedev has never been in doubt," the statement continued, "and we are competent to judge as people familiar with his works. The forcible hospitalization is apparently connected with the public activity of J. A. Medvedev, which he pursued on strictly legal grounds, although perhaps this activity ran counter to the interests of some."

"Not one honest and principled scientist," the statement stressed, "will be sure of his own security if similar grounds can bring about his own repression in the form of confinement to a hospital for an indeterminate length of time, with the deprivation of all human rights, except the right to be an object of examination by doctors."

"The forcible hospitalization of J. A. Medvedev," it went on, "is illegal and provokes anxiety and alarm in the public mind. We the undersigned regard his immediate freeing as necessary. The ministry of public health must state publicly that the incident . . . was a violation of legality and medical ethics. Those guilty must be held responsible for illegally depriving J. A. Medvedev of his freedom."

Among the most prominent signers of this statement were Igor Y. Tamm, a physicist and Nobel Prize winner;

Mikhail A. Leontovich, a nuclear physicist; and Andrei Sakharov again.

Also signing were Aleksandr Yesenin-Volpin, a poet and mathematician; V. F. Turchin and L. V. Altshuller, physical mathematicians; G. A. Dvorkin and S. A. Kovalev, biologists; and V. N. Chalidze, a physicist. Signatures for the appeal were reportedly collected at a genetics conference in Moscow—a Hungarian biologist, Renata Kalas, was said to have added her name.

Besides his book on Lysenko, Jaures Medvedev has written a Samizdatbook called *International Cooperation of Scientists and National Borders*, which describes the "multistage, multichannel, hierarchical system" of harassments and red tape encountered in trying to maintain international contacts.

An open letter in December 1969 protesting the expulsion of Solzhenitsyn from the Soviet Writers Union is an-

other Samizdat work from the pen of Jaures Medvedev. It was because he wrote such "publicist" tracts as well as scientific ones that the authorities suspected him of being "schizophrenic," friends of the detained man said.

Soviet scientists had protested earlier this month against a more notorious instance of forcible confinement of an oppositionist in a mental hospital. Academicians Sakharov and Leontovich had joined with Valentin Turchin and Valery Chalidze to denounce the imprisonment of Grigorenko in a special mental hospital. Grigorenko was arrested a year ago in Tashkent and declared "schizophrenic" after a period of brutal mistreatment, and confined at a "hospital" in Kazan. According to reports, Grigorenko has recently been transferred to a similar institution in Chernyakhovsk in former East Prussia.

Peru

Rich Families First in Earthquake Rescue

The rescue operations for victims of the recent earthquake in Peru have mired down in favoritism and official concern with the preservation of "law and order."

Georgie Anne Geyer, in a *Chicago Daily News* wire service article printed June 9, reported that the first planes to fly out of the earthquake area were filled, not with any of the thousands of poverty-stricken Indians left injured or homeless, but with "the sleek, pants-suited wives and mothers of Peruvian officials."

The Velasco regime seems concerned only that someone "important" might be missed. What happens to the Indians is a trivial matter. Geyer quotes a Peruvian student working as a volunteer: "All you hear on the radio is about the mama of this official being saved and the bishop so-and-so. You know, I think they worry too much about the priests."

An American relief official said: "The Peruvians tend to take care of their friends first. It's shocking to see how much they despise the Indians."

The Velasco regime has also been busy defending private property in the region. Planes into the earthquake area, which are supposed to be car-

rying medicine, more often carry soldiers armed with machine guns. As one army officer put it, "We have to keep order in the valley. That is the most important thing."

In the town of Huaraz the army has been adding to the quake's death toll—estimated at more than 50,000—by shooting looters. While still more troops were being flown in, six American doctors who had volunteered to treat the injured were forced to wait in Lima for two days because of "lack of transport."

One American official estimated that failures in the relief effort caused 2,000 to 3,000 needless deaths in the 48 hours following the quake. "During that time," he said, "all those who were seriously wounded died, usually of gangrene. Now the ones you evacuate are likely to live anyway."

Geyer says that even ten days after the disaster there is still "very little sense of urgency on the part of the Peruvians."

There has been similarly little urgency on the part of the Nixon administration. American army personnel, who asked to use twenty-seven helicopters stationed in Panama for rescue work, were told there was "no money" to send the aircraft.

Judge Rules Favorably in Ernest Mandel Case

Judge Bartels ruled favorably in the Brooklyn Federal Court June 12 on a motion brought by Ernest Mandel and eight scholars from leading Eastern universities to grant a three-judge panel to hear their case against Attorney General Mitchell and Secretary of State Rogers, restraining the government from barring the Belgian Marxist from the United States.

A three-judge court is required to decide the constitutional validity to secure an injunction restraining the enforcement of his exclusion under the McCarran Act.

The decision clears the first hurdle in obtaining a judicial determination of the First Amendment right of Americans to hear all dissenting viewpoints without censorship. The suit is the first challenge to the restrictive provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act under which Mandel's visa application for an American speaking tour was twice denied last year by arbitrary edict of the attorney general.

The plaintiffs, who were represented by the noted constitutional lawyer Leonard Boudin, contend that the barring of Mandel restricts their right to hear the opinions of other scholars in their field and to engage in direct debate with them. In his argument Boudin pointed out that a series of U. S. Supreme Court decisions made since 1962 had established new precedents which placed the right to hear on a par with the right to speak.

The judge asserted that there was a conflict of two principles involved in this case. One was the traditional power of Congress and the government to decide who should be admitted to the country; the other was the constitutional right of the people to hear dissenting views.

The government attorney contended that American citizens had no such right, especially where aliens are concerned. The judge found this position unconvincing in rendering his decision.

The implications of the Mandel case have since been broadened by the subsequent exclusion of his wife, Gisela Mandel, and Mrs. W. E. B. DuBois

from the United States on the same grounds.

The action was brought by the following scholars: Prof. David Marmelstein, Department of Social Sciences, Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn; Prof. Wassily Leontief, Department of Economics, Harvard University; Prof. Norman Birnbaum, Department of Anthropology-Sociology, Amherst College; Prof. Robert Heilbroner, Department of Economics, New School for Social Research; Prof. Robert

Wolff, Department of Philosophy, Columbia University; Associate Prof. Louis Menashe, Department of Social Sciences, Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn; Richard A. Falk, Millbank Professor of International Law, Princeton University; Noam Chomsky, Department of Linguistics, MIT.

The case was initiated by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee with the support of the American Foundation for Social Justice and the Socialist Scholars Conference.

Interviewed by 'Le Soir'

Ernest Mandel at Home in Brussels

[The following article, which appeared in the June 7-8 issue of the Brussels daily *Le Soir*, Belgium's most important newspaper, gives a good indication of how public opinion outside the United States takes the decision of Attorney General Mitchell barring Ernest Mandel from being heard by American audiences. The article signed by "C. de G." is written in popular style, and the statements attributed to Mandel are obviously truncated or incorrectly condensed in some instances. We have nevertheless translated the full text of the article for the information of our readers.]

* * *

The house is inconspicuous, a little rundown. Nothing suggests the presence of an organizer of the world revolution, of the man sometimes called the Pope of the Fourth International, or Ernesto Che Mandel, who is considered by some to be the supreme leader of the Trotskyists. In fact, the man who opens the door, a little cautiously, doesn't at all fit his romantic legend.

Ernest Mandel, the editor in chief of the weekly *La Gauche socialiste et révolutionnaire*, has a thoroughly respectable look, befitting the size of the editions in which his books are print-

ed. He ranks third among the Belgian authors published abroad. "Of course," he says with a big laugh, "I am beaten by Simenon [a writer of detective stories] and Hergé. But still I am becoming an item in the consumer society."

We make our way through mountains of books, magazines, pamphlets, and files standing almost everywhere and a little precariously, to reach a little office. Here, if we are to believe the legend, the world revolution is planned in the privacy of one man's thought. I see only books and the picture of a young girl.

Ernest Mandel's at once incriminating and flattering reputation has gotten him two consecutive denials of a visa to enter the United States. He has also found himself refused entry into Australia. His wife shares the ostracism he has been subjected to on the other side of the Atlantic. I have come to ask him what the reasons are for this.

"My case is an example," he said with a good humor that no misadventure seemed likely to daunt. "But that isn't my fault. The American Department of Justice on the one hand and the American left on the other are responsible for that. I went to the United States twice without any difficulties. It was only in 1969 that they dug up a minor provision in a

law passed during the dark days of McCarthyism. But they didn't raise the question of my being a member of a far left organization. They invoked section 211 D 3A of the law which denies entry into the United States to all persons who spread or encourage the spread of works advocating the economic doctrine of Communism.

"In 1968 I was asked for a list of the thirty or so universities where I was to speak, but I was not formally forbidden to depart from this itinerary. I did so only once, and this was held against me in 1969.

"Likewise, I was charged with collecting funds for a foreign organization. In fact, I only attended a film showing on the May events in Paris. An auction of posters was held there. I had nothing to do with it.

"What was more peculiar was that the Justice Department brought up the reaction my lectures got in the press. A Wall Street paper, *Barron's*, violently attacked the passage in one of my speeches where I predicted a revolutionary change in the structures of society.

"But you know, America is wonderful. The debate I was supposed to have with the economist Galbraith took place anyway . . . by telephone. Anything is possible over there . . ."

The "Pope" of the revolution has good reason to admire America, at least one America — the America of the five university professors who have taken his side in a suit against the violation of a right protected by the American constitution, the right to hear what you want where you want to.

"Yes, America is really wonderful. Already in 1960 the liberals won a big court battle which made a dead letter of a paragraph of the 1952 law permitting the denial of a passport to any member of a so-called subversive organization. Today we want to knock out another paragraph of this same law for the benefit of foreigners, the section that was invoked to deny me a visa."

There was no ill-temper, no bitterness in his remarks. He communicated an unshakeable optimism, which befits this robust native of Antwerp. He carries his forty-six years well. And a few very difficult years, which gave him his at least nonconformist views, seem to have made little mark on him. [Mandel was imprisoned in a Nazi

concentration camp during World War II. — *IP*].

"Now things are going much better," he confided. "My books are doing well. My *Traité d'Economie Marxiste*¹ has been translated into nine languages, including Japanese, and the number of copies sold is approaching 100,000. And after all the subject is a little dry . . ."

The author, however, is not. He tried, with an amused conviction, to dispel the murky legend surrounding him.

"Of course," he said, "I am a revolutionist. But revolution will never come about as the result of a plot. Trotskyists and others are trying to understand the third age of the industrial revolution, which has seen the reintroduction of intellectual work into production. Today a battle is being waged for power within the plants.

"We [Trotskyists] are still what we were forty years ago—a vanguard which preserves class consciousness

1. The English edition entitled *Marxist Economic Theory* is available from Pathfinder Press, Inc., 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. The price is \$15 for two volumes. — *IP*

through the ups and downs of the social struggle. Force? We do not believe in the kind of force the Maoists do, but in the force applied by the masses, who will establish socialism in the plants and businesses through strikes. The masses will make the revolution. No 'Pope' or plotter will make the revolution. Everything but mass action is in the realm of penny dreadfuls, born out of imaginations perverted by an inability to understand social processes."

Two hours slip by unnoticed. Ernest Mandel talks, evoking the red universities of Chicago, the million unemployed graduates in India, the originality of the Cuban revolution. He returns, as if fascinated, to the United States.

"Do you know," he says, "one of my books, *Introduction à la doctrine économique*,² sells a thousand copies a month there. It seems to me that this visa business is senseless."

And for the first time his broad smile is marked by a subtle irony.

2. The English edition, *An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory*, can be ordered from Pathfinder Press, Inc., 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. The price is \$1. — *IP*

Union Office Raided by Police

Trinidad Blacks Charged With 'Sedition'

Nine Black Power advocates arrested in Trinidad have been formally charged with sedition.

The June 1 issue of *Contrast*, a Black paper published in Toronto, reported that the nine persons charged at the end of May were:

George Weekes, president-general of the Oilfield Workers' Trade Union [OWTU]; Geddes Granger, chairman of the National Joint Action Committee [NJAC]; Clive Nunez, public relations officer of the NJAC; Winston Lennard, research officer of the OWTU; Winston Suite, university graduate; Chan Maharaj, chairman of the National Youth Organization; Dave Darbeau, university graduate; Errol Balfour, University of the West Indies undergraduate; and Delano De Coteau; also called "Abdul Malik."

Weekes, Granger, Nunez, Darbeau,

and Suite succeeded in obtaining writs of habeas corpus ordering their release, but the government continues to hold them under new detention orders.

Contrast also reported that heavily armed police had searched the offices of the OWTU, and had carried off such "incriminating" evidence as films, materials for private printing jobs from the union's printshop, and a copy of the union constitution. Authority for the search, said the police, was granted them under the emergency regulations decreed by the Eric Williams government on April 21.

British novelist Graham Greene has resigned his honorary post in the U.S. Academy of Liberal Arts to express his opposition to the war in Indochina, reported *Prensa Latina* on June 5.

Why Lynch Ousted Haughey, Blaney from Cabinet

By Gerry Foley

"An extremely dangerous situation clearly now exists in Ireland," correspondent John Allan May wrote in the May 8 issue of the Boston *Christian Science Monitor* following revelations that members of the Eire government were involved in illegal importation of arms.

In a front-page editorial May 12 the influential Paris daily *Le Monde* stressed the "worry of British official circles" who "fear both a revival of violence in Ulster and the deterioration of the political situation in the two Irelands."

At 2:50 a.m., May 6, Eire's prime minister John Lynch announced that he had dismissed two vociferous right-wing ministers from his cabinet. At the same time telegrams were sent to the members of parliament of the ruling Fianna Fáil party summoning them to a special meeting at 6:00 p.m.

The morning papers carried Lynch's statement that he had dismissed Charles J. Haughey, minister of finance; and Neil T. Blaney, minister of agriculture, because "I am satisfied that they do not subscribe fully to Government policy in relation to the present situation in the Six-Counties as stated by me at the Fianna Fáil Ard-Fheis (convention) January last."

At his party's convention in the third week of January, Lynch ruled out the use of force by the Eire government to solve the situation in Northern Ireland.

Rumors of gun-running had been rife for weeks. "In the last few weeks," John M. Lee wrote in the *New York Times* May 7, ". . . startling information is said to have come to light in Dublin, some of it supplied by British counter-intelligence, concerning arms smuggled from the Continent to the Irish Republic and then across the border."

Blaney's political base is in Donegal, the poor northernmost county of Eire, an area isolated by the partition of the country and having a pro-British Protestant minority. According to press accounts, his father was sen-

tenced to death by the British authorities during the 1916-1922 independence struggle, but the sentence was not carried out.

Naturally, the anti-Catholic pogroms in Northern Ireland put special pressure on Blaney. Moreover, his family background gave him some nationalist credentials. Since the August-September 1969 explosions in Northern Ireland, Blaney has been the most prominent "hawk" in the Fianna Fáil government.

