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Africa

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50c

Free the Irish Political Prisoners!



BERNADETTE DEVLIN, imprisoned MP.

On Women's Liberation:
Marxism Vs. Ultraleftism

Ireland:

Why Socialism Is Coming to the Fore

Executive Shelters

In many parts of the capitalist world, government figures traditionally insure themselves against sudden unemployment by making regular deposits in Swiss banks. American politicians and businessmen, on the other hand, have decided there wouldn't be any point in fleeing to Switzerland, and they are literally digging in at home for a last stand against any eventuality.

In Albany, New York, the state government has built a shelter for 700 officials 100 feet below ground. The May 26 *New York Times* reported that the shelter, designed to serve as the center for state government in the event of nuclear war, is well stocked with six different kinds of soup, a refrigerator for storing the bodies of those who can't adapt to underground life, and lockers to prevent the theft of personal belongings.

The 700 indispensable officials for whom space is reserved include the governor, legislative leaders, mimeograph operators, policemen to keep out intruders, and members of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The mental and spiritual welfare of the inhabitants will be ensured by the presence of an official from the Division of Mental Hygiene and members of the Salvation Army.

At the other end of the country, a private firm has announced plans for a \$10,000,000 California shelter that "can withstand anything but a direct hit by a nuclear weapon." Reuters reported July 1 that the "main purpose will be to protect . . . firms in the event of nuclear war," but that the shelter will also "help offset increasing fears within the business world over rioting, bombing attacks and destruction of files."

Summer Schedule

We are now on our summer schedule. This is our last issue for July. We will not publish in August. We will resume on a weekly basis in September.

In This Issue

		FEATURES
	682	Executive Shelters
Caroline Lund	708	Where the SLL Goes Wrong on Women's Liberation
		IRELAND
Gerry Foley	683	Why Socialism Is Coming to the Fore in Ireland
	692	Free the Irish Political Prisoners!
		GREAT BRITAIN
	693	Dock Workers Close British Ports
		MIDDLE EAST
	694	Threats of U.S. Intervention
	694	Arafat Denounces Assassination Attempt
		VIETNAM
Allen Myers	695	"Tiger Cages" Supported by American Dollars
		INDIA
Kailas Chandra	696	Workers Protest Murder of CP Legislator
	704	Andrew Pulley Speaks in Bombay, Baroda
Chitta Mitra	705	Stalinist Drama Falsifies History
		MEXICO
	697	Demonstrators Demand: "Free Political Prisoners!"
		FINLAND
Pekka Haapakoski	698	Students Protest Visit by Shah of Iran
		PHILIPPINES
	698	Broad Support for Jailed Youth Leader
		CHINA
Li Fu-jen	699	How Mao Railroaded Chinese Trotskyists to Prison
		SOVIET UNION
	700	Opposition Organizations Reported in Three Cities
		SWEDEN
	702	Debate Continues on "Trotsky in Exile"
		GREECE
	707	Harsh Sentences in New Political Trials
		ISRAEL
	711	3,200 Arab Prisoners
		FRANCE
	712	"Repression Is Infinitely Worse Today"
		DOCUMENTS
	691	Withdraw British Troops from Ireland Now!
	711	Healy's Request to Discuss Unification Possibilities [Statement of the Fourth International]
		DRAWINGS
Copain	681	Bernadette Devlin; 694, Yasir Arafat; 696, S. A. Dange; 712, Georges Pompidou

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Why Socialism Is Coming to the Fore in Ireland

By Gerry Foley

The Stir Over the 'Gun-Plot' Scandal

"Get out, Paddy, before it is too late; don't allow them to use you."

* * *

"Our VOICE shall not be crushed; it shall not remain silent. It is the voice of the North, the voice of *Cu Chulainn*, of *Shane*, of *Hugh*, of *Owen Roe*, of *Henry Joy*, of *John Mitchell* and of *Roger Casement*. The VOICE shall not be silent—it shall ring with the splendour, the glory of the cause of the Irish people—Sing the old song, sing a new song to quicken the dead years and the quiet dust—a glory is coming on the hills of the North. 'Red dawns and white dawns I have seen on them hills but none like this dawn.' The VOICE speaks again and again. 'Oh, people answer here and hereafter shall we not answer together?'"

* * *

The second quotation above is from the *Voice of the North*, the newspaper of the right wing of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Movement. It was printed after the so-called gun-plot case in Eire and the resulting revelations of Irish government intervention in Northern Ireland.

The *Voice* reflects the politics of the wing of the Fianna Fáil party dominated by Neil Blaney, the Eire minister of agriculture, ousted May 6 for alleged involvement in running guns to the North. There is substantial evidence that this paper is financed by Fianna Fáil backers.

The *Voice's* pastiche of elevated phrases culled from the poetry of Patrick Pearse, the martyred first president of the Irish republic, and pure Hibernian moonshine may serve as an indication of the moral level of this publication as well as its propaganda objectives.

(The Irish bourgeoisie developed out of a class of local moneylenders, rent collectors, and petty swindlers sanc-

tified and protected by the Catholic church; abject hypocrisy is their most outstanding characteristic.)

In the first quotation, the well-known Irish columnist Proinsias Mac Aonghusa advised his friend Patrick Devlin, a Northern Ireland Labour party leader, to break his ties with the *Voice of the North* after it became evident that it was an instrument of Fianna Fáil policy. Exposés of the character and purpose of the *Voice* were published in the Sinn Féin organ, the *United Irishman*, in November and December 1969 and in Proinsias Mac Aonghusa's column in the mass circulation biweekly *Hibernia* November 7.

In its November issue the *United Irishman* wrote: "Since his appointment on the Southern truth squad [a short-lived propaganda effort mounted by the Dublin government at the time of the August-September 1969 crisis in Northern Ireland] Seamus Brady, working ostensibly as a journalist has paid numerous visits across the border. He is not as concerned with collecting facts, however, as he is with doing political work. Civil Rights and Republican people all over the North have been visited by him.

"Money is no object with Mr. Brady. Backed by the Boland-Blaney-Haughhey consortium, he also draws on his official Government allowance. The activity of Brady and a host of Fianna Fáil agents inside the North has involved the spending of thousands of pounds to harness Civil Rights workers so that the people so duped will look to Fianna Fáil for leadership in the impending crisis."

A few days after the appearance of the *United Irishman* article, Mac Aonghusa repeated these charges in the much more "respectable" *Hibernia*:

Their Master's 'Voice'

"The *Voice of the North* must be about the meanest little rag to circu-

late in this country for a long time . . . Fianna Fáil reasons for financing, either through ordinary TACA [a business group backing Fianna Fáil] funds or from a special fund, not merely this paper but also certain individuals in the Bogside in Derry, in Dungannon, and in Belfast, are complicated. They want to kill the *United Irishman* in the North; they want to undermine genuine republicanism [radical nationalism]: they want to damage the left-wing, especially the People's Democracy; they hope to give Civil Rights a right-wing flavour and to pretend that the aim in the North is a Fianna Fáil-type state."

After the "gun-plot" scandal, Mac Aonghusa wrote in the May 15 issue of *Hibernia*: "The detailed exposé of some of their [Blaney, Haughhey, Boland] plots within the North was published by Séamus O Tuathail in the November and December 1969 issues of the *United Irishman*. Either Jack Lynch [the prime minister] does not see this Republican organ or else he approved of what they were then doing. Otherwise how could the dear colleagues of yesterday have turned into the conniving rogues and international political gangsters he described in the Dail last week?"

Writing in the May 23 issue of the *Irish Echo*, a conservative Irish-American paper published in New York, Dublin correspondent John Kelly noted that the Irish intelligence officer involved in the "gun-plot," James Kelly, was "supported by a well-known Irish journalist, Séamus Brady," that is, the backer of *The Voice of the North*.

During the sensation over "gun running," Féin issued the following statement: "Following the events of August in Derry and Belfast the issue of defense of the people overshadowed that of civil rights, and the [Irish] intelligence officers quickly became involved in this. Republicans in many areas throughout the Six Counties were approached with offers of aid on two conditions:

"That they break with the republican leadership in Dublin and set up a separate republican movement for the North.

"That they abandon their political policies and concentrate on purely military activities.

"Throughout the autumn months there was intense Fianna Fail activity in the Six Counties both among the Citizens Defense Committees which had been set up throughout the North, and in the civil rights movement. At the end of August a civil rights information office was established in Monaghan town, financed either by the Government or by Fianna Fail through the person of Mr. Blaney. The 26-County Army officers referred to were regular visitors, especially Captain Kelly, Captain Drohan and Captain Duggan. . . .

"So many people were involved in these activities and they continued for such a long period that it was obvious that Mr. Lynch and his Cabinet were fully aware of them. Their objective was two-fold: to increase Fianna Fail influence in the political arena in the Six Counties and to establish their image and credibility with the people as men who are republican and have the interest of the nation at heart. In order to do this they were quite prepared to gamble with the lives of the people and stir up bitter sectarian strife: to smash the republican movement by playing on existing differences and exploiting the situation arising from the shortage of arms in Belfast in August and the recriminations which resulted from it. . . .

"They succeeded in causing a major split in the movement in Belfast in October last and through the *Voice of the North* and the *Irish Press* [a Fianna Fáil newspaper in Dublin] did all in their power to widen the gap. As is now known a large group did break away from the republican movement in January last. It must be emphasized that these activities were carried out by the Dublin Government, not by any small faction of it, with the full cooperation of the Army and Special Branch. Needless to say no arms ever materialized although training camps were established for select groups."

Northern Conservatives Blow Hot and Cold

In the August-October 1969 social explosions in Northern Ireland, it was

Eddie McAteer, the leader of the largely discredited clericalist Nationalist party, who called the loudest for militant gestures by the Eire government. The radical nationalists and socialists in the civil-rights movement knew that they could not expect any help from the capitulationist regime in the formally independent twenty-six counties.

McAteer lined up with Blaney after the latter's speech in Letterkenny, Donegal, in late 1969 when he threatened Southern intervention in the event of renewed pogroms. McAteer said, according to the December 11 issue of the *Irish Times*: "Mr. Blaney never suggested that there was any intention of using force to end partition simply for the purpose of ending partition. What he did say was that the Unionist [pro-British Protestant] majority in the Six Counties have not got a blank cheque to misbehave: in other words that if the situation that had been reached by mid-August this year was created again in the future, and the Catholic minority were in danger of attack, the Irish Government could not pledge themselves to remain silent and inactive."

But when Lynch reaffirmed his government's orientation toward improving relations with the Belfast and London regimes, ostensibly to achieve the reunification of the country by peaceful means, and pledged that Dublin would never use force against the Northern Unionists, McAteer declared his agreement: "No other line is possible, it seems, but I do wish to enter a word for that most misquoted man, Neil Blaney. He was terribly misquoted in his last speech: no one examined the context of his use of that five-letter word 'force.' What he said was what we prayed for and what Jack Lynch seemed to support in August—if the worst came to the worst, the South could not stand idly by.

"I don't think, in the depth of my Nationalist soul that we could fight the British army and win. But I doubt very much if the British could afford to fight us on Irish soil—Jack is a bit ingenuous there. It is not that we would fight in the hopes of another Benburb [Owen Roe O'Neill's victory over the English in 1646], but for our rights and leave the rest to world opinion."

At the same time McAteer said that the Catholic minority in the North should give uncritical allegiance to

the Eire government: "It was always my view that the minority in the North owed its loyalty to whatever political party was in power in Dublin."

When Blaney was dismissed from the cabinet over the "gun-plot" issue, McAteer again defended him: "I am not a man of war but everybody knows that there are two views on the ending of the partition. Opinion seesaws regularly from one to the other, and the rebels of today become the Government of the morrow. There are matching examples in the Unionist world.

"My party is committed to the Lynch peace line, but this does not mean that we are to meekly bow down like sheep for summer slaughter.

"The screeching dove might well remember that Neil Blaney stood beside us in our hour of need, and is still willing to sacrifice a bright political future to help his fellow Ulstermen. And if the midnight knock comes to our door would not the gentlest of us love the feeling of security that a pike in the thatch can give?"

But McAteer ended this Hibernian braggadocio with a whimper: "The way to end the James Bond-like capers is for London, Belfast, and official Dublin to get together on measures to give some feeling of security to the minority in the North."

Although McAteer and Blaney may have hoped that such statements would put some additional pressure on the British government to give concessions to the nationalist minority in Northern Ireland, it is unlikely that they believed that the Eire government could play a strong independent role. Moreover, it is unlikely that they themselves want this.

The most probable aim of McAteer and the Fianna Fáil "hawks" is to make just as many gestures as possible and necessary to restore the faith of the nationalist population in the Catholic establishment North and South as its defender. On this basis, then, they could move to isolate the militants in the civil-rights movement.

There are also certain indications that the Dublin regime wants to encourage abortive armed actions by elements within the Catholic ghettos in order to set the stage for an alliance of Catholic "moderates" with the British repressive forces. On this basis, the popular mobilization in the ghettos,

which stands in the way of Lynch's policy of a rapprochement among

Dublin, Belfast, and London, could be eliminated.

Goes Back to the English Conquest

In order to understand why the Irish bourgeoisie is willing to resort to such risky maneuvers as "gun plots" to split or gain control of nationalist and civil-rights movements in the North, it is necessary to understand the threat the Northern radicalization poses to them.

The bulwark of social conservatism in Ireland is the division of the country into Catholic and Protestant ghettos, which was produced by the final wars of the English conquest in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Although English involvement in Ireland began very early, feudal England was unable to subdue the country effectively. Only the incipient bourgeois system of the Tudor absolute monarchy and the revolutionary bourgeois dictatorship of Cromwell were able to marshal the resources to extirpate the decayed but persistent Irish tribal system. The ideology of these regimes took a religious form — Protestantism.

In order to uproot the last vestiges of tribalism in Ireland, the English bourgeois regimes had to wage virtual genocide. Crimes of such magnitude required a religious justification. The native population was massacred and driven off its land in the name of Protestantism. They were regarded as "heathen Canaanites."

Protestant colonies loyal to the English crown, both because of their religion and their social and economic character, were planted on confiscated lands. The purpose of these colonies was to guarantee the pacification and economic transformation of the country.

The largest Protestant colony was planted in the northern part of Ireland, where the resistance of the chiefs had been strongest. The descendants of these settlers form the basic stock of the Unionist population of Northern Ireland, which represents the largest area in the country where a safe Protestant majority can be assembled. It is impossible, however, to create any viable enclave that would not contain a substantial minority of Catholics.

The only institution in any way representing the native population that survived the conquest was the Catholic church. Even the language of the conquered people, and the traditions and

mentality it expressed, began to recede quickly after the last wars of the seventeenth century.

The only potential allies of the despoiled people were the reactionary Catholic powers of Europe and it was primarily to these countries that ambitious Irishmen looked for careers.

Irish priests and the sprinkling of Catholics that escaped serfdom were educated in Europe in the spirit of the counterreformation. In this way, the doubly oppressed, uprooted Catholic population became the prisoners of a reactionary ideology and leadership in complete contradiction to their real needs.

Ghettos Instead of a Nation

The clergy and the weak privileged layers of the Catholic population wanted nothing of the deepgoing social revolution that would be required to eliminate the effects of the conquest and to restore the Irish nation. Their objective was to use the Catholic community as a base for improving their situation within the British system. They sought varying measures of home rule at different times in order to win government patronage and increase the careers open to them.

Out of this intermediate position of the Catholic leadership, a kind of communalism developed. Although in deference to the aspirations of the Catholic peasantry this communalism had some superficial nationalist trappings, it differed from true nationalism in that its objective was not to unite and free Ireland but only to enhance the position of the Catholic community within an alien system.

Against Catholic communalism, a Protestant communalism emerged, based on direct association with British overlordship. Although based on an economically and socially more advanced community, Protestant communalism assumed a more reactionary character because of its dependence on British rule. It took on a racist-like virulence, despite the lack of any significant ethnic differences between the two religious communities as they exist now.

