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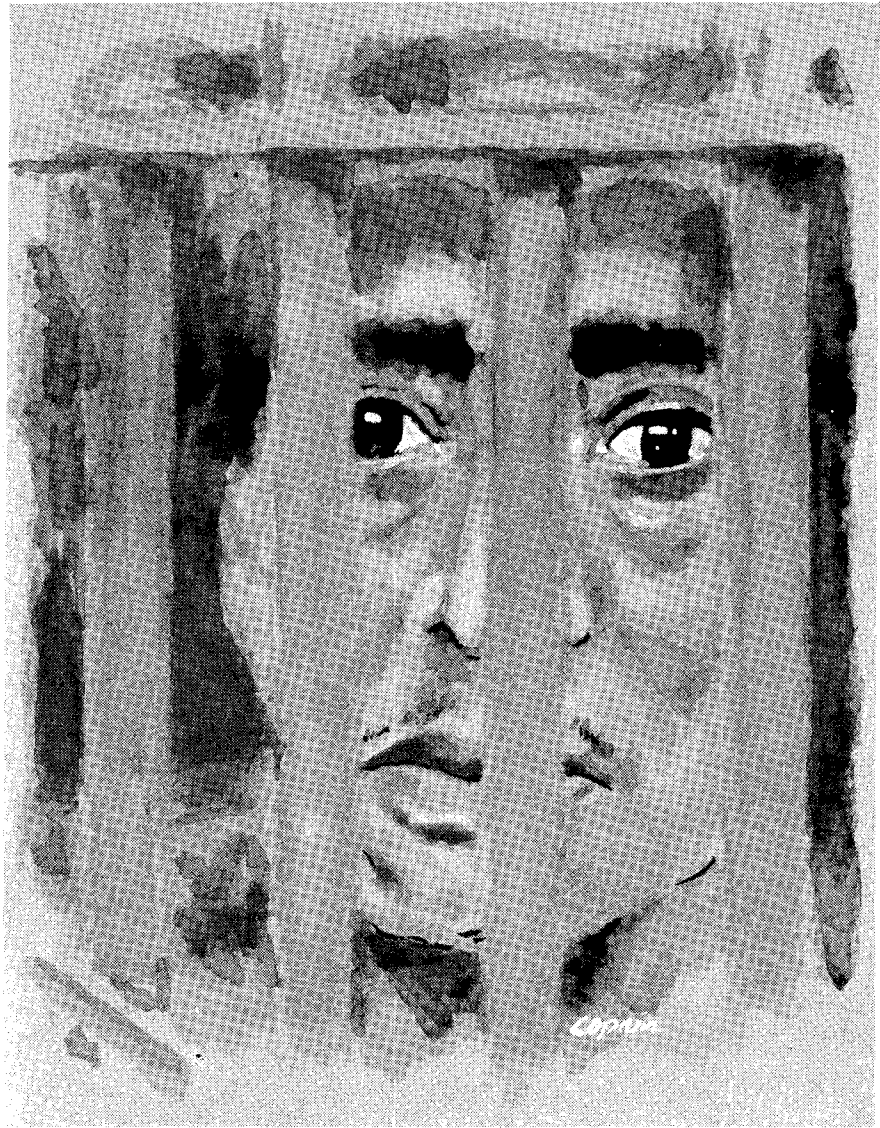
the Americas

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Special on China and Indonesia:

Free the Political Prisoners

In Laos

Arms supplied by the United States to the Laotian army of Premier Souvanna Phouma are helping at least one general make a handsome profit.

Columnist Jack Anderson reported June 30 that General Kouprasith Abhay is using his U.S.-armed troops to protect his logging operations.

"The wily warlord, whose control of Vientiane makes him the real power behind Premier Souvanna Phouma, got the timber rights by having the Laotian Assembly falsely declare the land 'unused.' Actually, the land is occupied by hundreds of Lao peasants, who farm the highland rice plots that nestle among the teak forests.

"Gen. Abhay uses his soldiers not to fight the Communist Pathet Lao but to keep them out of his forests. His troops also cow the Lao peasants who had gone there ahead of him to cultivate rice. Those who object to his logging operations . . . are driven off."

The teak cut for the general is shipped across the Mekong River into Thailand, where it is sold to the United States military at profits substantial enough to have made Abhay a millionaire.

The gains that can be made from U.S. assistance to Laos are not limited to logging. Anderson reports that Abhay has been able to pick up a few more dollars from a dam-building project at Nam Ngum which is being financed by the U.S.

The project brought a large number of workers to the town and Abhay "dispatched a dozen prostitutes to bring a little night life." The prostitutes were housed next door to the headquarters of the U.S. Agency for International Development until embarrassed AID officials persuaded Abhay's colonel to move them elsewhere.

Summer Schedule

We are now on our summer schedule. We will publish biweekly in July and will not publish in August. We will resume on a weekly basis in September.

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But the War Goes On

By Les Evans

U.S. ground-combat troops withdrew from Cambodia June 30 but the American military intervention in that country showed no sign of coming to an end. In his written report released to the newspapers June 30, Nixon announced that "air-interdiction missions," that is, heavy American bombing, would continue throughout Cambodia. He promised stepped-up military aid for the military dictatorship of General Lon Nol in Pnompenh, and announced flatly that Saigon troops would remain in Cambodia indefinitely.

He declared that there "will be no U.S. air or logistics support" for Saigon's operations in Cambodia. He did not say anything about such support for Lon Nol's troops. A report from Pnompenh in the June 28 *New York Times* indicated that such U.S. air support had already been ordered:

"Authoritative military sources here disclosed today [June 27] that United States planes would provide close air support—bombing, strafing and rocket attacks—for Cambodian troops engaged in combat anywhere in Cambodia.

"American fighter-bombers and other planes will be brought in, these sources said, whenever Cambodian troops are involved in major battles and need help after the withdrawal of United States ground troops next Tuesday."

Nixon also claimed that "a majority of the South Vietnamese forces" that had accompanied the American invasion had withdrawn by June 30. He gave the total number involved "at various times" as 48,000. But James P. Sterba writing from Saigon the same day put the number of Thieu's troops still in Cambodia at 34,000, which would mean the actual withdrawals were less than a third of the total.

Military authorities also said that Nixon's "prohibition" of tactical air support for Thieu's troops did not apply to the use of long-range American artillery located on the Cambodia-Vietnam border.

In a television interview July 1 Nixon left open the possibility of a return of U.S. ground-combat troops as well, if the Lon Nol clique proved incapable of sustaining itself even with the heavy backing Washington had already promised.

When questioned by Eric Sevareid of the Columbia Broadcasting System as to whether he could give a "categorical assurance now that we will not send ground troops back into Cambodia no matter what," Nixon replied:

"I can say now that we have no plans to send American ground forces into Cambodia. We have no plans to send any advisers into Cambodia." When pressed by Sevareid for a less ambiguous answer, Nixon said:

"When you say can I be pinned down to say that under no circumstances would the United States ever do anything, I would not say that." Significantly he implied that Washington was committed to the survival of the Lon Nol regime and that any decision on the further use of American troops was tied to the fate of the Pnompenh government: "But I will say that our plans do not countenance it [sending U.S. troops], we do not plan on it and under the circumstances, I believe that the success of the operation which we have undertaken as well as what the South Vietnamese will be able to do, will make it unnecessary."

"Unnecessary" now, but if that assessment should change, not excluded.

In fact, Nixon's use of the word "success" can only be taken as the crudest kind of propaganda to justify to the American public expanding the Vietnam war into another country. Nixon did not have a word to say about the so-called Central Office for South Vietnam, the National Liberation Front [NLF] top command post which was supposed to have been the main objective of the foray.

As for the aim of wiping out NLF "sanctuaries," which existed for five years with the permission of the Sihanouk regime, the "final" figures supplied by the U.S. military indicate

that even by their own inflated estimates, only 30 to 50 percent of the stored supplies and weapons of the Vietnamese freedom fighters were captured or destroyed.

What Nixon did succeed in doing was to spread the civil war throughout the whole of Cambodia and to unify the Cambodian people behind the Khmer Rouge and the Vietnamese NLF. Some indications of the imperialist success in this operation were provided by reports from Vietnam and Cambodia the morning of Nixon's report.

James P. Sterba, writing from Saigon in the June 29 *New York Times*, reported:

"By this week the Cambodian Army occupied less than one-third of the country's 69,000 square miles, mostly cities and towns." And that was before the U.S. troops pulled out!

T.D. Allman, writing from Pnompenh in the June 29 *Washington Post*, described how the Cambodian "government" conducts a war against what it calls a foreign invasion:

"Using small bands of well-organized men, the Communists have captured at least briefly most of Cambodia's provincial capitals, cut the main highways, isolated the capital, and made overland travel insecure.

"In response, vast numbers of Cambodians have chased after them. The result most often has been self-defeating destruction.

"In the process of routing small Communist forces from places they never intended to occupy permanently, pro-government forces have made thousands of Cambodians homeless. A dozen or more important towns have been largely destroyed.

"In the end, Communist losses are questionable. The guerrillas reappear a short time later to take another town, or cut another highway, and the process of Cambodia's destruction begins anew."

This report is very revealing in a number of respects. Why have "vast numbers" of Cambodians been unable

to dislodge "small bands" of presumably unpopular "invaders" from large population centers without attacking the civilian population and leveling the towns? How was the destruction of a "dozen or more important towns" achieved by Lon Nol's forces when they are supplied with only small arms, and the entire Cambodian air force consists of fourteen obsolete T-28 trainer planes hastily converted as fighter-bombers? Obviously the June 21 admission by U.S. military authorities that American planes had been bombing "enemy infiltration routes" deep inside Cambodia since April was only half the truth. The targets clearly included cities.

The ambiguities and evasions in Nixon's public assessment of the Cambodia adventure take on the most ominous light when viewed against the series of subterfuges and lies that were used to get the United States into Cambodia in the first place. In a major article by Hedrick Smith in the June 30 *New York Times*, it was revealed that even before Nixon's "troop withdrawal" speech of April 20 in which he said virtually nothing about Cambodia, "Mr. Nixon set out to help Premier Lon Nol clandestinely. He let Saigon's forces increase the scope and frequency of their attacks into Cambodia. The purpose, one high official said later, was 'to put pressure on the enemy forces so they wouldn't turn toward Pnompenh.'" Yet weeks later, on April 30, Nixon denied that the invasion was in support of the Lon Nol regime.

"By April 17," Smith recounted, "the President had also approved a secret shipment of 6,000 captured AK-47 rifles of Soviet design to the Cambodian Army. The United States first tried to use Indonesia as a cover for this aid, but for reasons of diplomacy, shifted to South Vietnam."

The April 20 troop "withdrawal" speech covered up another lie. Smith reported that it was aimed "to delay withdrawals for 60 days but to hide that fact in an announcement of a full year's pullouts—150,000 men by May, 1971."

Nixon's appointment of a new ambassador to the Paris talks does not indicate any departure from his calculated efforts to crush the revolution in Indochina. In the same July 1 television interview where he made the announcement, Nixon insisted that the

NLF accept "free" elections in Vietnam run by the Thieu government as the price of ending the war.

Nixon even claimed that the Thieu regime has "indicated that they will accept the result of an election—what the people choose."

Nixon must assume his listeners are extraordinarily gullible, inasmuch as Thieu and Ky have consistently declared that no "communists" would be permitted to run in any election under their control. Even the anticom-

Austria

Former Nazis Hold High Government Posts

Austrian chancellor Bruno Kreisky is a "socialist" of the Second International stamp. But his administration includes "socialists" of another variety than social democrats. In recent weeks, three members of the cabinet have been revealed as former members of the NSDAP [Nazionalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei—National Socialist German Workers Party, the Nazi party].

At the beginning of May, the Austrian weekly paper *Die Furche* reported that the minister of agriculture, Hans Ollinger, had been a Nazi "from the beginning" and had served in a leadership post in the SS.

Commented "socialist" Kreisky: "I not only stand behind the Minister of Agriculture, I stand in front of him to protect him." Kreisky was more than willing to let bygones be bygones: "I would have a great deal to do if I were to pursue the past so far back."

And indeed he would, for the chancellor is virtually surrounded by former Nazis. Two weeks after the initial revelations, Ollinger resigned his post "voluntarily and only for reasons of health." His replacement, Oskar Weihs, joined the Nazis in 1932.

According to the June 22 issue of the German news magazine *Der Spiegel*, Weihs left the party in 1934 following the Nazis' unsuccessful attempt at a *putsch*: they no longer looked like winners.

In May 1938, with the Nazis in power, Weihs once again applied for

munist runner-up in their 1967 "election," Truong Dinh Dzu, is still in jail, without ever having been brought to trial.

Nixon's imperialist policy has been given a major setback in Cambodia. At the same time he has set a course that can only lead to further escalation of the war in the future. The anti-war movement in the United States and the rest of the world will play a key role in deciding whether he will succeed.

party membership. The party leadership apparently considered him unreliable because of his earlier resignation, and his application was refused.

Weihs should feel quite comfortable in his new post. His predecessor left behind a secretary, Gerhard Pleschiutchnig, who in the 1950s was a member of the illegal neofascist Bund Heimattreuer Jugend [Union of Patriotic Youth]. In 1960, because of his youth and the testimony of other defendants, he was acquitted at a trial in which he was accused of singing the following song on the streets of Vienna:

"The devil take the traitors;
"The gas chambers were too small;
"We'll build bigger ones later
"And then we'll get you all!"

The third ex-Nazi in the cabinet is Otto Rösch, Minister of the Interior. When *Der Spiegel* revealed his membership, he denied it, but then changed his story and said that he had never realized that the party had accepted his application. In 1947 he was tried for alleged membership in a neofascist organization and accused of helping Nazi officials obtain false identification papers. He was acquitted for insufficient evidence.

It seems unlikely that Weihs, Pleschiutchnig, or Rösch will develop "health" problems similar to those that suddenly afflicted Ollinger. For, as a practical politician, "socialist" Kreisky recognizes that Austria has more than 400,000 voters who were members of the NSDAP.

'Philanthropy' from Bureaucratic Vultures

By Hugo Blanco

El Frontón Prison

Every day we hear on bourgeois radio stations and read in the bourgeois press, both governmental and private, that like any other natural catastrophe, earthquakes pay no attention to class distinctions. We hear and read daily admonitions that in times like these we must forget all class differences.

I got part of my revolutionary education from being the victim of an earthquake (Cuzco, 1950). Because of my experience and as a member of the FIR [Frente de Izquierda Revolucionario — Front of the Revolutionary Left, the Peruvian section of the Fourth International], I feel obliged to say something about the present situation. This is especially so because this is not the last time that we Peruvian revolutionists will be confronted with such a development. Since natural catastrophes are very frequent in our country, we should discuss the problem they raise.

Before talking about the results of the earthquake, we should remember that the geographer Edmundo Rey and many other Peruvian scientists have pointed to the French A-Bomb explosion in approximately the same latitude as the direct or possible cause of the earthquake (which caused 50,000 or more deaths and had a million direct victims, one-tenth of the total population of Peru). The earthquake came the day after the explosion. The official bodies, of course, have rejected this view, claiming that the earthquake coming after the bomb blast was just a "casual coincidence," like the other natural tragedies following directly in the wake of the previous French explosions.

The bourgeois companies and governments are using this tragedy to build up a demagogic campaign to show how "philanthropical" they are, offering a tiny fraction of the enormous sums they extract from the labor of the workers as "aid." Many companies which are known for their

inhumanity to their employees are trying to put on a "humanitarian" appearance that would enable them to exploit their workers more effectively and thus get back the value of their "aid" with a nice profit besides.

The case of the Cerro de Pasco Copper Corporation is instructive. While this company is beating the drum about the aid it gave to repair a highway, it is obstructing the workers' desire to donate a day's wages. This practice was exposed by the union, which found itself forced to threaten a strike so that the workers could accomplish their intention.

The government of the United States also finds it convenient to present a humanitarian face, pointing out among other things that its helicopters are "saving lives" (the same helicopters it is using in the genocide in Indochina and which on another occasion would probably return to Peru to "save the life" of the capitalist system and imperialist domination). Nor are the Peruvian repressive forces missing the chance to gain some prestige. They are "helping" the people that they massacre any time they rise up against the exploiters. And France is sending us geologists!

Moreover, this tragedy is being exploited to the hilt by the exploiters to convince us that "we are all one," that "we must forget our resentments," and other such things. The junta's "leftist" servants are the first to call for a "moratorium on strikes."

But in contrast to this hypocrisy by those who feed on the people's distress is an attitude of real solidarity by the workers, students, and all the exploited sectors of the country, as well as our brothers in other countries.

The members of many unions have decided democratically to donate a day's wages to the earthquake victims. Medical and social-work students, the students of the Universidad Agraria and other schools, rushed to the disaster area, offering their knowledge and energy to help the suffering

people. The high-school students have mobilized to carry out collections. The market workers have contributed food, as they did before to striking workers.

The poor of all sectors have taken the bread out of their own hungry mouths to send it to their brothers in the north. They have robbed their own miserable wardrobes to cover their brothers, at the cost of exposing themselves to the cold. They have given part of the little blood the exploiters have left them to the wounded. This is the solidarity of the poor (which has also come from Cuba, Chile, and other countries).

But let us not forget the nurses, the soldiers, and all those who although part of the state apparatus have expressed their love of the people by driving themselves, forcing themselves to do without sleep. We must not lump them together with the comfortable, greedy, and hypocritical bureaucracy. The bureaucrats and dedicated public workers are opposite poles within the same institutions, the exploiters and the exploited, like the peasants and the *gamonales* [land-grabbing local strongmen], like the workers and the bosses.

The popular mobilization in the face of this tragedy is quite a serious thing. A clear demonstration of this was the people's spontaneous, immediate, and indignant rejection of the irresponsible notion of celebrating a football victory in the streets at a time of popular sorrow. The alienation systematically produced by "public opinion" makers was not able to deaden the sensitivity of our people. The solidarity of the workers is a positive factor in their struggle against natural catastrophes and against the exploiters, an indispensable factor for the revolution.

For this reason, although we reject the opportunist position of "now we are one," which belongs in fact to class collaborationism, we do not fall into the sectarianism of refusing to

participate in and promote this authentic popular mobilization on the pretext that that would be "playing the diversionists' game," or that it would be "philanthropy." We are participating in the mobilization and giving impetus to it with our own class position.