The extent of Blaney's nationalistic convictions can be measured, however, by the fact that he has been an outspoken opponent of the campaign to abolish the remaining feudal prerogatives of the lords of the British ascendancy in Eire.

Haughey is a representative of the urban business class, of the land and real-estate speculators, loan sharks, and petty industrialists who make up the "modern" sector of the Irish bourgeoisie. His dismissal was the one most regretted by the Irish capitalist press. Haughey's attack on student demonstrators at the Fianna Fáil election rally in Dublin June 16, 1969, may indicate his political posture.

Haughey said, according to the June 17 issue of the *Irish Times*, that the student demonstration "showed what could happen if the left-wing intellectuals got control of this country. These people wanted to introduce hatred, strife and class warfare philosophy. Fianna Fáil rejected this alien philosophy, and he believed the Irish people would reject it also . . . 'We knew,' he said, 'that our rally here tonight would attract every anarchist, subversive longhaired atheist and queer in the country . . .'"

Although the ousted ministers were said to have received pledges of support from some Fianna Fáil deputies, there was reportedly no attempt to challenge Lynch's move at the 6:00 p.m. meeting.

At 10:00 p.m. the Dáil (lower house of the Irish parliament) reconvened.

Lynch delivered a speech explaining his action. He had received information April 20 and 21, he said, that Blaney and Haughey were involved in "alleged attempts to unlawfully import arms."

Lynch explained that the two ministers denied the charge and had twice refused to resign. He was forced to dismiss them when the arms scandal leaked out.

The details of the incident were revealed by Liam Cosgrave, the leader of the traditional proimperialist Fine Gael (the Irish party). Cosgrave told the body that he had received information that Haughey had arranged to bring in \$192,000 worth of small arms from Europe without customs inspection.

Lynch assured the deputies that "this was the only intended importation of arms of the two members" and that "these arms have not been imported and have not been landed in this country."

On May 7 Lynch, whose party has an absolute majority in the Dáil, won a vote of confidence. On May 9 at 9:35 p.m. he made a full report to parliament on the case.

The developments that led to the discovery of the arms plot started April 17, Lynch said, when the Dublin cargo terminal of Aer Lingus, the state airline, requested instructions on bringing in a consignment of arms from Vienna to Dublin airport. He explained that Irish air traffic regulations require planes carrying arms to get clearance from the Department of Transport and Power.

The transport official who answered the call from Aer Lingus telephoned the Department of Justice to ask advice. The official in the latter department thought that there was something strange about the case and tried to consult his minister, Micheal O Morain. When he found that both the minister and his parliamentary secretary were "in consultation," he called Chief Superintendent Fleming of the

Garda (police) and asked for a report.

Lynch assured the deputies that the police had complied promptly with the request. After first consulting together, and then with police officials, the minister of justice and his parliamentary secretary decided to let the arms come in. They established a watch on Dublin airport. When the arms did not arrive there, the watch was extended to other airports around the country.

Lynch intervened on Monday, April 20, he said, to ensure "that this alert would be as effective as it possibly could be made." In the meantime, the police conducted investigations and took statements. The reports given to Lynch April 21 indicated that members of the government were involved in bringing in guns.

On the following day, April 22, Lynch said he called Haughey, who was one of those mentioned in the report. He was informed that the minister of finance was not in, that he had been delayed by injuries suffered in a fall from a horse.

Haughey was due in parliament that afternoon to introduce the government's budget. At 1:00 p.m. a Department of Finance official told Lynch that Haughey had been injured more seriously than first reported and might be unable to introduce the budget.

Lynch was later told that Haughey suffered a fractured skull, a burst eardrum, and a fractured clavicle, and was unable to discuss any serious matters. The prime minister was not given permission to talk to Haughey until April 29. Even then, Lynch said, the injured minister could hardly talk. Official inquiries were allegedly delayed by Haughey's health.

The minister of justice Micheal O Morain, another right-winger associated with the two accused ministers, was out of the picture during the investigations in the hospital, according to Lynch. O Morain resigned May 4.

At the same time he announced the dismissal of Blaney and Haughey, Lynch reported: "Caoimhghin O Beolain, Minister for Local Government and Social Welfare, has tendered his resignation as a member of the Government, and I propose to advise the President to accept it." Kevin Boland (the English form of his name which he apparently uses for other

than ceremonial occasions) told the press that he had resigned in protest against the dismissal of Blaney. The following day (May 7) he accused Lynch of setting up a superpolice agency to spy on cabinet members.

Lynch admitted in his May 9 speech that a watch had been put on the telephones and mail of the implicated ministers. But, in answer to Boland, he strenuously denied that such measures had been applied previously against any members of the cabinet.

The police investigations indicated that Captain James Kelly, an Eire intelligence officer operating in Northern Ireland, was implicated in the attempted gun-running. When Kelly was questioned May 1, he refused to talk to anyone but the minister of defense James Gibbons.

Gibbons advised Kelly to tell everything he knew and then left the police station. Captain Kelly began to make a statement but, after answering the preliminary questions, decided not to talk.

"Captain Kelly apparently had said that if he was brought to the Taoiseach [prime minister] he would name names," the pro-Fine Gael *Sunday Independent* reported May 10. "He [Lynch] had readily agreed to see Captain Kelly and after 20 minutes the Captain and Chief Supt. Fleming arrived at his office. He asked Captain Kelly if he would prefer to talk to him alone, or with the Chief Supt., and he had asked the Secretary of his Department to be ready, if needed, to come in.

"He told Captain Kelly if he was going to make a statement he would like to have a witness to [corroborate] what was said, but Captain Kelly objected to the Secretary of the Department coming in. He then refused to tell anything."

In the subsequent Dáil debate, Gibbons claimed that evidence of the arms plot had come to his attention through the director of intelligence. He said, according to the May 15 issue of the Dublin biweekly *Hibernia*, that "he had recently formed the opinion that Captain Kelly was becoming unsuitable for the type of work he was employed at, that certain suspicions were forming in his mind, and that throughout he [Gibbons] had fully honoured the

obligations placed on him by the Taoiseach."

Following Gibbons's statement in the Dáil, Kelly made the following declaration:

"Under privilege of the Dail, Mr. Gibbons has attacked me. Any work which I did was brought to the knowledge of Mr. Gibbons at any and every opportunity.

"I got home to find my family in a hysterical condition on account of what has been said by Mr. Gibbons in the Dail. Other relatives of mine throughout the country who are not in touch with the situation are bound to be similarly affected.

"I met Mr. Gibbons in his office in Leinster House as recently as Wednesday night, April 29, and discussed the situation with him as it then existed. We parted on amiable terms. Mr. Gibbons had indicated on several occasions that I was doing an excellent job for the country as an intelligence officer.

"When I was arrested by the Special Branch on May 1, I claimed privilege and asked that Mr. Gibbons be called. He came to the office of Chief Superintendent Fleming of the Special Branch where we had a conversation in the presence of Superintendent Fleming.

"Mr. Gibbons's advice to me was to tell everything I knew concerning my activities as an intelligence officer. In the event, I rejected this advice because of the implications involved.

"It was then suggested that I speak to the Taoiseach. I did so.

"Before he left the office of Superintendent Fleming, Jim Gibbons, in my hearing, indicated that I was a competent and highly respected officer of Defense Forces and that I was to be treated as such."

Lynch said that another person involved in the case, who could not yet be named because of security reasons, had made a fairly comprehensive statement that largely corroborated what earlier reports had shown. He also claimed to have received additional evidence on May 2, which he could not reveal.

"The Taoiseach went on to say," the *Sunday Independent* of May 10 reported, "that he had already told the House, in relation to the action that he subsequently took in asking two

Ministers to resign, he felt that he would have to take that action, not on the basis of legal proof but whether either or both Ministers were touched by the slightest suspicion following these investigations."

Despite the indications of Gibbons's involvement in the arms plot, he was not ousted from the government. He was, however, shifted from his post in the defense department to the job of minister of agriculture.

Additional charges against Gibbons were made in the May 29 issue of *Hibernia*. Proinsias Mac Aonghusa wrote that he had learned that military intelligence officers arranged a meeting with leaders of the Irish Republican Army (IRA, a secret militant nationalist organization) in September 1969.

After the first meeting, the officers were said to be accompanied by a brother of a cabinet minister "who gave the impression, then and later, that he was acting for and on behalf of the minister."

"The Intelligence Officers, when questioned, declared that they were working for and on behalf of their political head, the *Minister for Defense, Mr. James Gibbons, T. D.* [Teachta Dála — member of parliament], and with his consent," Mac Aonghusa wrote. (Emphasis in original.)

The officers wanted to know what kind of weapons the IRA had and specifically what equipment they had for defensive action in Belfast. They wanted to know where arms could be bought secretly. "Certain people," they said, wanted to build up the national army without the British finding out about it. They offered to buy guns for the IRA, if they were given information as to clandestine sources.

The IRA spokesman reportedly rejected the offer but said that his organization would accept money for buying guns. The intelligence officers are supposed to have given the IRA about \$5,000. But they posed a series of conditions for further aid.

All of the IRA leaders considered left wing were to be removed. All militant republican activities in Eire, such as the campaign for housing, against feudal prerogatives, against landlordism were to cease. The headquarters of the IRA and all the military equip-

ment in its possession were to be moved to Northern Ireland.

"The I.R.A. considered these proposals," Mac Aonghusa wrote: "It was believed that what the Government really wanted was to export revolution, to end the I.R.A. and the whole republican movement in the South and establish in the North a purely military, nonpolitical and, probably, Catholic sectarian armed volunteer force taking its orders secretly from the Government or, perhaps, from certain selected members of the Government. The I.R.A. kept the money already received, rejected the Intelligence Officers' proposals and also informed them that negotiations were now absolutely ended and that the I.R.A. had no wish to meet or to deal with them further."

A Dublin correspondent of *Intercontinental Press* writes that he learned the following facts from sources in Fianna Fáil, the IRA, and the Irish army:

"In August 1969 five officers from G2 (Irish Army Intelligence) were detached for special duties, not specified at the time but generally concerned with the collection of intelligence in the Northern Ireland area. At a later date their orders were altered — whether with or without the collusion of Defence Minister Jim Gibbons is not yet clear — and became very specific indeed. The officers were now to:

"(a) Offer the IRA Army Council arms in return for information on how to import them illicitly.

"(b) Attempt to subvert the IRA Army Council and turn it away from the socialist policies of its political wing, Sinn Féin.

"(c) Import arms and distribute them in the North to 'safe' (i.e., reliable) men who support the Blaney/Haughey policies.

"(d) Establish a political front to support this paramilitary group, especially by means of the paper *Voice of the North*."

Lynch denied in his May 9 speech that any state funds were involved in the arms transactions, claiming that he did not know where the money for the guns came from.

Lynch also denied that Micheal O Morain had any connection with the case. The minister of justice had resigned for reasons of health, he said.

Lynch's explanation was challenged in the press.

Hibernia wrote May 23: "The role of the Minister for Justice in those first vital days from April 17th when the first suspicions of the Secret Service were aroused is still open to a lot of questions. Specifically we know that he was absent from his office ('in the West of Ireland' according to the Taoiseach) on Monday and Tuesday, April 20th and 21st. And he was presumably there for the weekend of April 18th and 19th. There is no evidence to suggest that Micheal O Morain was directly involved, but it looks extremely likely that he got out of town when the all-too-embarrassing information began to come through."

Cosgrave gave this version in the *Dáil* May 6: "The affair came to the notice of the Garda authorities and the Garda officer in charge. A senior Garda official informed the commissioner, who sought a directive from the Department of Justice, in view of a suggestion from an official in the Department of Finance that the Minister for Finance had authorized the passage through customs of this illegal consignment. When advice was sought by the Garda no directive was given and when it appeared to the Garda that the situation was not being handled with proper seriousness a further request for a directive from the Minister for Justice was made. At this stage the matter was notified to the Taoiseach and eventually, after a lot of dithering, the authority from the Department of Finance was dropped."

Cosgrave indicated that he had forced Lynch's hand in the gun case: "Last night at approximately 8:00 p.m. I considered it my duty in the national interest to inform the Taoiseach of information I had received and which indicates a situation of such gravity for the nation that it is without parallel in this country since the foundation of the State."

Hibernia commented May 15: "Because of the pattern of events on Tuesday night [May 5] (8.0 p.m. Cosgrave goes to Lynch, 10.0 p.m. Blaney and Haughey sacked), Mr. Cosgrave was able to claim that it was only because of his action in going to the Taoiseach that Mr. Lynch was prevented from covering up the whole affair."

Cosgrave had learned of the affair

as early as April 20, when Lynch claims to have first heard of it, according to *Hibernia*. Cosgrave is supposed to have received an unsigned note on Garda stationery May 5 that confirmed his suspicions.

The pro-Fine Gael *Sunday Independent* reported May 10: "On Thursday morning, April 30, a full account of what had happened was laid on the desk of the Editor of the 'Sunday Independent.' It was presented in the form of a questionnaire asking what had happened to a consignment of between six to seven tons of automatic arms which had been delivered at Vienna airport on April 17 for transmission to Dublin.

"It was also asked who had authorized the safe passage of the arms through the Customs at Dublin and who were the people close to members of the Cabinet who had organized the gun-running operation."

The *Sunday Independent* editor did not print the story, "holding that the proper place to have the matter raised was in the Dáil."

The involvement of conflicting political forces is suggested by the fact that information about the arms shipment reached the parliamentary opposition, and by the indications of conspiracy and maneuvering in government circles.

Fine Gael is the successor of the Cumann na nGaedheal (Irish Association) party organized by the supporters of the Anglo-Irish "compromise" of 1922, which provided for partition of the country and certain limitations on the independence of the formally free part of the country.

With British financial and military aid, the first Cumann na nGaedheal government under William T. Cosgrave, the father of the present opposition leader, defeated a challenge by the supporters of full independence—an Irish republic encompassing the whole island—in a bloody civil war.

In the 1930s General Eóin O'Duffy, former military leader and police head under the Cumann na nGaedheal government, formed a fascist paramilitary force known as the "Blueshirts" for use primarily against militant nationalists, many of whom had developed radical social views.

Both Cumann na nGaedheal and its successor party have traditionally fa-

vored accommodation with British imperialism.

The Fianna Fáil* party was formed in 1926 by Eamonn De Valera, who had been the political leader of the anti-treaty forces in the civil war. De Valera had tried to win the Irish Republican Army, the secret military force of the antitreatyites, to an electoral perspective. When he was outvoted in the Army Council, he left the IRA to form his own party.

Fianna Fáil had the formal aim of winning the objectives of the antitreaty forces by parliamentary means — i.e., a united Irish republic, independent politically, economically, and culturally (restoration of Irish as the first language of the country, etc.) from Britain. Implicit in achieving an Irish republic was implementation of the progressive program adopted by the Irish revolutionary government in 1919.

De Valera came to power in 1932 and since that time Fianna Fáil has been the normally dominant party in the country. Although at first this party promoted greater economic independence, it accepted the division of the country into two religiously based statelets — that is, the domination of the northeastern six counties by the old Protestant ascendancy established and maintained by British power; and the domination of the nationalist community by the Catholic church, traditionally linked to conservative interests and opposed to the establishment of an independent united Irish republic.