Irish Nationalism Is Inherently Revolutionary

Radical separatism is endemic in the Catholic population, both because of its social position and its history. Every expression of this tendency comes into conflict with the communalist establishment, in particular with its ecclesiastic underpinning. As a result of this conflict, and the fact that the major forms of private property originated in the conquest, radical separatism tends toward socialist revolution.

This revolutionary tendency has never become fully crystallized. The historic peasant character of the country, its isolation, the reactionary climate, forced emigration of the most energetic elements of the population, and a hard crust of repression have prevented the emergence of a homogeneous and effective leadership which could give full expression to the underlying aspirations of the people. This tendency, however, is the most powerful force in Irish history and no development can be understood apart from it.

The Catholic communalist leadership has traditionally been most reactionary in Northern Ireland, where the presence of a large Protestant population made the communal antagonism especially acute. The political instrument of the Catholic establishment in Northern Ireland is the Nationalist party, the last surviving remnant of the old Home Rule party that was wiped out in the rest of Ireland during the independence struggle of 1916-22.

The Civil Rights Struggle Threatened Communalism

The major political effect of the development of the civil-rights movement in Northern Ireland was the virtual destruction of the Nationalist party. Mobilized in a direct struggle for democratic rights, the masses of Catholics, especially the youth, moved toward radical leadership and threatened to break out of the old communalist framework.

The Nationalist party is an essential link in the communalist political structure that diverts and dissipates the energies of the Irish people. It is, in the existing system, the Northern satellite of Fianna Fáil.

The eclipse of the Nationalist party

put the leadership of a sizable section of the Irish people into the hands of secular and radical forces for the first time since 1916 at least, and perhaps even since the revolution of 1798. If revolutionists could consolidate their position in this pivotal area, with an oppressed nationalist minority of more than 500,000 (Eire's population is under 3,000,000), it could expose the essentially antinationalist character of the Catholic establishment in Eire.

By mobilizing the masses of the oppressed population in action, revolutionists could wreck the balancing game of the communalists and open up the way for an all-Ireland struggle that could easily sweep away the weak, parasitic, provincial, and obscurantist Irish bourgeoisie (or petty bourgeoisie) and bring intolerable pressure to bear on the Unionist establishment and its British backers.

The introduction of British troops into Northern Ireland in August-September, ostensibly to defend the Catholic ghettos, limited the crisis of the neocolonialist system to some extent. It gave renewed credibility to the communalist tactic of maneuvering to win concessions from the British govern-

Irish Republicanism — A Radical Force

The betrayal of the aims of the 1916-22 independence struggle by the main bourgeois nationalist forces—consummated by the adoption of the clericalist constitution of 1937 in Eire—provided the basis for the maintenance of a radical nationalist movement of a very violent character and vague program—Irish republicanism.

Once the Irish bourgeoisie clearly and definitively abandoned all national aspirations, it was not clear what would become of this rear guard of the 1916-22 struggle.

Republicanism generally had a vaguely radical and populist character but at times attracted very right-wing elements. Its predominant themes were moralistic—loyalty to the republic proclaimed in 1916 and ratified by the revolutionary government of 1918; advocacy of violent struggle to complete the Irish national revolution and willingness to sacrifice life and property to achieve this objective.

The republican movement played a special role in the life of the country.

However, as guardians of the status quo, the troops have tended increasingly to come into conflict with the nationalist population, thus stepping up the pressure again on the Catholic establishment North and South.

The response of the Irish bourgeoisie, as a whole, to this situation was twofold. On the one hand, there were militant gestures by McAteer and Blaney. On the other, the Dublin regime and the Northern Nationalist spokesman began to project the concept of a federal solution to the Irish question, a union of the two Irish states within the context of some sort of federation of the British isles. McAteer called it a "little United Nations of these islands."

While a federal union would probably be sweetened by some democratic reforms in the North and modernization in the South, it would have the effect of establishing direct control throughout Ireland by the powerful British bourgeoisie. Of all the neocolonialist regimes that have emerged in this century, only Eire seems willing to abandon even formal sovereignty. This is the index of the weakness of the Irish "national bourgeoisie."

In the minds of a large part of the population, the republicans continued to represent the historic ideals and aspirations of Irish nationalism which the revolution had failed to achieve. They were the remnant "who have never submitted," the last incorruptible and uncompromising "soldiers of Ireland" in a nation whose life was dominated by disillusion, hypocrisy, and guilt.

Some Irish journalists have estimated that the republicans have the sympathy of up to 25 percent of the population. The hostility of nearly a quarter of the people to the foundations of the Irish state is an index of the latent crisis that has persisted in Ireland since 1922. However, while a considerable percentage of the people were unwilling to renounce the vision of the martyrs, they did not see clearly how these ideals could be achieved either. As a result, the support for the republicans became increasingly passive and sentimental in character. The existence of a roman-

tic paramilitary organization may even have served, to some extent, as a safety valve for the national frustrations.

By the end of the 1950s a series of unsuccessful attempts to resume armed struggle against British imperialism and an inability to combat the pseudo-nationalist, reformist demagoguery of Fianna Fáil and the Nationalist party had resulted in a serious decline and isolation of the republican movement.

The Need for a Political and Social Program

The leadership of the republican movement realized that at this point their organizations needed to develop a program of social action and a clearer political ideology in order to survive and renew itself. Anti-Communism began to be eliminated from the movement.

A certain convergence occurred, in fact, between Irish Stalinism and the Republican movement. Fianna Fáil had dropped its last nationalist vestiges and was orienting toward the reincorporation of Eire in the United Kingdom, and thus inclusion in NATO and in the Common Market. Only the republicans still stood for the policy of economic independence and political neutrality desired by Kremlin diplomacy . . . for capitalist states.

The cooperation of the Irish Stalinists may have helped the republicans develop their program of social action. The ending of anti-Communism was certainly to the advantage of any movement seeking radical change. If the republican leadership, or any element of it, shares the Stalinists' reformist attitude, this will be demonstrated clearly in the coming period. There is little likelihood that a policy based on such an attitude could have any success in the Irish situation.

While the Kremlin is enthusiastically playing up the Irish unrest in order to embarrass British imperialism, it is unlikely that it will favor any upsets in the heart of the British sphere of influence. Such an attitude would run contrary to the most fundamental tendencies in the forty-year history of Stalinism. If there were, moreover, any illusions about the possibility of Stalinist parties developing independent policies in the present period, the progress of the Soviet crackdown since the invasion of Czechoslovakia should

have dispelled them by now, or soon will.

Moreover, while the Soviet press has publicized moderate civil-rights leaders like Paddy Doherty in Derry and given considerable publicity to the recent reunification of the two Irish CPs, there has been no mention of the Republican movement in *Pravda* or *Za Rubezhom*, the Soviet foreign news digest.

The Key to Revolution in Ireland

The development of events in Ireland since the August-September explosions has made it clear that the revolutionary nationalist movement is at present the key factor in the Irish situation. First of all, it is the only all-Ireland radical organization. This fact assumed critical importance after the confrontations of late summer 1969 showed that the struggle of the Northern minority could go forward only if the radicalization spread to Eire.

Even People's Democracy (PD), which in the early phase of the civil-rights movement de-emphasized the national aspect of the struggle, shifted its stance after the pogroms. In an interview in the January 1970 issue of the American monthly, the *Young Socialist*, PD representative Eilish McDermott said: "The main point that I would like American socialists to understand . . . is that the new long-term policy of the People's Democracy is for a thirty-two county socialist workers and small farmers republic. . . . We must be able to rely on some kind of support from the South should another pogrom arrive . . ."

It was this obvious need for material support from the South that Blaney and McAteer tried to exploit in order to restore the potency of the Nationalist party.

Secondly, the republican movement appears to be the largest and most disciplined body of radical activists working within the common framework. However, it is clear that the movement is not politically homogeneous, and it remains to be seen whether the republican leadership will be able to achieve effective political unity within their organizations.

But the most important aspect of republicanism is that it is the only radical force in Ireland which seems to understand the revolutionary potential of Irish nationalism and to be trying to realize it.

July 27, 1970

The Dividing Line

This fact alone distinguishes the republicans from traditional reformists. In a country as totally dominated by British capital as Ireland, the inevitable tendency of Social Democratic reformism must be to favor integration of the country into the richer British economy and more democratic social system. In the present situation this might seem to be the only way of winning significant reforms. On the other hand, economic development in the context of preserving and strengthening Irish nationhood can be won only by revolutionary means. The defense of Irish nationality requires international revolutionary alliances.

Meaning of the Controversy in the IRA

A split occurred in the Northern IRA (Irish Republican Army) at the time of the August-September fighting, based on accusations that the organization had failed to provide adequate military protection to the nationalist ghettos. This split resulted in the dissidents setting up an independent "Northern Command." A split in the organization as a whole followed.

The dissidents formed a "Provisional Army Council," which claimed the authority of the Irish Republic. (According to the traditional principles of the IRA, the Army Council can claim to be the "provisional government of the Irish Republic," in its capacity as the only legitimate descendant of the anti-treaty leadership.)

The IRA split was followed by a split in Sinn Féin, the political arm of the movement. About a third of the delegates to the Sinn Féin *Ardfheis* in January of this year walked out.

The dissidents opposed the line contained in the official Army Council's message to the convention. After the unsuccessful guerrilla campaign in Northern Ireland of 1956-62, the IRA message said, a reassessment was made by the majority. The following weaknesses were discovered:

Away from Abstract Nationalism

"1. The Army had no political base among the people.

The "socialist internationalism" of the reformists means capitulation to British capital.

After the August-September explosions, the republican movement was impelled more rapidly toward defining the political and social nature of the Irish national struggle and toward developing a liberation strategy based on this analysis. It appears to have been largely to counter this evolution that the Blaney-Haughey group tried to woo the militants in the North with promises of guns and money. It now seems clear that the Catholic establishment (Fianna Fáil and the Nationalists) sought to promote and foster a split in republican ranks in order to halt or divert this politicalization.

"2. The Movement [i.e., the republican movement] had no clear-cut ideology which could define to the people what the struggle was about.

"3. The Army had concentrated its attacks on the British Military Occupation of the Six Counties to the exclusion of direct assault on:

"a. The British political administration in the Six and the Twenty-Six Counties.

"b. The British economic and cultural penetration of both the Six and Twenty Counties.

"4. Free Statism [Catholic communalism] had been left free of both military, political and economic assaults and was merely attacked for its failure to take the Six Counties and its coercion of republicans. . . .

"Following the acceptance of this analysis of our failures it was decided not to organise for a campaign in the Six Counties against the British occupation forces alone, but to organise for a revolution in the whole country against all the forces of British imperialism and native gombeenism.* Our objective was to be the reconquest of Ireland, not simply to place an Irish government in political control of the geographical entity of Ireland but to place the mass of the Irish people in actual control of the wealth

* From the Irish word *gaimbin*, meaning both "usury" and a "rag." The term was used for rural moneylenders and is now generally applied to the petty shysters who constitute the Irish "national bourgeoisie."

and resources of the Irish nation and to give them a cultural identity.

"Our methods were to be:

"Economic and cultural resistance by the people to British imperialist penetration and exploitation and to the enslavement of the gombeen men. Political action by the people to defend their rights, to achieve specific objectives or simply to demonstrate their strength and power.

"Military action to back up the people's demands, to defend the people's gains and eventually to carry through a successful national liberation struggle."

Political Action

The IRA message recommended abandoning the traditional policy of boycotting parliament: "The last number of years has seen the movement engage in all aspects of the struggle and has seen the movement become once more a revolutionary force in Ireland. In order to continue to progress, the Army Council of Oglai na h-Eireann [the IRA] feels that nobody should bind the movement to any one form of struggle. We, as the revolutionary movement, must recognize that it is suicidal for us to adopt abstract formulas or doctrinaire recipes. We must recognize all forms of struggle and not confine ourselves to the form of struggle inherited, or possible, or in existence at a given moment. As new social, political, economic, and other crises arise, so also will other forms of struggle."

The statement stressed that participating in elections or taking seats in parliament did not mean recognizing the institutions of British overlordship:

"The Westminster parliament has no shred of authority, and never had to legislate for any part of this country. The Stormont [Northern Irish] and Leinster House [Eire] parliaments are both puppets of Westminster, set up by the Act of Westminster and not by the will of the Irish people, North or South. Both these parliaments protect the British imperial interest and the interest of the Tory ascendancy class, the Castle Catholics [collaborators], the Horse [well-to-do] Protestants, and the native gombeen men.

"It is our task to subvert the authority of all three parliaments and to establish the authority of the com-

mon people in a united socialist republic of Ireland in which the brotherhood of man will make religious differences irrelevant."

Armed Struggle Against British Imperialism

The statement reaffirmed the perspective of armed insurrection: "The war against Britain has never been halted and never will be halted so long as Britain claims a right to legislate for Ireland. Every decade has seen an armed struggle against Britain by republicans.

"The fight for the establishment of the republic ended in the early twenties but before the thirties had closed another struggle had begun which ended in the mid-forties. Toward the end of the fifties the fight had been resumed and was halted in the early sixties. It is inevitable that before the seventies ends Britain's claim to a right to interfere in Irish affairs will again be challenged in arms.

"This time we must win.

"This time we can win — because this time it will be a revolutionary struggle of the Irish people and not a military challenge by a small heroic minority."

Controversy at the Sinn Féin *Ard-Fheis* centered around the so-called national liberation front resolution as well as the question of electoral action.

The resolution contained five points: (1) that a "freedom charter" be drafted; (2) that the principle of a national liberation front to carry on the struggle be accepted; (3) that the National Liberation Front be allowed to develop naturally on the basis of local cooperation on specific objectives between potential organizations; (4) that this work be given high priority; (5) that any amalgamation between the republican movement and other movements be excluded since what is involved is coordination.

National Liberation Front Program

What was presumably the freedom charter called for by the resolution was published in the February issue of the *United Irishman* under the title "A Freedom Manifesto."

This document declared: "We stand for an independent all-Ireland Repub-

lic with the whole wealth of the nation under the democratic control of the people; the use of State power to dispossess all foreign financiers, monopolists, landlords and their native collaborators; the transfer of all large-scale productive units in industry, commerce and finance to democratic councils representative of the people concerned, whether as workers, suppliers, or consumers, in proportion appropriate to their interests. . . ."

The focus was nationalist and anti-imperialist: "The need to reunify the nation dominates the immediate horizon. No demand should be formulated without this in mind.

"Any reforms sought by agitation within these structures must be such as (a) to weaken imperial control (whether direct or socio-economic), (b) to strengthen the organizations of the people, (c) to develop all-Ireland linkages at basic level.

"Such reforms are in essence revolutionary because they open up the option of sweeping away, at a later date, the foreign-imposed State structures and replacing them with revolutionary-democratic State structures based on the peoples' organizations. [Emphasis in the original.]

A New Kind of State

"We hold that the English imposed State structure should be dismantled and a new one built closer to the people's needs, the lowest level being easily accessible to everyone, with federation into regional authorities with substantial resources and real governmental powers such as to be able to react sympathetically and rapidly to local needs; central government to be concerned with security, defense and long term coordination of the regional budgets."

To achieve these aims, the "Manifesto" said, would require a "political structure of a new type; for example, a Republican Regional Executive could extend itself by inviting affiliation from housing, unemployed, language [Gaelic revivalist], etc., action groups. The integrity of each would be maintained; the unifying basis for meeting periodically in the extended form would be the adoption of an agreed list of demands, possibly along the lines indicated above. The name 'Comhdhail na Saoirse' [Freedom

Council] has been suggested for such a structure."

The Provisional Army Council did not differentiate itself from the official movement on a clear left-right basis. Writing in the February issue of the liberal Irish language magazine *Comhar*, Seán O Brádaigh, the press officer of the Provisionals, listed five specific differences:

Position of the Breakaway Group

1. The kind of socialism advocated by the official leadership was undemocratic, as shown by their organizational methods.