It is a lie that "an earthquake pays no attention to class distinctions." The adobe houses of the poor have been leveled. The cement houses of the rich are still standing. But the more harmful effects for the poor do not come at the time of earthquakes, but later. Immediately the prices of food, clothing, blankets, material for making tents, and medicine soar to exorbitant heights.

Only the rich can get these things. The poor are condemned to die of hunger, cold, and of wounds left untreated. The greater part of the deaths occur after earthquakes, although the official statistics do not list these as results of the disaster.

In cases like the Cuzco or Ancash earthquakes, which occurred in mid-winter more than 3,000 meters above sea level, the freezing weather killed many people who had to sleep out in the open or with little shelter, especially children, old people, and the sick. In such instances, cold kills more easily than at other times because the people are hungrier than usual, without any calories to warm them.

The rich suffer an abrupt loss of luxuries, opulence, comforts. The poor suffer a sudden decrease in their chances of survival.

The authorities and the newspapers talk in outraged tones about "human vultures." This is the way they describe the looters and they tell us that orders have been given to shoot such people. Who are these looters? At first they are generally habitual petty thieves who take advantage of the confusion in such situations.

But as the days go on, it is the poor, who literally are without a mouthful to eat and want to keep alive, who are the looters. Instead of bread, they get a bullet. Thus the bourgeois character of the state is revealed in striking form. One of the first steps taken by the government is "sending in forces of law and order," establishing a "curfew," etc. This is to make sure that the poor die of

hunger in an orderly and law-abiding way.

The real vultures are the functionaries entrusted with collecting and distributing aid. Every victim of an earthquake or similar disaster can remember being taken advantage of by these vultures.

In Cuzco we students who were working as voluntary investigators were organized by the bureaucrats. At first the victims looked to us with affection and hope. But little by little we became hated and they were almost ready to stone us, because the bureaucrats sent brigade after brigade to investigate, to study how many victims there were and what they needed, but they did not distribute the aid. It is true that part of the aid was distributed (later! when many had already died for lack of it), but only a part of the aid that came from the rest of the country and from abroad.

This aid was widely publicized on the radio and in the papers; we even saw a lot of it arrive at the prefecture. But we didn't see any of it come out. (A very widespread saying was that the only tower [*torre*] that benefited from the earthquake was Torreblanca, the prefect.)

We also know that the aid sent at the time of the drought in Cuzco was so scandalously plundered that the authorities had to open up an investigation. However, when the judge (Dr. Valer) ordered the appearance of two ex-ministers implicated in the embezzlement, he was immediately replaced. (A few years later he was arrested as an "extremist" and sent to El Sepa, in the heart of the jungle, where he died shortly afterward as a result of conditions there.)

Ranrahirca protested for years because its celebrated aid never arrived.

In none of these tragedies has there been any lack of bureaucratic vultures, vultures who caused the deaths of so many of our brothers. No order has been given to shoot these vultures.

The aid which manages to reach the disaster zone is not distributed in accordance with the economic and social status of the victims. This does not mean that more is given to the poor, but to the contrary, that the poorest are given little or nothing. "Influential persons" get the best there is and the most. (After the earthquake

in Cuzco the family of a major was housed in immense tents in the Plaza de Armas. One tent served as a "reception room." At the same time poor families didn't even have a blanket for shelter.)

What should be our immediate response to these problems? We must act on two fronts—among the aid donors and the victims.

We must struggle to make the aid from the popular sectors as organized, direct, and centralized as possible.

It is very good that the unions, the neighborhood associations, and the student federations are operating in an organized way to collect aid and to coordinate their work in the affected area. We must try to get the high-school students also to organize democratically to offer aid.

We agree that the CGTP [Confederación General de Trabajadores Peruanos — General Confederation of Peruvian Workers, the CP-led union] must organize this aid. But it must do so in a democratic way, by means of representatives elected by the ranks and under strict control by the rank and file.

Aid must also be distributed by committees sent by the workers and students themselves. The more the corrupt state bureaucracy, which was not elected by the people and is not under their control, can be dispensed with the better. There must be organization, coordination, and planning, but this should be done democratically by the popular organizations.

We must promote the organization of the victims into committees or associations to watch over their immediate and future interests. That is, the victims must not only participate as directly as possible in supervising the distribution of immediate aid but watch over all aspects concerning the future of the community — reconstruction, care of orphans, etc.

The societies of people from the same province, district, and locality residing in Lima have an important role to play in giving impetus to this work. As for the Ancash Department club, however, we all know that it is a nest of *gamonales* and the like.

Immediate aid is essential but this will not solve the basic problem of the earthquake sufferers. We must demand more deepgoing emergency measures — immediate agrarian re-

form, distribution of the land to the peasants without any payment; nationalization of the industrial centers of the area under workers control; channeling profits into rebuilding the region, also under workers control.

(It is an outrage for this government, which claims that it is "revolutionary" and is making the utmost exertions to aid the victims, to try to collect a single centavo from the peasants to whom it is to distribute land. It is unheard of for them to permit the labor of the suffering workers to be diverted into satisfying the greed of the capitalists.)

We must demand a special tax on the income of capitalists throughout the country (whether they are natives or foreigners) to be used for reconstruction of the affected area.

We must demand that the destroyed towns be rebuilt in safe areas. It must be taken into account that some relatively secure sites are "barred" to such construction because they are "private

property." This was the case of the town of Santa María in La Convención, located between a hill and a river, where a natural disaster caused many deaths. There was a safe site directly in front of the town but it was "owned" by a *gamonal*. In desperation the people of Santa María asked the help of our peasant organization. And, under its protection, they occupied the area to rebuild their town.

A few months ago we saw shantytowns built in Lima along the bed of the Rímac River, which were swept away by the flood, while the bourgeoisie of San Isidro and Orrantia happily played golf on their enormous grounds or enjoyed life in the huge mansions set in the center of extensive green lawns.

We propose the transitional measures outlined above in view of the fact that we are operating within the context of a capitalist country. But we know that the final solution our people must seek in order to confront

natural tragedies like this one is to organize the country on a socialist basis. A socialist Peru will marshal all the energies of the nation from top to bottom, without any need for bourgeois "philanthropy."

There will be no need for begging private owners and industrialists to "please" provide the means of transportation, the lack of which is costing many lives. The students of the Universidad Agraria will not have to beg the bourgeoisie to "please" give them the tools for opening up the roads over which the aid will travel. The people will do this in an organized way without having to say "please" to anybody. The Cuban sugar harvests show us what this power means.

In a socialist Peru there will be no "problem of mass unemployment" of the victims of natural disasters, no "orphan problem." In a socialist Peru no child will be an orphan.

June 1970.

Despite Disintegration of New Mobe

Cleveland Conference Maps New Antiwar Actions

By Allen Myers

More than 1,400 delegates at the Emergency National Conference Against the Cambodia-Laos-Vietnam War meeting in Cleveland, Ohio, June 19-21, adopted a program for massive opposition to Nixon's war in Indochina aimed at winning to the antiwar movement increasing numbers of workers, Black and Third World people, and active-duty GIs. The conference also laid the basis for a new national coalition capable of uniting forces throughout the country committed to building mass independent antiwar actions.

The objective possibilities open to the movement were indicated by the fact that the conference was attended by 300 trade unionists—more than at any previous antiwar meeting.

Also present were active-duty GIs, representatives of local antiwar coalitions, and students from 240 colleges and seventy-three high schools. More

than fifty different organizations were represented.

The primary political debate at the conference took place between supporters of two different proposals, one submitted jointly by Jerry Gordon, chairman of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council [CAPAC], and James Lafferty, cochairman of the Detroit Coalition to End the War Now [DCEWN], the other advanced by members of the Maoist Progressive Labor party [PL] and Students for a Democratic Society [SDS].*

The Gordon-Lafferty proposal, which was adopted by the conference, projected a program of mass actions against the Indochina war organized by the broadest possible united-front

coalition. A central point of the program was the call for:

"A day of nationally coordinated massive antiwar demonstrations on Saturday, October 31. Centered around the political demand for immediate U.S. withdrawal from Indochina, a key feature of these mass demonstrations should be the expanding breadth of antiwar sentiment which they can represent. Americans from all walks of life will be urged to participate, particularly students, GIs, labor, women, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other oppressed people. . . .

"To this end, the demonstrations would be held in major urban centers all over the country, including regional centers such as San Francisco, Seattle, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland or Columbus, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, D. C., Denver, Atlanta, Austin or Houston.

* Following the disintegration of SDS in 1969, the name has been retained by a small fraction of the original organization presently led by PL.

These demonstrations should relate the war to the issues of racism, inflation, poverty, unemployment, political repression, GI rights, and women's liberation. . . ."

Gordon and Lafferty also urged a broad educational campaign about the war directed particularly at union members, support for demonstrations on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and support for the National Chicano Moratorium on August 29.

PL proposed instead that antiwar activists adopt as a major task the exclusion of liberals from the antiwar movement.

Instead of welcoming the unionists who are breaking with official AFL-CIO [American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations] policy by opposing the war, they attacked these individuals. For example, the Maoists accused one of the keynote speakers, John Williams, vice-president of Teamsters Local 208 in Los Angeles, of having sold out a wildcat strike—although Williams was jailed for his role in the walkout and now faces claims for damages from employers and possible prosecution.

PL also opposed the concept of the "antiwar university"—the idea that antiwar students, rather than closing the university, should make use of its resources to build the antiwar movement. The PL idea of a suitable action for the antiwar movement was an August 1 demonstration which they have called to support ghetto rebellions.

Aside from its own members, PL was able to win virtually no support for its proposal. In an article on the conference in the June 27 issue of the radical weekly *The Guardian*, Carl Davidson wrote on the strength of the contending forces:

"The Socialist Workers party [SWP] and Young Socialist Alliance [YSA] held together a bloc of about 1000 votes, most of which were independent antiwar activists rather than members of either organization. PL-SDS had a bloc of about 350; the Worker's League [supporters of the sectarian Socialist Labour League of Britain], 80; and the Spartacus League and Labor Committees had about 20 each."

After adopting the Gordon-Lafferty

proposal, the new coalition voted to set up headquarters in Cleveland and use the name Peace Action Coalition. A continuations committee was chosen to see that the program of the coalition was carried out.

Members of the committee, which will be expanded by representatives of other organizations who agree with the general perspective adopted, include Floyd Smith, president of Cleveland Local 500, Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen; Katie Baird; Jerry Gordon; Shalom Lebowitz, Chicago Veterans for Peace; Sam Manuel, Georgia State University Black Student Union; Murray Scharfstein, New York Vietnam Moratorium Committee; Don Gurewitz, Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam [SMC]; Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers party; and Auda Romine, secretary-treasurer, Cleveland Meat Cutters Local 500.

Also Jack Powers, Boston Beacon Hill Support Group; Ozzie Edwards, president, National Federation of Social Service Employees; Geoff Mirelowitz, Chicago High School SMC; John Williams, a representative of the National Chicano Moratorium; Diana Sugg, Atlanta women's liberation; Dan Siegel, president, Associated Students at the University of California, Berkeley; Ruth Gage-Colby; Norman Oliver, chairman, Detroit SMC Third World Committee; Rick Brown, Berkeley Strike Coordinating Committee; Bill Stone, Vermont Total Involvement; Professor Ernest Benjamin, Wayne State University; Orrie Chambers, chairman of the Black Caucus, Local 481, Newark Federation of Teachers; and Specialist 4 Dave Cortright, Ft. Wadsworth, New York.

Several organizations and individuals previously active in the antiwar movement did not attend the Cleveland conference. These included the present leaders of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam [New Mobe], most notably pacifist Dave Dellinger; and the Communist party.

The New Mobe, as a broad antiwar coalition, was the sponsor of the huge November 15 demonstration in Washington. But following that action, most of the official leadership of the organization, such as Dellinger and his codefendant in the Chicago "Conspiracy" trial, Rennie Davis, began to

advocate more "radical" tactics involving civil disobedience and physical confrontations with the police as superior to mass legal demonstrations.

More important than this difference over tactics was a difference over political goals. While groups like the Socialist Workers party, the Student Mobilization Committee, and many independents favored a broad coalition united in action against the war, the grouping around Dellinger hoped to transform the antiwar movement into an amorphous multi-issue organization similar to the old SDS. They therefore attempted to have the New Mobe adopt positions on a number of issues other than the war.

This multi-issue approach was supported by the Communist party for its own reasons. The CP wants to draw the antiwar movement into support for liberal capitalist candidates and recognizes that the imposition of a multi-issue reformist program is the first step in this process.

Together, these two sections were able to prevent the New Mobe from calling an open national conference to set the direction for the antiwar movement following the November 15 demonstration. They were also firmly opposed to the calling of the June 19-21 Cleveland Conference.

"What explains the hostility of these New Mobe leaders?" Jerry Gordon asked in a letter sent to antiwar groups across the country on June 10. "It is not because they were excluded from participating in the conference. Quite the contrary! There was a sustained five month effort to get New Mobe to convene a national conference at which workers, students, the black movement, GIs, religious groups, the traditional peace forces and others could join together and map anti-war plans. New Mobe leaders consistently rejected all proposals for such a conference. Even after Nixon's invasion of Cambodia, an emergency meeting of the New Mobe coordinating committee said 'no' to the idea of a national conference."

The reason for the opposition to a democratic conference of the antiwar movement was the recognition that the antiwar movement in its overwhelming majority has consistently rejected proposals that it transform itself into a neo-SDS.

When the Cleveland Area Peace Ac-

tion Council and the Detroit Coalition to End the War Now announced plans for the Cleveland conference, the New Mobe-CP forces responded by calling a conference of their own in Milwaukee June 27-28. This represented not a split in the antiwar movement but a departure from the movement in an attempt to found an all-inclusive multi-issue radical organization.

This was indicated by the call for the Milwaukee meeting, which outlined the issues to be discussed: "Killings in Jackson, Mississippi . . . Augusta, Georgia . . . Kent, Ohio . . . Expanding police attacks on the Black Panther Party . . . Rising unemployment . . . Continuing inflation . . . a dramatic escalation of the war throughout S. E. Asia. . . ." [Ellipses in original.]

The call went on to list the participants: "Delegations for this working conference will be chosen jointly by community groups working on problems of racism, welfare organizing, ending the war, GI rights, campus complicity, labor organizing, sexism, political action, etc."

Predictably, the attempt to find a political program common to the participants proved impossible.

After agreeing to support a Senate bill which would provide families a guaranteed annual wage of \$5,500, the conference took up a proposal by Arthur Waskow and Rennie Davis, both from the New Mobe steering committee.

They advocated a series of "long marches" from cities around the U. S. which would gradually converge on Washington where they would remain to take "direct action" of an unspecified nature in support of equally unspecified demands. The conference voted for a series of regional conferences to launch the marches. But no attempt was made to set up any organizational structure that could deal with the marches or even arrange the regional conferences.

At the suggestion of Cornell University professor Douglas Dowd, the meeting voted to set up a task force which would "articulate, develop, and publicize . . . disruptive tactics" to be used in relation to the issues of poverty, imperialism, war, racism, oppression, repression, and sexism. No attempt to define a program regarding these evils was made, nor was it specified who would serve on the task force.

Unlike the Cleveland conference, the

Milwaukee meeting was unable to draw any large union participation, although the gathering was told that a liaison committee — membership again unspecified — would meet with representatives of a "Trade Union Rank and File Action Conference" meeting in Chicago. The purpose of the liaison would be to plan unspecified joint actions for the fall.

Some 700-800 persons registered for the conference, but the June 28 plenary session began with only 350 present and dwindled to fewer than 200 by its conclusion.

Following the Cleveland conference, but before the Milwaukee gathering, Carl Davidson had written in the article referred to above that "the presence of a large number of independent antiwar activists at the Cleveland meeting signified that the SWP's emphasis on mass mobilizations on the single issue of the war may prevail over the Mobe's as yet ambivalence on this question."

The Milwaukee conference revealed that there was no ambivalence on the question of opposing massive independent antiwar actions. In fact, that appears to have been the only question on which the leading participants could agree.

Bolivia

Mass Student Demonstrations Protest Murder of Jenny Koeller and Elmo Catalan Aviles

In the wake of the brutal murder of two young leftists the regime of General Alfredo Ovando Candia appears to face a dangerous crisis.

The bodies of Jenny Koeller and her husband, Chilean journalist Elmo Catalan Aviles, were found June 13 near the city of Cochabamba. They had evidently been atrociously tortured before being killed by electrocution. Jenny Koeller was pregnant at the time of her death.

The conclusion of most students and left organizations was that the ruling junta was either directly or indirectly responsible for these murders. When the authorities reacted to protest demonstrations with violent repression, the

credibility of Ovando's "revolutionary" pretensions seems to have suffered heavy damage. The government's attempt to describe the repression as "maintaining revolutionary order" apparently did not help its case very much.

At the funeral of the young couple in Cochabamba June 15, according to the La Paz daily *Presencia*, "all the speakers concurred in accusing the government, the armed forces, and the CIA of being responsible for the crime that took the lives of Koeller and Catalan."

"The executive secretary of the Cochabamba FUL [Federación Universitaria Local — Local Student Federa-

tion], Adolfo Tezanos Pinto, said that his organization would do its duty of settling accounts with those responsible for the crime," *Presencia* reported.

Tezanos Pinto also made the following charge: "In this city we have a notorious CIA agent, General Eufronio Padilla, the mayor of Cochabamba. He must give us information on these two murders." The student leader alleged that the armed forces high command, members of the cabinet, and CIA elements held a meeting in his city a few days before the murders.

The day of the funeral, the POR [Partido Obrero Revolucionario — Revolutionary Workers party, the Bolivi-

an section of the Fourth International] issued a statement which seconded Tezanos Pinto's charges:

"The POR notes that the characteristics of this crime [the murder of the young couple] are the same as those of the murder of Comandante Che Guevara, Rigoberto Zamora Sasso (Marcelo) and Inti Peredo. Consequently, we must assume that the crime was perpetrated or inspired by the same people. In this connection there is serious evidence for branding Eufronio Padilla, former minister of the interior and present mayor of Cochabamba, as an agent of the CIA and an accomplice in the repression of anti-imperialist revolutionists. This evidence cannot be vitiated by communiqués or ordering the arrest of student leader Tezanos Pinto."

The most extensive clashes took place the day of the funeral. *Presencia* reported June 16: "After the burial, several groups of students and others who had attended the ceremony left the cemetery, shouting accusations that the local authorities and the DIC [Dirección de Investigaciones Criminales—Bureau of Criminal Investigation, the political police] were responsible for the murder of the two students."