De Valera suppressed the intransigent republicans and isolated them by means of pseudonationalist and reformist demagoguery.

At the end of the 1950s Fianna Fáil abandoned the last remnants of its timid bourgeois economic nationalism, inviting in foreign investment and

* The name of this party can be interpreted in various ways. Literally it means "Soldiers of Destiny." The word "fal," however, is also one of the poetic names of Ireland. The word "fian" is sometimes used for "soldiers" but it also means members of a legendary army formed to defend the country against the Romans and is the origin of the name Fenian, the nineteenth century radical nationalist current. The Irish name of the IRA is Oglaihn na h-Eireann, "Soldiers of Ireland." Fianna Fail could be interpreted to have the same meaning.

orienting toward reincorporation in the United Kingdom.

Despite the fact that the real difference between the "civil war parties" has narrowed to the vanishing point, Fianna Fáil continues to enjoy support based on its nationalist reputation. In a country whose mentality is dominated by thwarted national aspirations, the pseudonationalist appeal of this well-oiled electoral machine is an important, perhaps decisive, factor of stability.

The apparent dividing line in Irish politics has been generally national versus antinational rather than left-right. Fine Gael has a right wing close to the Catholic hierarchy, the remnants of the old imperialist ascendancy, and the most parasitic and reactionary sections of the Catholic bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. It also has a "left," or liberal wing, that tends to reflect the attitudes of the urban middle class.

Fine Gael used the arms scandal to present itself as the party of "respectability," "sound government," and "peace."

"The Fine Gael attack varied from Ritchie Ryan's accusations of treason to Tom O'Higgins's reference to a banana republic," *Hibernia* said in its May 15 issue. "Garret FitzGerald who summed up for Fine Gael, anticipating the power struggle in Fianna Fail, concentrated his attack on Mr. Blaney — 'a most ruthless, unscrupulous man.' He continued: 'He could yet capture power in Fianna Fail. But one thing is certain, the world and everyone in Northern Ireland should know this: in no conceivable circumstances will he ever be Taoiseach. The vast majority of those who vote for Fianna Fail are loyal to the State . . .'"

Hibernia's comment was: "Future events in the North and the constitution of the Fianna Fail party [which declares the party's dedication to achieving an all-Ireland republic] could give more than one interpretation to 'loyal to the State.'"

The *Sligo Champion* wrote: "Never in the history of this State has an Opposition been charged with such grave responsibilities. The people can take considerable comfort from the fact that such men as Liam Cosgrave, Brendan Corish, Conor Cruise O'Brien, David Thornly, Garret FitzGerald, Tom O'Higgins, Justin Keating, Paddy Harte, Barry Desmond, and a host of others

have defended our democratic institutions against the would-be anarchists."

Even before the arms scandal blew up, Fine Gael seemed to be pushing for a crackdown on the radical nationalists. In its April 17-30 issue *Hibernia*, which seems to be closest to the "liberal" wing of Fine Gael, ran a big exposé-type article suggesting that the Fianna Fáil government had taken a soft attitude to Saor Eire (Free Ireland), a militant split-off group from the IRA alleged to have committed a series of robberies. Similar accusations were pressed by Gerry L'Estrange, a Fine Gael deputy.

Press reports indicated that the Irish Labour party was supporting the Fine Gael attack in the Dáil. This party, which has only partial support from the trade-union movement, is an ultra-opportunist formation. Many Labour deputies from rural areas are strictly independent operators, too right wing even to be characterized as Social Democrats.

After the Irish Congress of Trade Unions moved closer to the Labour party in the recent period and a modest left wing developed, many in Ireland looked to this party for a socialist alternative. It waged a leftist "modernist" campaign in the 1969 general elections. Instead of gaining seats as expected, however, it suffered serious losses outside the Dublin area under a ferocious red-baiting assault from Fianna Fáil. A right-wing trend set in, expressed in a drift toward a coalition with Fine Gael and abandonment of the "Workers Republic" perspective the party had adopted.

The shift toward a coalition perspective was evident at the party convention early this year. "Every second speaker at the private debate on coalition yesterday, however, was for coalition or, at least, a review of the present position, and there were clear indications that many delegates, as well as the party leader, Mr. Brendan Corish, are now prepared to reconsider their stand," the *Irish Press* political correspondent wrote February 2.

In by-elections this spring, leading Labourite David Thornly called on Labour supporters to give their second-preference votes to a Fine Gael candidate.

During the nationalist uprisings in the North in August-September 1969, most of the Labour deputies went on a mission to London to try to per-

suade the British Labour government to institute reforms in order to calm the situation. Conor Cruise O'Brien, considered a left-winger in the Irish context, appealed to the British government to accept a U. N. peace-keeping team in the North.

O'Brien criticized Lynch for making a few mildly militant gestures at the time of the fighting, such as reasserting the Irish government's interest in the North, making a pretense of sending Irish army units to the border, threatening to raise the partition question in the U. N., and carrying out a token propaganda campaign against the imperialist-imposed division of the country.

The opportunist Labour party would make a perfect coalition partner for Fine Gael. It would give a "progressive" cover to the reactionary interests behind Fine Gael; and its brand of "socialist internationalism," "modernism," and "realism" could serve as camouflage for capitulation to imperialism.

Hibernia gave credit for discovery of the plot to the state bureaucracy: ". . . the independence of that much-maligned citizen, the Irish Civil Servant, has again been vindicated. Whether they were Customs officials, Aer Lingus employees, or servants of the State in Finance, Justice or the Guards [police], their integrity proved our essential difference to the wholly corrupt Banana Republic. The political bullies didn't have it all their own way and please God they never will."

The Irish civil service was established under the Cumann na nGaedheal regime and represented in fact nothing more than a continuation of the British institutions, with increased employment of Catholics. It has always tended to be antinational in spirit and attitude. Moreover, its antinational character seems to have been strengthened in recent years as the result of increasingly direct ties with the British establishment.

A good example of this development is the obvious cooperation of British and Irish security forces. In November 1969 the police agent Joseph Brady claimed in a Dublin court that members of the IRA tried to liquidate him when they discovered he was an informer. Brady, whose family lives in Ireland, admitted that he had returned to his native country while a member

of the British army in order to gather information on the IRA.

With the advice of the Garda Special Branch, Brady infiltrated the IRA. "He [Brady] also said that, in the course of his activities, he had used different names and that he had had contact with the Royal Ulster Constabulary in Northern Ireland," the *Irish Times* reported November 18, 1969.

The *United Irishman*, the monthly organ of Sinn Féin, the political arm of the republican movement, published charges in its May 1969 issue of collaboration between police in Eire and in the British-dominated enclave of Northern Ireland:

"'Riot squads' have been organised for Dublin, Cork, Limerick and Galway. The very latest techniques have been introduced and members of the R. U. C.'s infamous 'Riot Squads' have been seconded to the Gardai for instructional purposes. . . . Specially chosen officers of 26-County police have been sent to the North as observers and operated in 'civvies.' They, too, are making their contribution to the 'Bash-in.' They were given special facilities by the R. U. C. for that purpose."

In the case of two young republicans, Conor Lynch and Pat O'Sullivan, who allegedly attempted to steal arms in England for the IRA, the accusation has been made that Irish police delivered political dossiers to the English authorities. "Both were questioned by the British Special Branch, who appeared to know personal details about Lynch and O'Sullivan (for example, they knew that O'Sullivan was a non-smoker)," Diarmuid O Dochartaigh, secretary of the Trinity College Republican Club, wrote in a letter published April 15 in the *Irish Times*. "This information," O Dochartaigh continued, "could only have been supplied by the Special Branch at Union quay Cork, on Mr. O Morain's express permission."

It was inevitable that the explosions in the North would have a powerful impact on Fianna Fáil, because of its republican pretensions.

The Fianna Fáil government's avowed policy of reuniting the country gradually through improved relations with the Belfast regime was discredited by attempted pogroms against the Catholic and nationalist minority in the North.

The Lynch government went into a delicate balancing act. The mildly militant gestures made at the height of the crisis served as a feint. They were followed up by a reaffirmation in stronger terms of the policy of good will toward Belfast and London. Echoing the nineteenth-century moderate home ruler Daniel O'Connell, Lynch declared that the reunification of Ireland was not worth one drop of blood.

At the same time, Blaney made ambiguous references to using force if necessary to defend the Northern Catholics, without being called to order. Thus for a while it seemed that Fianna Fáil had succeeded in having its cake and eating it, too.

It is not, and may never be known exactly why and how the gun plot was foiled. It is possible that in try-

ing to offer sufficient bait to divert the Northern Catholics away from left-wing leadership, Blaney and Haughey inadvertently went further than Lynch could allow.

It is also possible that the British secret service discovered the plot and, although it undoubtedly appreciated the Irish establishment's problem, felt that it was too dangerous to let the plan go through. In that case it might have encouraged conservative elements in Fine Gael and the civil service to precipitate a political crisis.

It may even be that the entire scenario of the gun-plot case was cooked up as a political diversion and provocation. But this is unlikely. Such an operation would be too risky.

But it is virtually certain that powerful sectors of the Irish bourgeoisie

were implicated to one extent or another in Blaney and Haughey's maneuvers. It is also clear that this type of action represented a considerable gamble.

The really important questions in the gun-running affair are why major bourgeois forces were willing to incur such risks and what they have gained or are likely to gain from their venture.

Blaney and Haughey were charged May 28 with conspiracy to smuggle arms into Northern Ireland. They were quickly released on a modest bail. Many commentators suspected that Lynch hoped to put a damper on speculation by turning the matter over to the courts. Given the ramifications of the case, however, new revelations may be forthcoming.

U.S.A.

Support Grows for Cleveland Antiwar Conference

Support is continuing to build for the National Emergency Conference Against the Cambodia-Laos-Vietnam War to be held in Cleveland, Ohio, June 19-21. In addition to broad representation from the student and antiwar movements, the conference will have the largest trade-union support of any antiwar gathering yet held.

The conference was initiated by the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council [CAPAC] and several Cleveland area union leaders, as well as such organizations as the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam [SMC].

The union sponsors now include Malcolm Dobbs, president of the Los Angeles chapter of the Social Workers Union; Leo Fenster, secretary of the Cleveland district council of the United Auto Workers [UAW]; Grady Glenn, president of the Frame Unit, UAW, Local 600 in Dearborn, Michigan; Tom Turner, president of the Wayne County [Metropolitan Detroit] American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations; Al Lannon, Washington representative of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; John Williams, business agent of Los Angeles Teamsters Local 208; Valentino Muñoz of

the National Farm Workers Organizing Committee; and Jack Hart, international field representative of the United Electrical Workers in Philadelphia.

In a statement issued at a June 11 press conference in Washington, D. C., William Simons, president of the Washington Teachers' Union and a national vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers, said:

"The Washington Teachers' Union joins with the many individuals and organizations to issue the call for the national antiwar conference to be held in Cleveland on June 19-21. We wish to take note of the many unions who are departing from the 'official line' and joining with those who condemn the war. As the movement continues, many more unionists will come to understand that the continued futile exercise in Southeast Asia is not in the best interests of this nation. We must continue our efforts to enlist supporters from all segments of our society. It is anticipated that there will be a massive assembly in Cleveland for this historic occasion."

Other participants in the news conference were Jerry Gordon, chairman of CAPAC, and Carol Lipman, national executive secretary of the SMC.

"This is an open conference," Gordon said, "everyone who wants to participate in the deliberations and votes on decisions is welcome. We do not see the antiwar movement at all as being institutionalized. There is always plenty of room for new sections of the community to join the struggle to end this insane war and we warmly welcome everyone."

Carol Lipman said: "I expect that the actions planned this summer and fall will begin the process of real alliances between the angry students and the angry workers, both Black and white. So when Nixon does it again, expanding the war as he did in Cambodia, we will have the kind of alliances and power to end the war."

How Many Was That?

President Nixon's statements at news conferences are rewritten afterwards by White House aides for the sake of "clarity" and to eliminate "mistakes," the *New York Times* reported June 11. At his May 8 press conference, for example, Nixon asserted that U. S. troops in Cambodia had captured "rockets by the thousands and small arms by the millions." When the "official" version appeared the passage had been altered to read "small arms ammunition by the millions."

The 'Los Angeles Times' Joins the Doves

[Nixon's decision to escalate the war in Indochina reopened the division within the American ruling class over U. S. intervention in Southeast Asia which had been partially healed with Nixon's election and his promise to bring the conflict to an end. The division is now broadening.

[Rather spectacular evidence of this was provided by the shift of the conservative *Los Angeles Times* into the camp of the doves. The *Times* signaled its turn with a statement occupying the entire editorial column of its June 7 issue, the text of which we are publishing below. The title of the editorial is "Get Out of Vietnam NOW."

[The position of the *Times*, of course, has nothing in common with that taken by the antiwar movement, particularly its left wing, from the time Kennedy first involved the U. S. in the conflict and Johnson escalated it to major proportions. The *Times* does not support the right of the Indochinese peoples to determine their own fate. The *Times* is now convinced that it was a tactical mistake to get involved in the first place and a still worse tactical mistake to remain there in face of the clear evidence of the consequences. The *Times* wants the Pentagon and the administration to get out of the trap in Southeast Asia, the better to advance U. S. imperialist interests in other more decisive areas. Particularly instructive is the view of the *Times* that the "great adversary" of U. S. capitalism is the Soviet Union.

[The shift of the *Times* into the camp of the "doves" is perhaps not unrelated to a similar shift in opinion by Louis D. Lundborg, chairman of the board of the Bank of America, the world's largest private bank and California's major banking institution.

[On April 15, just fifteen days before Nixon announced his decision to send U. S. troops into Cambodia, Lundborg told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that he had changed his mind about the war in Vietnam. An end to the war would be "good, not bad, for American business." The top ten U. S. corporations did far better

between 1962 and 1965 than during the "escalating period" of 1965-69, he said.

"We have more than adequate data to demonstrate that the escalation of the war has seriously distorted the American economy, has inflamed inflationary pressures, has drained resources that are desperately needed . . . and has dampened the rate of growth in profits on both the before and after tax basis."

[In the four years before the escalation of the war in 1965 corporate profits after taxes rose 71 percent; from 1966 through 1969, "corporate profits after taxes rose only 9.2 percent."

[Lundborg said it was futile to try to fix the blame for the war, but no matter who is responsible "the rest of us have gone along pretty supinely." This banker was, of course, speaking for himself and some of his best business friends and not the radicals who have opposed the war from the very beginning. "If any one is to blame," he continued, "it is people like me for not speaking up and speaking out sooner—for not asking, 'What goes on here?'"

"Because I have had no reason to doubt the good faith of the withdrawal plans announced by the President, I might have continued to remain silent.

"But when I read twelve days ago that the President is under pressure to expand our military role in Asia, it seemed to me the time had come to speak up and speak out and to say, 'Our meddling has gone far enough.'"