2. The official movement had failed to defend the people of Belfast and Derry adequately in August.

3. The official leadership defended the autonomy of Northern Ireland while the Provisionals favored direct rule from Westminster.

4. Over a period of years the leadership had been undemocratically driving its opponents out of the movement.

5. The Provisionals regarded boycotting parliament as an inviolable principle.

On the anniversary of the rebellion of Easter 1916, the Provisionals and the official republican movement held rival rallies in Northern Ireland. Press accounts indicated that speakers representing the Provisional Council concentrated on threats of military action.

Speaking at the grave of Seamus Robinson, an IRA martyr, Sean Caughey said: "When Irish families were burned and bombed out of their homes in Belfast and other places, realistic Irishmen realised that in order to get freedom there was a need for a military policy. Irishmen in Belfast and other places were now being trained in the use of arms in order to defend their homes and families."

Caughey quoted Patrick Pearse to the effect that "an Irishman without arms is like a clergyman without religion or a woman without virtue."

Guns, Not Politics

At a later Provisional rally in Derry, Sean McSteven, a leader of the Provisional Council, said: "If Ireland's freedom is to be won, it won't be won by slick talk or words but through

the man's way—the only way anything has been won."

The lead story in the Easter week edition of the *Voice of the North* contained this crude smear: "When the Rising came in 1916, James Connolly had but fifty men who stayed faithful to him in the Irish Citizen Army . . . the doctrinaire Socialists had abandoned the Republic.

"They abandoned the Republic in 1916 . . . and the doctrinaire socialists of 1970 are prepared to abandon it today whenever it suits their alien purpose."

The official republican speakers stressed the political aspect of the struggle. In Derry, Thomas Mac Giolla, the president of Sinn Féin, said: "The interests of all workers are identical irrespective of their creed or col-

Armed Struggle and Electoral Activity

A belief in armed force as a magic solution to free Ireland has tended to serve as a safety valve for national frustration since the partial defeat of 1922.

The roots of this attitude go far back into Irish history. It is a way of overcoming, in a subjective sense, the contradiction between the revolutionary aspirations of the people and the reactionary ideology deeply ingrained in them, guns being socially neutral. This attitude stems, moreover, from the underdeveloped character of the country, the violence and isolation of peasant life, and the brutality of the backward industrial conditions.

The conclusion by the core of the republican movement that a many-sided campaign to achieve socialism is necessary to free Ireland represents an important shift in Irish politics, one which opens up a whole new perspective.

A Historic Opportunity

If Irish Marxists can develop a strategy effectively linking national and social demands, they can tap enormous latent revolutionary energies. If they fail to do this, on the other hand, they will be threatened with isolation and repression.

The events of the past year and a half have shown that the explosive potential built up by the frustrated

our. Those interests are best served by uniting to gain control of the wealth and wealth producing processes of the Nation—in this case the Irish Nation. Labour in Ireland must overcome capital in Ireland and the power of capital is enormously strengthened by the union with Britain. It is therefore in the interests of all workers, small farmers and men of no property to smash the union with Britain and to break the grip of British imperial rule in Ireland."

The revelations of the gun-plot scandal and the kind of polemics that have been developing between the official republican movement and the provisionals indicate a conscious attempt by Fianna Fáil and right-wing Catholics to exploit the backward aspects of the republican tradition.

national aspirations of the Irish people is undiminished. The struggle in the North and its impact in the rest of the country have also shown that, despite considerable purely economic unrest, the national contradiction remains the most powerful and offers the greatest immediate revolutionary potential. In fact, because of the political and social structure of the country, increasing economic discontent seems likely to promote nationalist feeling rather than overshadow it.

The gun-plot case and the republican split indicate that the bourgeoisie's main objective is to discredit the radical forces from a nationalist standpoint. The Irish capitalists are desperately trying to prove that socialists are not really dedicated to the national aims of the Irish people, that they have some "alien purpose."

Irish Bourgeoisie Not Nationalist

In their pseudonationalist campaign, the Irish conservatives have the advantage of the reactionary traditions and provincialism of the country. But they suffer from a fundamental weakness in that the Irish bourgeoisie cannot lead even the most limited national struggle. If the revolutionists can develop agitation around objectives that are socialist in essence but that are clearly necessary to advance the national struggle, they should be able not only to defeat the bourgeoisie's

maneuvers but to make a decisive political breakthrough.

Since there is no significant nationalist bourgeoisie, it is obvious that the national struggle and the struggle for socialism are inseparably linked in Ireland. On the one hand, it is clear that socialist demands must arise naturally out of the needs of the national struggle, because the necessity of unity against the imperialist oppressor and his native allies is acutely felt. On the other hand, it is unlikely that the masses of the Irish people can be convinced that their nationalist aspirations are really attainable unless they can be educated to think in terms of radical social and economic change not only in Ireland but worldwide.

Concrete Revolutionary Perspectives

In a country as demoralized and drained as Ireland, the people must be convinced of the possibility of winning a fundamental improvement in their material conditions before they will be ready to fight. Such changes obviously cannot be won within the limits of one small island with few natural resources.

Now that the republican movement has assumed a clearly socialist position, the entire weight of bourgeois society will be turned against it. The period ahead will determine whether it is able to withstand such pressures.

A series of political problems do not seem to have been solved. The official policy of the republican movement is still parliamentary abstentionism. Sincere and capable republican leaders are still convinced that there is a contradiction between holding revolutionary objectives and participating in electoral activity.

Traditionally the radical current of Irish nationalism has disdained parliamentary action and left this field to the reformists and opportunists. The Fenian predecessors of the present-day Irish republicans made the mistake of leaving the parliamentary front to bourgeois figures like Parnell. Irish political life still suffers from the consequences of this error.

The antipolitical attitude of the republicans has been reinforced by the example of groups that left the republican movement to enter parliament. All of these groups have degenerated into rank opportunism. Moreover, there have been accusations that the

objective of the Irish Stalinists active in the republican movement is to transform it into a reformist electoral formation to fill the role previously filled by Fianna Fáil.

It is true that the parliamentary arena is enemy territory. In fact, parliament and capitalist-type elections are among the major instruments by which a tiny minority of capitalists maintain their sway over the exploited masses of society. But no revolutionary movement can take the reins of power unless it can successfully compete with the ruling class in the key areas of the political arena.

As long as the masses have any faith in the bourgeois electoral process, they will not consider any movement that abstains from parliament as a serious contender for power—even if they admire its uncorruptibility.

Elections, a Test of Combat Readiness

Moreover, extraparliamentary formations can fall into the role of acting as mere pressure groups and be relatively easily tolerated and even reabsorbed by capitalist society, if they have no political focus. Revolutionary

Need for a Transitional Program

The Russian revolution ushered in a period when socialism is no longer a remote goal but an urgent necessity. One of the main lessons of the Russian revolution for this period is the need for a "transitional program," that is, a set of demands which correspond to immediately felt needs, which seem and are reasonable, but challenge the basic premises of capitalism. Examples of such demands are calling for a sliding scale of wages based on a fair price index in a period of inflation, or for cutting the workweek with no reduction in pay when unemployment rises.

Transitional demands offer a basis for challenging bourgeois dominance in every strategic area of social life.

The preamble to the Sinn Féin Freedom Manifesto suggests that the republican movement has developed a concept similar to that of transitional demands. The preamble says that the demands to be raised by the Comhdhail na Saoirse are "in essence revolutionary because they open up the option of sweeping away, at a later

movements must offer a complete alternative, a radically different way of organizing society.

Electoral activity offers an opportunity to explain broad alternatives to the people, to test programmatic points, to give a focus to varied direct actions and popular initiatives. Furthermore, elections can be a test of the revolutionary character of a movement. Even an organization which engages in very militant direct actions on a local basis may still be under the spell of reformism when it comes to broad questions. That is, it may hope to exercise pressure on bourgeois politicians rather than to oust them and build a new type of state.

The ability of a radical movement to develop effective revolutionary electoral campaigns is one of the indexes of how thoroughly it understands its society, how deep its critique of bourgeois institutions goes. It is a vital task of socialist movements to make revolutionary objectives seem real and practical to the masses, who have been conditioned to regard the structure of bourgeois society as natural, just as they have been conditioned to consider bourgeois elections a fair test of "the will of the people."

date, the foreign-imposed State structures and replacing them with revolutionary-democratic State structures based on the people's organizations."

Most of the points listed are general, such as "defense of living standards and job security" and "support for all national cultural efforts such as to strengthen resistance to degradation of nationality by commercial pressures."

A list of democratic demands are given for the Six Counties, including abolition of repressive legislation, disbanding the Protestant militias, ending discrimination, granting equal voting rights and proportional representation in all elections. The one potentially transitional demand is "maintenance of the people's defense organizations."

Soldiers of the People

In the past, the IRA has attempted to tie commando actions to social agitation. For example, IRA commandos destroyed buses used to transport scabs in the 1969 electrical workers strike and the organization then issued

a statement that it had done this "in its capacity as the revolutionary army of the Irish people."

The statement that the demands of the national liberation front are intended to "open up the option for sweeping away, at a later date, the foreign imposed State structures" has a certain ambiguity.

Transitional demands educate the people to think in terms of radical change, thus preparing the way for revolution. Is this what the authors of the Freedom Manifesto intended? On the other hand, the theory of "structural demands" has been fairly widely held in the European left. The purpose of "structural demands," as opposed to transitional ones, is to win islands of people's power on a piecemeal basis.

The fallacy of this approach lies in the fact that only during great popular mobilizations can organs of counter-power be built up within capitalism. When the mobilization recedes, such alien bodies wither away or are isolated and destroyed. Under capitalist conditions, popular mobilizations cannot be maintained for long periods.

If the republicans can solve these political problems, they will probably be able to develop the necessary organizational forms. History has cast the republican movement in a unique form; it includes scout groups and cultural organizations, as well as a political party and secret commando force. The Comhdhail na Saoirse would be an even broader front. There is little indication so far how the nucleus of this front is to be constituted, how it is to operate.

Where Do the Political Initiatives Come From?

It is hard to see how a loose front could take the kind of political initiatives the situation in Ireland is likely to require in the future. A well-integrated and trained political leadership, a revolutionary party, has proven to be the most effective form of organization in social crises. Revolutions have occurred under exceptional circumstances in some colonial societies like Cuba without a party. But the more complex the society, the greater the need for a sharp political cutting instrument. Ireland is dominated by imperialism but it is an intricate society with a large working class and a considerable degree of industrialization.

July 27, 1970

Bold political initiatives are necessary in particular to harness the energies of the Catholic youth in the North. Numerous signs indicate that a sizable section of the nationalist population is at the end of its patience with the system that exists.

After more than a year of recurring outbreaks, the struggle in the North seems to require something further reaching than democratic demands. Some real perspective for radical social and economic change must be offered, at least to the most militant section of the population. The only way this can be done is to raise transitional demands based on the needs of the struggle in progress. Without such perspectives the rage of the oppressed population will offer a fertile field for Dublin-inspired provocations aimed at splitting and disrupting the struggle.

No Way Forward Without Direct Attacks on Status Quo

As long as the state structures remain intact in Ireland, it will be difficult for the IRA to compete with the Provisionals on a material basis. This breakaway is not like the other split-offs from the IRA; it has the force of the bourgeoisie behind it. Whether or not the bourgeois patrons of the Provisional leaders deliver any guns, they will probably provide material support far superior to what any radical organization could muster.

And as long as the social system seems stable, as long as there is no

basic change in the attitudes of the people, the illusion that support may be forthcoming from Dublin or from powerful circles in Eire will give the Provisionals an important psychological advantage.

The pseudonationalists, however, cannot offer any solution for the economic problems of the Irish people. The experience of fifty years has shown that the Irish bourgeoisie cannot develop the country. But perhaps even more important, they cannot offer any perspective for achieving the deepest national aspirations of the Irish people, aspirations that have been formed and deepened by centuries of struggle for independence.

The Irish Nation and World Revolution

The history of modern Ireland shows that the Irish nation cannot be finally restored except within the context of a totally different world order in which the great economic forces serve humanity instead of dominating it. Whatever the subjective political beliefs of the martyrs of Irish freedom, their vision of an Irish Ireland can only be fulfilled within the framework of a world socialist revolution.

For centuries the Irish people fought an essentially defensive struggle against ever more oppressive centralizing forces. The momentum of history was against them. Now the wheel of history is beginning to turn in favor of the ideals of this struggle.

Documents

Withdraw British Troops from Ireland Now!

[The following statement was issued by the International Marxist Group (IMG), the British section of the Fourth International, after the arrest of Bernadette Devlin on June 26 touched off three days of violent clashes between nationalist Catholic youth and the British troops in Belfast and Derry, Northern Ireland.]

* * *

The struggles which have followed the arrest of Bernadette Devlin highlight the completely unstable social

situation in Northern Ireland. As we have stated many times before, the basic cause of this instability is the exploitation of Ireland by British imperialism — the direct military occupation of the North and the neo-colonialist domination of the Republic. The victory of the Tories in the British general election and the split in Fianna Fail in the South have contributed to the sharpening of the situation. Civil war is on the order of the day; the present stage of the struggle has transcended the question of Civil Rights; the question now posed,

which was obscured by the origins of the conflict last summer, is the continued existence of the Northern Irish state. This struggle can only be ended by the abolition of the border, setting the stage for a struggle by the entire Irish working class for the final liberation of Ireland, the Workers' Republic, or by the infliction of a catastrophic defeat on the nationally conscious workers of Northern Ireland—a defeat which would make the repression they have suffered up to now seem mild in comparison.

Stormont's response to justified protests at Bernadette Devlin's arrest has been the mailed fist. Their own bigotry, combined with a fear of Paisleyism, has led them to abandon any pretence of a reformist solution. The British Government, while making an appearance of working for a compromise, backs this policy of force, as their dispatch of 3,000 more troops makes clear. The role of these troops is clearer still; "shoot on sight" is Fascist language. Those who were confused about this question must now realise the disastrous mistake they made. The fact that Belfast and Derry exploded in their fiercest violence yet, despite the 8,000 British occupation troops, despite the Whitehall-imposed "reforms" of last year, and despite the fact that the provocation of the 12th of July Orange parades is still to come, shows the complete inability of British imperialism to find even a short term solution to the Irish question. On the contrary, worsening economic conditions and British entry into the Common Market will exacerbate the crisis. The only perspective is of continuous struggle—political, economic and social.

In this situation, every political tendency in Britain will be forced to take a stand. For the left, Ireland will be an acid test. So far, its response has been pitiful: political confusion has vied with organisational ineptitude. *Now is the time to make amends for the traditional backwardness on Ireland of the British left.* The arrest of Bernadette Devlin, and the heightened interest because of the riots and violence, make it necessary to move immediately and decisively. The success of the Vietnam Solidarity movement showed that it is possible to build a mass anti-imperialist movement on a principled basis in this country. It should be even more pos-

sible on the Irish question; Ireland is nearer, Ireland directly concerns British imperialism, and there are one and a half million Irish people living here.

The International Marxist Group points out the imperative need for unity in solidarity with the Irish people's struggle for self-determination. It is vital to build at every level a united front between all who support that struggle, left groups, the Labour Movement and Irish exiles, particularly republicans. This united front should organise mass activity and give practical help—political and organisational—to those organisations struggling for Irish self-determination. It should support in every way possible the right

In British Jails

Free the Irish Political Prisoners!

"Nothing makes sense. Wilson accused the Tories [the ruling Northern Irish Unionists are affiliated to the Conservative party in England] of 50 years misrule. Misrule means injustice. Then they jailed Bernadette [Devlin] for resisting that injustice and say it's a question of law and order. Now you try explaining that." This is what a resident of the Catholic ghetto in Derry, Northern Ireland's second largest city, told an *Irish Times* reporter June 26, the day civil-rights fighter Bernadette Devlin began serving her six-month sentence for "riotous behaviour."