Demonstrators marching in columns along the street began throwing stones at a police station. There were assaults on the city hall, the governor's offices, the Centro Boliviano-Americano, and the *Círculo Militar* [Officers Club]. When the demonstrators stoned the military's hangout, the authorities unleashed the police.

"This is how the clashes began at 3:00 in the afternoon," *Presencia* wrote. "The police tried to disperse the demonstrators by using tear-gas bombs. People arriving from Cochabamba have said that the police employed dogs in breaking up demonstrations. But the students continued to fight back, sometimes throwing rocks and at other times hurling back the gas grenades thrown at them by the police."

"A little later the shooting began. By that time a contingent of Seventh Division troops had already entered the field. The official communiqués say that the police and the army fired into the air. But the protesters accuse the forces of order of 'firing directly

on the students in an act of mass murder.' As of 5:30 p.m. the shooting was still going on."

The next day, June 17, *Presencia* reported that a young doctor, Edgar Paz Guevara, had been critically wounded in the fighting: "Paz Guevara was doing his duty as a doctor when, at the corner of Oquendo and Colombia streets at about 7:00 p.m. yesterday, he was struck in the cranium and in the right cheek by two bullets. The gunfire was so intense at the time that no one could come to his aid immediately. Precious minutes passed before a group of students dragged him away. . . ."

Eighteen persons were reported shot in the confrontations; no police or military casualties were mentioned. All the victims listed in the papers, except for Doctor Paz Guevara, were youths ranging in age from fifteen to twenty-one.

"In the corridors of Viedma Hospital," *Presencia* said, "it is easy to find grieving relatives of those who fell in the clashes. Among the wounded is a child of eleven. He was shot in the leg when he tried to go down a street in the area where the gunfire was most intense."

Press reports indicate that a large number of students were arrested, although the authorities did not release a full list of those they were holding. The following persons were reportedly being detained by the political police: Flavio Unzueta Arispe, a law student, twenty-five years old; Teófilo Villarroel, an agricultural student; Edgar Ballón Cossío, teaching assistant in architecture; Antonio Cortés Chavarría, a worker and night student, twenty-two years old; Enrique Requena Ramos, nineteen years old, first-year law student; and José Núñez Vela, nineteen years old, a first-year law student.

"There are other prisoners in the cells of the Seventh Division Command," *Presencia* reported. "The authorities apparently do not intend to release them. According to unofficial sources, the government is demanding 35,000 pesos [11.88 Bolivian pesos equals US\$1] in compensation for damage to the *Círculo Militar*. The university authorities and most emphatically the students have rejected this condition."

The Cochabamba student federation denounced the government for using repression against the students. *Presencia* reported June 17: "The student leaders of Cochabamba asserted that American imperialism is trying to maintain its domination over Latin America, and that for that purpose it is using various tactics—from establishing 'gorilla governments' to installing 'pseudorevolutionary governments' like those in Peru and Bolivia."

"The student statement added that to achieve its aims imperialism resorts to bribery, blackmail, and torture. In an attack on the government headed by General Ovando Candia, the statement said that the present regime is only apparently revolutionary. The statement denied that the government supports reforms, accusing it of being in league with and under the leadership of the CIA, of combining demagogic with fascist-type methods. . . . It appealed to the left parties to adopt a militant position."

The student federation declared: "We are convinced that the struggle has already begun and that in this sense we will be soldiers in the army created by our heroes Che Guevara and Inti Peredo."

"In conclusion, our experience can be summed up as follows: The counterrevolutionary, reactionary, murderous, traitorous nature of the Ovando government, its role as a lackey of Yankee imperialism has become clear. Imperialism will not hesitate to resort to any means to block the revolutionary movement. Unity of the revolutionary forces is an immediate necessity. The revolutionary forces must adopt violent and revolutionary forms of struggle to attain their objectives. The students must work with other revolutionary groups."

Presencia reported June 17 that the Consejo Universitario de San Simón [San Simón University Council], the Federación de Maestros Urbanos [Federation of City School Teachers], the Federación Universitaria Local [Local Student Federation], leaders of the Central Obrera Departamental [Departmental Labor Federation], the Federación de Fabriles [Factory Workers Union], the Federación de Estudiantes [High-School Student Federation], religious organizations like the FRUC, civil associations, social clubs and other labor organizations

"have condemned the use of firearms by the army in repressing the university and high-school students yesterday and demanded the immediate release of the imprisoned students."

A group of students in the school of architecture went on a hunger strike demanding release of the jailed demonstrators. Troops were reported stationed throughout the city to prevent further protests.

The confrontations in the smaller city of Potosí in the mine region do not seem to have been quite as widespread as they were in Cochabamba, but they may have been even more violent. A student march June 16, which the Bolivian news agency Noticias Fides admitted began peacefully, ended in sharp fighting. Violence broke out about an hour after the start of the demonstration; the press did not indicate the causes. According to dispatches from Potosí, the students fought the repressive forces—who apparently had fired on them—by hurling dynamite charges.

"At 9:00 p.m. while the disturbances were still continuing," *Presencia* reported June 17, "the student Félix Coila fell dead at the corner of Junín and Bolívar streets. Later it became known that five persons were wounded. Two students suffered gunshot wounds and three riot police were injured by dynamite casings."

In the city of San Andrés, a series of lightning street demonstrations and marches took place June 16. At a general assembly on the local campus, Mario Suárez, the leader of the CUB [Confederación Universitaria Boliviana—Bolivian Student Confederation] criticized the hypocrisy of the Ovando regime: "The government is keeping the real patriots in jail and letting the right conspire openly."

The "revolutionary" Ovando government has not released the captured revolutionists of the ELN [Ejército de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Army, the guerrilla force led by Che Guevara in 1967] and of the POR, or those accused of helping the guerrillas.

Union representatives addressed the assembly. In the name of the Central Obrera Boliviana [Bolivian Workers Federation, the principal union in the country], Francisco Mercado said that the working class would always be at the side of the students in their struggle

"against Yankee imperialism and the reactionary right."

The army did not try to suppress the protest demonstration in San Andrés but the town was guarded by a heavy complement of troops and an armored car was posted next to barricades built by the students.

"Grave street disturbances occurred today in this city as students and police clashed," a *Presencia* correspondent cabled June 16 from Sucre. "The situation has been brought under control and troops are patrolling the city and guarding public buildings."

The university students in Sucre held a general assembly at 11:30 a.m. June 16 to protest the murder of Jenny Koeller and Catalán Avilés. After the meeting, groups of youths demonstrated against the authorities and the U. S. presence in the city.

"The demonstrators mounted sharp attacks on the military barracks and stoned the city hall as they passed, breaking windows," *Presencia* wrote. Another group of students reportedly demolished the police station in the neighborhood of San Pablo. The greatest damage was said to be at the Centro Boliviano Americano.

At 6:00 p.m. that evening a second general assembly was held, attended this time by the high-school students as well. The head of the CUB, Adolfo Quiroga Bonadona, was also present. The meeting called for new demonstrations using the "commando" technique. In accordance with this strategy, "the Che Guevara commando group tried to set fire to the gate of the prefecture, using two Molotov cocktails," *Presencia* reported June 17. Another group allegedly tried to seize the electric power plant.

The Ovando government's political response to the student demonstrations was to suggest that the protesters were being manipulated by mysterious reactionary forces bent on wrecking the "national revolution."

In his speech to the nation June 16 Ovando said: "My government has complete information that new violent acts are being planned for the coming days. Specifically there are indications that such acts will occur today in Potosí. Calls for murder have been issued. A suicidal confrontation is being sought. It has been forgotten that the formula for liberation lies in an alliance of the armed forces with the people."

To counter the junta's attempt to avoid blame for the murders and distort the meaning of the student protests, the POR made the following proposal: "In view of these crimes and others which to this day remain enveloped in a cloud of mystery, the POR calls on the CUB and the COB to organize a popular tribunal immediately to investigate these acts. This tribunal must condemn those responsible for these murders which were intended to silence the people and block the revolutionary advance of the Bolivian masses."

The POR statement ended with this appeal: "The POR calls on all left parties, on the trade-union and student organizations, on the Human Rights Association, on women's associations to take a strong stand condemning the murder of the student Jenny Koeller, the infant she was carrying in her womb, and her husband H. Catalán. We call on these organizations to condemn the methods used in taking the lives of this couple—beating, torture, and finally electrocution, just like in the extermination camps of Nazi Germany. We call on the students and workers organizations to suspend all dialogue with the government until the political prisoners are released, until the tortures and persecutions are stopped, and until the terrorist organizations which operate under government protection are broken up. While such crimes abound and while our rights are being violated, talking with the government would be tantamount to sanctioning this situation and accepting it."

Paying for Zionism

An article in the May issue of *Jewish Frontier* reports:

"Prior to the submission of Israel's budget for the year beginning April, 1970, a tri-partite agreement was signed between Histadrut, the Employers' Federation, and the Government the purpose of which was to make a joint effort to check the inflationary trend. . . . In the agreement, the Histadrut consented to forego wage increases for workers which were long overdue and reduce them to the very minimum. . . . This agreement . . . shows clearly that the Histadrut is not an ordinary trade union organization but one which is a vital partner in the State of Israel."

And the workers are very junior partners in Histadrut.

On the Honor Roll of China's Trotskyist Prisoners

By Li Fu-jen

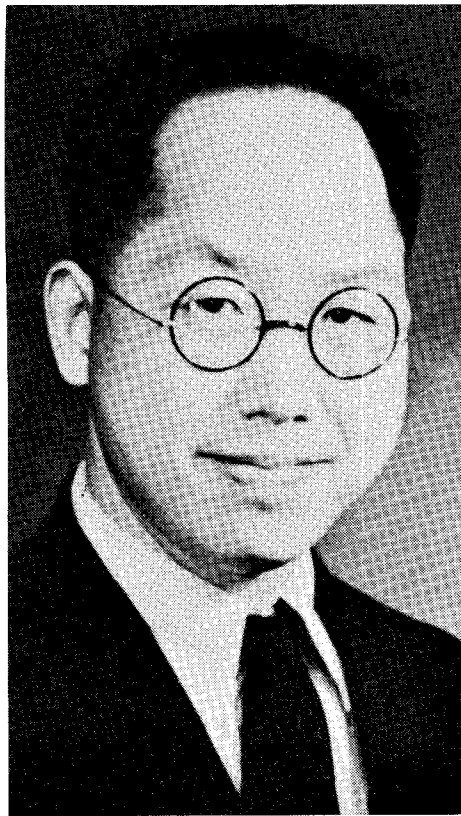
[Second of three articles.]

When Chairman Mao Tsetung's secret police agents pounced on the Trotskyists in December-January, 1952-53, they netted almost the entire cadre of the Chinese section of the Fourth International. Beyond their reach were those who had left the country three years before, when the People's Liberation Army completed the Communist party's takeover of the mainland.

It is of interest to note that the big sweep did not come until after the new regime had consolidated its rule and set up a national government at Peking. This suggests a question: If the Trotskyists were, as the government later alleged, criminal counter-revolutionaries, why did it permit them to carry on their nefarious activities for three years without hindrance? The answer is that the accusation was trumped up to serve a political aim. Mao and his cohorts needed a pretext for cracking down on a revolutionary opposition considered likely to give them trouble as they laced the country into a bureaucratic strait-jacket.

No crimes were charged against the arrested men and women because no crimes had been committed. The blanket charge of "counterrevolutionary activities," devoid of any specifics, is reminiscent of Stalin's frame-up trials fifteen years earlier. The honorable records of the arrestees as revolutionary socialists alone are enough to refute the prosecutors' contrived accusation. Following are brief sketches of some of the imprisoned men:

Chen Chao-lin, a founding member of both the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Chinese Trotskyist movement, was born in 1901. He worked in Paris with Chou En-lai and Chen Yi (top leaders in the present Peking regime) at the end of World War I, and after the Bolshevik revolution went to Moscow where he studied at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East. Chen returned to China in 1925 to work in the Cen-



CHEN CHAO-LIN. Imprisoned Chinese Trotskyist leader. Photo believed to have been taken in 1941.

tral Committee of the CCP. Having become proficient in English, French, German and Russian, he translated Communist textbooks into Chinese and engaged in the training of revolutionary cadres of the youth. During the high tide of the 1925-27 revolution, he played an important part in party work in the Wuhan area.

Following the defeat of the revolution, Chen became a Trotskyist. Arrested by the Kuomintang police, he was sentenced to fifteen years in prison. With the onset of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937, he was released, having served seven years. Chen spent most of his time during the next few years translating the works of Trotsky into Chinese. With Japan's surrender in 1945, he edited a semimonthly mag-

azine, *The New Banner*, until it was proscribed by the Kuomintang.

When the People's Liberation Army took the city, some of the Trotskyists left for Hongkong to continue political activity from the outside. Chen and others remained in Shanghai, continuing their work until they were arrested. At this writing, Chen has lived as a political prisoner for twenty-five years—seven years under Chiang, eighteen years under Mao. Surely a record! He is now about seventy.

Chiang Tseng-tung. As a worker-communist, this comrade had a leading activist role in the Shanghai labor movement. He took part in the general strike and uprising in that city in 1925, continuing his work as a proletarian revolutionist under the Kuomintang dictatorship and, as a Trotskyist, upholding the banner of the Fourth International. He was arrested in the sweep by Mao's police in December, 1952. If alive, he is now about sixty years old.

Chou Jen-sen. A revolutionary intellectual. A teacher by profession, he taught in middle school (high school). Arrested by Mao's police in the Fukien port city of Amoy. Is believed imprisoned in Shanghai.

Ho Chi-sen. Student leader in Peking in early 1920s and joined the CCP shortly after its formation. During the Northern Expedition of the Kwangtung revolutionary army that set out from Canton to wrest the country from the grip of reactionary warlords (1925-27), he played a leading role in revolutionary activity, together with Mao Tsetung, first in Wuhan, later in Hunan province. After Chiang Kai-shek's counterrevolutionary coup at Shanghai in April, 1927, Ho worked in the underground to revive the prostrate CCP.

In 1929, following the lead of Chen Tu-hsiu, he became convinced of the falsity of the CCP's Moscow-dictated political line and became a Trotskyist. He represented the "Proletarians," one of four Trotskyist groups that

fused in 1931 to form the Communist League of China. The unified organization became the Chinese section of the Fourth International when it was formally launched in 1938.

In poor health when his old colleague Mao had him put behind bars, Ho is now about seventy-three years of age, if still alive. Nothing has been heard of him for many years. There is reason to fear that he may have died in a forced-labor camp.

Ling Hwer-Hua. This veteran of the revolutionary struggle was a member of the executive committee of the Printers Union of Canton when arrested by Mao's police at the end of 1952. He was sent to Wuhan with other Trotskyists arrested in the "Southwestern Administrative Area" and sentenced to work in a hard-labor camp for an indefinite term. If alive, he is over fifty years old. No word of him has reached the outside world.

Ling Sun-chi. A lecturer at Sun Yat-sen University in Canton. Arrested by Mao's police some time in 1953, after the mass roundup at the previous year-end. There has been no word of his fate.

Wang Kuo-lung. A middle-school teacher like Chou Jen-sen, Wang was arrested in Wenchow, Chekiang province, during the big roundup and is believed to be imprisoned in Shanghai.

Ying Kwan. Student in France after World War I. Took part in the 1925-27 revolution as a leading CCP activist in the central China province of Anhwei, where he was born. Embraced Trotsky's ideas in 1929 and worked to unify the four Trotskyist groups then in existence.

Arrested by the Kuomintang police in 1932, he spent two years in prison. Released in 1934, he was later re-arrested and again set free shortly before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937. During the war years he worked among students.

After Japan's surrender, Ying Kwan resumed political work in Shanghai and continued after the Communist takeover until his arrest by Mao's police. If still alive, he is about seventy years old. No word of him has reached the outer world.

* * *

The names I have given here, let it be emphasized, are but a few of the Trotskyist prisoners who were incar-

cerated in the lockups of the People's Republic of China. It is almost certain that some of those arrested have died in prisons or hard-labor camps.

In addition to the veterans of the revolution, many of the younger generation of Trotskyists fell into the clutches of Mao's police. These youthful revolutionists were sentenced to hard labor for terms ranging from five to ten years. I understand a few

Trinidad

Oil Workers Score Police Raid

The Executive Committee of the Oilfields Workers' Trade Union [OWTU] of Trinidad has denounced government raids on its headquarters in May under the special Emergency Powers Act of 1970 as "illegal, unconstitutional and unwarranted."

"On Thursday 14 and Friday 15 May, 1970," the committee said in a public statement, "the registered office of the Oilfields Workers' Trade Union at Paramount Building, 99a Circular Road, San Fernando, was invaded and occupied by armed police and countless records of the Union concerning matters, past and present, closed and pending, were seized by them and taken away. Numbers of books and pamphlets were taken from the Union's library. The Oilworkers Palms Club at Pointe-a-Pierre Road and the offices of the Vanguard Publishing Company Limited at 4a Lower Hillside St. were also invaded and occupied by the police and records and equipment of the 'Vanguard', the Union's newspaper, were also seized and taken away." [See *Intercontinental Press*, June 22, 1970, page 601.]

Prime Minister Eric Williams claimed the raid was ordered to investigate allegations made in a petition from "several hundred members" of the OWTU that \$71,000 of union strike funds had been misused.

The timing of the raid belied this pretext, however. The allegations are years old, dating from 1965-1966. The executive committee points out that the use of strike funds, which it says were spent on other legitimate union business, was approved by two annual conferences of the union. The government in its annual audit of the union's books has itself approved the expenditures on two occasions.

As for the petition from "several hundred members" of the OWTU, the Williams's regime has yet to produce a copy. There is none on file in the office of the Registrar of Trade Unions as required by law.

The OWTU charges that the real motive for the raids was to weaken or destroy the union, which played an important role in the Black Power demonstrations earlier this year. George Weekes, president gen-

eral of the OWTU, is one of nine leaders of the Black Power movement presently under indictment for "sedition."

Under normal procedures, the government would have sent an auditor to further examine the union books.

"The immediate result of the police coup d'etat on the Union is that all work on the processing of current grievances, all pending negotiations for new collective agreements . . . all disputes being heard in the Industrial Court, all preparatory work already in progress for the revision and amendment of our general collective agreements . . . was forced to be suspended indefinitely resulting in extreme hardships on members of the Union," the Executive Committee said.