[Revolutionary socialists certainly do not share the *reasons* advanced by the *Times* and similar voices of the ruling class for immediate withdrawal of U. S. forces from Indochina. Revolutionary socialists stand on the side of the victims of U. S. imperialism and for their right to determine their own fate. Revolutionary socialists, in addition, favor immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Indochina because this would give fresh impetus to the struggle for socialism on a world

scale, not least of all in the United States itself.

[For this reason, revolutionary socialists, while rejecting the reasons advanced by such representatives of the ruling class as the *Times*, are glad to see the split in the ruling class over this issue becoming broader and broader. They have every reason for helping to widen this split and to take full advantage of it.

[In the text of the *Times* editorial reprinted below the subheadings appear in the original.]

* * *

The time has come for the United States to leave Vietnam, to leave it swiftly, wholly, and without equivocation.

The President still has in his hands the opportunity to effect such an exit. He should seize the chance now as it presents itself, for it may not come so readily again.

That the war must be ended, all are agreed. That, as the President said last week, "peace is the goal that unites us," all are also agreed.

Long ago, when we began to help the anti-Communist Vietnamese against the Communist Vietnamese, it seemed a worthwhile thing to do. It seemed cheap, first in dollars, then in men. No need now to trace the melancholy history of how, bit by bit, decision by decision, it became extravagantly expensive of money, of human lives, of the tranquility of this country, of our reputation abroad.

The President said recently he would not have this nation become a "pitiful helpless giant" in the eyes of the world. We are not entirely pitiful, and not yet helpless. But we are like a giant lunging about with one foot in a trap, a spectacle that is disconcerting to our friends and comforting to our enemies.

Not the Center Ring

Our great adversary is now, and will remain, the Soviet Union.

All questions of American foreign policy are subordinate to the central one, which is to prevent nuclear war between the two super-powers. We shall be engaged against the Communist world one way or another all our lives; but in Southeast Asia we are engaged on the periphery of that world in a battle obscured by the elements of civil war and Vietnamese nationalism.

Our response ought to be commensurate with the challenge: as it was over Berlin, in the Cuban missile crisis, as it may yet have to be in the Middle East. But we have so over-responded in Indochina that it may be harder for us to respond as we ought should a greater and more direct challenge arise.

No need now either to delineate at length the consequences in our own country of the Indochina war:

- The war is not the sole cause of strife between parents and children, yet it has inflamed that strife.

- The war is not the cause of conflict between the races, but it has made that conflict more bitter.

- The war is not the only reason for our present economic distress, but it has rendered that distress harder to treat.

- The war alone did not create the illness afflicting our public and private institutions, but it has brought that illness to the crisis point.

Like a small wound the war has festered until its infection has appeared in every organ of this Republic. Its ache is felt in every limb; its pain clouds the national judgment. The country is losing heart.

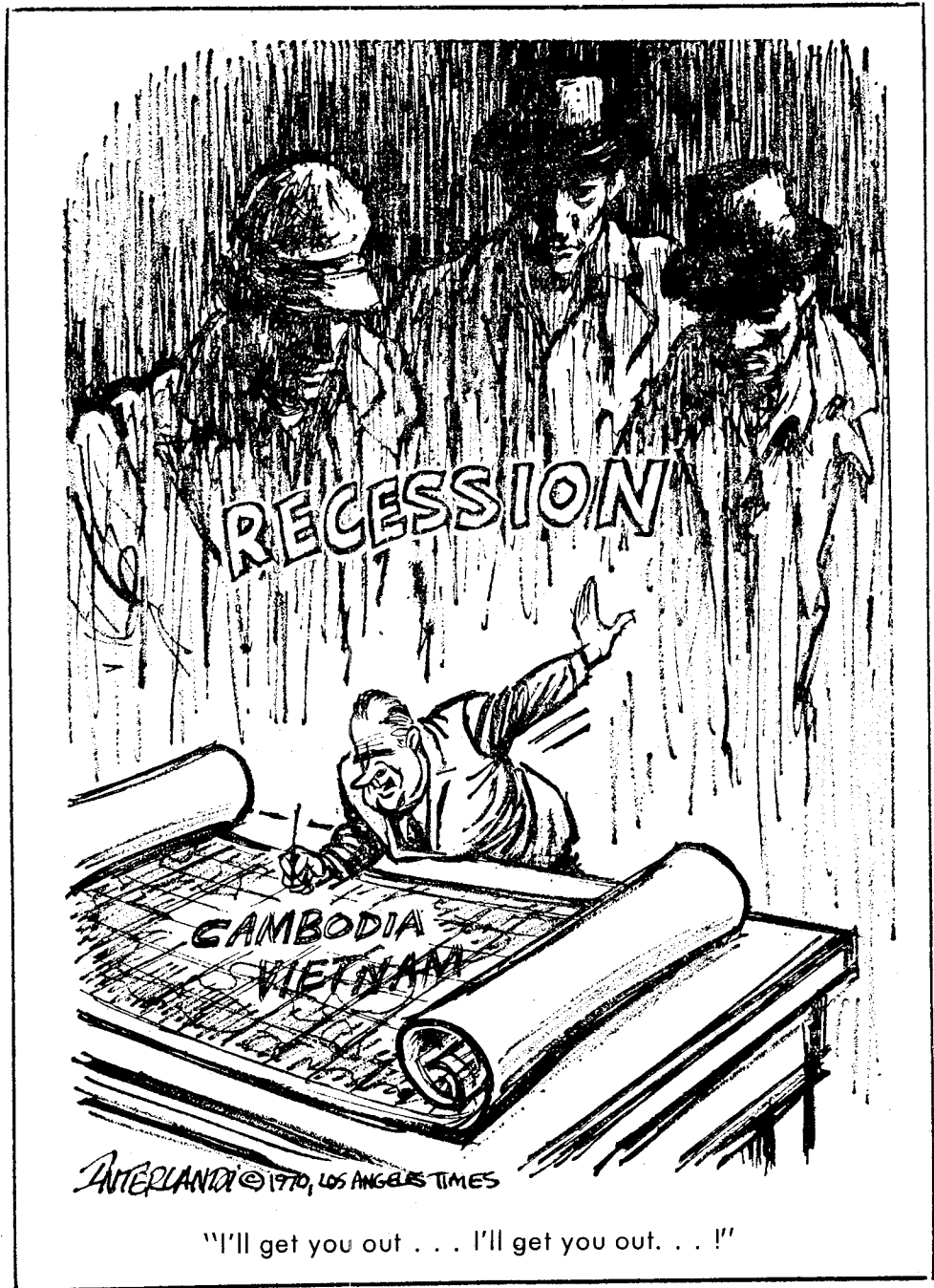
"Peace," therefore, "is the goal that unites us."

As the President said, our national debate is not about the goal of peace, but about "the best means" to achieve it.

Job Can Be Better Done

The President has better means at hand than he is using.

He has promised a withdrawal of American combat troops — another 150,000 by next May 1 — but the withdrawal in these summer months has been reduced and after the 150,000 leave there will still be 284,000 troops



Interlandi in the Los Angeles Times

left in Vietnam. If Mr. Nixon has a private schedule for their withdrawal he has not revealed it.

He has declared that his goal is the total withdrawal of all Americans from Vietnam, but by making open-ended threats of counter-action should the enemy attack, he has made it necessary to make good on those threats. Thus he has given to the enemy a large measure of decision over our own rate of withdrawal.

By the President's move into Cambodia, and by his encouragement of the Vietnamese and Thai operations there after we leave, he has entwined

American prestige with the fate of that unhappy but unimportant country.

In declaring that the credibility of American promises elsewhere in the world hangs on our achieving "a just peace" in Vietnam, he makes it harder for us to make with credibility those compromises which everyone, including the Administration, believes will eventually have to be made.

The President, in sum, is pursuing, for reasons which of course he deems excellent, an ambiguous and contradictory policy — a policy of which the stated purpose is to leave Indochina,

but in which it is implied that it may be necessary to stay in Indochina.

The Times believes the United States has discharged all the responsibilities it has in Vietnam. The Times believes this nation has—bravely and honorably—done everything, and more, that could reasonably have been expected of it.

American men prevented Communist forces from precipitantly seizing South Vietnam. American men, at an enormous cost in lives, have secured for the South Vietnamese a reasonable length of time for improvement of their army and consolidation of their country and government. Short of permanent occupation, there is no more America can reasonably be expected to do for Vietnam.

The President said last week that the Cambodian venture "eliminated an immediate danger to the security of the remaining American troops" and "won precious time" for the South Vietnamese army.

This, then, is the opportunity for the President to accelerate the withdrawal.

The Time Is Now

Let him now publicly set a deadline for removing not only the remaining combat troops but all American

forces, combat and support, according to a swift and orderly schedule. Let him begin to hasten the removal of combat troops this summer. It ought to be feasible to bring about a total and orderly withdrawal in the next year and a half at the longest.

Such a program of withdrawal would of course be hazardous. But it would be much less hazardous than the policy the President is presently pursuing.

The South Vietnamese would be firmly on notice that their future is where it belongs—in their hands. The United States could continue to support them with arms and money, should they choose to keep on seeking a military solution; more likely they would feel impelled to put their own political house in order pending that day when they will come to the political compromise that is the inevitable outcome in Indochina.

American troops would be in some danger, but they are certainly in some danger now, and the faster they leave, the sooner they will be in no danger at all.

Immediate Departure

We shall not argue, as some do, that rapid American withdrawal would

induce the North Vietnamese to negotiate; but it is certain they are not inclined to negotiate now. On the contrary, the longer we stay in Vietnam the more inclined the North Vietnamese will be not to negotiate, and the readier they may be to mount attacks on our forces in hope of pushing us out.

Let the President, therefore, remove all foreign and domestic doubts about our intentions by announcing a speedy departure from Vietnam.

The President said last week he was determined to end the war in a way that would "promote peace rather than conflict throughout the world . . . and bring an era of reconciliation to our people—and not a period of furious recrimination."

The Times believes that the program of withdrawal we suggest would bring about the kind of peace Mr. Nixon spoke of. The policy suggested here would hasten the end of one war and put the United States on a better footing to prevent other more dangerous conflicts.

The policy suggested here would certainly be met with recrimination from some in this country. But we firmly believe that this policy would be thankfully approved by the great majority of our people as an honorable conclusion to this terrible long war.

A Background Article

Elections Registered Rising Ferment in Ceylon

By Pierre Frank

We have translated the following article from the June 8 issue of *Rouge*, the weekly paper of the Ligue Communiste (Communist League), the French section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

The voters in Ceylon ousted the United National party (UNP) and swept a so-called left coalition to power. The UNP is the party of the compradore bourgeoisie, that is, the part of the native bourgeoisie directly tied to British imperialism. It was the beneficiary of the formal independence that came in the wake of the indepen-

dence granted to neighboring India in 1949. The UNP did not wage any struggle for national freedom.

The removal of the UNP from power resulted from a mass radicalization on the island, which has been expressed for more than a year by an almost uninterrupted succession of powerful strikes and demonstrations of various types. This radicalization has occurred in the context of the war in Southeast Asia and a mounting crisis in India.

The victors in the election were a coalition of parties. The largest, the Sri Lanka Freedom party (SLFP) led by Mrs. Bandaranaike, represents the national bourgeoisie. This party

wants to achieve a certain level of economic development. Up till now, the agricultural sector, with its tea and rubber plantations, has been dominant.

The SLFP emerged from a split in the UNP in the 1950s. It won electoral support among the petty-bourgeois masses in the countryside and the new Buddhist, Sinhalese intelligentsia, which differs from the old intelligentsia coming from the big bourgeoisie and educated in the English universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The SLFP exploited the rivalries between the Sinhalese and the Tamils, who make up the Ceylonese population.

But what gives the SLFP its main

strength is the workers parties which blocked with it in the victorious coalition. These include, of course, the Communist party, whose policy is identical with that of the other pro-Moscow parties. But in Ceylon the party that exerts the strongest influence over the working class is the Lanka Sama Samaja party (LSSP). It won three times as many seats in the elections as the CP. The press refers to it under the label "dissident Trotskyists." So it is worth going back over its history a little.

In the 1930s young intellectuals of bourgeois origin introduced Communist ideas into Ceylon and began to organize the working masses politically and in unions; first of all, the workers in the port of Colombo. This is the way the LSSP was formed.

Internal struggles developed within the LSSP in conjunction with the great problems of the revolution in the colonial countries. It was questions such as these at the time of the Chinese revolution of 1925-27 that split the Bolshevik party into the Left Opposition and the Stalin-Bukharin bloc. The majority of the LSSP leadership came out in favor of the theory of permanent revolution and expelled Keuneman and those who were to form the Communist party.

During the war, because of the alliance between British imperialism and the USSR, the CP ceased all anti-imperialist propaganda. But the leaders of the LSSP continued to campaign on this question, and were imprisoned. They managed to escape and participated in the revolutionary movement in India. When they returned to their country they had the support of the majority of the Sinhalese workers. The LSSP joined the Fourth International, becoming its Ceylonese section.

But after a period of struggle which reached its peak in the *hartal* [general strike] of August 12, 1953, the leadership of the LSSP began to degenerate. There were various causes for this, which cannot be gone into here. Many and long efforts by the Fourth International failed to stem this process.

The formation of the SLFP, and especially its early electoral successes in 1956, completely disoriented the LSSP. In 1964 the majority of the LSSP decided for the first time to participate in a coalition under the leadership of Mrs. Bandaranaike. On this

occasion the Fourth International expelled those who by this action had betrayed its revolutionary program and behaved like vulgar opportunists.

The first experience with the coalition government was fleeting and ended in a fiasco. One of the most outstanding capitulations of the LSSP occurred on the nationality question, not only at the expense of the Tamils but also of hundreds of thousands of Indians who had been brought in long ago to work on the plantations and who had no rights. But in the absence of an alternative leadership, after a while the reactionary policy of the UNP set the masses moving back toward the left coalition.

The betrayal of the LSSP did not extend to the entire party. A minority formed the Lanka Sama Samaja party (Revolutionary) and in this way carried on the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International. The organization thus created has gone through difficult times. Its main leader, Comrade Bala Tampoe, devoted his efforts primarily to the trade-union area and became the general secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile Union.

In the recent period, thanks to activity which often exceeded the normal functions of trade unions, this organization became the most important union in the country. By the impulse that it has given to workers struggles in the recent period, it forced the UNP government twice to give up attempts to impose martial law. During the electoral campaign, the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International denounced the trap represented by the class collaborationist policy of the parties associated with the SLFP. It called on the masses to be vigilant and to prepare for revolutionary struggles.

For a certain period the victory of the left coalition may reinforce reformist and parliamentary illusions. But the way in which the masses greeted the election results, by physically attacking the proimperialist institutions, indicates that it is unlikely we will see a repetition of what happened when the first coalition government failed.

Since the masses will want to go further, the proimperialist forces are not likely to want to take the road of new elections. There has been talk of a military coup several times in the last two years.