Miss Devlin is also the representative of mid-Ulster to the London parliament. The charge against her dates back to August 1969 when she helped to organize the inhabitants of the Derry Catholic ghetto to defend themselves against a frenzied assault by Protestant mobs spearheaded by police and militiamen.

The example of a British MP being jailed for defending her constituents against drunken, savage attacks by the "forces of law and order" shattered most of the illusions of the oppressed nationalist population that London was ready to institute bourgeois-democratic reforms in its Northern Irish province.

No one would have expected justice

of the oppressed Catholic minority in the North to defend itself by all means necessary against violence from the Orange extremists, the Police and British troops. It must fight the widespread chauvinism in the British Labour Movement which has its roots in centuries of ideological "justification" of the exploitation of the Irish people. We must act quickly. Every day [that] the authorities are allowed to implement their "shoot on sight" policy damages the prospects of unity between the Irish and British workers against their common foe.

For a united front on the basis of:
Self-determination for Ireland!

Withdraw all British troops now!

Release Bernadette Devlin and all Irish political prisoners!

from the bigoted Northern Irish courts. The existence of the British imperialist fortress of Northern Ireland depends on permanent oppression of a nationalist minority totaling one-third of the population. The enclave was created to preserve the religious caste system developed in Ireland by British rule; Northern Ireland represents the largest possible area in which a safe Protestant pro-British majority could be obtained.

However, denying Bernadette Devlin the right to appeal her sentence to the House of Lords put the responsibility for her imprisonment directly on the London government.

Attacks by British troops on the Falls Road Catholic ghetto in Belfast July 3 made it still clearer that the Westminster regime is committed to maintaining the Protestant-caste state in Northern Ireland and the oppression on which it is based.

Some 337 persons were arrested when the troops moved into the Catholic area behind armored cars. The Falls Road district was ruthlessly searched. Residents complained of intimidation, looting, and wanton destruction by the troops.

No such searches have been carried out in Protestant neighborhoods. However, the Protestant extremists are

known to possess extensive arsenals including automatic weapons of the type issued to the British army. Furthermore, the unrest in Northern Ireland was produced by a Protestant backlash against the movement opposing religious discrimination and the caste system.

Ever since the development in 1969 of a massive opposition to the repressive system in Northern Ireland, the total of Irish political prisoners in British jails has been rising.

Within the past year the following republicans (militant nationalists) have been sentenced to long prison terms in Britain on vague charges of trying to procure guns:* Gerry Doherty, twenty-seven years old, four years in prison; Eamonn Smullen, forty-five years old, eight years in prison; Pat O'Sullivan, twenty-five, seven years; Alan McIlveen, twenty-two, three years; Conar Lynch, nineteen, seven years; and Barry Bruton, twenty-two, four years.

An appeal for the release of these political prisoners published in the July issue of the *United Irishman*, the organ of Sinn Féin, the political arm of the republican movement, noted that all of these men "are currently being held in prison for alleged acts which, if in fact committed, must be attributed to their conviction that desperate remedies were necessary for a situation in which Irishmen were being burnt out of their homes and machine-gunned by armed mobs. . ."

The statement also described the conditions under which the republican prisoners are being held: "Pat O'Sullivan's treatment is indicative of the terrible human and psychological damage being done to these men by the British Prison system. He is kept in a cell 23 out of 24 hours every week day. The cell is only the size of a filing cabinet, 8' by 15'. The light is left on day and night. Each evening he is deprived of every item of clothing (except an underpants) and left naked in his cell during the night which the electric light makes as bright as day. This is more than imprisonment: it is torture."

The minister of the interior in the

* For details of these cases, see "Appeal for Imprisoned Irish Republicans," in *Intercontinental Press*, June 29, page 647.

London government Reginald Maudling refused June 30 to guarantee to anti-Unionist members of the Northern Ireland parliament that British forces would not make arrests under the infamous Special Powers Act. This legislation permits "internment" without trial for an indefinite period of

any person considered dangerous to the state. If internees die in prison, there can be no inquest.

Everything indicates that the widest possible international protests are needed to save Irish freedom fighters from increasingly harsh British repression.

First Time Since 1926 General Strike

Dock Workers Close British Ports

British ports were closed down tight July 15 by 47,000 dock workers in the country's first nationwide dock strike since the general strike of 1926.

In London the strike actually began July 14 as more than 20,000 workers ignored an appeal by union leaders for a postponement to consider a new offer by the employers. The July 15 *New York Times* reported that thousands of workers "hung around the dock gates in drenching rain listening to speeches denouncing the union's leaders.

"As news of the defiance in London spread, men who had already started work at other ports changed their minds."

The next afternoon workers' representatives voted to reject the latest employers' offer and the strike became complete.

The dock workers are demanding a basic wage of £20 (£1 equals US\$2.40) per week. The present basic wage, which determines the rate for overtime, piecework, and bonuses, is £11 1s 8d.

The employers claim that acceptance of the union demands would result in a 62 percent increase in each worker's total pay. They have offered to guarantee a minimum wage of £20 a week regardless of the amount of employment. The employers have also refused to conduct any further negotiations until the dock workers return to the job.

Forty different ports were closed by the strike. Already on July 16, 108 ships were waiting to unload in London and forty-two in Liverpool. Several oil terminals and seven ports run by the railways were not involved in the strike.

Prime Minister Heath's new Tory

government met its first crisis by declaring a state of emergency on July 16. Under British law the declaration is valid for one month. It must be debated in the House of Commons within seven days.

The state of emergency permits the government to use troops to unload "essential" food, fix prices, and require shipowners to deliver goods to specific destinations. But it was clear from the outset that the government was not concerned solely with preventing shortages of food. The *New York Times* reported July 17:

"Officials indicated that troops would be used to unload perishable food, medical supplies and other essential goods long before any shortages developed.

"The idea of a starving nation is unreal,' one official said. 'The danger is to the economy.' . . .

"The most immediate threat was seen as one to the stability of the pound. However, sterling held its own in foreign exchange markets today. Some dealers suggested the presence of a Conservative Government in power was a favorable psychological factor."

The effects on the economy were outlined in the July 16 *Times*:

"The auto industry, which exported \$2.4-billion worth of vehicles last year, is expected to be particularly hard hit. Newsprint supplies are also expected to be seriously affected.

"The steel industry has enough iron ore stockpiled to maintain output for about 40 days, but materials for specialty steels could run out within two weeks."

By the end of February, 1970, a total of 264,038 Cubans had been given rent-free dwellings.

Threats of U.S. Intervention in Mideast

"Concern is growing in Arab and Western circles here," John Cooley wrote from Beirut in the July 11 issue of the *Christian Science Monitor*, "because of rumors of possible United States military intervention in the Middle East crisis."

"'Leaks' and background briefings from White House sources in Washington," Cooley continued, "or opinions of American columnists hinting possible American military action to 'expel' Soviet military advisors from Egypt or to beef up the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean are regularly quoted by Arab newspapers and broadcasters."

In his July 1 television interview Nixon openly declared that "a collision of super-powers" was involved in the Middle East. White House officials called for the "expulsion" of the Soviet Union from the region, stirring a new spate of rumors that Nixon was considering sending American troops.

Nixon's escalation of the war of nerves appears to have been touched off by fears that Soviet military aid to Egypt in the form of anti-aircraft missiles might destroy the air superiority which has permitted Israel to carry out daily bombing raids over a period of several months.

American officials regard Israeli air superiority in the skies over Egypt as a normal state of affairs, and one which is required to prevent Egypt from reclaiming the Sinai peninsula, occupied by Israel since the 1967 war.

The administration's threats must also be seen in connection with the "peace plan" which has been advanced by Secretary of State William Rogers. According to newspaper accounts, the main elements of this plan include a ninety-day cease fire, "reaffirmation" of the United Nations Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, which called for Israeli evacuation of territories seized in the six-day war, and the establishment of demilitarized zones at or near the prewar boundaries—the last point being left vague apparently to hold out to the Zionists

the hope of retaining at least part of the conquered territories. Excluded from the "plan" is any consideration of the just demands of the Palestinian liberation fighters.

Nixon's June 24 warning of possible "great power" confrontation in the Mideast, the statements about "expelling" Soviet advisers from the United Arab Republic, and the rumors of intervention are all part of a campaign to force Nasser to accept the American "peace plan." It remains to be seen whether Nixon will carry out his threats if Nasser refuses to capitulate.

The outcry in the Western press against the Soviet Union for aiding Egypt in its defense against the Israeli bombardment is misplaced. The UAR has the right to defend its territory from assault by a foreign power by any means at its disposal. It should be noted, however, that at least part of the American bourgeois press believes that at the same time the Soviet government has become much more "reasonable" in regard to the fate of the Palestinians. The July 3 *New York Times*, for example, said:

"The latest Soviet proposals on the Middle East accept the concept that Arab governments will have to curb guerrilla activity against Israel when a state of peace is attained . . ." The fact that the Soviet regime has given its aid to the Nasser government and not to the Palestinian liberation organizations lends credence to this view.

But Nixon's hope of forcing the Arab governments—and the Soviet bureaucrats—to make concessions to Zionism at the expense of the Palestinians has continually run up against the intransigent opposition of the Palestinian people themselves. It is this opposition that remains the key to the future of the Middle East. William Polk, a former adviser to both Kennedy and Johnson, commented in the July 17 *Christian Science Monitor*:

"The refugees of the past are now a different people. . . . They have become a political force no one, least of all the Arab governments, can ignore."



YASIR ARAFAT

Arafat Denounces Assassination Attempt

Yasir Arafat, president of the central committee of the Palestinian Unified Command and the central leader of Fateh, on July 11 sharply denounced an attempt on the life of a leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) in Beirut the previous night. Dr. Wadih Haddad, his wife, and son were slightly wounded by rockets fired from a neighboring apartment.

According to the July 14 Paris daily *Le Monde*, "The assassination attempt was disguised to look as though Al Fateh was responsible with the aim of creating a crisis between these two movements."

Arafat declared that the unity of the Palestinian liberation fighters remained unshaken. "This criminal act," he said, "constitutes a link in a chain of plots woven by the counterrevolution to liquidate the Palestinian resistance. This link has thus been preceded by several others, particularly the launching of rockets against the office of the PLO in Beirut last October, and the assassination in the same city of the Palestinian leader Khaled Yachrouti."

Yachrouti, an engineer and a member of the executive committee of the PLO, was killed in a Beirut shipyard three months ago. Police at the time said his death was "accidental."

Torture in South Vietnamese Prisons

By Allen Myers

"In the opinion of corrections advisers with lengthy U. S. penology experience," wrote Frank Walton in a report for American congressmen visiting South Vietnam, "Con Son is not a 'Devil's Island,' but on the contrary is a correctional institution worthy of higher ratings than some prisons in the United States."

Walton, the top American "public safety adviser" in South Vietnam and formerly deputy police chief of Los Angeles, wrote his glowing praise of Con Son one month after five students who had been confined in the island prison testified on conditions there before a committee of Saigon's House of Representatives.

"Food in the tiger cage, they said," reported the July 8 *Washington Post*, "consisted of rice, often riddled with sand and pebbles, and a form of dried fish which 'people in South Vietnam often buy . . . to use as compost for plants.' To supplement this diet, they added, they ate leaves, grass, fleas and beetles.

"'For toilet paper,' they said, 'we had to use a small scrap of cloth ripped from a shirt or pants pocket, which we carefully washed out with urine so it could be used again and again.'"

The tiger cages of Con Son were brought to public attention primarily through the efforts of Don Luce, an American who has lived in Vietnam since 1958. He had been hired as a translator for two American congressmen, Augustus Hawkins and William Anderson, who were part of a twelve-man "fact finding" expedition sent to Southeast Asia by the House of Representatives.

Although both the Thieu regime and American officials had been denying the existence of the tiger cages for at least a year, Luce learned of them from Vietnamese students and led the congressmen to a concealed gate behind which the cages were located.

The warden of Con Son attempted to prevent the party from passing through the gate. He was firmly backed

in this by adviser Walton. "Walton," said Luce according to the July 7 *New York Times*, "suggested we visit the curio shop."

Behind the secret gate, Luce and the congressmen found the tiger cages — rows of small, windowless cells open at the top. Three or four prisoners occupied each cell, an area nine feet long and less than five feet wide.

Many of the prisoners, about half of whom were women, were unable to stand up. They complained of lack of food, water, and medicine. Above each cell was a bucket of lime. The prisoners said the lime was thrown in their faces when they asked for food.

The warden of Con Son claimed that the lime was used only for white-washing the walls. The word "white-wash" was used in a different context July 7 when a staff member of the congressional committee, Thomas Harkin, resigned to protest the fact that the committee's report contained only one brief paragraph about Con Son. The report said there were "some conditions which required remedial or corrective action."

In an interview with Myra MacPherson published in the July 15 *Washington Post*, Harkin, who had taken photographs of the tiger cages, reported that congressmen on the committee on three separate occasions had asked him to give them the pictures to be kept "safely in the files."

Said Harkin: "I just thought if I gave them to them that would be the end of it."

Thieu's government responded to the revelations by announcing an "investigation." Before the investigation had been completed, the results were announced. According to the July 10 *Washington Post*:

"A spokesman described the prisoners in so-called tiger cages as Communist criminals being punished for refusing to obey prison regulations.

"He said the prisoners would not

be kept long in the punishment cells, but did not indicate that there was any maximum term."

A statement from the government press center defended the brutal treatment of the prisoners, saying that they "are neither political prisoners nor prisoners of war but Communist criminals."

Two days earlier both Harkin and Congressman Anderson, on the basis of conversations with Agency for International Development [AID] officials, had stated that there were definitely North Vietnamese and National Liberation Front prisoners of war confined in Con Son.

The American embassy was quick to disclaim any responsibility for the tiger cages, although forced to acknowledge that they had known of them for some time. The embassy did not explain why it had earlier told reporters the cages did not exist.

In a statement read to newsmen on July 7, the embassy said: "The United States mission is aware of shortcomings in the corrections program here in Vietnam. . . .

"Of course, the control of this system rests with the Ministry of Interior of the Vietnamese government. Specifically, there is no public safety adviser stationed at Con Son."

The official reading the statement went on to comment that "possibly by Asian standards the prisons aren't that bad."

The attempt to deny American responsibility fell flat, however, when the embassy admitted that in the last fiscal year alone the U. S. had spent \$442,000 on Saigon's prisons.

The Con Son revelations have resulted in information about other prisons being published which indicates that mistreatment of prisoners is the norm rather than an exception.

On July 13 an American who had spent eleven months without trial in Chihoa prison in Saigon told newsmen of torture of prisoners, including Truong Dinh Dzu, the presidential candidate who finished second to Thieu.

Three days later an American doctor who had spent thirteen months in Quangngai reported frequent medical evidence, including broken bones, which showed that prisoners had been severely beaten.

Workers Protest Murder of CP Legislator

By Kailas Chandra

Bombay

Comrade Krishna Desai, a legislator belonging to the Communist party of India [CPI] and trade-union leader, was lured out of his house under a false pretext and stabbed to death from behind by assailants hiding in the dark at Lal Baug, his home constituency, on the night of June 5. Comrade Desai, who once worked closely with the Trotskyist movement, died a martyr to the cause of the working class.

The Socialist Workers party [SWP—the Indian section of the Fourth International] has unreservedly condemned the murder and has called for united working-class action to avenge the death.

The murder was no doubt a part of the conspiracy hatched by reactionary forces like the Shiv Sena [SS—a regional chauvinist organization] with the help of the state government to destroy the organized working-class movement in the city. Most of the persons (eighteen as we write these lines) arrested in the case are believed to be active members or supporters of Shiv Sena and a so-called "task force" of toughs from the underworld being raised in the city.