The union leadership said the attack on the OWTU was part of a "gradual and deliberate replacement of the democratic tradition by a despotism which disguises itself as traditional democracy."

Mao Tsetung Thought Correctly Applied

"PEKING, JUNE 12 (HSINHUA)—Li Liu-shuan, a veterinary of the People's Liberation Army, has worked out a new method for curing intestinal obstruction caused by constipation in horses and mules. He has achieved this success by following Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on medical and health work and by daring to think and to act. The 'hammering' method which he evolved after repeated practice is a new contribution to veterinary treatment in China. In treating more than 2,000 horses over the past few years, he has achieved a hundred per cent cure.

"The Party Committee of his unit, which is one of the Peking units of the People's Liberation Army, has awarded him the Order of Merit, First Class, for his living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought and for his courage in defending Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on medical and health work."

Nationalist Youth Battle British Troops

By Gerry Foley

"The situation in Northern Ireland is more dangerous now than it was last August, even if the violence between Catholic and Protestant has not yet claimed quite so many lives," the *New York Times*, the most intelligent organ of American capitalism, wrote in an editorial June 30 after three days of violent clashes in Belfast and Derry City.

Following the outbreaks, Unionist government leaders in Belfast accused the nationalist Catholic minority of trying to overthrow the autonomous statelet. Prime Minister Chichester-Clark declared: "In the activities of the gunmen and the carefully planned incendiarism, there is clear evidence that there are people who want to destroy Northern Ireland."

Brian Faulkner, Northern Irish minister of development and the second most powerful man in the government, said June 28: "The director of operations, that's the G. O. C. [General Officer Commanding] in Northern Ireland, has put out a statement from our Security Committee, which I have just left, saying that all civilians seen carrying firearms or using firearms in any way whatsoever are liable to be shot without warning.

"This is because the trouble that there was yesterday and last night took on a new form. New, but yet old. We have seen this sort of thing in years gone by in Northern Ireland; but whereas a year ago people were talking about defending their homes in various parts of Belfast and in Londonderry, what we saw yesterday was, first of all, planned arson in various British-owned premises in Belfast. The police have discovered electronic devices that were placed in various stores—in Belfast. Then there were gunmen active in one or two parts of Belfast last night—active against the Army, specifically in two places, active against the police."

When renewed fighting erupted in the Falls Road Catholic ghetto of Belfast July 3-4, British troops fired on

crowds of nationalist youth for the first time. Conflicts developed as soldiers moved in Friday afternoon to "pacify" the area.

At about 6:00 p.m. July 3, British security forces discovered a small arms cache belonging apparently to the volunteer groups who defended the ghetto from attacks by heavily armed, pro-British Protestants the weekend before. The cache included fifteen pistols, two automatic rifles, a submachine gun, and ammunition.

The seizure of the arms enraged nationalist youths. "For more than an hour, the soldiers were subjected to continuous barrages from 200 youths, who ripped blocks from the sidewalk and used them as ammunition," the *New York Times* reported July 4.

Fierce fighting developed. The troops fired into the crowd. Hand grenades and gasoline bombs were thrown at the British. Barricades went up.

In the early morning hours July 4, the British army stormed the nationalist area, spearheaded by armored cars. After three hours of fighting, the troops won control of the ghetto district, Reuters reported from Belfast.

Five persons were killed in the battle, all of them Irish. Two were said to be snipers. Thirteen persons were injured by gunshot or shrapnel wounds; ten were members of the British repressive forces.

The fighting the weekend before broke out first in the British enclave's second largest city: "The sky over Derry [called Londonderry by the Unionists] was bright with flames early this morning [June 27]. As we went to press fierce rioting was still going on in the Bogside [the Catholic ghetto] and explosions rocked the city," the *Dublin Sunday Press* reported June 28.

The battle in Derry seemed to be mainly between British troops and residents of the Catholic ghetto. The fighting began June 26, the day Catholic civil-rights leader Bernadette Dev-

lin went to jail on charges stemming from the clashes of last August. She had helped the Bogsideers organize to resist attacks by fanatical Unionist mobs led by police and Protestant militiamen.

Last year many Catholics welcomed the British troops who stationed themselves between the nationalist population and the Unionists. Direct intervention by Westminster also created illusions that the London government would move to establish more democratic forms of rule in Northern Ireland, which in the fifty years since the Irish revolution has been an imperialist redoubt founded on a religious caste system.

When Bernadette Devlin was denied the right to appeal her conviction for "riotous behaviour" by a Northern Irish court to the appropriate British appellate body, the Catholic population felt betrayed.

At 8:00 p.m. June 26 a group of about thirty youths on Rossville Street in Derry City began to stone the British troops. At 8:20 the army charged the crowd, which by that time had grown to about 150. "Hails of stones and petrol bombs were thrown and at 8:25 the army made a second charge and scattered the mob," the *Sunday Press* wrote. The troops demolished a barricade the youths had thrown up but the crowd continued to throw stones and berate the soldiers.

"At 9 p.m.," the report continued, "the crowd [now about 500] marched on toward the soldiers headed by a youth carrying a tricolour [the flag of the Irish republic] and the crowd were singing the Soldier's Song." ("A Soldier's Song" is the anthem of the Irish Republic.)

Crowds of Catholic youth tried to break through to the center of the city. The British troops drove them back toward the ghetto. The crowd had grown to 1,000 (the population of Derry is about 50,000, of which over 40 percent are Protestants).

The troops encountered fierce resis-

tance: ". . . although the troops fought valiantly to hold their ground, the senior officer in charge asked for permission to withdraw because of the number of casualties. . . . Shortly after midnight as the army repeatedly fired CS gas at the rioters in William St., two Saracen armoured cars were brought to the front of the military line but were driven back," the *Sunday Press* reported.

The fighting ended only with the heavy rain that came in the night of June 28. Reporters estimated that the troops had used more than 1,000 CS gas canisters. About 25 percent of the British forces were *hors de combat* because of injuries. Some 200 people were hurt in the fighting; half of the casualties were among the repressive forces. Nearly fifty people were arrested. The British commanders agreed to keep their soldiers out of the ghetto for two weeks until tempers cooled.

The outbreaks in Belfast began in the afternoon of June 27. "At 4.30 a.m. this morning [June 28] Belfast was in complete chaos. Fires were raging everywhere. Explosions rocked the city, streets and estates [housing developments] were under gunfire. The Army, Fire Brigade and Ambulance services were completely overwhelmed by the situation," the *Sunday Press* reported.

"For the first time rioting erupted in the east side of the city which embraces the major industrial life of the North—the shipyards and the aircraft factory."

The fighting started as a nationalist crowd gathered to watch an Orange parade. Orange is the symbol of the dominant Protestant community, derived from the royal colors of William of Orange, who defeated James II and his Irish Catholic allies on the Boyne River July 12, 1690.

The parades of the Orange lodges are a prominent feature of the Northern Irish scene. The Irish scholar Conor Cruse O'Brien described their function in the November 6, 1969, *New York Review of Books*:

"When the Orange Order and the Apprentice Boys commemorate the victories of 1690, as they do each year in elaborate ceremonies, the message they are conveying is that of their determination to hold for Protestants in Northern Ireland as much as pos-

sible the privileged status which their ancestors won under William of Orange. These are not, as outside observers so easily suppose, comically archaic occasions. The symbols are historical, the iconography old-fashioned, but the message is for the here and now. The ritual is one of a stylized act of dominance: 'We are your superiors: we know you hate this demonstration of that fact: we dare you to do something about it: if you don't, you ratify your own inferior status.' That is what the drums say."

The Orange parade June 27 passed through the Cupar Street area adjoining the so-called peace line established between the Catholic and Protestant neighborhoods after last year's fighting. A Catholic crowd gathered just past the junction of May Street and Springfield Road.

"As the Orange parade made its way along Mayo street, its music could be heard out in the Springfield road, and shouts and jeers went up and the National Anthem of the Republic was sung by a section of the crowd," Henry Kelly reported in the June 29 issue of the *Irish Times*.

"Then the first Orange banner appeared at the corner of Mayo street to turn right up the Springfield road and almost immediately the first stones began to fly, one or two certainly from the Catholic side, but almost instantaneously from both sides of the police cordon." After a few minutes the march broke up and fighting spread.

Late that night the Belfast Ambulance Service reported: "The situation tonight is even worse than it was at the very height of the August [1969] riots. There is far more shooting going on tonight. Most of the people injured have gunshot wounds."

Newspaper reports indicated that Protestant mobs were heavily armed. The Dublin *Sunday Press* wrote June 28: "At 1.30 a.m., snipers in Seaforde Street East Belfast—using what are believed to be self-loading rifles of the type issued to the British Army and Nato—were firing at anything that moved.

"A concerted attack by Protestants, armed with heavy automatic weapons, was made on the Catholic enclave around Seaforde Street and three people were injured."

Henry Kelly gave this description

of the Seaforde Street Catholics' response: "Within minutes, three people had been injured by shotgun wounds, and, with almost incredible speed, Catholic vigilantes in the area had buses, lorries and cars parked neatly across the entrance to their streets."

By the morning of June 28, six people were reported dead in Belfast and 150 injured. More than fifty had been arrested. Some thirty soldiers were injured, six of them seriously enough to require hospital treatment. The British army announced that it had used 1,331 cartridges of CS gas and more than 264 canisters.

On Monday, June 29, Protestant workers at the Harland and Wolff Shipyard warned Catholics not to come to work. Some 11,000 Protestants and 1,000 Catholics work there.

In the wake of the clashes, the Northern Ireland government passed more repressive legislation. The Criminal Justice Bill, which provides mandatory jail sentences of one to five years for "riot" offenses, was rammed through the Belfast parliament in one day. This autonomous province of Great Britain already has one of the most repressive laws in the world on its statute books: The Special Powers Act, passed at the time of the Irish revolution, permits the government to imprison anyone considered "dangerous to the state" indefinitely and without trial.

The Unionist regime has been shifting steadily to the right ever since the Catholics began fighting actively against discrimination in the fall of 1968. The April 16 by-elections this year showed that the Unionists have given up their recent "modernist" pretensions and fallen back into their traditional role as the party of the "Protestant Ascendancy." The renewed fighting indicates that the reformist illusions among the Catholics inspired by the intervention of the London government after last year's outbreaks are fading rapidly. After more than a year and a half of extreme tension, the Catholic population seems more combative and exasperated than ever. The big Orange parades of July 12 and August 12 are yet to come.

Fish Production Rises in Cuba

In 1969, the Cuban fishing industry produced 85,000 metric tons of fish. Production in 1958 was 21,900 metric tons.

The Communist Party Splits Wide Open

[The twelfth plenum of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist party held in Bucharest in February 1968 registered a deep division within the Greek Stalinist movement. A plenum of the Kremlin-supported Koliogiannis faction in mid-April of this year carried things toward an irreparable split. We have translated the following article, which comments on the Koliogiannis conference and on the split in the Greek CP, from the May issue of *Ergatike Pale* (Workers Struggle), the organ of the KDKE (Kommounistiko Diethnistiko Komma tes Ellados—the Internationalist Communist party of Greece, the Greek section of the Fourth International). Like all socialist publications in Greece today, *Ergatike Pale* has to be printed and distributed under clandestine conditions.]

* * *

The "Fourteenth Plenum of the Central Committee of the KKE" [Kommounistike Komma tes Ellados—Communist party of Greece], in fact a meeting of pro-Koliogiannis cadres, acolytes of the Soviet bureaucracy, announced an upcoming "Ninth Congress of the KKE." In reality this "congress" will be a conference of the Koliogiannis tendency.

The announcement of the "congress" includes a statement giving the essence of the political line embodied in the theses of the Central Committee: "The KKE appeals to all democratic and patriotic forces to join in a common struggle which will culminate in the overthrow of the dictatorship and the formation of a government of all parties opposed to the dictatorship, and of all the resistance forces. Such a government will restore democratic freedoms and lead the country to democratic elections for a constituent assembly."

The same central political line is followed by all the splintered tendencies of the KKE, the EDA [Enosis tes Demokratikes Aristeras—Union of the Democratic Left, the old CP-con-



Kostas Koliogiannis

trolled electoral front], the Demokratike Neolaia Lambraki [DNL—the Lambrakis Democratic Youth, the youth group of the EDA], and the Patriotiko Metopo [Patriotic Front].

In its political resolution of April 1969 the "Special Plenum of the Central Committee of the KKE" (the Partsalidis faction) stated the following as the primary and among the most important points of its "Program of Common Struggle and Integration of All the Antidictatorial Forces": "The overthrow of the dictatorial regime, the dissolution of the junta, and the formation of a government of all the antidictatorial parties and the resistance organizations."

In its letter to the political leaders of the country in April 1969, in which it suggested the formation of a Committee of National Salvation, the National Committee of the EDA stressed: "The task of the Committee [of National Salvation] will be to coordinate and give general direction to the antidictatorial struggle in Greece until the dictatorship is overthrown and until free elections are assured by a gov-

ernment of all the parties and of the resistance organizations."

Still more recently, on April 29, speaking in Paris in the name of the Patriotiko Metopo, the popular leader of the DNL, Mikes Theodorakis, argued that a union of all the antidictatorial forces was necessary. And included in the nine points he suggested as the programmatic basis for this union was the "formation of a government of national unity."

What is the meaning of all these effusive calls for a common "patriotic" front of all the parties opposed to the dictatorship of the colonels whose central political demand would be for a government of "national unity" which would restore "democracy" in Greece?

The meaning of all this is obvious: The oppressed masses (workers, poor peasants, working students—the overwhelming majority of the Greek people) are supposed to forget about the class interests represented by political figures like Karamanlis, Kanellopoulos, Metsotakis, Mauros, and Papandreou. The oppressed masses are supposed to set aside their bitter experiences with the bourgeois governments of the ERE [Ethniki Rizopastikes Enosis—National Radical Union, a conservative bourgeois party], the Enosis tou Kentrou [Center Union, bourgeois liberals], and the court-lackey renegades from the Enosis tou Kentrou.*

The oppressed masses are supposed to grant a pardon to all these bourgeois politicians who exploited and tyrannized the people for the benefit of capital, the royal court, and imperialism—like Kanellopoulos, who was preparing a "dictatorship of the generals," like Papandreou, who deceived the masses in the name of "de-

* The king and the army toppled the liberal government of Georgios Papandreou in 1965 by bribing Center Union members of parliament. A series of "caretaker" governments in which these renegades played a key role were to prepare the way for new elections. Both the colonels and the top military brass and the king were preparing coups to forestall these elections. The colonels beat the generals to the punch.

mocracy," and like Metsotakis, who degraded them for the sake of the royal court. The masses are supposed to form a common front with these bourgeois politicians, to carry them on their backs again as a government of "national unity."

To refurbish the old delapidated and bankrupt system of bourgeois "democracy" by the participation of "left" party and resistance leaders in a bourgeois government—that is what Koliogiannis, Partsalidis, Theodorakis, Brillakis, Pharakos, Philinis, and the like offer the masses. In the profound social and political crisis of the capitalist order in Greece, one of whose expressions was the so-called "antidemocratic deviation" (with the court-controlled governments in 1965 and the military dictatorship in 1967), these leaders of the left without exception offer the masses the solution of bourgeois "democracy."

Any clear-sighted bourgeois "democratic" leader would applaud this solution without reservations. Because in this way parliamentary government, bourgeois "democracy," the treacherous "political world," could draw strength from new illusions among the people. In this way the bourgeois politicians would again be able to use the snares of "the people's verdict," "rule by the people," "normal democratic processes," and "parliamentary roads."

With the participation and complicity of the bureaucratic left leaders, the bourgeois politicians could continue to deceive, to exploit, and to oppress the masses. Participation by "leftists" or "Communists" in a bourgeois government will not produce any structural changes. (This was confirmed in the postwar period in many cases—Greece, Italy, France, Belgium, Finland). The precise effect of such participation will be to stabilize the bourgeois order for a time, diverting the masses from the road of class struggle.

The common bourgeois-democratic and reformist orientation of the hopelessly split KKE, EDA, DNL, and the Patriotiko Metopo show the incurable, ingrained opportunism of the leaders of the official left and first of all the KKE. The leading factions of this party not only bear the full responsibility for the terrible defeats

of the mass movement in Greece in 1944-45, 1946-49, and 1965-67. They clearly demonstrate that they are incapable of learning the most elementary lessons from their defeats.

In dealing with the establishment of the dictatorship in Greece, the Ninth Congress of the Koliogiannis faction will certainly talk about shortcomings and mistakes on the part of the KKE, for which it will throw the blame on the opposing faction, denouncing it for "right opportunism" and "factional



Andreas Papandreu

and splitting activity." The Partsalidis faction may make a "self-criticism" of the underestimation of the threat of a dictatorship, of the lack of sufficient preparation to meet this threat, etc.

But the Koliogiannis group will not give the slightest hint of the real and deeper causes of the defeats of the entire postwar period, which are to be found in the bureaucratization of the KKE, in its ideological, political, and organizational degeneration, in its transformation in the Stalin period from a party of the socialist revolution into a party of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, into a party serving the bourgeois fatherland, in-

to a party practicing class collaboration and "national unity," into a party of "regular democratic processes" leading to socialism and "national democratic change," into a party devoted not to the interests of the world revolution but to the interests of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

This congress is to make official the split in the KKE, to excommunicate the opposing faction in the old Political Bureau (Partsalidis-Zographou-Demetriou) as well as anti-Koliogiannis cadres from Philinis and Brillakis to Glezos and Theodorakis. Its purpose is to applaud the international policy of the Soviet leadership and approve the policy of their vassals, Koliogiannis, Stringhos, Mavromatis, and Pharakos.

In response, the opponents of the Koliogiannis faction in the old Political Bureau and in the old Central Committee may convoke a "Special Congress of the KKE." The first step toward this was the "Special Plenum of the Central Committee of the KKE" which met in April 1969.

When the Partsalidis wing of the KKE holds its congress it will certainly talk about serious mistakes by the party. It will explain how these errors led to an incorrect evaluation of the relationship of forces, to the lack of a correct perspective, to political and organizational errors. For these mistakes they will blame the Koliogiannis faction, which was in the majority in the old Political Bureau.

But Partsalidis's followers will not touch the "holy of holies," the ideological, political, and organizational evolution of the KKE—in short, its bureaucratic degeneration and transformation into a party of petty-bourgeois radicalism. Moreover, Partsalidis's contribution to this development was no less important than that of Koliogiannis.