The SFLP-LSSP-CP coalition came to power with a program including nationalizations, among other things of the banks and the newspaper printing plants. There is also mention of a certain level of supervision of the plantations. The new government will find itself subjected to imperialist pressures (the International Monetary Fund and the Bank of England, because the island belongs to the sterling zone, etc.). Before long, reformism in this "Switzerland of Asia" will face its moment of truth.

The LSSP(R) itself will face a decisive test. Its numerical strength, as I have said, is still small, although just recently it has been making gains among the students. But through its secretary Bala Tampoe, the main union leader in the country, it has an important influence in the working class.

With the support of the entire Fourth International, the Ceylonese Trotskyists — who are not compromised by association with the SLFP — have the task of warning the masses of the island to be vigilant and not to let themselves be duped by empty phrases of the ministers and members of parliament, to rely solely on their own action, to organize to win by direct action what the new government cannot give them.

In this way, the experience of the new government will serve to clarify the minds of the masses and orient them toward establishing a government of the workers and the rural masses. Such a government will put Ceylon at the side of the Vietnamese and the other peoples of Asia who are struggling against imperialism and capitalism and for the construction of a socialist society.

DDTea Time

According to the June 6 *Japan Times Weekly*, a "concentration of DDT insecticide about 10 times above the permissible amount stipulated in the Food Sanitation Law had been detected in green tea leaves produced last year in Shizuoka Prefecture, it was learned last week."

The government issued a reassuring statement, however, pointing out that the effect on health of such an amount of DDT in tea leaves "is considered slight because the concentration is reduced to a negligible percentage when actually drunk . . ."

How the 'Daily World' Reports Events in Ceylon

The May 27 elections in Ceylon that brought the bourgeois Sri Lanka Freedom party and its "left" partners to power was a cause for celebration in the columns of the *Daily World*, the voice of the Communist party of the United States. At the same time it revealed certain difficulties for the American CP in light of its past coverage of events in Ceylon.

Under the headline "Left wins in Ceylon," the May 29 *Daily World* "explained" the participation of the Ceylonese CP in a bourgeois government:

"Intensified U. S. exploitation of Ceylon steadily widened the gap between rich and poor and led to immense suffering, especially in the countryside. The Communist Party of Ceylon joined with Mrs. Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party and other groups on the understanding that the United Left Front they formed would work decisively to end this state of affairs."

How a capitalist government is going to "decisively" end the state of affairs created by capitalism in Ceylon is left to the imagination. Specific measures that are mentioned include nationalization of the banks—undoubtedly a progressive measure, but one that has hardly closed the "gap between rich and poor" in India, where it was carried out by the capitalist regime of Indira Gandhi only to be declared unconstitutional by the courts.

But what is most curious about this passage is the reference to "other groups" in the United Left Front. In fact, there is only one other "group" in the coalition and that is the Lanka Sama Samaja party [LSSP], which won 19 seats in comparison to the 6 won by the pro-Moscow CP. The difficulty for the *Daily World* is that in the past it has insisted on labeling this centrist party as "Trotskyite" in order to smear the world Trotskyist movement with responsibility for its actions. Now that the three-party coalition has come to power, the *Daily World* finds it embarrassing to tell its readers that the Ceylonese CP is in a coalition with a "Trotskyite" party. In the Stalinist demonology this

is far worse than a mere alliance with the bourgeoisie.

An example of the *Daily World's* usual stance can be found in its handling of the port workers' strike in Colombo earlier this year. The strike began December 12 and ended two months later on February 12. It was organized and led by a joint front of seven port unions, in which the most prominent was the Ceylon Mercantile Union. The general secretary of the CMU is P. Bala Tampoe, the leading Ceylonese Trotskyist, who is also the secretary of the Lanka Sama Samaja party (Revolutionary) [LSSP(R)], the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International.

The strike was defeated because unions controlled by the United National party and by the Lanka Sama Samaja party, the coalition partner of the CP, acted as scabs, helping the military in its strikebreaking action.

(The LSSP was expelled from the Fourth International in 1964 precisely because the majority of its leadership joined the bourgeois coalition with Mrs. Bandaranaike. The LSSP(R) refused to join the coalition.)

How did the *Daily World* report the strike? In its April 9 issue, *two months after the strike was over*, when there had been plenty of time to verify the facts, the *Daily World* ran the following story:

"Cargo was moved, according to the conservative Hong Kong publication, 'Far East Economic Review,' by 'Trotskyite-dominated unions, with aid from military and naval personnel [sic].'" The headline did not bother to suggest this was a report from a dubious source but announced flatly, "Trotskyites break strikes in Ceylon."

And this whole falsification was dated "Colombo" to give it the appearance of authenticity. The issue of *Far Eastern Economic Review*, to get the name straight, was that of February 19, 1970, picked up and quoted by the *Daily World*, without giving its date, almost two months late as "news."

It might be noted for the benefit of the editors of the *Daily World* that the *Far Eastern Economic Review* in its May 28 report on the eve of the Cey-

lon elections referred to the Lanka Sama Samaja party simply as "Titoist."

Finally on June 5 the *Daily World* indicated the identity of the "other groups" in the Bandaranaike coalition. William J. Pomeroy, writing from London, said:

"The SLFP's coalition partners were Ceylon's Communist Party, which won six seats, and the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, a party identified as Trotskyist but which has frequently acted in unity with the Communists, which took 19 seats." (Emphasis added.)

Pomeroy at least indicated that he understood the function of the two "left" participants in the capitalist government—although he plainly approved.

"In the coalition," he said, "the latter two parties guaranteed the support of the trade unions and of intellectual circles."

500 Died at Tlatelolco

The London *Observer* and the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* have estimated that as many as 500 persons were killed by government troops in the Tlatelolco massacre in Mexico City on October 2, 1968. *Observer* correspondent Colin McGlashan, writing from Mexico City in a dispatch reprinted in the June 7 *Plain Dealer*, described the rise of the Mexican student movement two years ago:

"The student movement of 1968 started with fights and rivalry between two schools brutally broken up by the granaderos, Mexico's riot police. The students forgot their differences to build a movement around police brutality and the laws against 'social dissolution,' traditionally used to jail independent trade union leaders and other dissenters.

"Within three months several hundred thousand people were marching down the Paseo de la Reforma for the first time since the revolution. The Olympic Games were due to start: the government sent in heavily armed troops. Officially, 39 were killed, reliable estimates are that 500 students and bystanders died in a hail of bullets. Thousands more were arrested: at least 100 are still jailed without trial.

"The movement was smashed. . . . The grievances behind it survive and fester, and they're not confined to the young. The generation gap is narrower here. The students' parents shared their concerns."

Gershenson, 8 Others Given Long Terms

Mexico City

On May 16 Judge Rubén Montes de Oca of the Mexico City third district court sentenced nine political prisoners and their lawyer to long jail terms and heavy fines. The prisoners had been confined in Ward N of Lecumberri preventive jail awaiting sentencing. One of the nine, Antonio Gershenson Tafelov, had been jailed three years before sentence was passed.

Gershenson was also handed the harshest penalties of the group. He was given twenty-five years on charges of attempting to dynamite the Colombian embassy in Mexico City and attempting to blow up an electric tower in Teotihuacán on September 1, 1968.

This savage sentence was not based on very strong evidence. Gershenson has been in prison since 1967. Furthermore, there was only one reported attempt to blow up an electric tower on September 1, 1968, and that was

at Santa María Chiconautla, not Teotihuacán.

Since the massive arrests of students and radicals following the massacre of Tlatelolco in October 1968, the corrupt Mexican courts seem not to require very credible evidence to put opponents of the regime behind bars.

The lawyer for the nine political prisoners, Juan Ortega Arenas, was sentenced to three years and six months for "conspiracy."

Charges against the nine included conspiracy, criminal association, destruction of property by explosives, and inflicting personal injuries. In addition to long jail terms, the prisoners were also subjected to crushing financial penalties, both fines and reparations for damage they allegedly caused.

The sharp clashes that resulted from police attacks on student demonstrators in 1968 caused considerable property damage. For example, in the first

confrontations riot troops shot down the door of a high school with a bazooka.

As individuals, the defendants were given the following sentences: Justino Marinez, thirteen years and a 2,000-peso fine [12.50 pesos equal US\$1]; Antonio Gershenson, 5,000-pesos fine in addition to his prison sentence; Alberto Reyna de la Cruz, eighteen years and 2,000 pesos; Mario Rechy Montiel, eighteen years and 2,000 pesos; Luis Enrique Gerardo del Toro Nájera, eighteen years and 2,000 pesos; Francisco Luna Leal, seventeen years and 2,000 pesos; Enrique Condes Lana, seventeen years and 2,000 pesos; Fabio Erazo Barbosa, twenty years, 3,000 pesos; Gerardo Peleaz Ramos, fifteen years and 3,000 pesos.

As a group, the defendants and their lawyer were required to pay 90,100 pesos damages—4,800 pesos to the Secretariat of Public Education; 4,800 pesos to the Autonomous National University; 5,500 pesos to the Department of the Federal District; 60,000 pesos to the Secretariat of National Defense; and 15,000 pesos to the owner of a bus destroyed during the agitation.

Raw Frame-up in Mexico City

Solorzano and Segura Given 30 Years in Prison

Mexico City

Two young Guatemalan political exiles received sentences of thirty years in prison here April 28. They were convicted of killing a Mexican soldier and stealing his weapons.

On July 4, 1968, the two youths—Mario René Solórzano Aldana and Carlos Rolando Segura Medina, both twenty-two years old—took refuge in the Mexican embassy in Guatemala City.

The Mexican press did not report why the youths were forced to seek asylum. However, counterrevolutionary terrorism has been on the rise in the recent period in the tiny Central American republic. Hundreds of persons have been murdered by the police, the army, and ultrarightist gangs, many for nothing more than being "soft on Communism," in the opinion of the killers. The bodies of numerous victims have been found dismembered

and showing evidence of the most sadistic tortures.

On July 6 the two young Guatemalans were formally granted political asylum. They remained in the embassy until they were able to get into Mexico on August 6.

A little more than a month later, on September 30, the two Guatemalans were arrested by the Mexican judicial police and charged with murder, criminal association, and robbery. They were tortured for ten days until they finally "confessed" to killing a soldier on the grounds of the Palacio de los Deportes in Mexico City. The murder occurred on July 4, the same day Solórzano and Segura sought asylum in the Mexican embassy in Guatemala City.

The two youths were taken to Lecumberri prison October 9. Segura was unconscious when he arrived, according to the other political prisoners

held in the prison. He remained in a coma for seven days. His heart stopped five times. Solórzano was kept in solitary confinement for his first forty-five days in prison.

The Guatemalans were accused of killing Private Efraín Ramírez Santoyo in order to get his M-2 rifle and the hand grenades he was carrying. The police claimed that they found several bombs as well as the weapons taken from Ramírez in the youths' apartment in the Miguel Alemán building on the Avenida Coyoacán.

The police statements were summarized in the Mexico City daily *Excelsior* April 29: "Here [in Mexico] the two Guatemalans devoted themselves to carrying out attacks and robberies in order to get guns and money to return to their country and join the 'guerrillas.'

"The private Efraín Ramírez San-

toyo was murdered July 4, 1968, in the Palacio de los Deportes, where he was on guard duty.

"Solórzano, Segura Medina, and the third person arrived there in a Ford Valiant, which they had stolen in Puebla. Threatening the private with their pistols, they ordered him to turn over his M-2 rifle. But when he resisted they shot him to death and fled with the gun.

"They explained that they only wanted the weapon and the cartridges because they needed arms to go and fight in their country. They also planned to attack some arsenals."

The *Excelsior* reporter made a feeble attempt to link the Guatemalans with the Mexican student movement that started up after police attacked demonstrations in Mexico City on July 26, 1968: "The two defendants denied taking part in the student disturbances which began precisely in July 1968. However, they said that they were interested in all the problems of Mexican students."

When the judge of the Third Criminal Court of the Federal District Rubén Montes de Oca pronounced sentence on the Guatemalans April 28, they had already been in prison nineteen months. The Mexican constitution requires that prisoners be tried within the period of one year. Moreover, according to the constitution, a prison warrant must be issued within seventy-two hours after an arrest. The two political refugees were held for eighteen days without a warrant.

The question remains why the Mexican police did not also persuade Solórzano and Segura to "confess" playing a role in the massive student and popular protests of 1968. "Foreign agitators" have been eagerly hunted for to explain the conflict. Credibility apparently was not a major consideration in the case of the two Guatemalans. Documentary evidence that they were in the Mexican embassy in Guatemala City when the crime they were accused of occurred was simply ignored.

Perhaps the extent of the "confessions" was limited by the physical endurance of the two youths. By the time he was taken to Lecumberri, Segura at least was in no condition to make any further "admissions." We cannot know what shape Solórzano was in since he was held incommu-

nicado for forty-five days after his arrival.

A more important question, in view of the reported killing of Guatemalan

guerrillas by Mexican border troops May 16, is whether the Diaz Ordaz regime is assisting the bloody repression in Guatemala.

Peru

Gadea Denounces Sentencing of Amaya

[Ricardo Gadea Acosta, who is serving a five-year prison sentence in Peru for guerrilla activities, sent the following letter May 12 to the editor of the Lima journal *Presente* after the Supreme Council of Military Justice ruled on an appeal in his case.

[The letter does not indicate whether Gadea will now be transferred to El Frontón, as was reported last September, should his appeal be lost.

[For more information about his case see *Intercontinental Press* October 20, 1969, page 924. The translation below is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Lurigancho Prison

Dear Sir:

The daily papers reported today that the Consejo Supremo de Justicia Militar [Supreme Council of Military Justice] has pronounced sentence on me and four other defendants, including Enrique Amaya Quintana, for our part in the guerrilla movement of 1965. I consider it my duty to denounce publicly what, besides being an unspeakable crime, I consider to be a flagrant mockery of our country's laws and of the dignity of our people.

Enrique Amaya Quintana was expelled from the APRA [Alianza Popular Revolucionario Americana—American Revolutionary Popular Alliance, an old anti-imperialist formation turned reactionary] along with Luis de la Puente. He was one of the founders of APRA Rebelde [Rebel APRA] which later gave rise to the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria [MIR—Movement of the Revolutionary Left].

Amaya was a leader of the Federación Universitaria de Trujillo (he was the secretary of defense of this organization in 1961-62). He was a national leader of the MIR until his disappearance.

In late April 1967 Amaya was arrested in Paucartambo, in the home of the peasant Fortunato Yábar. According to the information we have, he was immediately murdered by his captors.

The following daily newspapers reported the details of his capture: *La Prensa* (May 30, 1967), *El Comercio* in Lima (May 31), and *La Industria* in Trujillo (May 30). But neither the desperate appeals of his family nor the protests of popular organizations and personalities in this country and abroad—including Jean-Paul Sartre and the late English philosopher Bertrand Russell—could elicit the least official statement on his whereabouts.