Although the state government has appointed a special investigating team of police officers, there is no guarantee that the real culprits will be unearthed and punished. The Shiv Sena has always received direct and indirect support from the state government, particularly the chief minister Vasant Rao Naik, as a weapon to disrupt the working-class movement at the behest of the big industrialists in the city and suburbs.

The working class of Bombay gave a fitting reply to the conspiracy by resorting to a spontaneous strike on June 6. More than 150,000 workers belonging to about twenty-five textile mills and various engineering establishments in the city and the suburbs responded to the strike call.

The funeral procession from Lal Baug to the Shivaji Park crematorium



DANGE: Political reasons for avoiding funeral of Shiv Sena victim?

was the biggest ever organized in honour of a workers' leader. More than 30,000 workers marched a distance of over ten miles shouting slogans like "Down with Shiv Sena," "Down with Bal Thackeray [the leader of Shiv Sena]," "Death to the Murderers," "Blood for Blood," etc. It was obvious that the working class has recognized the murderers, although the leaders of the left parties were very hesitant about naming the Shiv Sena as the main culprit.

In fact the response to the strike call came as a surprise to some left parties including the CPI, which had feared that the working-class movement in the city was too paralyzed to react to a crime like Comrade Desai's murder.

Leaders of all left parties, including the CPI, Communist party of India (Marxist) [CPI(M)], Samyukta Socialist party [SSP], Praja Socialist par-

ty [PSP], Lal Nishan [LNP], Revolutionary Socialist party [RSP], and SWP, spoke at the funeral rally. All of them stressed the need for building a united movement of the working class to combat the antiworking-class forces and Shiv Sena. Leaders of the Lal Nishan (Comrade Yeshwant Chawan) and SWP (Comrade S. B. Kolpe) stressed the need for organizing workers' militias to fight the neofascist forces. They named the Jan Sangh [Hindu communalists] and the Shiv Sena—which had made common cause in the name of fighting the twin dangers of "communism and Muslim communalism"—as the real culprits.

A massive condolence meeting was held at Nare Park, with more than 30,000 workers attending. This was the first major rally to be held in many months in the labour area, especially after the SS leader, Bal Thackeray, had threatened to break up meetings organized by left parties. Both the funeral procession and the condolence meeting were spectacular demonstrations by the militant working-class movement that it has not lost its combat strength. It appeared as if only the leaderships of different parties lagged behind.

All the central trade-union organizations, including the AITUC [All India Trade Union Congress], CITU, HMS, HMP, UTUC, and INTUC, participated in the rally. There was a new awareness among all those who spoke that the Jan Sangh and Shiv Sena posed a common threat to the entire organized working-class movement.

The death of Comrade Desai was perhaps necessary to rouse working-class organizations from their slumber to the new danger confronting them. His murder came in the wake of a big campaign let loose by the Shiv Sena to liquidate leftist trade-union workers in the labour areas. The Shiv Sena supporters raided the office of the CPI-controlled Girni Kamgar Union twice during the last six months [see *Intercontinental Press*,

Intercontinental Press

June 15, page 583] and when there was no retaliation they were emboldened to carry their offensive further. Even on June 7 a group of CPI workers returning home after the condolence meeting at Nare Park was waylaid and one leading CPI worker was brutally assaulted.

The reactionary forces represented by the Jan Sangh and Shiv Sena have temporarily withdrawn into the background in the wake of the arrests made in connection with the murder. There is an attempt by the investigating officers to minimize the political nature of the murder and present it as a personal feud.

One positive development, in which comrades of the SWP are playing an important role, is a new resolve by the central trade-union organizations to forge a united front to defend workers' organizations against the neofascist forces. A move also exists to organize workers' defence squads by different trade unions—a demand repeatedly made by the SWP.

There is no doubt that the weak-kneed policy of the CPI and some other left parties like PSP, SSP, and PWP [Peasants and Workers Party] in relation to the Shiv Sena was responsible for encouraging its growth as a major threat to the workers' movement. Inside the CPI there was a strong tendency associated with Dange himself that was opposed to any public confrontation with the Shiv Sena on the ground that the SS represented the basically "progressive" forces of the workers and middle class in Maharashtra. Even after the murder of Krishna Desai, CPI leader Sardesai is said to have "mandated" his comrades in Bombay not to name the Shiv Sena as the main culprit. It was only after the ranks censored the leadership that the CPI came out openly condemning Shiv Sena at the Nare Park rally. Significantly enough, the CPI chairman, Dange, who was in Delhi, did not come to Bombay (a distance of two hours by plane) either for the funeral or the condolence meeting. This has been adversely commented upon by the CPI ranks.

The Anti-Communal Youth Front, representing various left and secular tendencies, organized a big meeting at Sunderbai Hall on June 8 to warn the trade-union movement about the dangers posed by communal bodies like the Jan Sangh and the RSS

[Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh—a Hindu communal paramilitary organization affiliated to the Jan Sangh party] and regional chauvinist parties like the Shiv Sena.

S. B. Kolpe of the SWP, who presided, said that only the united strength of the working class could combat the poisonous propaganda being spread by the communalists and the regional chauvinists. This view was endorsed by leaders of the CPI, CPI(M), LNP, and RSP. The meeting condemned the brutal murder of Comrade Desai and regretted his death.

On June 22 a resolution was adopted at a meeting of representatives of the CPI, PSP, SSP, PWP, LNP, CPI(M), SWP, and RSP, which stated in part:

"The Shiv Sena has to a great extent succeeded in holding large sections of the population in the city to ransom in league with anti-social elements of the underworld because of the connivance and in many cases encouragement by the Maharashtra government in general and the Chief Minister Shri V. P. Naik in particular. The failure of the Maharashtra government to prevent the pre-planned communal riots at Bhiwandi and Jalgaon, in spite of the previous warnings against the provocative actions of the communal elements in these areas, is as deplorable as the general failure of the Maharashtra government to tackle burning economic problems in the State.

"Under these circumstances we demand the dismissal of the Naik Ministry. To mobilize people's support behind this demand, to demonstrate the citizens' indignation against the terrorism of the Shiv Sena and the failure of the Government to protect the life and property of the common citizen, we resolve to organize joint mass action."

Comrade Desai, who was fifty-two at the time of his death, started his career as a textile worker. He worked with the Trotskyist group for a period during the 1942 "Quit India" (anti-imperialist) movement. He joined the RCPI [Revolutionary Communist party of India] in 1947 and on its behalf was elected to the Bombay Municipal Corporation [city council] several times.

In 1960 the RCPI and the (Trotskyist) Revolutionary Workers party merged and functioned together as one

party until 1963. The Trotskyists broke with the RCPI because of serious differences on the defensist stand taken by the RCPI leadership in relation to the Indian government on the issue of the Sino-Indian border conflicts. The Trotskyists eventually formed the SWP. Meanwhile Comrade Desai also resigned from the RCPI and joined the CPI. He was elected to the Maharashtra Legislative Assembly from Lal Baug-Parel constituency in 1967.

Mexico

New Demonstrations Say 'Free Prisoners'

Mexican students began a week of demonstrations and protests on July 7 to demand the release of political prisoners arrested following the demonstrations of 1968 and the massacre of students in Tlatelolco Square.

Many of the prisoners have been confined for nearly two years without trial. In December and January a forty-day hunger strike was unable to force the government of President Diaz Ordaz to hand down sentences in the cases. Now that the presidential elections are completed, lawyers for the prisoners fear that the government will railroad trials to a quick conclusion before president-elect Luis Echeverria Alvarez takes office in December. The aim of this procedure would be to relieve Echeverria from pressures to grant amnesty.

The government has charged that the prisoners were involved in a plot to overthrow the government and that the plot was supported by Cuba. These charges are apparently intended to obscure in the public mind the real course of events during the 1968 demonstrations and to justify the continuing suppression of political rights. Diaz Ordaz and Echeverria would also, of course, like to have the world forget the Tlatelolco massacre, in which hundreds of peaceful demonstrators were slaughtered.

The demonstrations of July 7-14 were organized by the Mexican Organization for the Freedom of Political Prisoners. In New York City on July 14 the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners sponsored a solidarity demonstration which picketed the Mexican consulate. A leaflet announcing the demonstration explained:

"There are nearly 200 political prisoners in Mexican jails. They are the 'lucky' ones who survived the murders of summer 1968 . . . Since 1968 they have suffered attacks, torture, and denial of due process of law, in violation of the Mexican Constitution . . ."

Students Protest Visit by Shah of Iran

By Pekka Haapakoski

Helsinki

The most violent demonstrations in Finland since 1962 broke out during a visit by the shah of Iran to Helsinki and several other cities June 22-26. President Urho Kekkonen had personally invited Shah Reza Pahlevi to pay an official visit to Finland during a state visit to Iran several years ago.

A broad spectrum of groups took part in demonstrations against the shah, ranging from the youth organizations of the Social Democratic and Communist parties to supporters of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front, Tricont (an anti-imperialist organization), and the Finnish Maoists.

On June 22 there was a peaceful demonstration of some 500 persons outside the place where the shah and Kekkonen were dining. Police attacked the demonstrators without warning and used very brutal methods against them. Many people were hospitalized and about fifty were arrested, including Social Democratic Member of Parliament Erkki Tuomioja.

In Kuopio and Rovaniemi the local youth organizations of the left parties announced demonstrations, but these were banned by the police. Youth defied the ban and many were arrested.

The sharpest clashes took place June 25 in Helsinki. About 1,000 young demonstrators gathered in Esplanade Park, where they shouted slogans such as "Reza Shell, Go to Hell," "Shah — Murderer," "The People of Iran Will Win," and "UK [Kekkonen] Feeds a Murderer."

The police attacked the crowd with clubs and tear gas, riding into the demonstrators on motor bikes. About 150 persons were arrested and thrown into police buses where they were held at machine-gun point. The cops were especially brutal to female demonstrators and dozens of people were sent to the hospital.

Despite the police attack, the militancy of the demonstrators remained

high. Protesters tried for three hours to break through the police lines.

The police violence produced a polarization on the left. The Social Democrats declared themselves neutral, while the CP was critical of the police action. Among the left-wing students the repression by the state dispelled many illusions and opened a broad discussion of the strategy for a so-

Philippines

Broad Support for Jailed Youth Leader

[The following article is reprinted from the June 25 issue of *Laging Una*, "The Voice of the Filipino People," which is published in Los Angeles, California.]

* * *

Nilo Tayag, chairman of the Nationalist Youth organization (Kabataang Makabayan) in the Philippines, was arrested June 11 and charged with subversion, a crime punishable by death or long imprisonment.

Observers saw the arrest as the beginning of a campaign of repression by President Marcos aimed at decapitating the rising movement of protest against policies that spell social stagnation and subservience to U.S. imperialism.

Tayag, 23, was arrested in San Pablo City, near Manila, by intelligence operatives of the Philippine Constabulary (PC) and taken to Camp Crame for what was called "tactical interrogation."

The arrest was announced by Brig. Gen. Eduardo M. Garcia, PC chief. He said a warrant for the arrest had been signed by Judge Simeon Ferrer of the court of first instance in Tarlac province.

On June 13, the PC arrested another member of the youth organization, also in San Pablo City. He was Fran-

cialist movement in a country like Finland.

When the shah was leaving Helsinki he was asked by a Finnish reporter at the airport whether he remembered who Benno Ohnesorg was.* The shah thought for a long moment and finally replied: "Gentlemen, I am afraid that I don't remember that name."

* Benno Ohnesorg was the West German student who was shot to death by police in West Berlin on June 2, 1967, during a demonstration protesting a visit by the shah. The killing touched off the largest wave of student demonstrations seen in Western Europe up to that time and helped to set the stage for the explosion in France in May-June 1968. — IP

cisco S. Portem, 20, said to have been Tayag's bodyguard.

The complaint on which the warrant of arrest for Tayag was based charged that he, together with two Huk commanders (since deceased) and various other persons, had held a meeting in barrio Motrico, La Paz, Tarlac in August, 1969, at which Tayag allegedly urged the people to "rise up in arms against the government."

There was no official explanation as to why the authorities waited ten months before arresting Tayag on a subversion charge.

The Socialist Party of the Philippines, through its national chairman, Ignacio P. Lacsina, offered the logical explanation. He said Tayag had been arrested "on obviously trumped-up charges" and that this represented "a definite escalation in the administration's insidious campaign to silence political dissent."

A battery of prestigious lawyers descended on Camp Crame to offer their legal services to Tayag. Among them were Amelito Mutoc, former ambassador to the United States; Enrique Voltaire Garcia; F. B. Maralag, representing Sen. Jose W. Kiokno; Ramon E. Mata and Lacsina.

The object of all this attention is an admittedly militant student and youth leader. Tayag organized and played a leading role in several Manila demonstrations where the policies

of President Marcos and the U. S. imperialist presence were denounced.

Tayag holds a B.A. degree in political science from the University of the Philippines, 1965. He is married

and his wife, Josefina, is chairman of the Student Cultural Association of the Philippines.

According to the PC, Tayag went to "Red China" in 1967 "for unknown

purposes" and after that served as contact man between Kabataang Makabayan and the rebel Huk Organization in Angeles City, Pampanga, where he was born.

Help Free Them!

How Mao Railroaded Chinese Trotskyists to Prison

By Li Fu-jen

[Last of three articles.]

There is irony in the fact that some, if not most, of the Trotskyist prisoners in China are confined in Shanghai's Ward Road Jail.* Among them, I believe, are Chen Chao-lin and Ying Kwan.

Situated in what was formerly the International Settlement, an enclave governed by the British, American and Japanese imperialists until midway in World War II, the jail housed both political offenders and common malefactors.

Some of the imprisoned Trotskyists have passed through Ward Road's portals twice: back in the thirties when the imperialist authorities arrested and held them for extradition, after farcical court hearings, to the Kuomintang government; then in the fifties when they were placed in detention by the

government of the People's Republic of China.

The Trotskyists were not the only political prisoners locked up in the Ward Road Jail when it was an imperialist lockup. Members of the Communist party, underground local leaders and activists arrested in the International Settlement, occupied cells as they awaited transfer to Chiang Kai-shek's gendarmerie headquarters in Nanking.

A government that persecutes its critics in secret can make it exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, for the outside world to learn the fate of its victims. Nevertheless, from behind the veil of secrecy behind which the Peking authorities operate, I have learned by one means or another that the arrested Trotskyists were dealt with in two ways: at perfunctory court hearings: those considered leaders, such as Chen Chao-lin, Ho Chi-sen and Ying Kwan, were given indeterminate sentences, during which they were told to "reform their thinking" as a condition of their release; those considered of lesser importance were given summary sentences of five or ten years to be served either in prisons or hard-labor camps. The latter were given to understand that "repentance" could mean reductions in prison time.

The arbitrary, oppressive treatment of the Trotskyists, in clear violation of constitutional guarantees, raises the gravest doubts concerning the democratic pretensions of the Peking regime of Mao Tse-tung.

What kind of "People's Republic" is it where the people are denied the right to hold and express political views contrary to those of the ruling authority? Does not democracy include the right of political minorities, not

only to exist, but also to be heard? Yet the Trotskyists, although completely loyal to the revolution, are branded as "counterrevolutionary" and thrown into jail by a regime that refuses to tolerate any criticism of its bureaucratic arbitrariness and the sanctified dogmas that go with it.

Nor is there anything democratic about imprisonment without term or limit, a kind of torture more appropriate to a medieval tyranny than a "People's Republic." As for Peking's jailers trying to "reform the thinking" of its revolutionary critics, i.e., to extract confessions of error from them, this is reminiscent of the vile practices of the Inquisition, or Stalin's infamous regime.

To my knowledge, none of the imprisoned Trotskyists have recanted their political views, despite the misery of eighteen years behind bars and the prospect that they may never again be free. Chen Chao-lin, if alive, has spent a quarter of a century in prison—eighteen years under Mao Tse-tung plus seven years under Chiang Kai-shek. To find parallels for such savage punishment of political dissent one must go back to the Russia of the Tzars or the Soviet Union in Stalin's heyday.