The Partsalidis group disagrees with the invasion of Czechoslovakia, talks about "many roads to socialism," accepts the possibility of a plurality of parties existing under socialism so long as they abide by socialist legality and operate within a socialist framework. It seeks to develop a Greek road to socialism and criticizes the Soviet CP for its support to the Koliogiannis faction. That is, the Partsalidis group lines up with the West European (more specifically, the Italian) more

"liberal" and more "independent" variant of bureaucratic and neoreformist CPs.

These positions, of course, differentiate the Partsalidis faction from the ossified Koligiannis tendency, which is locked in step with the Soviet CP and directly dependent on it. There is no definite evidence, however, for the moment at least, that the Partsalidis grouping constitutes a left centrist tendency inside or outside the framework of the KKE.

The differences the Partsalidis faction holds against the Koligiannis ten-

dency (the elements of which we suspect have a limited nature) relate to the time since the Eighth Congress of the KKE (1961). They have nothing at all to do with questions of strategy, such as the projection of a bourgeois-democratic revolution and "national democratic change." They have nothing to do with general policy, i.e., class collaborationism. They have nothing to do with the neoreformist orientation of the KKE. But it is all these broader problems which are the basic sources (together with bureaucratic centralism) of the historic bank-

ruptcy of the KKE throughout the postwar period.

The splintered factions of the bureaucratic leadership of the KKE are struggling to put the blame on each other for the 1967 defeat. But the fact is that both wings share the blame for a whole series of severe defeats suffered by the movement in the postwar period. In the last analysis these defeats stem from the fact that beginning in the period before the war the KKE abandoned the policy of independent action by the revolutionary proletariat.

Japan

Workers and Students Protest 'Security' Treaty

Massive demonstrations protesting the renewal of the Japan-U. S. Security Treaty occurred throughout Japan June 23. One day earlier the government of Prime Minister Eisaku Sato had announced that it would permit the automatic extension of the treaty, which is the basis for American military bases in Japan.

In the weeks preceding June 23, police had moved to cut down the size of the demonstrations by arresting student leaders. The June 23 *New York Times* estimated that 700 students were jailed.

But in spite of these arrests, huge crowds poured into the streets to demand an end to the treaty. Sponsors of the demonstrations estimated the total participation at more than one million persons.

The largest turnout was in Tokyo where, according to an estimate by Reuters, 130,000 workers and students attended rallies. Demonstrators attempted to march on both the American embassy and the prime minister's residence and were driven back in a battle with police. The police later reported 200 arrests. Reuters said that thirty-one people, mostly police, had been hospitalized.

Simultaneously with the demonstrations, many unions in the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo) struck against the treaty.

The June 24 issue of the English-

language *Mainichi Daily News* reported:

"The walkouts were launched by the member unions of 26 labor federations.

"The 26 federations included the National Enterprise Workers Union (Korokyo), the Joint Struggle Committee of Government Employees Labor Unions (Komuin Kyoto), National Railway Workers Union (Kokuro), the National Railways Motive Power Union (Doro), and the Japan Federation of Municipal Transportation Workers Union (Toshikotsu).

"The National Council of Local and Municipal Government Workers' Union (Jichiro) and National Federation of Water Supply Workers' Union (Zensuido) also staged 30-minute strikes.

"Among the federations in the private sector which took part in the one-day action program by walking out were the Japanese Federation of Synthetic Chemistry Workers' Unions (Goka Roren), and the National Trade Union of Metal Engineering Workers (Zenkoku Kinzoku).

"The day's strikes were the first 'political strikes' seen since last November 13 when the workers walked out in protest against Prime Minister Eisaku Sato's visit to Washington."

The railway workers of Kokuro were among the most active in the strike. Thirty commuter trains in the Tokyo area were canceled and more

than 100 others ran late. The main focus of the railway strike was the workshops for U. S. military tank cars and ammunition trains.

In addition to the strikes, another thirty industrial unions held workshop rallies to protest against the treaty.

Although many newspaper accounts thought it significant that there was less violence during the June 23 demonstration than during the 1960 agitation against the treaty, the difference seems due to a greater restraint on the part of the police. Certainly there were many more persons involved in the demonstrations this year; the largest action in 1960 totaled only a little over half a million.

Aside from the ruling Liberal Democrats, most parties favor either immediate or gradual elimination of the treaty. This attitude is shared by a majority of the general population. According to a report in the July 1 issue of *Le Monde Weekly Selection*:

"A public opinion poll carried out for the large Japanese daily *Asahi* indicated that almost half those questioned would not specify whether they were for or against Mr. Sato's policies. Of those who answered, 42 per cent were for a progressive abrogation of the treaty, while 9 per cent opted for immediate cancellation."

Local Pigs Honored

City officials of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, have decided to celebrate July 18 as "Pig Day" in honor of local police.

Judges Hear Arguments in Mandel Exclusion Case

By George Novack

Arguments for a preliminary injunction restraining the government from barring the Belgian Marxist Ernest Mandel from the United States were heard before a three-judge federal court in Brooklyn June 24. The case is the first challenge to certain restrictive provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act excluding aliens solely because of their political opinions.

The suit was brought by eight professors from leading Eastern universities in association with Ernest Mandel. Its affirmation of the right of American citizens to hear all views on economic and social issues makes the case of vital importance to civil liberties.

In arguing before the court, the noted constitutional lawyer Leonard Boudin emphasized that the government's power to exclude aliens does not override the assertion by citizens of their constitutional rights. Otherwise the administration is given total censorship over what Americans can hear.

Boudin denied that Mandel's exclusion from universities where he would engage in unquestionably lawful speech and debate is rationally related to national security, as the government contended.

He noted that the Justice Department had dropped its previous grounds for refusing Mandel a visa, such as his alleged abuse of the conditions of entry during his 1968 lecture tour or any possession of "secret" information which led Attorney General Mitchell to reject the secretary of state's waiver recommendation.

"Instead," Boudin's brief concluded, "the government takes the position that the Attorney General has unbridled discretion to pick and choose the scholars and views the American plaintiffs may hear. Such a position, striking as it does at the basic rights of American citizens, is irreconcilable with the most fundamental principles embodied in our Constitution."

The government attorney, Lloyd Bacon, took precisely this position.

He declared that the government's absolute right of sovereignty allows it to exclude any alien for any reason and that the right to hear is "illusory." Does this mean, asked Judge Dooling, that "a superb doctor or a man with red hair as well as red sentiments" can be kept out of the country by the attorney general? The government attorney answered yes, maintaining that no limitations can be imposed by the courts on the government's power of exclusion.

The questions put by the judges made it apparent that the central issue in the case has been narrowed down to the right of utterance, and not one of acts or affiliations. When the point was made that Mandel could

communicate with his fellow scholars by way of books, tapes and telestar, Judge Dooling alluded to the pertinent fact that, while attorneys for both sides had submitted briefs, they also argued their cases in person before the judges who had the opportunity to question them.

The court reserved decision which will probably be forthcoming during the summer. It will very likely be appealed by one side or the other to the U. S. Supreme Court.

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

Two Students Killed in Chile

Chilean President Eduardo Frei placed the northern province of Antofagasta under a state of emergency June 29, following a week of clashes between police and demonstrating students throughout the country. The state of emergency permits the armed forces to perform police duties and to make arrests without warrants.

Frei's action followed government claims that the demonstrations had been inspired by "foreign elements." The government also blamed the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria [MIR—Movement of the Revolutionary Left] and the Socialist party, charging that these groups wanted to disrupt the campaign for the September 4 presidential election.

But the *New York Times* noted June 28 that "nearly all leaders of the Chilean Socialist party have quietly dissociated themselves" from the student demonstrations. The Socialists are in an electoral bloc with the Communist party and the bourgeois Radical party in support of presidential candidate Salvador Allende.

Major clashes between students and police occurred on June 26, three days before the state of emergency. In addition to Antofagasta, fighting took place in Santiago, Concepción, and Puente Alto.

The students were demonstrating in support of a strike for higher pay by clerks in the Ministry of Education. In Puente Alto, administrative personnel at a local trade school were also on strike.

Two students in Puente Alto were killed by police. According to the *Times*, one of the dead was later identified by the government as a "member of one of Chile's leading and most respected families." The police claimed that he had been struck by a ricocheting bullet fired in the air, but the report from the hospital where he died said he had been hit directly.

The killings occurred after the students had been driven from the trade school by tear gas and had responded by setting up street barricades against the police.

Deportation of Tamil Workers Speeded Up

The new, "leftist" bourgeois government in Ceylon headed by Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom party [SLFP], which came to power in the May 27 elections, is proceeding with plans for the massive deportation of Tamil-speaking workers to India. This is in keeping with the SLFP's traditional chauvinist appeals to the Sinhalese-speaking majority of the population against the oppressed Tamil minority. The SLFP has demanded that Tamils who are "recent" emigrants from India be "repatriated."

The world press has said little about this reactionary policy, being more concerned with the radical image projected by the SLFP's coalition partners—the once-Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja party [LSSP] and the pro-Moscow Communist party. Such acts as the recognition of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, the expulsion of the U.S. Peace Corps, and the announcement that Ceylon will leave the British Commonwealth to become a republic have lent weight to the leftist claims of Mrs. Bandaranaike.

But the treatment of the Tamil minority, composed mainly of plantation workers, is a touchstone for judging the regime's actual performance.

Ironically, the dirty work has been assigned to one of the SLFP's coalition partners, the Lanka Sama Samaja party, the largest workers party in the country, which split from the Fourth International in 1964. Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, a leader of the LSSP, is Minister of Plantation Industry in the coalition government. At a meeting in Badureliya in the Agalawatte electorate reported by the June 18 Colombo weekly *Ceylon News* De Silva said:

"Now that the United Front has assumed power it will expedite the implementation of the Sirima-Shastri Pact and many Indian Tamil workers in the estates will be repatriated. It will be the responsibility of the Plantations Ministry to train Ceylonese workers to take their place in the plantation sector."

The Sirima-Shastri Pact was negotiated in 1964 between the SLFP-LSSP coalition and then-president of India Lal Bahadur Shastri. It provides that for every seven persons of Indian origin "repatriated" to India, three persons of Indian origin would be "granted" Ceylonese citizenship.

In fact, all citizens of Ceylon are of "Indian origin," although the Sinhalese migrated to the island in ancient times. The 1964 pact was based on acceptance of the reactionary Citizenship Acts of 1948 which stripped nearly 1,000,000 Tamil-speaking Ceylonese of their citizenship and declared them "stateless" persons.

In accepting direct responsibility for carrying out this brutal measure against the Tamil minority, the LSSP and De Silva are following the logic of their course of betrayal.

In June 1964 the leaders of the LSSP in the faction headed by N.M. Perera were expelled from the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist movement, for joining the bourgeois government of Mrs. Bandaranaike. An opposition faction that refused to go along with this betrayal organized the Lanka Sama Samaja party (Revolutionary) [LSSP(R)], which is today the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International. The LSSP(R) has vigorously defended the rights of the persecuted Tamil population.

The 1964 coalition was dominated by Mrs. Bandaranaike. She insisted on four demands in the fourteen-point program agreed upon by the bloc that converted the LSSP leaders into helpless captives and committed them to the most shameless chauvinism.

These demands were (1) for a "rightful" place for Buddhism in the state structure (the majority of the Tamils accept either the Hindu or Muslim religions); (2) acceptance of Sinhala as the only official language; (3) explicit endorsement of the discriminatory Citizenship Acts of 1948; and (4) agreement that Mrs. Bandaranaike would have veto power over the selection of all parliamentary candidates

of the coalition, including those of the LSSP.

At that time Colvin de Silva and Leslie Goonewardene tried to play a "centrist" role between the revolutionists of the LSSP(R) and the LSSP right wing led by Dr. N.M. Perera. These two long-time leaders of the LSSP refused to accept cabinet posts in the coalition. Nevertheless they remained in Perera's party after it joined the bourgeois government.

With the passage of time, De Silva's scruples appear to have eroded still further. Now he is personally prepared to order the deportation of thousands of oppressed Tamil-speaking workers from their homes for the sake of a post in a bourgeois government.

De Silva may feel that he has company to share responsibility for this shameful course. One of his objections to the first coalition in 1964 was that it was not sufficiently broad. He called for the inclusion of the pro-Moscow Communist party.

After the defeat of the first SLFP-LSSP government in 1965, the CP joined the coalition while it was out of power. It is now part of the present government.

It is a sorry commentary on the "leftism" of the present regime that with the aid of the one-time Trotskyists of the LSSP and of the Stalinists of the pro-Moscow CP the oppressed Tamil workers are now in a worse position than under the "right-wing" government of the United National party.

Inflation Hits Secret Police

The new headquarters building of the Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI], which has been under construction for the past eight years, will be the most expensive building ever erected by the United States government. The cost, if proposals in the budget for fiscal 1971 are approved, will be \$102,500,000.

This represents an increase of more than two-thirds over the 1962 estimate of \$60,000,000.

The FBI's new home is planned to rise eleven stories aboveground and to have three floors below street level. It will occupy a complete block along Pennsylvania Avenue.

Coup d'Etat by Ecuador's President

Early in the morning of June 22, Ecuador's President José Maria Velasco Ibarra assumed dictatorial powers with the backing of the military. He immediately dissolved Congress, suspended the Supreme Court, and closed all universities indefinitely.

At seventy-eight, Velasco is an old hand at military coups. During two of his four previous presidential terms, he declared himself dictator. Three of his terms of office have been ended abruptly by the military.

The latest coup was followed by widespread arrests. A June 22 Associated Press dispatch from Quito reported:

"The army launched a sweeping roundup of leftist leaders, and paratroopers occupied the campuses of colleges throughout the nation of 5.5 million." Velasco even ordered the arrest of such "leftists" as his own vice-president, Jorge Zavala Baquerizo. Students, labor leaders, politicians, and some businessmen were jailed in the dragnet.

The businessmen were released within a few days in exchange for a promise not to organize antigovernment demonstrations.

Other measures of the new dictatorship included a ban on foreign travel and on internal airline flights and the institution of press censorship.

The army chief, Minister of Defense Jorge Acosta Velasco (the president's nephew), justified the arrest of the heads of all major universities June 23, saying it was necessary to prevent "further use of these institutions as fortresses of subversion and Communism that breeds public disorder continuously."

Several factors were behind the coup. One is the government's financial crisis.

The budget deficit, which was \$50,000,000 in 1968, is expected to reach \$140,000,000 this year, while currency reserves have dropped to \$27,000,000. The primary cause of this situation is the unwillingness of the business and landlord oligarchy to pay taxes.

Velasco had issued a series of de-

crees intended to tighten tax collections, but it had been reported that the Supreme Court would rule the decrees unconstitutional and Congress was expected to uphold the court. The coup eliminated this danger.

Another factor was widespread student opposition to the government. Two days before Velasco seized supreme power, 15,000 students demonstrated against the terrorist bombing of the Central University Press, which prints most of the country's "leftist" literature. Students accused the army of responsibility for the bombing. One of the persons arrested June 22 was Manuel Aguirre, rector of Central University and a leader of the students.

Velasco has threatened to maintain his dictatorship until his present term expires in 1972. This lends weight to the view that another aim of the coup was to control the selection of the next president—possibly Velasco's nephew, Jorge Acosta. The *New York Times* commented June 24 that "Mr. Acosta is believed to be a likely candidate for the Presidency in 1972, or earlier, should his ailing uncle follow his promise of 'yielding the burden of leadership should the added weight of age become intolerable.'"

Early announcements and decrees following the coup indicated that Velasco and Acosta may intend an Ecuadorian version of the "military reformism" of the Peruvian junta.

In addition to preserving the earlier tax reform decrees, the government has ordered an end to all foreign-exchange transactions by private banks. Only the central bank will now be authorized to handle foreign exchange.

Another decree requires the conversion of all dollars into Ecuadorian sucres, a move which may help the government resist pressures for devaluation. Most businessmen have been gambling on devaluation. Both importers and exporters have been storing goods, importers awaiting higher prices after devaluation and



Jose Maria Velasco Ibarra

exporters looking forward to more competitive prices for their products.

But no matter how uncomfortable these reforms may be for individual businessmen and landlords, Velasco clearly intends no serious moves against the class interests of the oligarchy.

Since the beginning of the continent-wide radicalization that followed the Cuban revolution, it has become more and more difficult for the Latin American ruling classes to tolerate any democratic rights for the masses. At the same time, the experience with open military dictatorship in such countries as Brazil, Bolivia, and Argentina indicated that repression alone spelled continued instability.

The combination of repression with limited reforms under strict military control undertaken by the ruling junta in Peru has been admired by the generals throughout Latin America as promising the best of both worlds.

The Velasco dictatorship may represent an attempt to carry the Peruvian and Bolivian experiments a step further by installing a reformist military regime nominally headed by a civilian.

The Terror Continues in Indonesia

By Huib Hendrikse

[The May 16-17 "Djakarta Conference" on Cambodia and General Suharto's visit to the United States have been accompanied by fresh efforts to clean up the image of the Indonesian dictatorship. On May 26, Nixon, in welcoming Suharto to the White House, called the Djakarta meeting of anti-Communist clients of the United States "a splendid example of Asian nations attempting to find solutions for Asian problems."

[At a White House dinner the same night, no less than Vice-president Agnew extolled the virtues of Suharto. "You are the servant of your people," Agnew said. "The people of the United States admire and respect your courage."

[The reason for the effusiveness was explained by A. D. Horne in the May 25 *Washington Post*. "The United States," he wrote, "eager for Asian nations to assume the burden of regional defense, sees in nonaligned Indonesia, with its 120 million people, a natural candidate both for long-range peace keeping responsibilities and for a leading role in an international rescue effort to keep Cambodia from going Communist."

[The American "business community" jumped on the bandwagon too. Some 108 major corporations took out a full-page advertisement in the May 28 *New York Times* to welcome General Suharto to New York. "Indonesia regards new foreign private investment as essential to developing its natural and human resources," the businessmen said. "Measures like the foreign investment law of 1967 provide tax and other incentives that are among the most liberal in the world. . . ."

["In the view of knowledgeable observers, Indonesia is now on a course which has placed it in the vanguard of developing nations.

"Those who have set that course deserve the admiration of free men everywhere."

[The signers included such defenders of "free men everywhere" as the Chase Manhattan Bank, Esso Standard Eastern, General Motors Overseas Distributors, Gulf Oil, Kennecott Copper, Morgan Guaranty Trust, and Westinghouse Electric International.