Since his disappearance Amaya has been formally designated a "fugitive." In a dramatic letter published November 10, 1967, in the magazine *Oiga*, Amaya's family wrote: "The authorities in Cuzco told us that he had been arrested but that he later escaped. However, all this seems to be a tragic farce. There is considerable concurring evidence that Enrique was eliminated"

Murdering a prisoner is a grave crime according to the Penal Code and even the Code of Military Justice. How, then, are we to describe the act of trying Enrique Amaya—"in absentia" as the Consejo Supremo de Justicia Militar put it—and sentencing him to a year in prison . . . after he was murdered?

These facts must be made known to the public. The crime committed against Enrique Amaya must not go unpunished or be covered up by phoney trials. Such an action reveals the falseness of the moral aims and respect for the rights of the individual claimed by the Junta Militar de Gobierno [the ruling military junta headed by General Juan Velasco Alvarado].

I thank you for your attention to this letter.

Faithfully,
Ricardo Gadea Acosta

Intercontinental Press

How Princeton Responded to Cambodia Escalation

By Allen Myers

Within an hour of the conclusion of Nixon's April 30 speech announcing the invasion of Cambodia, some 2,500 persons at Princeton University (out of a total population of less than 6,000 including the faculty) had jammed into the campus chapel for a mass meeting that voted to strike, and set up a strike committee to carry out the action. The traditionally conservative campus eating clubs voted to cancel scheduled social events and donate the money thus saved to antiwar organizations. On Monday, May 4, a University Assembly voted 4,000 to 200 to condemn the invasion.

This massive outburst of antiwar sentiment at Princeton was fairly typical of the upsurge which swept America's campuses. All across the country the antiwar movement experienced an influx of new forces, making it a far more powerful threat to the ruling class than it had ever been before.

Princeton deserves to be singled out, however, because it offers one of the clearest examples of the strategy adopted by the "liberal" section of the ruling class to deal with the antiwar upsurge. Study of the Princeton case has been facilitated by an account published in the June 18 issue of the *New York Review of Books*. It is by Lawrence Stone, Dodge Professor of History at Princeton, himself an enthusiastic supporter of the strategy, which he presents as the "rational" alternative to the program of the "radicals," who, he implies, are universally members of a cult which worships "violence" and senseless destruction as a positive good.

Given the mood that existed at Princeton and hundreds of other campuses, it would clearly have been folly for university administrations and government officials to ignore the antiwar movement or attack it as they had often done in the past. Even such noted reactionaries as California's governor Ronald Reagan recognized the need to grant, or appear to grant, concessions.

But wherever possible such concessions were made with an eye to slowing or derailing the antiwar upsurge. Reagan's decision to close all the campuses in the state, for example, was dictated by the vote of more than 15,000 students at Berkeley to keep their school open as a center for antiwar organizing.

In places like Chicago and Detroit, schools did remain open as bases for the movement, with students making full use of university facilities to print leaflets, keep in touch with strike committees at other schools, organize demonstrations, etc. At Princeton, a proposal by the strike committee for such use of the school's facilities was defeated by a 4 to 3 margin at the May 4 Assembly.

But in order to defeat this proposal, the administration had to convince a majority of the students that it was on their side, and this required concessions that would have been unthinkable a week earlier. The first was support for the nearly unanimous vote condemning the invasion, a

position also officially adopted by the faculty a short time later. The second was de facto approval of the strike: agreement that students could cease normal class attendance, exams, etc., without being penalized.

However, a third "concession" turned out to be less real than appeared on the surface. According to Stone, a plan "had been worked out . . . by a group of students and junior faculty who were anxious that the strike should direct itself to concrete political action rather than dissolve in futile protests and destructive internal squabbles."

For the people who developed the plan, "concrete political action" of course means supporting "peace" candidates of one or the other of the capitalist parties. The plan, eagerly accepted by the administration, called for the university to recess for two weeks immediately before the elections in November. "Thus," Stone exults, "those who want to do so will be able to work actively for candidates of their choice."

A similar preelection recess has already been announced by at least a dozen other schools, and the idea seems destined to produce a mass movement among university administrators. Meanwhile the supporters of working within the capitalist parties are not simply sitting back and waiting for November. At Princeton they formed the Movement for a New Congress, which is already actively attempting to ensnare newly radicalizing students in reformist electoral politics.

According to Stone, this organization has "affiliates already established in over 300 colleges . . . [and] has enlisted the imagination and enthusiasm and talents of hundreds of students at Princeton and thousands more elsewhere. A computerized data bank on Congressional voting records has been established to help identify the hawks and the doves, and students are already busy supporting peace candidates in primaries in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut."

One need not share Stone's partiality for liberalism nor his evaluation of the success of the Movement for a New Congress to recognize that the ruling class has high hopes of involving many newcomers to the antiwar movement in capitalist politics.

But there is another side of the story which is not mentioned by Stone. This is the activity of groups like the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMC), which are continuing to build a massive, independent antiwar movement. In many areas the SMC was able to use the campus base of the antiwar movement to reach out to new layers of the population and to initiate the successful May 30 demonstrations. The national antiwar conference in Cleveland June 19-21, which has already drawn significant labor union support, can launch other actions which form a pole of attraction independent of the capitalists.

That kind of activity will continue and will attract increas-

ing numbers of young people as they begin to see the fraudulency of the two-party shell game. Stone acknowledges that those most attracted to the Movement for a New Congress are previously uninvolved students who are beginning to see through the liberal mythology:

"The moderate majority on campus today . . . sees the world much the way it was seen by the New Left in April. It has absorbed many of the New Left's ideas, but . . . is now setting about to change the world through the machinery of electoral politics."

And Stone warns the ruling class that it will have to

make further concessions to prevent the complete breakdown of the myth:

"Make no mistake about it, these and many other political efforts of students and faculty should not be treated lightly. The first 'Children's Crusade' ended in political annihilation and bloodshed in Chicago. If the second goes the way of the first, if the politicians refuse to listen and drastically to change national priorities, the depth of despair among the young and among the intellectuals is frightening to contemplate."

Frightening, that is, for those who hope to divert the flood of antiwar sentiment into reformist channels.

Canada

Quebec Trotskyists Win Good Hearing

By Phil Courneyeur

Montreal

The Quebec Trotskyist movement—La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière [LSO]—won its biggest hearing among the Québécois working class since its formation in 1964 through the candidacy of Manon Leger in the National Assembly elections April 29.

The LSO program—for a free French and socialist Quebec—pointed to the necessity of independent political action through the formation of a mass labor party as the road to Quebec's national and social liberation.

The LSO's call for a labor party put its campaign in sharp conflict with every other tendency on the left—most importantly the labor leadership, who were capitulating to the groundswell of support for the Parti Québécois [PQ], a bourgeois nationalist party. [See *Intercontinental Press*, June 8, page 558.]

The campaign was taken right into the most important regional conference of the three trade-union organizations in the Montreal area. Leger, officially representing the LSO, placed motions on the floor which compelled the union leadership to lay bare their hostility to independent labor political action.

The various ultraleft tendencies also capitulated to the widespread illusions that the PQ was a "step forward." This included the Front de Libération Populaire (a spontanéist current) that had argued for boycotting the election in favor of mass street actions. The FLP proved unable to carry off even a

symbolic demonstration of its own members during the campaign, losing many of its activists to the electioneering of the PQ.

The Communist party opposed the PQ, but also opposed the New Democratic party [NDP—Canada's labor party] by running a candidate against it.

In Quebec the NDP is extremely weak and is confined mostly to English areas of Montreal. It ran in the Quebec National Assembly elections for the first time this year, receiving only two-tenths of 1 percent of the vote.

The LSO extended critical support to the NDP campaign because it posed the issue of a class vote. The LSO simultaneously challenged the trade-union leadership to move in on the NDP campaign and transform it into a real and viable labor alternative.

The NDP, saddled with a profederalist program, cut itself off from its potential support among Québécois workers whose national consciousness has been growing towards an independentist perspective in the past few years.

The LSO demanded the right of self-determination for the Québécois, using the campaign to infuse a socialist perspective into the national struggle.

Manon Leger, a twenty-three-year-old office worker and activist in the women's liberation movement, was the only candidate to support the program of women's liberation. The mass circulation magazine *Chatelaine* inter-

viewed Leger for its May issue on this aspect of her campaign.

Manon Leger was the only candidate to make opposition to the Vietnam war and the Quebec and Ottawa governments' complicity in the war an issue in the campaign. She was a featured speaker at the April 18 antiwar demonstration in Montreal.

More than 15,000 copies of *La Lutte Ouvrière*, the LSO's newspaper, were delivered door to door in the Dorion electoral riding in east-central Montreal. Another 20,000 copies were distributed in other parts of Montreal and Quebec.

Austrian CP Purges Critics

The wave of purges in the Austrian CP seemed to reach its climax at the twenty-first congress of this party held over the weekend of May 30-31.

With the removal of "liberalizers" like Franz Marek, Egon Kodicek, and Josef Lauscher from the Central Committee, and the approval of a motion withdrawing criticism of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, the ultra-Stalinist wing has apparently achieved all its objectives.

The new "purified" Central Committee is expected to quickly expel any unrepentant critics of Soviet policy left in the party and formally adopt the draft motion approving the Kremlin intervention in Czechoslovakia.

The case-hardened Stalinists have ousted the elements that hoped the popularity of the Czech reforms would rub off on the small Austrian party. But the organization has been reduced to a sterile sect, 60 percent of whose members are over fifty.

Revolutionary Issues Discussed in Bombay

Bombay

May Day was jointly celebrated here in Bombay this year by the Socialist Workers party [SWP—the Indian section of the Fourth International] and the Revolutionary Socialist party [RSP] at a public meeting at Ganesh Maidan, Dharavi—one of the worst slum areas in the city. Other participants included the local units of the pro-Moscow Communist party of India [CPI], Communist party of India (Marxist) [CPI(M)], and the Forward Bloc. Early in the day before the rally began, the red flag was hoisted over the area.

Speakers at the rally included Dr. A. R. Desai, a Marxist scholar; S. Amarnath and S. B. Kolpe, both from the SWP; Dr. Jagannath Vora, "Punaruthan" group; Natarajan, CPI(M); and V. Pathy, Forward Bloc. They stressed the need to build a united working-class movement to combat the threat posed by regional chauvinist organizations like the Shiv Sena, which are used by the state government and the capitalist class as a weapon to disrupt the working-class movement in Bombay.

SWP speakers called for the formation of a "Toilers Front" of workers' and peasants' organizations to fight the capitalist state, as distinguished from the various multiclass coalitions sponsored in different states.

Pushpa Mehta, a leader of the RSP, presided over the meeting.

A separate mass rally was held at Nardulla Tank Maidan on May Day under the auspices of the Maharashtra Rajya Trade Union Congress. The rally was addressed by the leaders of the CPI, CPI(M), and Lal Nishan parties. Attempts made by the SWP and RSP to have a joint May Day rally on behalf of the central trade-union organizations in Bombay did not yield results.

* * *

A forthright criticism of the multiclass coalitions built by left parties in Kerala and West Bengal was made by Comrade S. B. Kolpe speaking for the SWP at a public meeting held in K. C. College Hall, Bombay, on April 22.

He called for the formation of a "Toilers Front" of all workers' and peasants' parties that stand for mass struggles against the bourgeois state and its policies, on the basis of a programme of socialist revolution in India.

The meeting was a symposium on the question "Is the Ruling Congress Really Socialist?" organized by the Forum for Socialist Democracy. T. Godiwala, a prominent lawyer, presided. Among the speakers were R. K. Karanjia, editor of the weekly *Blitz*; S. Y. Kolhatkar, of the CPI(M); K. K. Singhvi, a constitutional lawyer; and V. K. Krishna Menon, M. P.

Karanjia admitted that the ruling Congress party had failed to fulfil its promises to the people and was becoming "a willing tool" in the hands of the "monopoly groups." Nevertheless, he felt the people should force the leadership of the Congress to fulfil its promises by developing mass movements in the country.

Singhvi, on the other hand, said that there was nothing "socialist" about the "new Congress" which continued to represent the old traditions of the Congress party as an organization representing the "vested interests." He stressed the need for an independent left movement without being tied to the apron strings of the Congress party.

Kolpe's case was that the ruling Congress led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi was as much a party of the capitalist class as was the "Syndicate" Congress. The differences between them were only tactical as to how to preserve capitalist rule in India and not fundamental. He warned the left movement against the danger of right-reactionary forces represented by the Jan Sangh and others consolidating themselves, taking advantage of the frustration caused among the masses by the opportunist policies of the "left" parties.

He pointed out that there were already talks among the capitalist politicians of installing a "strong government" with the support of the army as a way out of the present political instability. The answer to the threat, he said, was a strong and united combat

movement of the working class supported by the rural poor.

Kolhatkar took exception to the criticism of the "united fronts" in Kerala and West Bengal and said that in the present phase of the democratic movement in India, the only course open to the left was to build a united front of all democratic forces that were prepared to fight against imperialism and monopoly capitalism. He did not agree with Kolpe that the immediate task of the left in India was that of a socialist revolution.

Krishna Menon who was the last speaker admitted that the reaction was gaining ground in the context of the political confusion created in the country. He also criticized manoeuvres of Mrs. Gandhi to "topple" elected ministries in different states. He referred particularly to the toppling of the E. M. S. Namboodiripad ministry in Kerala "as a crime to democracy." He also agreed that the left should rely on its own strength.

B. A. Desai, secretary of the forum, introduced the speakers. The meeting was well attended and the hall was filled to capacity.

Another crowded public meeting was held under the auspices of the Forum for Socialist Democracy in Bombay at K. C. College Hall on March 16 to debate on "The Right to Work Is Fundamental—Not Property." The debate was prompted by the Supreme Court decision invalidating the "nationalization" of the fourteen banks by the Indian government on the ground that it violated the fundamental right to property as guaranteed by the Indian constitution.

The principal speakers were A. S. R. Chari, K. K. Singhvi, and B. A. Desai, all leading lawyers. They contended that the present Indian constitution was aimed at protecting private (capitalist) property. They did not envisage the possibility of any fundamental changes being made in property relations within the present constitutional framework. Desai said that the only alternative was to bring about an overthrow of the capitalist system by revolutionary action of the masses.

10 Killed in Santo Domingo

Two students were shot to death on the outskirts of Santo Domingo June 5, bringing to ten the number of political murders in the Dominican Republic in one week. Hundreds of opponents of the military government have been killed by right-wing terrorists since 1965.

IMG's Attitude Towards British General Election

By Pat Jordan

[In a lengthy article on the British general election, published in the April 15 issue of *The Red Mole*, Robin Blackburn argued against voting for the Labour party. In defense of his abstentionist position, he maintained that the Labour party is in substance indistinguishable from the Conservative party, both parties being mere bourgeois electoral machines like the Republican and Democratic machines in the United States. "We should disrupt the campaigns of the bourgeois parties and their leading spokesmen," he declared, "using all the imaginative and direct methods which the last few years have taught us." (See *Intercontinental Press*, June 1, page 524.)