The cruel mistreatment of the Trotskyists is political persecution that in capitalist countries would spark popular protest and demands for redress. The Chinese masses, gagged and intimidated by an authoritarian government, cannot at present do anything to end the manifest injustice.

A duty therefore falls upon the international socialist and labor movements, and upon civil-liberties organizations, to speak out, to urge free-

* Ward Road Jail may have another name now. China's new rulers have given Chinese names to those streets in Shanghai and other cities that previously had foreign names. It is interesting to recall that Ward Road, and hence the jail, was named for an American adventurer, Frederick Townsend Ward, who in the middle of last century served the imperial Chinese government, as well as the foreign imperialists, by organizing and leading a force that ultimately crushed the Taiping rebellion. An elemental peasant uprising with anti-imperialist overtones, the rebellion lasted fifteen years, from 1850 to 1865. The Taipings gathered enormous popular support and at one time came close to overthrowing the reigning dynasty. Ward scored one of his first successes against the Taipings when he drove a force of besieging insurgents from the environs of Shanghai—to the immense relief and gratitude of the foreign businessmen and officials in the International Settlement, who feared their sanctuary would be overrun, with most unpleasant consequences to themselves.

dom for the prisoners, to demand the right of the Trotskyist tendency to exist as a legal political grouping.

Protests and appeals can be presented at embassies and consulates of the People's Republic of China in countries where they exist, or sent direct to the government in Peking.

In concluding this series of articles, I have a word for readers who may still wonder why there is such a dearth

of information about the imprisoned Trotskyists, why all their names and their places of confinement are not known, or even whether they are dead or alive. The answer is censorship and the climate of fear induced by an authoritarian regime. Not only can the prisoners not communicate freely with the world outside, but friends and relatives who gain information dare not communicate it to others be-

yond China's borders.

A Chinese Trotskyist living in emigration informed me in a recent letter that since 1967 "we have cut practically all ties with our friends or relatives remaining in China. Nobody, not even our closest relations, dares to be in correspondence with us." Such, in reality, is the "freedom" guaranteed by Article 87 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China.

Soviet Union

Opposition Organizations Reported in Three Cities

[Three oppositionist youth groups considering themselves Marxist have appeared in three separate Soviet cities recently. Information about these groups comes from the most recent issue of the *Chronicle of Current Events*, the irrepressible *samizdat* publication that has defied the KGB for two full years. The *Chronicle's* twelfth regular bimonthly issue dated the end of February 1970 has recently become available in the West.

[We reprint below the text of the *Chronicle's* reports on these youth groups, all of which have been subjected to political trials. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.

[The appearance of Marxist-minded youth groups in the Soviet heartland is a sign of great importance. It indicates an advanced trend within the broad and rather diverse Soviet opposition movement. And it reemphasizes the general truth that the Soviet state cannot remain immune from the worldwide youth radicalization, however well-developed a police apparatus the bureaucracy has for "immunization" purposes.

[The tendency for the opposition movement to find organizational forms seems to be speeding up and becoming more clear-cut programmatically. In 1966 the Union of Communards, which published the magazine *Kolokol*, was broken up by the secret police. It was an early harbinger; today its leaders still collaborate in joint protest statements from the labor camps with other political prisoners, involuntarily brought to the same "re-

habilitation centers" after the trials of 1967, 1968, and 1969.

[In December 1968 a Union of Independent Youth was formed in the city of Vladimir. 1969 was the year that the Initiative Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in the Soviet Union was formed. Also in 1969 the Union of Struggle for Political Rights, formed by officers of the Baltic Fleet, was broken up. (Its leader was reportedly a General Gavrilov, who under the pseudonym V. Alekseev had issued an appeal to the movement for socialist democracy to form a new party. Recent reports allege that Gavrilov has been shot.)

[The difficulties of the movement as well as its significant trends are highlighted by the *Chronicle* reports printed below. The high level of police pressure and the still low level of oppositionist development that resulted in the Saratov youth all "expressing repentance" are indicative. The same elements probably lie behind the two Ryazan students' act of "confessing" and turning in their comrades.

[Limited information is also a serious obstacle in the way of developing organizational forms. Exactly what the program of the Ryazan group is — a document entitled "The Downfall of Capital" — one can only surmise. The *Chronicle* has no further information on this.

[What the *Chronicle* means in vaguely describing the Saratov group's program as "liberal-democratic" needs also to be clarified. Obviously — since its authors describe themselves as "true Communists" — it does not mean pro-

capitalist, as the term would be taken in the West. It should be understood to mean "liberal" as opposed to "bureaucratic and dogmatic." "Democratic" would presumably refer to *socialist* democracy, that is, freedom for differing views within the framework of support to and defense of the workers state.

[The *Chronicle's* report on the Gorky group also points up difficulties concerning information. The report printed here constitutes an implicit correction of earlier information: the *Chronicle* had erroneously reported Kapranov and Pavlenkov sentenced already. (See *Intercontinental Press*, May 11, 1970, page 425.)

[What this most recent report on the Gorky group does not repeat is that its members were apparently the authors of a Marxist document entitled *The State and Socialism*. If this document is an attempt to analyze the Soviet state in Leninist terms, as the parallel with the title of Lenin's work *State and Revolution* suggests, and if such terms were correctly applied, the document could be quite close to revolutionary socialism. At any rate, the group is plainly interested in getting back to the buried traditions of Bolshevism.

[Leaflets circulated by the Gorky group demanding that the truth be told about the trials of the thirties are the surest sign of that.]

* * *

In Saratov on January 5-13, six young people were put on trial on

Intercontinental Press

charges of creating an anti-Soviet organization and conducting anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation — articles 70¹ and 72 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic.

The head of the organization was named Senin (a student at the juridical institute). The others were as follows: Romanov (fourth year in the history division at Saratov State University); Kulikov (a graduate of the physical education division of Saratov State University and, at the time of his arrest, a gymnastics coach there); Kirikin (a student at the juridical institute); Bobrov (the same); and Fok-eev (a night student at Saratov State University).

Kulikov — the oldest of those being tried — was twenty-eight. All the accused acknowledged themselves guilty and expressed repentance.

During the trial some fifty witnesses appeared, most of them students. According to unverified information, the organization called itself "The Party of True Communists," had a program of liberal-democratic persuasion, and set itself the goal of creatively studying Marxist literature in the original sources as well as other works by Soviet and foreign authors, both forbidden and published ones.

At the trial the accused stressed in particular that they were carrying on propaganda ("many ideas for a few") rather than agitation ("a few ideas for many") and that new members were taken into the organization only after their familiarization with this propagandistic literature and only in the event of agreement of views.

The trial was organized on the model of analagous trials in Moscow (a specially invited audience, a few relatives). Outside the courthouse there was a crowd of 100-150 people, mostly young.

* * *

In the second half of 1968, in the city of Ryazan, six students of the city's radiotechnological institute formed an illegal group, "The Marxist Party of a New Type." They were Yuri Vudka, Valeri Vudka, Shimonas

Grilius, Frolov, Martimonov, and Zaslavsky.²

Yuri Vudka (a correspondence-course student and a lathe operator at the Ryazan Agricultural Machinery Plant) wrote a pamphlet under the pseudonym L. Borin, entitled "The Downfall of Capital," the programmatic document of the group.

In August 1969 the group was arrested by the KGB. The arrests were precipitated when two members of the organization, Martimonov and Zaslavsky, turned themselves in to the authorities with confessions and denunciations of their fellows. The charges were under articles 70 and 72. The case was tried in February 1970 in the Ryazan Region People's Court Building. There were witnesses from the Moscow area, Leningrad, Kiev, Saratov, and other cities.

(Apparently, the Ryazan group had connections with various cities. The group headed by Senin, tried a month earlier, had the same "Downfall of Capital" as a programmatic document.)

Yu. Vudka was sentenced to seven years; Sh. Grilius and Frolov to five each; and V. Vudka to three (all under a strict regime). Zaslavsky and Martimonov (who had been freed under surveillance) were given suspended sentences.

* * *

In Gorky the case of Mikhail Kapranov, Sergei Ponomarev, and Vladimir Zhiltsov and the related case of Vladlen Pavlenkov have continued.

M. Kapranov was formerly a student at the Gorky State University. (He was twice expelled from the university for statements he made about the politics and economy of the USSR — once at a Komsomol meeting and once in a personal letter.) He is the father of two boys.

S. Ponomarev is a philosophy student, a staff member on the newsletter of a local plant, and father of a four-year-old girl.

V. Zhiltsov is a fifth-year student in the history division at Gorky State University, an exceptional student during his entire time there. At the time of his arrest his leg was broken.

He was arrested just before he was to defend his dissertation.

All three were arrested in the summer of 1969, and the charges against all three were changed in January 1970 from article 190-1 of the Russian Federation Criminal Code³ to articles 70 and 72. The investigators are Khokhlov, Belovzorov, and Savelyev.

They are charged with having composed and distributed leaflets.

(In spring 1968 at the time of Gorky University's hundredth anniversary celebration leaflets were distributed and pasted up on the city streets, especially opposite the KGB building and at the university building. They contained an appeal with the following points:

- A demand for the full rehabilitation of those convicted in the political trials of the thirties and full public disclosure of the true character of those trials.

- A demand that the conditions under which political prisoners are currently being held be improved.

- A demand for democratic liberties.)

They are also charged with an attempt to form an anti-Soviet organization. (Possibly there was the intent to found a group for combating violations of legality — nothing more.)

In October 1969 Vladlen Pavlenkov was arrested. He was a history instructor at the university, born in 1929. It is not known to the *Chronicle* what Pavlenkov is charged with or whether his case is tied with the case of the other three, or whether it is simply one and the same case.

The investigators turned V. Pavlenkov over for psychiatric examination.

His wife Svetlana [an earlier issue of the *Chronicle* had reported her also arrested, but issue No. 11 corrected the earlier report] wrote to the KGB senior investigator A. M. Khokhlov that she would answer any finding that her husband was mentally incompetent with her own self-immolation. She sent the same declaration to the USSR Prosecutor General Rudenko and to KGB Chairman Andropov.

V. Pavlenkov was declared sane.

1. Article 70 forbids "anti-Soviet" propaganda and agitation. — IP

2. The *Chronicle* gives no first name for three of the students. — IP

3. Article 190-1 forbids "slander against the Soviet state and social system." — IP

Swedish CP Ventures a Defense of Peter Weiss

[The controversy in Stalinist circles over Peter Weiss's play *Trotzki im Exil* is continuing in the dramatist's adopted country, Sweden. Furious denunciations of Weiss in the Soviet press have created special problems for the Swedish Communist party, of which Weiss is a member.

[In recent years, under the leadership of C. H. Hermansson, the Swedish Stalinists have attempted to present a more attractive image to young radicals and newly radicalizing sectors of the population. With this aim in mind, the CP leadership dropped a lot of its old-fashioned Stalinist ballast and adopted a certain degree of independence from the Kremlin.

[In opposition to Hermansson and the face-lifting of the party associated with him, a Neanderthal Stalinist current grouped around the paper *Norrskensflamman*, which is published in the north of Sweden.

[The factional struggle was accelerated by the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. Moscow gave encouragement to the unreconstructed Stalinist faction which opposed their party's condemnation of the invasion.

[It was evident from an article reprinted in the September 27, 1968, issue of the Soviet foreign press digest *Za Rubezhom* that the Swedish Neanderthals were willing to go further than even the Kremlin would dare in the present-day world in opposing de-Stalinization. The Twentieth Party Congress was blamed for all the ills of the organization.

[Soviet attacks on Weiss gave the Swedish ultra-Stalinists a new opportunity to embarrass the Hermansson leadership. In order to answer the *Norrskensflamman* group, the dominant centrists were forced to defend Weiss, however halfheartedly.

[The following article by Sam Johanson appeared in the June 7-9 issue of *Ny Dag*, the official party organ. It was a response to an attack on Weiss in the May 28 issue of *Norrskensflamman*, which in turn was aimed at Peter Weiss's open letter published in the May 3 issue of the Stockholm

daily *Dagens Nyheter* (see *Intercontinental Press*, May 25, 1970, page 496). Weiss's letter answered a denunciation of his play by Lev Ginzburg which appeared in the April 1 issue of the Soviet writers' union weekly *Literaturnaya Gazeta*.]

* * *

Peter Weiss has written a play, *Trotzki im Exil* [Trotsky in Exile], in which he tries to draw a more balanced picture of Trotsky as a man and as a historical figure than that painted by official Russian historiography. Weiss's point of departure was that the Soviet Union and the entire socialist bloc is now strong enough that there would be nothing to lose if the veil that was dropped over Trotsky's name forty years ago were to be lifted. Or to quote the postscript to the play:

"Reappraisal of Trotsky's importance, recognizing the place that belongs to him in history, consideration of the impetus and general lines that originated from him and which turn up in manifold new forms in today's debates do not mean a further fragmentation but a clarification of our own position. If at last the socialist countries would dare to judge Trotsky objectively and rehabilitate him along with Lenin's other comrades in struggle, the misplaced favor he has enjoyed in the anti-Soviet camp would disappear. No longer discriminated against, Trotsky would once again represent a consistent, rich, provocative, intransigent force in the multiplicity of the revolutionary process."

Weiss adds: "I would not have written this play if Trotsky in any way could be seen as an enemy of proletarian internationalism."

Peter Weiss's mistake here lies obviously in his belief that the time is ripe for an international debate on a question as sensitive in many respects as Trotsky's positive traits. A Soviet reevaluation of Trotsky could certainly add fuel to the Chinese fire, which is puffing smoke rings about revisionism and neocapitalism.

From that standpoint it is understandable that the Soviet press turned its heavy artillery against Weiss.

It is a different matter when our press, or more specifically, *Norrskensflamman*, dumps a load of invective on Weiss. This paper's objective was to cast suspicion on the leadership of the VPK [Vänsterpartiet Kommunisterna — Left party of Communists, the Swedish CP]. *Norrskensflamman* did this in order to highlight the fact that Weiss is a member of the VPK, since earlier they had attacked the party leadership for opening the doors to "Social Democrats, Trotskyists, and CIA agents."

The latest to take the field in an attempt to blacken Peter Weiss's honor is Gösta Kempe (*Norrskensflamman*, May 28).

Kempe, who it goes without saying did not bother to read the play, introduces his discussion of it by calling Weiss a wolf in sheep's clothing. According to Kempe, this enemy in disguise bases his portrayal of Trotsky and Trotsky's relationship with Lenin on "falsifications and pure fantasy." (The *Norrskensflamman* writer is totally ignorant, of course, that in his research for *Trotzki im Exil* Weiss read numerous works by Lenin, Krupskaya's biography of Lenin, John Reed's *Ten Days that Shook the World*, and the transcripts of the 1937-39 Moscow trials.)

Kempe has to find some reason why Weiss wrote a play about Trotsky. And he finds his explanation in the fact that Peter Weiss has bourgeois origins, and blood as we know is thicker than water (this is a slap in the face for Marx, Engels, and Lenin also for their poor choice of parents).

But bourgeois origins are not sufficient to explain Weiss's "turnabout." Now besides this, Weiss is a Jew and his support of Trotsky, who was also a Jew (like Karl Marx), was the result of the "anti-Zionist campaign which the Soviet Union and Peoples Democracies were forced to conduct

because of Israel's war against the Arab states."

Besides having bourgeois origins and blood that is thicker than water, Weiss is a Jew and as a Jew naturally he is a Zionist.

Weiss puts it differently in the play: "I am a socialist. Even though I was born a Jew, I recognize no Jewish nationality, no more than any special Jewish racial character. The Jewish problem will not be solved by the formation of a Jewish state but through a thorough and international transformation of society."

Gösta Kempe, however, knows better. And if it were not a fact that he is a veteran member of the VPK, we might be led to believe that he has fallen prey to the notion of Aryanism.