[For a look behind the whitewash, we are reprinting below an article by Huib Hendrikse from the *Information on Indonesia Quarterly*, Volume 1, Number 1, 1970, published by the Indonesia Committee. It originally appeared in the September 20, 1969, issue of the Dutch magazine *Trouw*.

[In addition to documenting the continuing terror against political prisoners and the all-pervading corruption of the military, Hendrikse sheds new light on the so-called Communist coup in 1965 which was used by the generals as a pretext for seizing power and massacring as many as 1,000,000 Communist party members and sympathizers.

[It is noteworthy in this regard that the gratuitous face-lifting the bourgeois press has given Suharto has extended

to rewriting the history of this crucial period. Philip Shabecoff, for example, writing from Djakarta in the May 20 issue of the *New York Times*, obligingly gives the generals' falsified version of the 1965 events:

["But when the Indonesian Communists aspired to take power by coup in 1966 (sic), they were crushed by the army in a struggle that claimed hundreds of thousands of lives, eliminated the party as a political force, toppled Mr. Sukarno and established a quasi-military regime under General Suharto."

[By May 31 the *Times* even reduced the figures for those killed in "struggle" to "tens of thousands of lives," adding in the very next sentence:

["Under President Suharto's skillful stewardship, there has been a reawakening of civil liberties."]

* * *

On the eve of the 19th July, 1969, twenty heavily guarded trucks of the Indonesian army drove to Tandjung Priok, the harbour of Djakarta. Soon afterwards a freighter carrying five hundred political prisoners sailed to Buru, a malaria-stricken island of the Moluccas.

Two days later relatives of these political prisoners paid their monthly visits to the Salemba jail in Djakarta, bringing with them packages of dried food. It should be noted that the men who had been imprisoned since October 1965 were fed only once a day. And they were given a very scanty meal consisting of a shallow plate of bulgur, a porridge made of synthetic rice imported from the United States. In order to keep the prisoners alive, their relatives had been permitted to bring them extra food once a month.

On that particular day those who came to the Salemba jail with food were told by the jailor that their relatives were being sent to the Moluccas. The reactions to this piece of information were manifold — some were so shocked that they fainted right on the spot; most of them, however, started crying desperately. An Indonesian told me: 'All realized immediately what this meant: political prisoners deported to Buru are facing a certain death. The island is infertile and no rice is grown there. The prisoners have to open up new lands and start life as peasants. Not only are they totally weakened because of long malnutrition, but they do not possess any knowledge of agriculture at all. From information coming from the Indonesian parliament it is apparent that somehow no preparations at all have been made to more or less receive them. I fear they will die all'.

At the beginning of this year president Suharto made it known that a plan was being devised to have 15,000 top political prisoners 'emigrate' to the island of Buru, where,

with some assistance by the government, they would carry out agricultural activities.

The term 'deportation' was not only painstakingly avoided, but there were even attempts to represent the banishment as an act of mercy. The political prisoners were being given a chance to start life anew. The humanitarian character of the treatment of the political exiles was even further emphasized by the additional information 'that the plan has obtained the consent and cooperation of the United Nations'.

Nevertheless, the Indonesian government considered it more convenient to keep the first transportation strictly secret. Three weeks afterwards relatives of the deported prisoners had still not been officially informed. Only by going to the Salemba jail could one find out whether somebody was being transported.

On August 16, on the eve of Indonesia's Independence Day, president Suharto made it known the 2,500 prisoners were to be sent to Buru for the purpose of 'rehabilitation'. Not a word had yet been said about the plan to get rid of the 15,000 prisoners this way. This did not mean, however, that the plan did not exist. Suharto did not say either that the first group of political delinquents had already been transported to Buru long before. The official announcement came only on September 6th, when General Major Sugih Arto, the attorney-general of Indonesia, disclosed that in the meantime 850 of the 2,500 political prisoners had been sent to Buru. He added that the prisoners would be given 1,482 acres of land and that they were to be trained as peasants and fishermen.

Not one of the political exiles who have to find a way to survive in Buru has been tried. Since none of them has been sentenced, they are not deported for a certain period of time but for an indefinite period, because the intention is that they will never return to their homes. They are to be held in political quarantine until they die, to use the phraseology of the Suharto regime.

It is not known how many Indonesians are to be killed or done away with this way. It is also unknown, moreover, how many political prisoners there are in Indonesia at present. There is probably no one among the high-ranking authorities in Djakarta who has the exact figure. The Indonesian government said that last year there were 105,621, but that in the meantime a great number had been released. If this is true and political prisoners are dying constantly it is possible that the number has dropped to 70,000. On the other hand new arrests are still being made and these activities are not likely to cease. The number of Indonesians who run the risk of being arrested is at least 16,000,000. All these people used to be members of an organisation banned after the Untung coup of October 1965. Precisely the fact of having been a member of such an organisation is good enough reason to arrest someone.

Of course, there may be other reasons too. A man who was once the managing director of a factory was jailed because a great number of his employees belonged to SOBSI, the communist workers' association. He was suspected on the grounds that he had not been tough enough on the communist workers. After some time he was told that his communist inclinations could be forgiven if he gave some presents to the colonel who had ordered his

arrest. The officer demanded a Mercedes (the most important prestige-symbol of the ruling élite in Indonesia) and a holiday in Hongkong for his family, to be arranged and paid for in full.

Early this year a teacher was arrested for the second time. The first time it was on the grounds of his being a member of the PGRI-Non-vaksentral, the biggest teachers organisation during the Sukarno regime. This organisation was forbidden soon after the abortive coup, which meant that all members were automatically blacklisted. This teacher was fortunate enough to leave jail alive. Thousands of teachers who showed their idealism by carrying on teaching in spite of worsening conditions, such as the meagre wages and the constant lack of educational appliances, have been massacred in a most brutal way.

The second time the teacher was arrested on the suspicion of helping three boys with some clothes and money. These boys had been members of the IPPI, the left wing nationalist organisation of secondary school students, sponsored by the Sukarno regime. The IPPI was banned after Untung's coup and the three boys were dismissed from school as 'untrustworthy elements'. Unable to get jobs and in a shabby state, they came to their teacher. The military authorities deemed the teacher's willingness to help them sufficient proof of his political unreliability.

A clergyman who used to teach religion to members of an organisation banned by the government in 1965 was deported to Nusakambangan, the island prison on the southcoast of Java—a place which was notorious even in the colonial period. The clergyman came to a hell where political exiles were tortured and where so little food was available that one was glad to find a snail. An average of five people died each day. For the clergyman his nightmare came to an end when prominent leaders of his denomination finally succeeded in convincing the military authorities that he was no communist.

Nusakambangan is still crowded with political prisoners and the few stories which reach Djakarta make one's hair stand on end.

To have someone arrested, one need only go to the police and denounce him as a communist. A businessman in Central Java was apprehended on such an accusation, even though he was an active member of the Protestant church and a strong opponent of communism. His pleas were of no avail. He was taken to a camp situated more than 50 miles from his home, and it took his wife three months before she found out what had happened to him and where he was held captive. In this camp the businessman lived in a room which could contain 8 persons at most, but which was crowded with 35 prisoners. Twice a day he was given an amount of rice hardly enough for a four year old child and a cup of tea without sugar. After seven months of imprisonment the man suffered from oedema, haemorrhoids and kidney trouble. He was carried to the sickroom called 'death's waiting room' by the prisoners. Within four days three prisoners next to him died. There was neither a physician nor medicines. After eight months of imprisonment his wife was finally allowed to come and bring him food and medicine. It

was just in time since the food rations in the camp were considerably diminished.

After 13 months the businessman was set free all of a sudden. 'I walked out of the camp, crying' he said.

An intellectual who was thrown into the Salemba prison was only tried when his wife bribed the officer who handled his case. When the interrogation was finally held the first question posed to him was: 'Why are you under arrest?' When the Indonesian truthfully answered that he did not know the reason, his questioner went on: 'Well then, just say why do you think you are arrested?' The trial took place in a big room and occasionally he heard shouts and cries. Prisoners were constantly lashed.

The intellectual had to share his narrow cell with two other political prisoners. One of these had undergone a terrible treatment. He was chained hand and feet, and put into a small cell, the floor of which had been sprayed with sugar water, so that ants came in huge swarms. The prisoner had to chafe his buttocks constantly against the floor in order to keep the ants away.

The Indonesian intellectual was also an eyewitness when scalding hot water was poured over a prisoner. He himself was freed because he possessed powerful relations who did not abandon him and also because he had enough money to bribe. He said: 'In jail I got to know a man who used to be a professional frog catcher and who never in his life knew anything about communism. No one could do anything to help him out of jail, and no one bothered, so that he gradually starved to death. There are quite a few people like him'.

In the official jargon political delinquents are called G30S/PKI, but usually the authorities refer to them as *coramunists*. All prisoners are accused of having been involved, one way or another, in the Untung coup. G30S is an abbreviation of 'the 30th September movement' (*Gerakan 30 September — Ed.*), a name coined by Untung to denote his conspiracy. PKI, now a word with a terrifying ring, is the abbreviation of the Indonesian words for Indonesian Communist Party.

Untung was commander of the battalion of honour of the Tjakrabirawa regiment, the splendidly uniformed palace-guards of president Sukarno. He was not a communist and he used to have very good relations with a fervently anti-communist general like Suharto, who even attended his wedding in 1964. During the coup Untung showed himself to be a weak organizer and a political nincompoop, so that it may be taken for granted that he could not have attempted the coup on his own.

In Indonesia it is officially said that Untung was an instrument of the communist party and that the 30th September movement led by him was the mass organization set up by the communists to win the absolute power. Hence, people always refer to it as the communist coup.

Suharto who foiled Untung's coup, and who finally became president of Indonesia, never deemed it necessary to provide conclusive evidence that the coup was really a communist undertaking. The most important leaders of the communist party, Aidit, Njoto, Lukman, all competent organizers, were shot without trial. Up to now only 37 persons accused of having played a significant role in the coup have been tried, but these trials have not in any way supplied convincing evidence that it was

indeed a communist coup. On the other hand, the trials have only increased the number of questions related to the 30th September affair.

It was not a movement with a mass following, such as is asserted now, and has to be claimed in view of the enormous number of people slain after the coup. If the PKI, the only political party with an extremely efficient organization in even the remotest places of Indonesia, had so desired, the 30th September movement would have been a mass organisation.

But in that case the PKI leaders were likely to have selected a more competent and reliable person than Untung, to lead the movement at the decisive moment.

During the most crucial hours Aidit, the energetic chairman of the PKI, kept quiet, while Njoto, one of the two vice-chairmen, was in Sumatra. He only returned to Djakarta when it was known that Untung's coup was a total failure.

From the facts hitherto known one may conclude that only a few of the highest communist leaders were informed of Untung's plans, that they probably encouraged him, and that some of them even offered their assistance. The communist party as a whole, however, with its three million members and its mass organisation like SOBSI, the labourers' association, and the BTI or peasants' association, was not at all prepared to undertake anything like a coup d'état. This was made clear in a most tragic way. Hundreds of thousands of communists allowed themselves to be captured and slaughtered. In Bali they even dressed up in white robes of death, waiting to be apprehended.

The number of victims killed by the Indonesian army in the massive bloodbath after the coup will presumably always remain unknown: the estimates vary between 200,000 and one million and Indonesians who have studied the killings intensively are of the opinion that the number is closer to the latter than to the former. A member of the official committees of inquiry on the massacres revealed to the American reporter John Hughes that (in his view) at least 700,000 people were killed. The communist party did not make any substantial effort to defend itself against this campaign of destruction. In parts of Java some members fiercely resisted for a time, but here, too, the army was able to use groups of school-boys to carry out the 'cleansing work'—a term used to me by an Indonesian officer in the course of our conversation. Not all victims were communists. In Java the inhabitants of whole villages were massacred with only the children under the age of six being spared. A great number of people who before the coup incurred the displeasure of either the military or the ultra right-wing moslms, were killed in what was called a holy war or PERANG SIBIL.

The fight against communism constitutes the most important ideological basis of the New Order established by president Suharto. The militant anti-communism of his regime has a permanent function. Under the guise of fighting the red menace, the various opponents of the New Order can be eliminated. For this reason the almost total elimination of the communist party as a political factor was immediately followed up by the creation of a myth that the PKI is planning to regain its power by any means however vicious. 'We always have to be on our

guard for the communists', is the advice impressed by Suharto on all army commanders. 'The PKI is attempting to influence politics again and therefore the total destruction of the communist party is our absolute duty'.

The myth that the communist party continues to be a threat is underlined by the cruel measures, taken by the Indonesian regime, which make it totally impossible for political prisoners to regain their previous position in society. These people are deliberately regarded as potentially dangerous individuals. They carry with them, as it were, the spectre that the PKI is going to take revenge. Since, according to the authorities, such people are vicious, decent citizens are to avoid contacts with them. Those who assist dismissed political prisoners may be considered as accomplices of communism and run the risk of being arrested. The dismissed political prisoners live like pariahs; they are 'socially dead', an Indonesian told me. Even their best friends refuse to know them when they come out of jail. They cannot find proper employment since anyone employing them is bound to be a suspected character. It has even happened that out of fear a doctor has refused to take care of a political prisoner. Should therefore a dismissed political prisoner out of despair commit any irregularity he will be the living proof of the popular saying that 'the only good communist is a dead communist'.

A most effective way of keeping ex-political prisoners out of circulation is the introduction of the SURAT BERSIH DIRI or 'cleansing letter'—a document showing that the holder has never been involved in the coup. Children who still intend to pursue their studies after the 5th form, need such a letter. When either the father or the mother has been unmasked as a communist, they will not obtain the paper and consequently they will not be able to receive any education. This document is also needed to obtain a drivers licence, or permission to move to another place, to get married or to go abroad.

The introduction of this letter does not only mean a continuous instrument of terrorizing the ex-political prisoners and their families, it is also a means of reminding other Indonesians what they may expect to happen should they refuse to submit readily to the New Order. And this means that they are forced to do precisely what the military bosses—big and small—in their districts want them to do. Blackmail by the military class has been a social phenomenon since the days of Sukarno, but now it has increased perceptibly. If a peasant refused to be exploited any longer by a sergeant who has the command over his district, he will receive a strong warning that he may be arrested for doing so, and accused of [being] politically suspect.

The privilege of unmasking communists on their own accord has given many army people the chance to become rich at lightning speed. Recently the daily INDONESIA RAYA gave a typical example: a man was arrested on the well-known accusation of having been involved in the coup of 1965. Almost all his valuable possessions like his motor-car, his tape-recorder, and his T.V. set were confiscated; these constitute so-called 'pieces of evidence'. Then the wife of the arrested man was forced to sign a document that the confiscated goods were given in loan to the military authorities. If the man is freed after some

time, because even fabricated evidence fails to substantiate the 'case', the goods remain 'on loan' needed to restore 'law and order'. It has often happened that Indonesians have had to give up their houses to the rapacious military men in a similar way.

The greatest problem in Indonesia, dating from Sukarno's presidency is the rule of an élite which wants to become rich and which avails itself of all possible means to achieve this end. The entire economic growth of Indonesia has been sacrificed to the unfettered desires evinced by the élite group. It has often been charged that Sukarno created enormous economic chaos on his own. Yet if one bears in mind that in 1962, 80 per cent of the government budget was spent on the army and in 1965 only 40 per cent, and that many nationalized enterprises were headed by high-ranking officers, it is clear that the army, too, had its share in the general social disruption of Indonesia. In the ruling élite of Sukarno's days the army played a leading role and among the population officers and n.c.o.'s had the reputation of being swindlers and racketeers. At that time it was a popular saying that 'he who wears green can do anything he likes'.

The New Order has substantially strengthened the power of the army, because the ruling élite does not have to fear any criticism from communists or other left-wing Indonesians any more. There is no fear that their absolute power is going to be jeopardized. When unrest among the population, still living in poverty, assumes alarming proportions, the fight against communism can be escalated immediately. The political prisoners are a constant reminder of how opponents of the New Order are treated.

Yugoslavia

Miners in Militant Strikes

Yugoslav miners struck three times in the first three weeks of June, the last outbreak taking place in Karkanj, Bosnia, one of the country's main mining regions. The unrest among the mine workers developed, according to the Yugoslav press, when the wages in the mines were cut 20 percent owing to a decline in production. One of the striking workers told a local newspaper that, although he had to support a family of nine, he had earned only 420 dinars [US\$33.60] for the month.

The Karkanj strike took a very violent form, according to an Agence France-Presse account published in the June 24 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*. The mine management claimed that the danger of an explosion had been created when insulation was torn off an electric cable in several places, allegedly by the strikers. A delegation of miners that tried to take a list of grievances to Sarajevo, the capital of the republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, was blocked by the police.

A group of students in Belgrade, the national capital, announced that they intended to go on a hunger strike to demand federal aid for the impoverished miners. Antibureaucratic socialist youth reportedly have been trying to strengthen their ties with the workers.

The first strike of the month occurred June 5 at Ivanec in the republic of Croatia, where the miners went out demanding 50 percent raises. In Bijeljina, Bosnia, June 11, miners struck for payment of back wages and an improvement in pay scales.

"The situation in the Yugoslav coal mines is a source of grave concern for the unions and the government," Agence France-Presse reported. "The present production is far below the expectations of the 1965-70 economic plan, and 35,000 miners have had to change their profession."

New Zealand Socialists Debate Ultraleftism

[The following exchange on the question of ultraleftism appeared in the June 5 issue of the revolutionary-socialist biweekly *Socialist Action* published in Wellington, New Zealand. First is a letter by G. Fischer, defending tactics that *Socialist Action* had characterized as ultraleft. This is followed by a reply by Hugh Fyson, editor of *Socialist Action*.]

* * *

Letter from G. Fischer

Is every tactical innovation by the revolutionary movement necessarily "ultra-leftist"?

The editors of *Socialist Action* have labelled "ultra-leftist" such incidents as the student-worker occupation of the US consulate in Auckland, the felling of the Waitangi flagpole, the raid on Security Intelligence headquarters for Auckland, and militant demonstrations against the Vietnam war.¹

The common characteristic of most of these activities is that firstly they are dramatic, secondly they are illegal, thirdly they are not acts of violence in the strict sense of the word.

There is no objective means of assessing their effect, but the subjective impressions of most of those in the movement is that while they have

aroused the ire of the establishment, they have stirred the sympathies of the converted and attracted the interest of the previously indifferent.