[In its May 14 issue, *The Red Mole* carried a brief reply by Pat Jordan, secretary of the International Marxist Group (IMG), the British section of the Fourth International.

[However, the vigor with which Robin Blackburn presented his arguments and the way in which the editors of *The Red Mole* featured the article fostered the impression that the IMG, if not the Fourth International, stood in opposition to the slogan "Vote for Labour!" and had adopted a sectarian, abstentionist attitude in the general election. The Healyites, for instance, in *Workers Press* have done what they could to spread this interpretation.

[In its June 1 issue, *The Red Mole* published an extensive article by Pat Jordan taking issue with Robin Blackburn and stating the official position of the IMG on the British election. We are publishing this article below.

[For a copy of the article by Robin Blackburn which initiated the polemic, we suggest writing to *The Red Mole*, 182 Pentonville Road, London, N. 1. The cost for a single issue is 1/6. A one year's subscription in Britain is £2, in other countries £3.

[Three explanatory notes follow the article. We have taken the liberty of including these as footnotes. The sub-headings appear in the original.]

Robin Blackburn's article on the Labour Party in *Red Mole* No. 3 was very welcome. It opened up a discussion on a vital question for revolutionaries in a refreshing and concrete style. Too often this matter is discussed in terms of fetishes and abstract schema. As indicated in my letter in the last issue of *Red Mole*, I wish to contribute to this discussion not just as an individual but to express the point of view of the International Marxist Group. Of course, I agree with much of what Robin Blackburn has to say about the role of the Labour Government and his strictures on the attitudes of various lefts. However, to save space I will concentrate upon those aspects where we differ. For the sake of clarity I will do this in the form of a series of fundamental assumptions which underpin my views.

* * *

1. *The Labour Party is neither a purely bourgeois party nor a purely workers party but has dual aspects — having bourgeois policies, leadership and social function, but resting upon workers organisations.*

Robin Blackburn quoted the excellent speech made by Lenin at the Second Congress of the Third International. However, later on in the speech Lenin explained his view that the Labour Party is "a very peculiar party, or more correctly, it is not a party in the ordinary sense of the word" because "It is made up of all the trade unions." I point this out not to prove anything (quotations like this never do) but to show that Lenin had a much more rounded-out view of the Labour Party. Comrades wishing to read the most important of his writings on the British Labour movement should get hold of *Lenin and the British Labour Movement* (available from Red Books, 182 Pentonville Road, London, N. 1, 25/- + 1/6 p.p.).

Instrument of the Ruling Class

One can agree with Robin Blackburn that the Labour Party has been the main instrument for implanting bourgeois political concepts in the organised working class movement. As demonstrated in Ralph Miliband's *Parliamentary Socialism*, the ideology of Labour's leaders from the very inception of the Labour Party has been dominated by fetishism about parliamentary democracy and by an overwhelming desire to "serve the national interest."

One can go further than Robin Blackburn: Labour's leaders have always tried to confine the aspirations of the working class to parliamentary means. They have opposed industrial action and other extra-parliamentary struggle even for the most modest of reforms. In and out of Government their commitment to the "nation's best interests" has led them to always oppose any reforms they thought the "nation could not afford." The 1945 Labour Government, which alone of Labour regimes carried out many reforms, did very little more than a Tory administration would have been forced to do. In political and ideological terms Labour's leaders have been fairly "honest" about this: they always argue that it is Tory stupidity that prevents the Conservatives from carrying out Labour's programme.

Labour Governments have always pursued a foreign and colonial policy geared to the interests of British imperialism. Labour's "granting" of political independence to India, Pakistan, etc., was determined more by the relationship of forces than by socialist (or even humanitarian) principles. Where they could, Labour's leaders in the same period used force to brutally suppress national liberation movements: Malaya and elsewhere.

Thus there is nothing fundamentally

new about the policies of the present Labour Government. The only thing which is really different is the greatly weakened state of British capitalism — which makes it impossible for it (and a Labour Government) to concede any fundamental reforms.

Labour & the Working Class

The bourgeois aspect of the nature of the British Labour Party is determined by both its social function and the policies of its leadership. A Labour Government is just as much an instrument of the ruling class as any Tory Government. Having said all this it is wrong to compare the Labour Party with, say, the Democratic Party of the United States. The latter party is a purely bourgeois party in all its essential aspects: ideologically, structurally and in social function. The Labour Party has, in terms of ideology, a thoroughly bourgeois leadership, but, in terms of programme, a formal commitment to socialism which is taken seriously by a large part of its active membership. Organisationally, in one sense it is virtually identical with the organised working class because of the complex system of affiliations of trade unions at various levels. Robin Blackburn is quite wrong to say that this boils down to a bourgeois cash nexus.

The first unconscious act that most workers make *as workers* is to join a trade union. For a vast majority of organised workers this also means joining the Labour Party. Although the links between the trade unions and the Labour Party have become eroded and are not, at this stage, a vital living process, they certainly still exist in a form which directly involves thousands of the most politically active workers.

Multi-Million Stranded Relationship

On any night of the week there will be, in Britain, hundreds of small meetings of the basic units of the working class movement — trade union branches, Labour Party wards, co-op groups, etc. In most of these meetings "politics" will take the form of the people present defining their attitude and relationship to the Labour Party. When the people who attend these meet-

ings, i.e. those who make up the bulk of the active members of workers' organisations in this country, discuss local, national and international affairs, they do it largely in the form of making demands of or suggestions to the Labour Party.

At certain periods this process has been extremely rich in political debate. Just now it is at an extremely low level but the whole mechanism creates a multi-million stranded relationship between the organised working class and the Labour Party. It is the essential reason why millions of workers think of politics in terms of the Labour Party. The policies of the Wilson Labour Government, especially its attacks on the trade unions, have placed a tremendous strain upon this relationship and have led thousands of militants to leave the Labour Party (or cease to be active). However, there has been no significant *severing* of these links. True, there have been a few local and one national disaffiliation (the Pottery Workers Union, which later reversed the decision) but from a long-term point of view the tendency has been for the identification of the organised working class with the Labour Party to grow. During the '60s the number of trade unionists affiliated to the Labour Party has tended to grow — some small units (the POEU, for instance) became new affiliates. Politically the grip of Labour upon the working class has become a virtual monopoly since the end of the Second World War: the ILP, Commonwealth, etc. losing their parliamentary representation. There is a long-term trend for the Liberals to be squeezed out by Labour. There has been a notable decline of support for the Communist Party in those areas where it contended with the Labour Party for the loyalty of the working class.¹ The only significant shift in this pattern in recent years has been the election successes of the Scottish Nationalists. However, this seems to

1. So far as I know this phenomenon has not been studied in depth. A good indication of the trend is the successive decline of Communist Party General Election votes in Fife, Stepney and Rhondda. In each of these areas the CP vote is now down to that of an average constituency: one or two thousand. Yet in 1945 it won two seats and nearly won a third in these areas.

be fairly ephemeral although we should be cautious about this. There are deep-seated and long-term structural reasons for the development of separatist movements (which will be intensified upon Britain joining the Common Market).

Historically, Labour has been able to survive the debacles of MacDonald and the 1945 Labour Government without any really significant decline in its votes (when Labour was voted out of power in 1951, it obtained the highest vote in its history). In fact, from a long-term point of view the voting pattern has been developing to consolidate Labour's grip upon the organised working class.

While ever this relationship between the organised working class and the Labour Party survives and while there is no political alternative there is always the possibility of the presently eroded links being revitalised (especially if Labour is in opposition with a Tory Government carrying out an offensive against the working class).

The Labour 'Left' and Clause Four

The formal commitment to socialism and the normal existence of a reformist left-wing in the Labour Party plays a key role in maintaining the grip of the party upon the organised working class. The reformist Labour left accepts by-and-large the essential ideology of the leadership, but not having the burden of office or leadership can posture as being defender of the socialist conscience of the party. The reformist labour left has always acted as counter-pressure to the formation of an alternative to the Labour Party or even the formation of a revolutionary current within it. Pointing to Clause Four,² these "lefts" have always argued that it is necessary to remain in the Labour Party at all costs and that the democratic (in the

2. *Clause Four*: included in the Labour Party Constitution of February 1918. It formally commits the Labour Party "to secure for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production [amended in 1929 to: 'the means of production, distribution and exchange'] and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry and service."

ory) structure of the party makes victory within it possible. The reformist left always argues against those who want to fight the leaders' policies that it is necessary to do this in a circum-spect manner because of the danger of expulsion and because the workers do not understand revolutionary policies. At critical times the reformist left step into the breach to prevent the mass of the active Labour Party workers from becoming completely disillusioned with the Labour Party. Harold played this role when the overtly right-wing policies of Gaitskell threatened to cause a split in Labour's ranks. However, all this is only possible because of Labour's nominal adherence to socialism through Clause Four. This is not to say that the mass of the left wing of the Labour Party at any given time are "fake lefts." Elements who place themselves at the head of the left currents undoubtedly are, but the majority represent sincere workers who are seeking to find an expression for their political aspirations.

To summarise: in its essential and most important aspects—social function, policies, etc.—the Labour Party is bourgeois, but structurally it rests upon the organised working class. This fact, together with the Labour Party's reputation as the party of reform and its nominal adherence to a form of socialism (together with the role of the reformist lefts), makes the grip of the party upon the organised working class extremely tenacious.

* * *

2. *The Labour Party is the principal political obstacle to the development of the revolutionary organisation and consciousness in the organised working class; the aim of Marxists, therefore, must be to remove this obstacle.*

Bourgeois ideology envelops workers from their very first moments of consciousness. The family, the education system, the church, the mass media all combine to get workers to accept the values of capitalist society. The average worker thinks that it is "natural" for there to be owners of industry and wage labourers. However, his or her situation in production daily generates another conscious-

ness: that of him or her being a worker who has interests *as a worker* which are separate from and antagonistic to those of other sections of society. This level of consciousness is expressed by the creation of trade unions, co-op organisations, etc. In Britain it has gone a stage further through the creation of the Labour Party. In some countries—the United States, for instance—this stage has not been achieved as yet. In those countries the creation of a Labour Party based upon a break with overt capitalist parties would represent a big step forward. The creation, 60-odd years ago, of the British Labour Party was an important step forward because it broke the grip of two overtly capitalist parties on the minds of the working class.

Trade Union Consciousness & Socialist Consciousness

However, this has been a contradictory process and the very fact that the Labour Party was a step forward in the working class acquiring class consciousness has made it all the more effective as a barrier to the development of revolutionary *socialist* consciousness. Having a revolutionary socialist consciousness means not to accept the values of capitalist society—a mere class (or trade union) consciousness means to fight within the concepts of this society. The trade unionist wants a bigger share of the cake but thinks it "fair" that the capitalist has the rest; the revolutionary socialist wants the whole cake, candles and all, because he does not think it right for capitalists to have any.

The Labour Party is an organised expression of working-class consciousness freezing at this trade union level of consciousness. Its entire orientation to parliamentary struggle is, in fact, a method of getting the working class to accept that the only way to fight is through the existing bourgeois institutions. The capitalist class badly needs such a device: otherwise every time severe class struggle takes place there would be the danger that workers would go over to a revolutionary socialist consciousness. In the present world situation there are many revolutionary examples. It is essential from a capitalist point of view that these revolutionary examples be dis-

credited from within the workers movement and another model of social advance be presented. Of course, the crimes of Stalinism have facilitated this process, but the principle is the same.

How to Remove the Labour Party

It is one thing to recognise an obstacle, but another to remove it. In fact, this problem of removing the obstacle of the Labour Party has dominated the thinking of Marxists in Britain over the past seventy years. Most of the polemics and splits in the British Marxist movement have had their roots in differing attitudes taken towards this problem. Roughly, there have been three main approaches to the question:

- a) to try to destroy the grip of the Labour Party by propaganda and by building a rival organisation;
- b) to try to capture the Labour Party for socialist policies;
- c) to try to develop a Marxist trend *within* the Labour Party, thus trying to build organic links with the working class through the party.

No significant success has been notched up for any of these policies nor the numerous mutations and combinations of them: the Labour Party still stands as an obstacle. However, circumstances are changing:

The Labour Party, with its unique structure, is a product of British imperialism and its former dominant world position. The reforms that Labour has directly implemented or obtained from other governments were possible because of the strength of British imperialism.

The whole myth of British "freedom" and democracy, so important in Labour's ideology, has been built up by a policy made possible by the social stability of British imperialism's homeland. Now Britain has lost this position. Since the Second World War, the third industrial revolution, the post-war reconstruction boom and Keynesian economics³ made some re-

3. *Keynesian economics*: system of economy propounded by John Maynard Keynes, the essence of which consisted in a theory that in times of depression, money could be pumped into the economy to raise the level of economic activity and that this could be done by Government intervention.

forms possible. But now a very different economic situation dominates and the Achilles' heel of Keynesianism, inflation, is frightening the bourgeoisie as much as the fear of the consequences of high unemployment.

In essence, the economic basis of Labourism is steadily declining. However, history shows that we would be wrong to think that there will be an automatic end of the dominance of reformist thinking in the working class movement. Only revolutionary organisations can ensure that this more favourable situation is used to break the grip of Labourism on the organised working class.

Other changes are taking place too: social strata have emerged which are not under the domination of the Labour Party, e.g. the black population (overwhelmingly working-class), the youth vanguard and sections of militant white-collar workers. These may be soon joined by another in the not-too-distant future: the militant sections of the Irish population (also mainly working class). Whilst at present these sections are not organised, they have given a mass base for an extra-parliamentary struggle in Britain, and the potential is even greater.

Three Approaches

It is in the light of these changed circumstances that we have to look at the three approaches to dealing with the problem of the Labour Party. It is only necessary to say a few words in a journal like *Red Mole* about the theory that one should try to capture the Labour Party for socialist policies. Historically, the reverse has happened: those who have held this theory have been captured by the Labour Party for bourgeois policies — we see the representatives of this trend in various places in the House of Commons.

Traditional "entry" was accompanied by the use of the slogan "Labour to Power" and was premised upon the assumption that once Labour got elected, a mass left wing would gradually develop because of the contradiction between the working-class aspirations and the right-wing policies of the Labour Government. This mass leftwing, which would have taken over some of Labour's organic links with the organised working class would provide

the basis for a formation which would break the monopoly of the Labour Party on the working class (it must be said that the Marxists holding this view were usually quite vague about exactly how this was to happen).

The experience of nearly six years of Wilson's Labour Government has been very different. Far from a mass left wing developing, the left in the Labour Party has virtually disappeared. Part of the former Bevanite left having gone over directly to Wilson (Barbara Castle et al.), another section has postured as being in opposition but in practice has evolved to the right at the same speed as Wilson (taking care to be exactly one pace to his left to maintain its "left" reputation). Other sections have become completely disoriented. As the election draws near, most of these elements, anxious not to lose the spoils of office, have thrown away any pretence to be serious critics of Wilson.