Peter Weiss is probably not concerned about what Karl Staf and Gösta Kempe write about him in *Norrskensflamman*. Neither one of them comes up to his big toe from the standpoint of intellectual or polemical honesty.

Nor would I bother to waste any time on these scribblers if the editors of *Norrskensflamman* had printed a line expressing reservations about the content of the attack on Peter Weiss. But they did not. Obviously the editors associate themselves with those who write that Weiss is a fifth columnist—Peter Weiss, who has participated in innumerable demonstrations against U.S. imperialism, who is as much disliked by the neo-Nazis in West Germany as by the rulers of Portugal and the helmsmen in Washington; Peter Weiss, who in the last decade has carried out a vigorous struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism, against exploitation and oppression.

I concede that Weiss had a naïve notion in his head when he wrote his play about Trotsky, which is really more of a tribute to Lenin than Trotsky. The play is a tribute to Lenin, who came down hard, very hard on those who advocated deviationist views on important questions of principle and tactics, but was quick to recognize his own mistakes and ready to balance the virtues of his comrades against their faults in a way that Stalin never could. In his "Testament"—his "Letter to the Congress"—Lenin predicted Stalin's misuse of power and was deeply worried about the conse-

quences of the conflict between Trotsky and Stalin. He characterized Trotsky as "perhaps the most capable man in the present C. C. [Central Committee]." He also described Stalin as too rude to be suitable as general secretary.

It was not Lenin who drove Trotsky into exile. It was Stalin in fact who transformed Trotsky into a wolf in sheep's clothing.

* * *

[Gösta Kempe replied to Johanson in a letter published in the June 24-30 issue of *Ny Dag*. The following passages indicate Kempe's polemical style: "Sam Johanson's anti-Communist and anarchist mentality is well known. From the ideological standpoint, Johanson is an anarchist and therefore it is natural for him to accept Trotskyism. These two ideologies run together. . . ."

[Kempe faithfully repeated all the traditional anti-Trotskyist arguments Lev Ginzburg used in his attack on Weiss in the April 1 issue of *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, including the same distorted quote from Lenin's "Testament" (see "The Kremlin Opens Fire on 'Trotzki im Exil,'" in *Intercontinental Press*, May 4, 1970, page 412).

[Kempe, however, went further than Ginzburg dared go in repeating the Stalinist line of the 1930s: "After Lenin was out of the picture, Trotsky turned to a broad campaign of sabotage. From that time Trotskyism changed from an ideological current to an agent of the counterrevolution, in league with the most reactionary forces outside the Soviet Union. Trotsky in exile is associated with the darkest page in the history of the international workers movement. He was the central figure for all the reactionary anti-Soviet forces the world over. They financed his activity and helped him send spies and murderers into the Soviet Union."

[Kempe had rather extravagant praise for the Moscow trials: "The purges of the Trotskyists before the second world war saved the peoples of Europe from the tyranny of Hitler's Nazism."*

* In fact, the Moscow trials so seriously undermined the Soviet state, in particular by decapitating the army, that catastroph-

[The *Norrskensflamman* writer emphasized that he could speak with authority on the Moscow trials because he had not only read the transcripts but had "been present along with Comrade Sven Linderot and an audience of 500 persons during the largest of the trials."

[Kempe expressed the view that it was the duty of the party to educate the youth in the spirit of the old-fashioned Stalinism that has so clearly shaped him: "The youth is radical. But they do not have their elders' experience in struggle." Kempe acknowledged that he might not be quite up to Weiss's intellectual standard but claimed that what was required in communists was not intelligence but "character, ideals, and respect for yourself, the party, and the working class."

[Apparently the party leadership felt that "character" and "experience in struggle" (case-hardened Stalinism) are a heritage they could do without in today's world. *Ny Dag* noted that Kempe had skipped over the central point in Johanson's article, its criticism of his anti-Semitic slurs against Weiss.

[The CP organ indicated that it was no longer prepared to take seriously ultra-Stalinist rhetoric of the type indulged in by Kempe: "Such a polemical method makes meaningful discussion almost impossible."

[*Ny Dag* printed a statement from Hermansson himself in a special box in which the party leader declared that Weiss did nothing contrary to the party statutes in writing his play, but that "a racist attitude (evidently referring to Kempe's anti-Semitic remarks—*IP*) must be foreign to all Communists."

ic setbacks were suffered when the Nazis invaded. For the real effect of the purges on the course of the war against Hitler see the article by former Soviet Major-General Pyotr Grigorenko in *Intercontinental Press*, November 10, 1969, page 1004, under the title "Why Hitler Was Able to Overrun the USSR."

Saigon Students Free Prisoners

Students in Saigon fought police and freed three student leaders who had been arrested July 17. The arrests occurred at a meeting protesting compulsory military training. The audience followed the police and after a short battle freed the three.

Andrew Pulley Speaks in Bombay, Baroda

Bombay

Antiwar activists and supporters of the Socialist Workers party [SWP—the Indian section of the Fourth International] accorded an enthusiastic reception to Andrew Pulley, nineteen-year-old Black American militant, during his week-long stay in Bombay and the towns of Surat and Baroda in Gujarat from June 22 to June 28.

Pulley, who arrived here on June 22 by air from Paris, addressed a "Meet the Press" function held in his honour at the Bombay Union of Journalists [BUJ] on June 23. He explained to Indian journalists the character of the antiwar movement in the United States. He said that more than 80 percent of the American people were opposed to the war in Vietnam and Cambodia while 30 percent were demanding immediate withdrawal of the American troops from the Indochinese countries.

According to him the barbaric war conducted by President Nixon on behalf of the American ruling class, which constituted only a small minority of 30,000 people in that country, was not in the interest of the vast majority of the American people. He pointed out that Nixon was elected president of the USA on the false promise that he was going to end the war in Vietnam but instead he had escalated the war.

Pulley admitted that so far it was only the students, the youth, as well as the Black Americans, who were in the forefront of the antiwar movement in the USA, but that increasing sections of the working class were also now being drawn into the orbit of the struggle. He referred to the demonstration by 20,000 workers in New York City recently, demanding immediate withdrawal of the American troops from Indochina.

Pulley answered several questions by reporters on the relationship between white and Black workers and the role of the Socialist Workers party in the USA. He described the recent postal strike—supposed to be illegal—in the USA in which Black and

white workers fought together against the government.

Explaining the role of the Socialist Workers party of America in the antiwar and other movements, he said that the Trotskyists were fighting for the goal of a socialist revolution in the USA in contrast to the Communist party which pursued a policy of class collaboration in relation to sections of the capitalist ruling class.

The meeting was chaired by S. B. Kolpe, secretary-general of the Indian Federation of Working Journalists. Madhu Shetye, secretary of the BUJ, said that Pulley was a source of inspiration to the youth in India who lagged behind in solidarity action in support of the revolutionary people of Vietnam and Cambodia.

Addressing a meeting of students and teachers of Khalsa College on the morning of June 24, Pulley traced the growth of antiwar activity among American students. He explained how the students on strike to protest against the American invasion of Cambodia had taken control of various campuses and utilized the educational institutions for antiwar propaganda. Professor Jagdish Singh and Professor Dalip Singh of the history department of the college introduced the speaker to the students.

Later in the evening, Pulley addressed a public meeting at K. C. College Hall in the centre of the city under the joint auspices of the Solidarity With Vietnam Committee, Anti-Communist Youth Front, the Forum for Socialist Democracy, and other youth organizations. Bhaichand Patel, a leading lawyer attached to the Bombay High Court, chaired the meeting.

Pulley in his address exploded the myth that there was democracy in the United States by citing the continuation of the war in Vietnam and Cambodia by Nixon even when 80 percent of the people opposed the war.

He asserted that Nixon continued the Vietnam war because he was afraid that once the American troops withdrew from Vietnam almost all the Southeast Asian countries would go socialist and get out of the clutches

of world capitalism and imperialism.

Pulley answered a number of questions raised from the audience.

On behalf of the Solidarity With Vietnam Committee, Kolpe welcomed Pulley. Nathan of the Bombay Students Union and B. A. Desai, convener of the Forum for Socialist Democracy, explained the growth of the antiwar movement in India.

Pulley addressed another public meeting at Vanmali Hall, Dadar, on Thursday evening. The meeting was jointly sponsored by the Socialist Workers party of India and the Revolutionary Socialist party [RSP]. Dr. A. R. Desai, a Marxist author and head of the sociology department of Bombay University, who chaired the meeting, said that the Indian people must unconditionally support the antiwar movement in the U. S. because only thus would they help defeat the machinations of the American imperialists to consolidate their economic stranglehold on undeveloped countries like India in the name of providing them with financial aid. He said that only through the united action of the working people of the world could imperialist aggression in Vietnam and other parts of the world be ended.

Pulley in his address emphasised the fact that more than 15,000,000 American people were going hungry every night while the American ruling class was spending billions of dollars to fight Vietnamese people or on projects to send men to the moon "only to bring a few rocks back to the earth." That was why the American people were determined to see the end of the war in Vietnam.

He predicted that the Indochinese people would finally emerge victorious in their present war because they had the support of the working people all over the world. He criticised the bureaucracies in both the Soviet Union and China for not making a common front in defence of the Vietnamese revolution. He said that President Nixon was faced with a dilemma. He knew that the U. S. government could not win the war in Vietnam but if on the other hand he were to withdraw the

American troops, all of Southeast Asia would go socialist.

Pulley stressed that only through the united struggles of the working people all over the world would American imperialism be finally vanquished.

Other speakers at the meeting included Jagmohan Bhatnagar, secretary of the Anti-Communal Youth Front, and Gaur Paul of the Socialist Workers party. Pulley answered several questions from the audience.

Pulley's activities in Bombay were covered extensively by the local newspapers. Activists belonging to the various left parties including the Communist party of India [CPI], Communist party of India (Marxist) [CPI(M)], Lal Nishan, RSP, and SWP took active interest in his meetings. The youth section of the Lal Nishan party arranged a pictorial exhibition on the

war in Vietnam at the meeting addressed by him in Vanmali Hall in Dadar.

The Bombay police, strangely enough, placed a heavy guard at the entrances of both public meetings on the plea that the supporters of Shiv Sena — a semi-fascist organization emerging in the city — might attack the organizers. No untoward incident, however, took place anywhere.

Pulley reached Surat, an important town in Gujarat, on the morning of June 26. He was received at the railway station by Dr. Rajandra Desai and Ashok Parikh on behalf of the local organizers of the SWP. Pulley addressed as many as five question-and-answer meetings of students, youth, and militants of various left parties during the day. The same night he left for Baroda, the second capital

of Gujarat, arriving there in the morning of June 27.

In Baroda Pulley spoke at four meetings of students and teachers of the Baroda University. He also addressed a crowded press conference at the SWP headquarters. Magan Desai, general secretary of the SWP, introduced him to the newspapermen. His statement and speeches were well covered by Gujarat dailies published from Surat and Baroda.

Returning to Bombay on June 28, Pulley had discussions with the leaders of the SWP on the current political situation in India. He flew to Calcutta on the evening of June 29 on a seven-day visit of West Bengal. He had to cancel his trip to Cochin because of heavy rains in Kerala. From Calcutta Pulley will leave for Colombo via Madras.

June 28.

Campaign Against Trotskyism in West Bengal

Stalinist Drama Falsifies History

By Chitta Mitra

A new campaign of Stalinist vilification of Trotskyism has been unleashed in West Bengal by the pro-Moscow CPI [Communist party of India] and the "antirevisionist" CPI(M) [Communist party of India (Marxist)], as well as the Maoist CPI(M-L) [Communist party of India (Marxist-Leninist)].

The pro-Moscow CPI is spearheading the anti-Trotskyist campaign in their old manner by claiming there are CIA hands behind the Trotskyist activities. In their Bengali journal, the weekly *Kalantar*, they often publish articles with some startling "revelations" in order to foment hatred among their cadres against the Trotskyists.

Though the Trotskyists are numerically very weak in this state, the CPI is afraid that the present divisions and quarrels among the Stalinists might lead honest and sincere cadres to study the other Marxist literature, including Trotskyism.

Toward the end of last year, a prominent intellectual member of the CPI wrote an article in *Compass*, a Bengali journal, in which he bitterly

condemned Stalin for his guilt and praised Trotsky and other leaders of the Russian revolution. It is said that this author has been censured by the party leadership.

The CPI(M) propaganda has also been of the worst sort. For a few months they have been staging a musical play in different districts of West Bengal, which distorts the historical facts of the Russian revolution. The playwright is a Stalinist intellectual known as Professor Sambhu Bag and the team staging the play is widely known as the Tarun Opera party. The play is titled *Lenin*. Its staging is timed to celebrate the Lenin centenary this year.

The play covers Lenin's revolutionary activities during the Smolny period up to the conquest of the Winter Palace, from April to November 1917.

In Act I, Scene 3, of the play, the Stalinist distortion of Trotskyism begins. Here, in the presence of Lenin, Stalin makes the general remark that there are some fools who think that without a preceding revolution in the West no revolution can take place in

Russia. Trotsky is seen to be irritated by this and complains that Stalin is insulting him. This is followed by some altercations between them. Lenin interferes and stops the quarrel by sending Trotsky to perform some task.

After Trotsky leaves the stage, Lenin tries to pacify Stalin, who reproaches him for giving party membership to a "counterrevolutionary" like Trotsky. Lenin says he does so to use Trotsky's abilities for the cause of revolution.

In the same scene there is another dispute between Stalin and Trotsky on the role of conspiracy in an insurrection. Here Lenin openly takes the side of Stalin and "explains" that what is presented as Trotsky's view — the need for conspiracy in a revolution — is not a Marxist idea, because revolution or insurrection does not depend upon the conspiracy of some individuals; it depends upon the conscious will of the people.

The Stalinist playwright is either a liar or an ignorant fool who is swept away by his master's propaganda. He has plainly not read Trotsky's

writings. As early as 1906 in his book *Results and Prospects*, Trotsky correctly called for a workers' revolution in backward Russia, while proclaiming at the same time that the "influence of the Russian revolution [of 1905] upon the European proletariat is tremendous. Besides destroying Russian absolutism, . . . it will create the necessary prerequisites for revolution in the consciousness and temper of the European working class." (*Results and Prospects*, Merit Publishers, 1969, page 114.)

Regarding Trotsky's ideas about conspiracy for revolution, the Stalinist playwright has again distorted the real view of the great Marxist leader. He is evidently counting on the fact that the majority of his audience are either illiterate or at least unfamiliar with Trotsky's work and therefore do not know Trotsky's real views on this question. As far back as the year 1904 Trotsky wrote:

"To move towards a revolution does not necessarily mean to fix a date for an insurrection and to prepare for that day. You never can fix a day and an hour for a revolution. The people have never made a revolution by command.

"What can be done is, in view of the fatally impending catastrophe, to choose the most appropriate positions, to arm and inspire the masses with a revolutionary slogan, to lead simultaneously all the reserves into the field of battle, to make them practice in the art of fighting, to keep them ready under arms—and to send an alarm all over the lines when the time has arrived." (*Our Revolution*, printed in *The Age of Permanent Revolution: A Trotsky Anthology*, edited by Isaac Deutscher, Dell Publishing Co., 1964, page 42.)

In Act II, Scene 2, of the play, Lenin is shown in the Smolny Institute where, after an encounter between Stalin and Trotsky, he almost directly supports Stalin on the same issue of conspiracy and insurrection. He charges Trotsky with being a utopian Marxist, a revolutionary chatterer, and when Trotsky leaves the stage compares him to a snake calling himself a snake-charmer.

Needless to say, the great Russian revolutionary Vladimir Lenin has often been shown in a completely distorted way for the evil purpose of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The falsifiers have always tried to make the common people believe that Lenin was always opposed to Trotsky, to whom he made concessions only to serve the needs of the revolution. Every honest student of history knows that Lenin had the highest regard for Trotsky and that they were close political allies from the time Trotsky joined the Bolshevik party in July 1917 until Lenin's death in 1924.