The massive repression which you predict as the inevitable consequence of ultraleftism has not eventuated. Neither has the movement experienced a hostile reaction from potential supporters, which would seem to invalidate yet another of your arguments against militant action.

I was surprised to find you classify attacks on military installations as "terrorism," a term which even the capitalist press has refrained from using, though, God knows, they must have been sorely tempted.

The "terrorist" attacks on Ardmore camp, an Air Force depot and the Supreme Court² do in fact follow the pattern of earlier incidents, in as far as the violence has a symbolic character, and is directed against property rather than people. Certainly the "revolutionary activists" have a duty to consider the risk to human life inherent in their actions, but I for one do not think that New Zealanders have the right to scream outrage when we are subjected to the same risks as Vietnamese civilians must face every day of their lives.

The first strike, the first demonstration, the first sit-in, the first violent resistance to capitalism: all were denounced in their time as being reckless, foolhardy, an invitation to repression. But the people who have denounced each progressive step in the revolutionary movement cannot lay serious claim to be revolutionaries, as you have attempted to do.

There is plenty of scope to criticise the conception and execution of specific acts; better still you could criticise the organizational deficiencies of the revolutionary movement in Auckland. Continue to reject all means of political expression which fall outside of the established, traditional patterns,

2. *Attacks on Ardmore camp, etc.*: Earlier this year bombs were exploded at the three places mentioned, all in Auckland.—IP

and you will end up on the same dust-heap of history to which your mentor consigned Kerensky.

Wasn't the Bolshevik revolution itself the precipitate adventure of a revolutionary vanguard? Didn't it isolate Soviet Russia from the world, bring down the savage repression of the imperial powers, and dismay the liberals of Europe? And wasn't this exactly what you characterise as ultraleftism?

Just by the way, October 1917 provided the inspiration and example to later generations of revolutionaries around the world.

Yours fraternally,
G. Fischer

* * *

Reply by *Socialist Action*

Every tactical innovation is certainly not necessarily "ultraleftist". But a number of so-called innovations that we have seen in Auckland in the last few months definitely have been.

In defending these acts from criticism expressed in this paper (see *Socialist Action*, April 3), you try to lump us in with the right wing of the Left and radical movements, or at least with the "moderates". But you overlook a very important distinction here.

One key characteristic of the right wing is that it seeks to avoid all possible confrontation with the ruling class or its agents, no matter what the cost in terms of democratic and socialist principles. The Kirk leadership of the Labour Party is a good example of this. The ultraleft takes the diametrically opposite view, and seeks such confrontations as a matter of principle, regardless of the tactical applicability in a given situation. But it has this in common with the right wing: it is looking for a shortcut way of influencing the course of society. The ultraleft substitutes adventures by a small isolated minority for sustained, patient and conscious work of building a mass revolutionary movement with the real power to radically

1. *Occupation of the U.S. consulate*: On March 17, 1969, twenty-nine students of Auckland University were arrested for sitting in at the U.S. consulate. All were later fined. *Felling of the Waitangi flagpole*: During a Maori rebellion in the 1840s the flagpole at Waitangi was felled three times by a Maori leader. In the spring of 1969 it was dynamited. Two Auckland radicals were tried for this act and sent to prison. *Raid on the Security Intelligence headquarters*: In mid-1969 there was a wave of protest sparked by revelations concerning the activities of the then extralegal Security Intelligence Service. Its headquarters in Auckland was burglarized and a number of books, photographs, and other materials were removed. *Militant demonstrations against the Vietnam war*: This evidently refers to protests on August 9 and September 7 last year during which confrontations with the police resulted in the arrest of about a dozen demonstrators.—IP

change society. The right wing's form of shortcut is to drop or postpone radical and socialist objectives in the hope of a quick ascent to power.

The Marxist perspective is that there can be no shortcut to socialist transformation; there can be no substitute for the gradual building of a mass revolutionary movement. We say that the ruling class will defend its power and privileges by any means it can, regardless of the will of the majority, thereby eliminating the very possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism. Violent confrontations are inevitable, but it is the duty of the revolutionary party to assure the safest possible passage. It must foresee the crisis in which the armed capitalist class will seek to block what will then be the majority's desire for socialism, urge the arming of the workers and the suppression of the capitalists' resistance.

This is what happened in the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, which was anything but a "precipitate adventure of a revolutionary vanguard". By that time the *mass movement* of workers and peasants had matured to the point of transition from a capitalist government to a workers' and peasants' government. In the nature of things the actual change could only be made suddenly, as a qualitative "leap" from one form to the other. Hence its dramatic and daring character which sent a shock wave round the whole world. Insurrection was necessitated by the immediate danger of counter-revolution by the remnants of the old ruling class, who wanted to smash the organs of mass democracy in which the Bolshevik delegates had won the majority.

Until such an historic moment is reached revolutionary Marxists see no value in encouraging tactics of violence, symbolic violence, or mere "civil disobedience". At the same time, however, we assert the right of all oppressed classes and groups to self-defence, armed if necessary.

There is obviously no mass revolutionary movement in New Zealand at the present time, nor any immediate fascist danger. So the tactics of ultraleftists are simply out of place. Those who throw firebombs, plant explosives, and seek opportunities for confrontation with the police at dem-

onstrations must be dreaming if they think this will spontaneously arouse ordinary New Zealanders to revolution. Rather, it helps convey to them the impression that the revolutionary movement is utterly at odds with reality.

Ultraleftism produces a counter-productive result in a number of ways.

1. It smooths the path of reaction. Reaction is not an inevitable consequence of ultraleftism, and we never said it was. But if the ruling class is looking for an opportunity to take reactionary measures, ultraleftism can provide them with the seemingly valid excuse that they need. There are many incidents of police harassment in Auckland which prove this.

2. It obscures the real source of violence. The capitalist class maintains its exploitative position in society by means of the state, which is an instrument of suppression against other classes. It has a near monopoly of armed force in the country. But when ultraleftists use explosives and firebombs, even if only for "symbolic violence", the capitalists can make it look as if their state is a necessary thing for the "preservation of law and order". To a lesser extent, tactics of non-violent disruption by small bands of protesters also have this effect.

3. It blurs issues that the Left is trying to raise. In the case of the movement to stop the tour, the issues raised are that apartheid is oppressive, and that the Rugby Union, the Government and other institutions of the Establishment are giving moral support to the oppressors in South Africa. But the Auckland firebomb incident and the Athletic Park performance (when a handful of demonstrators ran onto the field during the game, 17 of whom were arrested) don't enlighten anyone on this score. Instead, pro-tour supporters get a chance to raise other issues such as the right of rugby fans to enjoy the game without interruption. Compared with apartheid, such a right is a trivial red herring.

4. It is a drain on the resources of the movement. Unnecessary arrests only waste the movement's money through heavy court fines and other legal expenses. Time spent in jail is time lost to political activity. Recently

PYM [Progressive Youth Movement] leader Chris Lind said that those fined on charges arising out of antiwar protests should refuse to pay up and go to prison instead. Does it not suggest that there is something awfully wrong with this line when *NZ Truth* comes out in its May 19 issue and says, addressing itself to Chris Lind: "You've come up with a proposal which we wholeheartedly endorse"?

There are two other points which reflect some misunderstanding of our position. Firstly we did not classify attacks on the military installations as "terrorist". We said in *Socialist Action* April 3 that they were "terrorist like", meaning that although they were nowhere near real "terrorism" in the severity of their effect, they were evidence of a similar mentality, a similar theory. So you don't need to try and justify real terrorism.

Secondly, we have no "arguments against militant action"—it is ultraleftism we are opposed to and this is something different. We recognise that revolutionary activity should be bold and colourful, and the liberation of Auckland's Albert Park is an example of the kind of thing which we wholeheartedly endorse.³ This successful *mass* action put paid to [put an end to—*IP*] a reactionary prohibition on free speech in the park, set a fine precedent for further action in that direction, gave a valuable new asset to the radical movement and boosted its morale generally.

And finally, you only weaken your position and strengthen ours when you admit that "There is no objective means of assessing their effect"—the effect of ultraleft actions, that is—and fall back on questionable "subjective impressions of those in the movement". It could be that many people in "the movement" have never given the problem much critical thought, so it couldn't very well register on the subjective impressions, could it?

Fraternally,
Hugh Fyson

3. Auckland's smaller Myers Park was being used as a free speech area. One day, when a sizable crowd was gathered there, it was decided to occupy the more suitable Albert Park. Although the city council has refused to legalize free speech rights in Albert Park, it has made no attempt to interfere and the park has become a popular assembly place for radical meetings.—*IP*

Theses Adopted by Bolivian Labor Movement

[The congress of the COB (Central Obrera Boliviana—Bolivian Workers Federation), which concluded May 9, approved the theses adopted by the mine workers' convention in the first week of April, making this document the official program of the entire Bolivian labor movement.

[The final text was the product of a struggle among Stalinists, supporters of the MNR (Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario—Revolutionary Nationalist Movement), and the POR (Partido Obrero Revolucionario—Revolutionary Workers party, the Bolivian section of the Fourth International). Consequently, it contains certain contradictions. However, the Bolivian Trotskyists were able to force the inclusion of very strong statements in favor of workers power and the independence of the workers movement from control by bourgeois or petty-bourgeois reformists.

[It remains to be seen whether this radical program will be followed in practice. The fact that the COB congress, like the miners' convention, reelected Juan Lechin, a left MNR leader and former vice-president of the country, to its leading posts indicates that reformist illusions have not been overcome.

[The adoption of this program by the Bolivian labor movement brought harsh threats from the "reformist" military regime. The minister of the interior Juan Ayoroa stated: "As an officer and as a minister, I will not tolerate calls for subversion. We are essentially nationalists and left revolutionaries but not Communists." The head of the junta, General Ovando, called the miners' theses an "insult to the army" and "antinational." Our translation of the document follows.]

* * *

Chapter I

We mine workers declare that our historic mission at the present moment is to crush imperialism and its native lackeys. We declare that our mission is to struggle for socialism. We declare that we mine workers are the revolutionary core . . . [illegible] of the Bolivian working class. We take the leading role in the revolution as the authentic representatives of the national interests. The alliance of the workers and peasants with the poor people of the cities and with all the anti-imperialist forces is the guarantee of victory.

1. *The Working Class and the Democratic Processes*

1. History teaches that in the present stage of imperialist decay, the underdeveloped countries can achieve their goal of

civilization, that is, integrated and harmonious development of their economies, only by the path of socialism. The democratic tasks can certainly not be ignored. But in order for these tasks to be completed, the working class must take political power as the spokesman of the oppressed nation—of our peasant brothers and the poor population of the cities.

The bourgeois-democratic process we are experiencing cannot be sustained indefinitely. It must be transformed into a socialist process or fail.

2. The bourgeois, or petty-bourgeois, nationalists are trying to carry through a series of structural reforms, that is, attempting to overcome the precapitalist forms of production with the primary aim of modernizing the country, to open up the field for foreign investment (finance capital) and maintain the capitalist system indefinitely. This is the sole meaning of promoting development along the lines laid down by the Economic Commission for Latin America, the nationalization programs, and the timid plans for planning some sectors of the economy.

In backward countries like Bolivia, the petty bourgeoisie is trying to carry out a bourgeois-democratic transformation with the generous assistance of imperialism. This contradiction is explained by the fact that the bourgeois-oriented movements see anti-imperialism as simply a bargaining posture. Their only aim is to win better terms and higher prices for raw materials and not to break the political and economic chains of imperialism by procedures like expelling the tentacles of the imperialist businesses and the various missions which control all aspects of the national life. The bourgeois-oriented movements regard development of the country as progress in limited areas in collaboration with the interests of the imperialist center and not as a harmonious independent development of the economy.

3. In general, nationalist military governments are appearing on the scene as a result of the paralysis and political bankruptcy of the bourgeoisie, as a substitute team for carrying through the kind of capitalist transformation described above. It is apparent that the army (and its left wing, because such a tendency also exists) is a product of the ruling class and our national peculiarities. As a result, the army contains within it the characteristic limitations and impotence innate in the national bourgeoisies of the present epoch.

Many times in its troubled history, Bolivia has made serious attempts to break out of its backwardness and dependence. Sectors of officers and civilians have endeavored to make up for the decrepitude and incompetence of the bourgeoisie. One of the peculiar aspects of our backwardness, among others, is the incapacity of

our national bourgeoisie to extricate us from this backwardness and, within the framework of the capitalist system, convert us into a highly industrialized country. Imperialist domination of the backward areas makes it impossible for the weak industrial bourgeoisie to develop, and this produces the distinctive situation of "the civilizers blocking the progress of those who aspire to civilization."

4. The nationalizations carried out by such governments as well as their ferocious denunciations of imperialism and native reaction always end with a plea for forgiveness for the anti-imperialist past. The representatives of the bourgeoisie or the petty bourgeoisie in power cannot understand that integrated industrial development within the framework of the capitalist system of production and within the orbit of imperialism is no longer possible and that the pursuit of such an illusion leads to betraying the national interests.

The lessons of the Toro, Busch, and Villarroel governments as well as the MNR confirm this statement. It cannot be doubted that the tasks in question, the democratic tasks, got bogged down and were left uncompleted, although in the beginning they were progressive and in many cases imposed and propelled by the workers.

When the oligarchic-imperialist restoration completed the total sellout of our natural resources as well as an alienation of our sovereignty, massacring and crushing the working class and the people in order to achieve this end, we mine workers shed our blood to defend our democratic gains and make national liberation a reality. The memory is still fresh of the heroic struggle we miners waged against the dictatorship and the repression of the Barrientos regime to defend the higher interests of the nation. And for a long period we may have been the only ones who fought.

5. We workers declare that we supported the governments already mentioned. We supported them not merely morally but with vigorous revolutionary action. However, despite everything, these governments were the first to abandon their anti-imperialist pose and end up as enemies of the working class and the people. The democratic process exhausted itself in its initial stages and later we fell under greater imperialist domination. We have experienced directly that if democratic and nationalist processes are not led by the working class and transformed into socialist processes, they always end in frustration and defeat.

Now the people are witnessing a group of military officers and civilians, who call themselves "revolutionary nationalists," raising democratic banners from the summit of power. These officers and civilians

can do this only because of the absence of a revolutionary vanguard. These are the same banners which in the past were hoisted and betrayed by parties and men coming from the same social class.

6. This new democratic and nationalist process expressed in the nationalization of the imperialist Gulf Oil Company, the monopolization of the export of minerals by the Banco Minero [Mine Bank], the initiation of relations with various socialist countries, and the granting of limited trade-union freedoms as well as other minor measures is reminiscent of what the MNR government did in another historical situation. The difference is that the present government is carrying out this policy without the participation of the people, whereas the MNR did it under the impetus of the mobilized masses, under the watchful eye of the then powerful Central Obrera Boliviana, as well as the Federación de Mineros. Nonetheless, the MNR ended up as an agent of American imperialism. The bourgeoisie's innate limitations and the petty bourgeoisie's vacillating always resulted in capitulation to the masters of the country to the north.

There is no valid reason for the workers and the people to entertain any illusions about the present process. We are convinced that the democratic course that has been initiated and the progressive measures adopted by the government can only be successful if this process passes into the hands of the proletariat. Only in this way can the nationalist tasks be transformed into socialist tasks, enabling Bolivia to convert itself into a highly industrialized community for the direct benefit of the people.

7. It is pointless to try to repeat the experience of the past, thinking that our country can industrialize within the context of the capitalist world. An integrated development of our economy, resulting in a real national and social liberation can only be achieved by breaking with imperialism. The only way to achieve this is to nationalize all the means of production which are in the hands of the imperialists, and this can only be done by the working class holding power.

Our position toward democratization processes led by the petty bourgeoisie can only be to maintain our class independence, since these processes cannot resolve the national problem much less the contradictions of our society. The tactic of the working class is to incorporate these processes into the strategy of achieving socialism. Our objective is socialism and our method of attaining this historic goal is social revolution, which will enable us to transform the nationalist process into a socialist one.

Chapter II

1. For us workers the anti-imperialist struggle has only one meaning—the struggle for socialism. Those who try to give it another meaning are mistaken. Every day there are lubrications about how nationalism is alien both to classical capitalism and socialism. It is insinuated that

nationalism is a neutral policy between both extremes, which culminates in state capitalism.

Some theoreticians of this tendency maintain that Latin America can achieve full economic development by following a so-called national model of state capitalism, by reconciling private capital (private investment) with a statist economy. Since both kinds of economic organization stay within the confines of the capitalist system, their final result is to consolidate our backwardness and dependence.

2. Before, and above all since, the April revolution Bolivia has had a mixed economy combining private and state ownership. Thus, side by side with Comibol [Corporación Minera Boliviana—Bolivian Mining Corporation, the state mine administration], we had the private mining sector; side by side with the Banco Central, the Banco Minero, and the Banco Agrícola [Agricultural Bank], we had domestic and international reaction controlling big banking. Side by side with the state monopoly of export, there has been freedom of foreign trade for Grace and other imperialist concerns in middle mining. Light industry is in the hands of private capital, which at times has a native mask. It is not enough to say that private capital is needed so long as it accommodates itself to Bolivian interests instead of just making profits. A similar case arises in agriculture, between incipient private ownership of the minifundia [small holdings] and communal and cooperative forms of farming, on the one hand, and the capitalist agricultural and ranching enterprises in the eastern part of the country.

We must not forget that Bolivia is basically a backward country. It is backward, moreover, because certain bourgeois-democratic tasks are still on the agenda. For this reason, all chance of integrated economic development within forms of capitalist economy, whether private or statist, or a so-called balance of both is blocked as long as there is no definitive break with imperialism.

3. Our only road to development is socialism. We need all our basic resources in the hands of the state and the state in the hands of the working class. The statization of the means of production must be accompanied by economic planning. These two foundations of workers power will enable us in a short time to emerge from the stagnation which grows worse every day that passes, while the poverty of the Bolivian people deepens.

There can be no talk of being able to "plan" national production in the midst of the sea of contradictions presented by our economy. Economic planning is possible and necessary when a state led by the proletariat controls the wealth of the nation, especially banking and foreign trade. "State capitalist" formations are evaporating and becoming a thing of the past. They are being officially abandoned as a concession to the pressures brought to bear by the native right and imperialism.