Attempts to build an alternative to the Labour Party by waging propaganda war upon it have been no more successful: the SPGB, "third-period" Stalinism and the SLL are dreadful warnings. Indeed, the latter organisation seems to have gone into reverse gear at its well-known speed. We don't hear much now about those Young Socialists parliamentary candidates since the debacle of Swindon; instead the columns of the *Workers Press* are concentrating upon the danger of a Tory "counter-revolution," whatever that might mean in Marxist terms.

Revolutionary Youth Movement

The Fourth International has discussed this problem on a European scale and come to the conclusion that to break the grip of mass social democrat and Stalinist parties upon the working class, it is vital that the revolutionary forces are strong and capable of initiating revolutionary activities. The building of revolutionary youth organisations can be a very effective way of doing this.

Hence the problem of breaking the grip of the Labour Party upon the organised working class can be seen in a different way: externally, pressure should be put on by the building of a large revolutionary youth organisation and extra-parliamentary mass action; and internally, a Marxist trend

should be built within the structures of the trade unions. (Should political life return to the Labour Party, it will be necessary to intervene). As Robin Blackburn noted, since 1964 there has been a huge development of non-parliamentary forms of struggle. The seventies are likely to be stormy years. The opportunities of building a revolutionary youth movement and a Marxist current in the trade union movement will be many and good. It is from this point of view that revolutionaries should judge the outcome of the coming General Election and their intervention.

* * *

3. *There will be no essential class difference between a Labour Government and Tory Government. The significance of the election result will lie in the way it effects the ability of Marxists to build a revolutionary trend in the working class movement.*

A lot of nonsense is now being talked about the danger of the return of a Tory Government. This is based largely upon the reformist and idealist concept that political policies are decided by the will of politicians. Whichever party gets returned to power will face the same problems, and in the absence of a socialist option, which no one takes seriously, will be compelled to attack the working class. In fact, the policies of the next Government will be determined by the vector of two pressures:

a) the economic situation arising from the relative backwardness of British industry, growing competition between capitalist nation-states because of decline of the post-war boom, and the failure, so far, to completely integrate the trade unions in Britain into neo-capitalist planning.

b) the fact that the British trade union movement is strong and undefeated and that its members will not readily allow its leadership to barter away their rights and conditions. The Tories are shrewd politicians and will only go as far as they think advisable. The difference between a Labour and Tory victory will lie in the fact that success for the latter will be, to a certain extent, a vote for anti-trade union legislation. However, Labour, too, is pledged to trade union reform. Only those who think that

the Government of the day loyally carries out its election pledges will think that matters go much farther than that. Much more important in deciding the tactics of the next government will be its judgment of how likely trade unionists are to fight back. The key problem facing trade unionists is not the party label of the next government, but the working out of a strategy to fight back and take the offensive.

The Significance of a Labour Defeat

This is the main thing. However, I must take issue with Robin Blackburn's view that defeat for Labour would not be a defeat for the working class, not even a marginal one. I do so on two grounds:

a) in the absence of a socialist alternative, defeat for Labour (which equals less workers voting Labour and/or more voting Tory) would represent a certain depoliticalisation of the working class;

b) that again in the absence of a socialist alternative, defeat for Labour would present the possibility for the rebirth of illusions in Labour.

Just now, the main significance of a vote for Labour by most workers is that it is a vote against the Tories, held by them to be the direct representatives of the bosses. Another victory for Labour gives much better opportunity to demonstrate that Labour leaders, too, are direct agents of the ruling class.

The emergence of a young vanguard movement has been an extremely positive development. One of the reasons it developed was because of the existence of the Labour Government carrying out very right-wing policies. It has no illusions to shed because it never had any. Should, however, Labour lose the election, and especially if the Foots and the Hefers take over the leadership of the Labour Party, there will be a regeneration of illusions in "left" social democracy even amongst the young.

To conclude this: I am in favour of the victory of the Labour Party in the election not because it will pursue any better policies or is less likely to attack the working class, but because Labour in power is the most favourable situation for the destruction of social democracy. I reject the

view that this will be an automatic process but must emphasise that the danger of a renewal of illusion in "left" social democracy is a grave danger. It is from this point of view one has to judge what revolutionaries should do during the election campaign.

* * *

4. The importance of the General Election campaign is not that workers vote but in the fact that political awareness and interest increase, especially among young people. Revolutionaries cannot decisively influence the course of the election, but they can use the heightened interest to spread and develop revolutionary ideas.

For reasons given above, I am in favour of the victory of Labour in the coming election campaign. However, it would be the height of foolishness to draw from this the conclusion that revolutionaries' main activity should be that of calling upon people to vote Labour. In the first place, it is totally unrealistic to think that small revolutionary groups can influence the outcome of the election. Secondly, to make our main thrust the slogan "Vote Labour" would be to put ourselves on the left-wing of those forces mystifying the whole electoral process. This would, in effect, be adding our weight to those processes which enable the Labour Party to divert working class aspirations. It would also hinder our endeavours to spread revolutionary ideas and our efforts to warn the working class that its main concern should be to prepare for an attack from whatever government emerges.

To concentrate upon the slogan "Keep the Tories Out" would be merely another way of saying "Vote Labour," under present circumstances.

However, it is imperative, from a Marxist point of view, to explain very clearly to the politically aware why it would be best for Labour to win. This is an educational process, not an election-deciding exercise.

To those who quote Lenin's *Left Wing Communism* or Trotsky's advice to the ILP in the '30s, I would answer, be concrete in your approach. Lenin was advising a tendency which had the support of thousands of orga-

nised workers; he also advised the British Communists to propose an election-pact with the Labour Party—should revolutionaries follow this bit of advice as well? Trotsky addressed himself to the ILP when it was a party claiming to be revolutionary socialist with thousands of members and considerable resources. He also advised it to immediately abandon its united front with the Communist Party and propose one to the Labour Party instead—again I pose the question: should we follow that as well? To pose these questions is to demonstrate how completely different the objective situation is now from when those pieces of advice were given.

Raising the Real Issue

The most positive thing revolutionaries can do is to inject into the election discussions at all levels fundamental issues. In particular, every candidate should be put on the spot as to their attitude towards the most important struggle taking place in the world today—the Indo-Chinese war. At every important election rally it is vital that the issue of this war is made a central focus of discussion. Those principally responsible for Britain's disgusting support for the vicious American war of aggression should be the target of demonstrations.

Trade unionists should demonstrate against any attacks on the trade unions from whatever party. To cease to criticise Wilson during the election campaign on this matter would be the height of folly. Labour leaders—even Ramsay MacDonald—have always used the argument of the lesser of two evils to persuade workers to accept *their* right-wing policies. The capitalist class undoubtedly hope that trade unionists will accept anti-trade union legislation from Labour because "it would not be so bad as the Tory brand of medicine."

The Irish should campaign against the support of both the major parties for the semi-police state of Northern Ireland. Irish militants would be justified in putting up candidates to express their opposition. They, too, should ensure that Labour and Tories cannot readily forget their support for repression and the neo-colonialist domination of Ireland.

The women's liberation movement

should put all candidates to the test on where they stand on such questions as free abortion. The supporters of this movement should make life hectic for revolting Tory MPs who have waged the campaign against the timid reforms that Labour has introduced. They should demand that all candidates stand against this vile backward-looking election gimmick.

Everywhere black workers should expose the racist policies of both parties and demand candidates repudiate them. Whilst Powell will undoubtedly be the target of many actions, no one should forget that it was Wilson, not Powell, who pushed racist legislation through Parliament.

Revolutionaries should support all these protest actions. They should take the lead in calling for protest demonstrations and forming ad hoc committees to inject into the election discussions—at all levels—real issues. Propaganda material, discussion meetings, etc. should be organised.

Paradoxically, a campaign of this kind will do more to ensure the return

of Labour than pathetic attempts to influence the course of events by chanting "Vote Labour." Our role should be to raise the level of consciousness, to prepare people for the coming struggles and to fight any illusion that the election result will solve any problems.

Certain critics of the IMG have called this abstentionism. Ignorant of the precise meaning of the term, they think that the only way one can intervene is to shout "Vote Labour." In so doing, they show that they, too, have parliamentary and reformist illusions. The SLL has accused the IMG of advocating the theory of "social fascism"—coming from them, that's rich. One could scarcely find a more "third period"⁴ organisation. This is no ac-

4. *Third Period*: period when the Comintern cut itself off from any work with other left or social democratic forces, even to combat fascism, and went even to the length of setting up "red" trade unions—all this under the impact of Stalin's analysis that revolution was round the corner. The result of third-period Stalinism was the rise to power of fascism in Germany without the CP combatting it

cident: the SLL is a linear descendant of a tendency which originated in the Communist Party whilst third-period Stalinist ideology was rampant. This group, the Workers International League, was denounced by the founding conference of the Fourth International for its sectarianism and factionalism.

My last criticism of Robin Blackburn is that he seems to think that we can ignore the Labour Party, or merely propagandise against it. History has many salutary lessons in this respect. The Labour Party has been "buried" many times and yet still exists as an obstacle to the building of a revolutionary party. It won't bleed to death—an executioner is needed. Only the working class, under revolutionary leadership, can destroy the Frankenstein's monster it created. This article is a contribution to the discussion the left is having as to just how we set about doing that.

through a united front with social democracy.

Documents

In Memory of Yon Sosa

[The following statement was issued June 5 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

A few weeks ago the international press agencies announced that Yon Sosa, the leader of the Guatemalan MR 13 [Movimiento Revolucionario 13 de Noviembre—November 13 Revolutionary Movement], died in combat near the Mexican frontier. The fact that he fell under the bullets of a Mexican patrol is symbolic. A fighter inspired by so profound an internationalist spirit was seen by all the hangmen of Latin America as a dangerous enemy to be struck down.

Marcos Antonio Yon Sosa received his military training from U.S. officers, who tried to teach him counter-insurgency techniques in their special school in Panama. In his case, as in that of other young Latin-American

officers, this training proved to be one of the ruses of history that ruling classes can never eliminate, especially in their decline. Yon Sosa's experience was to be fully utilized over a ten-year period but in a way diametrically opposite to what his instructors wanted.

In 1960 the young officer began his revolutionary struggle. In collaboration with Luis Turcios and other companions, he organized a coup d'etat against the reactionary government of Ydigoras Fuentes. The attempt ended in failure and from that time on Yon Sosa became an outlaw. He eluded pursuit by his enemies up until the day of the ambush, which was probably organized by men linked to the future president of Mexico and anxious to help out Guatemala's new president Arana Osorio.

The movement founded by Marcos Yon after the failure of the 1960 coup very quickly won a place among the

movements of armed struggle in Latin America. The name of the MR 13 became known throughout the world. And rightly so, because it can boast of long and glorious experience and many of its activists and cadres have paid with their lives for their unwavering fidelity to the cause of the Guatemalan revolution.

It would be wrong, however, to judge the MR 13 exclusively from the standpoint of its dynamism and the heroism of its fighters. This movement very quickly became distinguished by its adherence to the most advanced revolutionary conceptions. In a stage when considerable confusion about the nature of the Latin-American revolution reigned even in the ranks of those who had broken with the opportunist conceptions of the Communist parties, the MR 13 made the perspective of a socialist revolution in Guatemala the axis of its struggle.

The MR 13 drew the lesson of the

dramatic experience of 1954 in this way: "The PGT [Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo—Guatemalan Party of Labor, the name of the CP] talks about a national democratic revolution," Yon Sosa said in an interview in 1965. "The MR 13 is convinced that there is no basis for a national democratic revolution, that it is not possible for the workers and peasants to participate in the government in collaboration with the bourgeoisie. You cannot put a dog and a cat in the same bag. How could such a government function?"

Yon Sosa's orientations regarding the methods of armed struggle also are worth pointing out. Marcos Yon had reflected on his own experience—his attempted coup d'etat of November 1960—and had come to reject all adventurist or putschist conceptions. He did not share the ideas of the advocates of the *foco*, whose most representative spokesman was Régis Debray with his book *Revolución en la revolución?*. He did not underestimate the importance of political campaigns, of propaganda among the workers and peasants. He continually stressed the necessity of developing the guerrilla struggle in liaison with the mass movement.

In the interview already quoted, he said, for example: "What is developing in Guatemala is not a military struggle but a social one. I do not think that we are going to defeat our enemy solely by guerrilla warfare. The guerrilla fighters are only one expression of the mobilization of the masses, of the workers and peasants."

At the time of the Tricontinental Conference in January 1966 Yon Sosa was the object of a very sharp attack by Fidel Castro, in the context of a polemic against the Fourth International. Castro reproached him for not breaking relations with some Mexican activists, who claimed to be Trotskyists and were working with his organization.

We appreciated Yon Sosa's laudable attitude, his refusal to give way to pressure, to accept any discrimination against activists. We respected his position, even though we were aware that the activists in question were members of the Posadista sect and were trying, with inadmissible methods, to promote conceptions within the MR 13 that were really only a pitiful caricature of Trotskyism.

Later the MR 13 expelled the Posadistas, who had stolen funds from the movement for their own aims. Once again the attitude of Yon Sosa and his companions was exemplary. Despite the extreme gravity of the Posadistas' crime, committed against an organization engaged in a fierce struggle, no hasty justice was applied against them. The accused had an opportunity to defend themselves. The final verdict imposed the penalty of expulsion. But while this decree uncompromisingly condemned them, it did not impugn their revolutionary spirit.

The political side of the decision was to break with the Fourth International, which in Yon Sosa's eyes was represented by Posadas. Later some of the MR 13 leaders became aware of the real situation, that Posadas and his clique had broken with the Fourth International already in late 1961. It is significant in any case that Yon Sosa never changed his basic conceptions, which remained in fact very close to those of the Trotskyist movement.

While remaining intransigent in his revolutionary orientations, Marcos did not give up trying to overcome the divisions within the Guatemalan movement. Agreements were concluded at one point with the FAR [Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes—Rebel Armed Forces] of César Montes, but unfortunately were never put into practice. However, he did not resign himself to this situation and did not stop working for revolutionary unity. In this area also, he taught a necessary lesson.

Yon Sosa's death in battle is a very severe loss for the Guatemalan and Latin-American revolution. The struggle is a terribly difficult one and it will be long. Many fighters will still have to pay with their lives for the triumph of socialism over imperialism and so-called national capitalism. Yon Sosa's name now joins that of Che Guevara and of innumerable other martyrs on the glorious honor roll of the Latin-American revolution.

3 High-school Students Sentenced to Lecumberri

Three of the high-school students arrested as a result of the 1968 student and popular movement in Mexico were sentenced May 16. José Luis Nuñez Castillo, Roberto Vásquez Camarana, and Rafael Servin each received five years and three months.

Young high-school students were in the forefront of the demonstrations and clashes of 1968. Many were arrested in the course of the movement. Pictures of the massacre of Tlatelolco on October 2, 1968, showed scores of teen-age bodies.

The three youths sentenced May 16 were accused of being responsible for damage that occurred in fighting between students and the police, army, and riot troops. The Mexican regime maintains that there are no political prisoners in the country.

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