4. The experience of 1952-1964 teaches us that to be victorious a revolution must not stop but continue to the end and that

the decisive question is what social class holds power. It is not enough to have mass insurgency. It must be determined who takes the leadership of this insurrection. It is not enough to have heroic participation by the working class in the events of national life. What is decisive is what form this participation takes and whether the working class follows its own leadership and pursues its own objectives. Finally, the workers must win hegemony in the course of the struggle, drawing to their side the peasant masses and broad sectors of the urban poor.

The problem facing the Bolivian workers is to organize themselves into a powerful independent social and political force and take advantage of the nationalist and democratic opening to win power. It is from this standpoint that we mine workers reject all possibility of returning to the negative experience of so-called co-rule. Since "co-rule" became a means in the hands of the petty bourgeoisie for controlling and holding back the workers, it ended in ignominy because it represented a betrayal of the historic role of the workers movement.

Chapter III

1. Imperialism is a reactionary and counterrevolutionary force opposing the aspirations of the peoples for economic and social liberation. The continental strategy of American imperialism is to prevent the emergence of another revolutionary Cuba. Imperialism is a provoker of wars. By its interventionism it not only reduces sovereign nations to vassals, as occurred in the Dominican Republic, but continually arms and finances the reactionary groups in every country. For its neocolonialist and counterrevolutionary aims it employs bloody military dictatorships, as well as giving concessions to bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, and capitulationist groups. It combines reformism and promoting development with antiworker and antipopular repression. Having one single continental strategy, it adjusts its tactics in each country with the greatest flexibility.

2. In a decade of phoney development policy, the poverty of the exploited masses of Latin America has deepened, while American domination has increased. An impotent capitalism, without any perspective or capacity for maintaining itself—that is the picture of the "development" our countries have attained under the yoke of Yankee imperialism.

With the policy of economic integration and forming regional blocs, imperialism is trying to create a common market to serve its interests and to enrich it. Bourgeois and petty-bourgeois conciliationist groups are subordinating themselves to these plans under the lure of association and private initiative. The nationalist maneuvers of some discontented groups in the ruling class or even in the middle class cannot break out of the neocolonialist and reformist pattern preached by the American monopolist bourgeoisie.

3. The fact that imperialism is the com-

mon enemy of our peoples, the circumstance that the Latin-American countries have a common historical origin, the broad tendency exhibited by uneven, dependent capitalist development, etc., make for similarities in the continent-wide revolutionary struggle, despite individual differences arising from the different levels of development reached by our republics. Moreover, these facts point to the working masses, and especially the proletariat, as the principal forces for change.

In attacking imperialism, the Latin-American revolutionary forces also confront the domestic "props" of this system, which are precisely the bourgeois oligarchies. Therefore, no impermeable wall exists between the phase of national liberation and the socialist phase. The Cuban experience is instructive in this regard.

Chapter IV

1. While a limited democratic process was initiated through the coup d'etat of September 26, 1968, it is also apparent that the counterrevolution has not been crushed nor anything near it. It has surrendered power partially and in a symbolic fashion. It continues to control the economic and political life of the countries. In the face of the government's progressive measures, the counterrevolutionists have responded by closing ranks to repulse what they consider the "Communist danger." For the counterrevolutionaries any nationalist measure, which is the same thing as saying any bourgeois democratic measure, is an alarming "Communist" step.

2. The present process is contradictory. While on the one hand the government is taking some anti-imperialist and progressive steps, on the other it is adopting pro-imperialist measures contrary to the interests of the nation and of the people. The mine workers support all aspects which are positive for the emancipation of our people. At the same time, they criticize and combat those measures that are contrary to the interests of the masses, fighting to impose new anti-imperialist steps that will lead us to a real revolution on the road to national emancipation and socialism. This is the tactic we follow in the present process, not forgetting the ultimate objectives of the working class.

3. Where are the counterrevolutionists to be found? First of all in the cabinet itself and the army. Some of the ministers represent the interests of imperialism and the native counterrevolution. A few civilians in the cabinet, alien to systematic revolutionary activity and the real mass movement, take progressive positions. But the presence of these figures offers no guarantee that the counterrevolutionists conspiring at their side will be crushed.

The fate of the government depends exclusively on what the high command says and does. Tomorrow it may decide to change the government's orientation and replace some ministers. Neither the people nor the workers determine the government's orientation. So far in Bolivia the only decision makers around this political

and military force are the other reactionary groups which know that their future depends on pressuring and seducing the military hierarchy.

4. The big business press has begun its anti-Communist campaign to create the psychological climate for reactionary subversion. The wishy-washy decree to allow the journalists' unions also to say what they think has not blocked the road to rightist conspiracy on which the "rosca" [tin-baron] bourgeoisie has embarked. The native industrialists, who do not exercise major weight in the national economy and who live off the crumbs of finance capital, have managed to organize to defend their class interests and privileges. They have carried out an unprecedented national congress (they were so weak that they even invited the impoverished artisans) for the purpose of demanding that the government define its orientation. Despite the president's capitulationist speech, the industrialists are remaining in the counterrevolutionary camp. The enemy must be clearly identified—the visible head of the conspiracy is constituted by big banking; the importers of the middle mining sector which are controlled by American capital; together with the Yankee embassy; the CIA; and the imperialist bureaucracy which controls the country.

5. Moreover, the COMIBOL up to now continues to be another spearhead of counterrevolution because the outlook dominating its bureaucratic leadership is that the miners must just produce and obey. This bureaucracy denies the workers the right to think and to trade-union and political activity, which from its standpoint is a punishable crime.

The nationalization of the mines was achieved at the cost of the lives of hundreds of miners murdered by the feudal-bourgeois oligarchy. The workers struggled to put the nationalized mines in the service of the productive sectors and make them the basis of our national liberation. The aim of the workers was disregarded by all the governments that came to power after 1952. Instead the COMIBOL has been transformed into the private bank of every succeeding government, and, functioning like a new "mining superstate," has been turned into a roost for opportunist politicians. This body is the backbone of the national economy; it has been transformed into a center of counterrevolutionary policy.

6. The idea that the COMIBOL serves the interests of the nation and the people is no more than a snare for the unwary. From the date of the nationalization until today, the COMIBOL has been the property of those who have betrayed these interests. Attributing the evils in administration and the failure in production, etc., to the workers, who never had control over these matters, is the right-wing forces' slickest game for confusing and deceiving public opinion.

As long as it retains its present structure, the COMIBOL will continue to be one of the headquarters of the conspiracy against the people. It must be realized that the manager of a mining enterprise occupies a very important place in the

national economy and thus his acts and attitudes have powerful political repercussions on the life of the country. A member of the technocracy, or bureaucracy, can provoke the most serious kind of social and political conflicts, bring the state and the unions into conflict, and thus prepare the way for counterrevolution. Therefore, struggle by the mine workers to expel the reactionary "rosca" bureaucracy is an elementary duty of national self-defense.

Chapter V

1. In the current period the working class must achieve a high level of organization and convert its national, middle, and local leadership bodies into revolutionary vanguard centers capable of carrying the present process forward to socialism. The fighting capacity of the workers movement is determined by its level of consciousness, its unity, the quantity and quality of its allies, and by the ability of its leaders. If the workers lack a tested leadership forged in the heat of the struggle, they will suffer defeat after defeat.

Those who maintain that the union organizations must limit themselves to playing the role of "trade unions" [English in the original] alone, that is, restrict themselves to a purely economic struggle, are wrong. Without abandoning the struggle for a few more of the necessities of life, we workers must intervene in the political life of our country in our capacity as the revolutionary vanguard of the nation. We must not forget that the Bolivian tragedy is the absence of strong workers organizations. The future of Bolivia is in the hands of its heroic workers, because we are the only ones who can rescue the country once and for all from its backwardness and dependency.

2. To fulfill our historic mission, we workers have our own organizational forms—the unions, revolutionary political leadership, and the anti-imperialist united front. We have our own banners of ideological struggle and our own methods of fighting, the objective of which is to win a workers government. And because it is a workers government it will be the most authentically national government.

3. The Central Obrera Boliviana, which we will defend against all divisive maneuvers, must develop into an unfaltering, agile, and enlightened leadership of all the workers, a means of achieving a real alliance with our peasant brothers, the artisans, the small shopkeepers, the intellectuals, the students, and the professionals within the context of the broadest possible union democracy. In its turn, the Federacion de Mineros must express the unity and class consciousness of the militant workers in the pits.

Working-class unity and the strength of our organizations are the only guarantee that the present process will not be smothered in purely capitalist limits. And such stagnation is synonymous with the return to power of the counterrevolution.

4. In order to achieve socialism, all

the revolutionary anti-imperialist forces must first be united. The popular anti-imperialist revolution is linked to the struggle for socialism. The anti-imperialist popular front is an alliance of related classes and the instrument for making the revolution; it is a political alliance of the workers and peasants and the urban masses. In this front converge all the social and political currents which are fighting for a basic change in the Bolivian situation, to remove the impotent institutions that exist in order to further anti-imperialist and popular aims. The expulsion of imperialism and the solution of the national and democratic tasks still on the agenda will make possible the socialist revolution.

The working class supports the anti-imperialist aspects of nationalism, that is, the nationalism of an oppressed country which arises from the contradictions of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois sectors faced with imperialism. But it rejects those negative aspects expressed in the national egotism of these classes and in their attempt to assume the position of sole exploiter of the working class. We do not support the nationalism that strives to promote collaboration between opposing classes and to force the proletariat to abandon its own objectives. In the same way we condemn the nationalism that seeks to incite mistrust and hatreds among the peoples.

5. The methods and forms of the workers struggle must conform to its ultimate objectives. There can be no contradiction between ends and means. The accumulated experience of the cruel methods of repression employed by our class enemies teaches us the need for being prepared to use all forms of struggle, including revolutionary violence.

In every concrete historic situation, we will determine whether our fundamental concern is to educate and organize the workers, mobilize the masses, or prepare ourselves militarily. The working class aspires to power and must be ready to use even force if its position in the class relationship of forces requires it.

6. The working class rejects the preaching of class collaboration and "social peace" as contrary to its aspiration to win power. The class struggle in a backward country like ours does not exclude the possibility of an alliance among non-antagonistic classes, so long as it does not involve a reformist policy of collaboration.

The working class must assume the leadership of the people, take up the progressive demands of its great sectors, and adopt the nationalist slogans calling for opposition to imperialist subjugation. The working class will help to organize all the most neglected and oppressed social forces in the countryside and in the cities.

On both the trade-union and political levels, the mine workers will help to strengthen the organization and independent policy of the other groups of workers and will struggle for a policy with the advanced sectors of the intellectuals, the student masses, and the radicalized sectors of the middle class. It

will support a policy of making pacts with other forces but its principal endeavor will be directed toward achieving a powerful Central Obrera Boliviana.

Chapter VI

1. Since the cause of all the workers of the world is the same, we will strengthen our international ties of friendship and mutual aid under the banners of proletarian internationalism. We will develop broad solidarity with the national liberation movements and the cause of the oppressed. We condemn racism and all forms of national and social oppression, in the same way as we support the heroic Vietnamese people in their struggle against American imperialism.

2. The greatest victory of the working class of the world is the socialist system, under which nearly a billion people live. This socialist system made up of states where the workers have become the dominant power assumes ever more decisive

importance for the historic progress of humanity.

The essential characteristic of our epoch is the transition from capitalism to socialism, and the logic of the class struggle itself on a world scale brings the three most important revolutionary movements of our time into convergence—socialism, already triumphant over one-third of the earth, the class struggle and protest of the youth in the imperialist countries, and the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples.

3. We mine workers call for strengthening the unity of the workers of Latin America in order to build a better world. We call on the workers of our brother countries on this continent to unite on the basis of an independent working-class policy against imperialism and the reactionary oligarchies. This is the greatest guarantee of achieving national liberation expressed in the great Latin-American fatherland that Marti and Bolivar dreamed of. Today as yesterday, our slogan is "The Emancipation of Labor Will Be the Work of Its Own Hands."

California Socialist Candidates

Pulley, Iiyama on Far East Visit

Andrew Pulley, a Socialist Workers party candidate for Congress from San Francisco, has embarked on a tour of the Far East. On June 22 he arrived at his first stop, Bombay.

The purpose of the tour is to help build the international antiwar movement and to spread news of the upsurge of the movement in the United States as well as the plans for future protests adopted at the National Emergency Antiwar Conference in Cleveland June 19-21.

Pulley became a revolutionary socialist as a result of his experiences in the army. Like many Black youth, he was pushed out of school before graduating and joined the army in order to complete his education.

In February 1969 he became one of the organizers of GIs United Against the War in Vietnam at Fort Jackson, South Carolina. Along with seven other GIs, he was arrested and held in the stockade until a massive protest campaign forced the release of the "Fort Jackson 8." Since his discharge in May 1969 he has been active in the antiwar movement and the Black and Third World liberation movements.

Pulley's tour will include stops in India, Ceylon, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, South Vietnam, Hong Kong, and Japan. The tour will conclude around August 20.

In Tokyo, Pulley will be a delegate to the Congress Against A and H-Bombs. He will be in Hiroshima and Nagasaki for the demonstrations on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the atomic bombings.

In Japan, Pulley will be joined by Patricia Iiyama, a Japanese-American who is

the Socialist Workers party candidate for secretary of state of California.

Iiyama has been active in politics since 1961, when she became involved in the civil-rights movement. Later she was on the executive committee of the Free Speech Movement at the University of California at Berkeley, and she has been active in the antiwar movement since its inception.

The two revolutionary-socialist candidates have a busy schedule ahead of them. In New Zealand, for example, Pulley will be speaking in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, Hamilton, Palmerston North, and Dunedin, and he will participate in the mass antiwar demonstrations planned for July 18.

Super Snoopers

The U. S. government is "quietly compiling a mass of computerized and microfilmed files . . . on thousands of law abiding yet suspect Americans," Ben A. Franklin reported in the June 28 *New York Times*.

Such files are maintained by the Secret Service, the Justice Department, the army Counterintelligence Analysis Division, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, local police, the Internal Revenue Service, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and other agencies.

The Secret Service computer contains more than 50,000 names, including not only people who have threatened the president, but also those who have tried to "embarrass" him.

Radical Movement on Rise in West Pakistan

By Javed Akhtar

Lahore

Sections of the right-wing press have started a campaign of vilification and slander against Pakistani-born British Trotskyist leader Tariq Ali, who is at the moment in Pakistan on a private visit. The bourgeois press has run stories claiming that he has been sent by an international "subversive group" to start the revolution.

The fact that the right-wing press has resorted to these methods suggests that the profeudal and capitalist elements in Pakistan are afraid of the masses' increasing receptivity to radical ideas. For the first time in the history of West Pakistan, May Day was celebrated this year with exceptional fervour and enthusiasm. In Lahore over 100,000 workers, students, and intellectuals, including the leaders of both the pro-Peking and pro-Moscow sections of the National Awami party and also Zhulfikar Ali Bhutto's People's party, marched amidst a host of red flags shouting anti-imperialist and anticapitalist slogans. The most popular slogan was the one shouted by workers: "*Capitalists be warned, Pakistan belongs to us!*"

This unprecedented and welcome display of left unity has further increased the anxieties of the right-wing parties and the military regime which provides them with a cover.

In Rawalpindi, the military capital, Bhutto's People's party tried to split a large demonstration because they did not want to be associated with Tariq Ali who was leading the 5,000-strong march riding on top of a taxi carrying a red flag. They succeeded in taking about 2,000 people away. The rest stayed behind to listen to the speeches.

Tariq Ali told the demonstrators that the main task was to continue the struggle against capitalism and feudal oppression in Pakistan. He said that the fact that workers in Rawalpindi were celebrating May Day showed the undercurrents of internationalism which existed in the proletariat and he sent

messages of solidarity to the comrades in Vietnam, Palestine, and the United States. The meeting approved the messages with loud cheers which included slogans in favour of Lenin, Mao, and Che Guevara.

A few days later Tariq Ali delivered an address to a left-wing socialist forum in Lahore. His speech was reported quite accurately by the mass circulation *Imroze*. The newspaper quoted Ali as saying:

"In Pakistan the so-called left parties who are shouting empty slogans of revolution are all basically bourgeois parties. They have no understanding of scientific socialism. . . . Talking of the forthcoming General Elections in Pakistan, Tariq Ali said that the results could be forecast and that while revolutionaries should participate in these elections they should do so by making revolutionary propaganda. Socialism could not come through the ballot box. It could come only by struggle and for that struggle Ali said that a revolutionary party was needed. This party did not exist in Pakistan and the prime task facing Pakistani revolutionists was to create such a party." [*Imroze*, May 9, 1970.]

The forum which sponsored Tariq Ali's meeting usually has an attendance of fifty people. More than 400

people came to hear Ali. In an attempt to provoke the situation a local right-wing daily, *Nadai-i-Millat*, headlined Ali's meeting on its front page in the following way: "*Disregard All Laws and the Government to Bring the Red Revolution*"—Tariq Ali." If Ali had actually said those words he would be liable to seven years rigorous imprisonment under the Martial Law Regulations.

This same newspaper has been slandering and attacking Ali ever since his arrival in the country. It has been helped by the fact that the government has appointed an insidious and semi-fascist orthodox Muslim, ex-justice S. A. Rehman, as the boss of the Press Trust, which controls the most important newspapers in West Pakistan.

The pre-election fever continues to mount and at the moment it seems likely that the election will be held as scheduled in October 1970. The cynics, however, maintain that the army will look for a pretext to postpone them for another few months in order to completely disarm the left, many of whose workers and students are in prison.

There are over 400 political prisoners in West Pakistan at the moment. The figures for East Pakistan are not known.

May 11, 1970.

Okinawans Condemn U.S. Occupation

In a statement released June 14, Seiryu Azuma, general secretary of the Okinawa Prefecture Council Against A- and H-Bombs, called on the American people to support the Okinawan struggle for the removal of U. S. military bases.

Azuma described the colonial conditions imposed by the American military occupation of the island and particularly criticized the fact that soldiers who commit crimes cannot be apprehended by Okinawan police or tried in Okinawan courts. U. S. military personnel accused of crimes are tried only by military courts, if at all, which do not announce their findings.

Azuma cited a large number of assaults and robberies in which the culprit was able to disappear into a military base and thus escape prosecution. The American High Commissioner has refused even to meet with Okinawans wishing to protest this situation.

The statement pointed out that the abuse of the rights of Okinawans is a consequence of the war the U. S. government is waging in Indochina. Airfields in Okinawa are bases for B-52 bombers used against the Indochinese peoples.

Azuma's statement concludes with a call for the immediate withdrawal of all U. S. military bases from the island.