The Stalinists have tried to picture Trotsky as a lifelong Menshevik—this is the significance of Stalin's charging Trotsky in the play with opposing a revolution in Russia before a successful revolution in Western Europe, a standard Menshevik shibboleth. But Trotsky broke with the Mensheviks before the 1905 revolution and definitively abandoned his attempts to reconcile the two factions after 1912.

Lenin was perfectly familiar with Trotsky's history in this regard and his real statements to the party on this score bear little resemblance to the fabrications of our West Bengal Stalinists. To quote Lenin in his own words: "Trotsky long ago said that a union [with the Mensheviks] is impossible. Trotsky understood this, and from that time on there has been no better Bolshevik." (Minutes of the Central Committee, November 14, 1917, a photostatic copy of which was exhibit Number 1 at the Preliminary Commission of Inquiry into the Charges Made Against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials, headed by the American philosopher John Dewey. See *The Case of Leon Trotsky*, Merit Publishers, 1968, page 21.)

Lenin's idea about the genuineness of Trotsky's revolutionary character can be found in his comment in *Pravda* Number 34: "Can one even for a moment believe the trustworthiness of the statement that Trotsky, the chairman of the Soviet of Workers' Delegates in St. Petersburg in 1905, a revolutionary who has sacrificed years to disinterested service of revolution—that this man has anything to do with a scheme subsidized by the German government? This is a patent, unheard of and malicious slander of a revolutionary."

The malicious propaganda against Trotsky is still being continued by the Stalinist falsifiers of history who are out to distort Lenin in order to stain Trotsky's revolutionary charac-

ter, the genuineness of which was confirmed by Lenin even before Trotsky joined the Bolsheviks. Again we may quote from the last letter of Adolf Joffe, the famous Soviet diplomat, who just before his suicide in 1927 wrote to Trotsky: "You have always been right politically, beginning with 1905, and I have often told you that with my own ears I have heard Lenin admit that in 1905 it was not he, but you, who were right. In the face of death one does not lie, and I repeat this to you now." (The English translation was printed by Lanka Sama Samaja Publications in Ceylon in July 1950.)

Again, in Act II, Scene 6, of the play, Kerensky expresses to one of his followers, Tereshchenko, his bitter feelings against Stalin for being so rigidly loyal to Lenin. He says that it is Stalin who is in effect accelerating the process of revolution as a strong follower of Lenin. He can rather tolerate Trotsky, for the latter has entered the Bolshevik group not for serving Lenin's cause, but to serve his own purpose. But he cannot tolerate Stalin any more.

In order to show Stalin's "genuine loyalty" to Lenin, the falsifier has shown Trotsky in one scene reproaching Stalin for giving unstinting support as a blind follower of Lenin. At this Stalin makes a rejoinder to Trotsky, saying, let there be no such mischievous propensity in himself as to defy Lenin. Lenin is the soul of the revolution. How can he think of defying Lenin in that case?

The charges and distortions in the play are so self-revealing that one need not waste time refuting them all. The Tarun Opera, it is said, has been invited to the Kremlin to demonstrate the fertility of an Indian Stalinist's brain. We are sure that they would get their deserving honour there. Moscow would be the real place for them. For with the advent of revolutionary consciousness in this state in India, the Stalinists would find themselves much more at home among the conservative bureaucrats in the Kremlin.

July 1, 1970.

Slavery in Brazil

United Press International reported July 7 that slavery has been revived in north-eastern Brazil. The victims are poor peasant families forced by armed guards to work on plantations without pay.

Harsh Sentences in New Political Trials

Eleven alleged members of the Moscow-backed Koligiannis faction of the Greek Communist party came before the Athens military tribunal July 6 in the first of a series of trials involving thirty-five antidictatorial activists.

Three of the eleven, Nikolaos Kaloudis, Zenon Zorzovilis, and Ioannis Yannaris, all members of the Koligiannis-CP Central Committee, were sentenced July 8 to life imprisonment. The charge was "conspiracy to overthrow the regime and replace it with a Communist administration."

Kaloudis, a fifty-three-year-old former leader of the Greek maritime union, is a member of the Political Bureau of the Koligiannis CP.

The remaining eight persons tried with these three leaders, press reports indicated, were members of the PAM [Patriotiko Antidiktatoriko Metopo—Patriotic Antidictatorial Front]. Both the Koligiannis tendency and the Partsalidis faction, which follows a line similar to the Italian CP, work in this organization.

Three women were included among the defendants. One of them, Mrs. Kyriaki Konstantinidou, accused the policeman Babalis of torturing her during her pretrial detention.

Two of the eleven defendants in the first trial—Ilias Makhairopoulos and Panayotis Aivaliotis—were given twenty years in prison. Another six, according to the July 9 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, received sentences of two to sixteen years. One of the defendants, Mrs. Selestini Zaboridou, was acquitted.

The trial was marked by an incident almost unprecedented in Greek jurisprudence. Defense lawyer Konstantin Kiziridis was sentenced to a year in prison for "contempt of court." Furthermore, Kiziridis was denied the right to get his sentence suspended on payment of bail, although the Greek code guarantees this right in cases of terms of less than one year and one day.

The defense attorney incurred this penalty for protesting the partisanship of the tribunal: "It is the duty of a judge to stand above both parties in

a case," Kiziridis said. "But you judges of this military tribunal are taking sides."

The lawyer's statement drew this outburst from the presiding judge Ioannis Liapis: "That is not any way to defend the accused. Lawyers must keep within certain limits." Liapis interrupted the hearings to impose sentence immediately on Kiziridis.

In response to the victimization of one member of the defense panel, the other fifteen withdrew from the case, sending telegrams of protest to the International Jurists Commission in Geneva. One of the attorneys, Dimitriou Papaspyrou, declared: "The use of such harsh measures against a lawyer means that the inviolable rights of the defense are a thing of the past in Greece."

A group of legal observers issued the following statement: "Several French lawyers, having recently attended political trials in Greece and having seen for themselves numerous violations of the elementary rights of the accused, call the attention of international public opinion to the dangers threatening the defendants in the present trials and to the importance of the broadest possible international protests to protect them."

The signers were: Nicole Dreyfus, Gisèle Halimi, René Blum, Jean-Jacques de Felice, Denis Langlois, Jean-Louis Weil, and Jean Zavaro.

Following the conclusion of the first trial July 8, five alleged members of the Antidictatorial Peasant Front were brought before the tribunal. They refused to accept legal defense.

The chief defendant Nikolopoulos said: "I do not want a defender. He would be likely to suffer the same fate as Kiziridis."

The Peasant Front members were charged with attempting to form commando groups in the countryside to engage in sabotage and to assassinate government figures. They were also accused of printing and distributing the clandestine organ of the Partsalidis CP, *Rizospastes-Makhetes*.

According to the July 5-6 issue of *Le Monde*, the Peasant Front mem-

bers were part of a group of twenty defendants belonging to the Rhigas Feraios student resistance organization. This formation is reportedly composed largely of former members of the banned Lambrakis Youth, the youth affiliate of the EDA [Enosis tes Demokratikes Aristeras—Union of the Democratic Left, the CP-dominated electoral front].

The other fifteen members of the Rhigas Feraios organization are apparently going to be tried later.

Four alleged members of the EAS [Ethnikos Antidiktatorikos Stratos—National Antidictatorial Army] are also scheduled to be judged in the present series of trials. Their names were given in the July 5-6 issue of *Le Monde* as Zographos, Milionis, Papanikolaou, and Tsontos. The indictment claims that the EAS activists attempted to create commando groups to attack police stations and carry out acts of sabotage.

Two French observers from the International Association of Democratic Jurists, Roland Rappaport and Jean-Claude Chauveaud, described the difficulties facing the defense in Athens during the first trial of the series. Excerpts from their statement were printed in *Le Monde* July 11.

Chauveaud pointed out: "As for communication between the lawyers and the accused, two-hour meetings were arranged three times a week. The defendants, their families, the lawyers, and the prison guards were crammed into the same hall. In other words, no privacy was possible." During the hearings, moreover, the defendants were unable to talk to their lawyers: ". . . an aisle separated the defendants' bench from the defense table."

In addition to depriving the prisoners, in effect, of legal counsel, the military tribunal permitted gross intimidation of the defense: "Commissioner Mallios of the anti-Communist brigade of the security police declared that the defense lawyers were in the 'pay of international Communism,'" Rappaport said.

When one of the defense lawyers asked the policeman Babalis, a witness for the prosecution, why he failed to introduce one fact directly relating to the accused, Babalis said: "I am not saying anything about them. But when your turn comes in the dock, I will tell some things."

Where the SLL Goes Wrong on Women's Liberation

By Caroline Lund

The March 14, 1970, issue of the *Workers Press* carried an exchange of opinion on the women's liberation struggle of unusual interest.

Janet Williams, Hazel Twort, and Ann Bahcheli, in behalf of the Peckham Rye Branch of the Women's Liberation Workshop, wrote a letter of protest to the editor of the *Workers Press*, which is the official newspaper of the Socialist Labour League (SLL), a British sectarian organization that claims to represent Trotskyism.

"Your TV and film critics are devoting a lot of words currently to the question of Women's Liberation," wrote the joint authors. "As members of the Women's Liberation Workshop and regular readers of *Workers Press* we would like to make some comments."

They agreed that the contradictions of being a woman under capitalism flow from the class nature of the system itself. They agreed that women will not be liberated until the defeat of capitalism by the workers' revolution.

"But we can't go along," they wrote, "with the completely barren perspective your critics suggest in terms of concrete action. What it amounts to is telling women of all classes NOT TO DO ANYTHING until after the revolution: then everything will be lovely."

Several similar points were scored by the authors, including the following very pertinent observation:

"The road to a workers' revolution goes via women fighting for their liberation. The idea of a workers' revolution made by men workers, who would then presumably 'give' the women 'their freedom', is mere idealist fantasy. It has its origins in self-deluding male chauvinism, and must be exposed as such."

They closed by saying: "Objectively, your critics want women to stay on the sidelines. Mr Cartwright implies that women should not work, and he sneers at the perspective of an obliteration of all 'role' differences between

men and women. We've heard that kind of stuff so often from frank reactionaries. We're surprised to find it in *Workers Press*."

The SLL leaders assigned Mark Ruskin, who is apparently their expert in the field of women's liberation, to draw up a reply. This was published in the same issue as the letter of protest. In view of the length of this reply and the absence of anything more official, it can be assumed to be a faithful reflection of the views of the leaders of the SLL on this important question.

Mark Ruskin argues that the ruling class tries to divide the working class by means of "racism, sectionalism, regionalism, nationalism and feminism."

He maintains that revolutionaries must be for "unity" of the class, and for the "mobilization of the [working] class as a class to defeat and overthrow capitalism."

He says further: "If we are devoting a lot of words currently to the question of women's liberation, it is for the sole reason of warning against the divisive tactic of separating out 'the problem of women' from the real class questions, of warning against reformist cul de sacs and defeats."

Ruskin criticizes the women authors of the letter for implying that "what we need is to change and improve things *now* for women, concrete action." This, he contends, is a reformist outlook. According to him, nothing can be done to alleviate the status of women before a socialist revolution: "Unless the economic and political forms are transformed the social and cultural ones which reflect these forms cannot be. . . we have to insist that the family is a bourgeois institution, that its transformation depends entirely on the overthrow of bourgeois property relations and capitalist modes of production."

Some comments are in order from the Trotskyist point of view. First of all let's consider the question of "class

unity." The SLL expert says he is for class unity, and that sounds very good, of course. But the question raised by the women's liberation movement is not whether the working class should be unified, but *on what program* it should be unified.

Many trade-union bureaucrats would agree with the SLL that working-class unity is highly desirable, but they oppose working-class unity in defense of the rights of the most oppressed workers: women workers, Black workers, foreign workers, and young workers. The Marxist position is for class unity in solidarity with the struggles of women, Black people, and all layers of the most oppressed workers. The SLL stands for "class unity" in the abstract in order to cover up its chauvinist position that the demands of women, and of women workers, *as women*, should be ignored and not be fought for.

When this authoritative spokesman of the SLL contends that it is divisive to separate out women's problems from the "real class questions," and that the only Marxist perspective is "the mobilization of the class as a class," he leaves out of account the two other basic forms of class oppression under capitalism: national oppression and sexual oppression.

In an article written in 1939 supporting the struggle of the Ukrainians for national self-determination, Trotsky pointed out: "The sectarian simply ignores the fact that the national struggle, one of the most labyrinthine and complex but at the same time extremely important *forms of the class struggle*, cannot be suspended by bare references to the future world revolution." (Emphasis added.)

In the same article Trotsky drew a parallel between the attitude of revolutionists to the struggles of oppressed national minorities and of women. He emphasized the necessity for revolutionary Marxists to support those struggles wholeheartedly, not

only under capitalism but also after a socialist revolution, as in the USSR. He wrote: "The Kremlin bureaucracy tells the Soviet woman: Inasmuch as there is socialism in our country, you must be happy and you must give up abortions (or suffer the penalty). To the Ukrainian they say: Inasmuch as the socialist revolution has solved the national question, it is your duty to be happy in the USSR and to renounce all thought of separation (or face the firing squad).

"What does a revolutionist say to the woman? 'You will decide yourself whether you want a child: I will defend your right to abortion against the Kremlin police.' To the Ukrainian people he says: 'Of importance to me is your attitude toward your national destiny and not the "socialistic" sophistries of the Kremlin police; I will support your struggle for independence with all my might.'"

Like those sectarians Trotsky was arguing against, the SLL tries to ignore and belittle the just grievances of women and of oppressed national minorities "by bare references to the future world revolution."

Marxists have always been for fighting against *all* forms of oppression in order to promote the liberation of *all* layers of the oppressed people. Marxists must be in the forefront of the struggles of women, of the unemployed, of youth, soldiers, peasants, and oppressed national minorities.

If the SLL leaders doubt that this is the position of the revolutionary socialist movement, they should consult Trotsky's pamphlet "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International," also known as the "Transitional Program," which was adopted in 1938 as the basic program of the Fourth International. In this pamphlet Trotsky outlines the approach of the revolutionary movement toward the struggles of all layers of the oppressed. Demands are formulated for the struggles of youth, women, farmers, peasants, and the petty bourgeoisie.

The fact that Marxists want to build and encourage struggles of all the oppressed is further illustrated by the institution of soviets, which arose during the 1905 and 1917 Russian revolutions. The Russian soviets were not only organs of the working class, but of all the exploited. In the "Transition-

al Program" Trotsky explained how the soviets could unite all layers fighting against capitalism: ". . . the deepening of the social crisis will increase not only the sufferings of the masses but also their impatience, persistence, and pressure. Ever new layers of the oppressed will raise their heads and come forward with their demands . . . The unemployed will join the movement. The agricultural workers, the ruined and semi-ruined farmers, the oppressed of the cities, the women workers, housewives, proletarianized layers of the intelligentsia — all of these will seek unity and leadership."

Paralleling the SLL's denigration of the women's liberation movement and nationalist movements, the sectarian leaders of this organization are also against building a mass antiwar movement in the United States and internationally. The *Workers Press* has repeatedly attacked the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers party in the United States for "opportunistic adaptations to the antiwar movement, student power, and now 'women's liberation.'"

A strong, independent women's liberation movement, just like the Black nationalist and antiwar movements, has to be seen as an ally of the working-class struggle, because it is fighting against the capitalist system. In the present period, when women have won through struggle many formal, democratic rights, the women's liberation movement is turning its fire against the capitalist state. Its effect is to undermine the family system, one of the main instruments of oppression of women. The major issues so far raised by this movement are the right of women to control their own bodies; complete equality of opportunities in education and employment; and for social responsibility for the care of children, in order to release women from their position as domestic slaves. These issues, along with the remaining issues of legal equality for women, all have their thrust against the family institution.

The main theme of Frederick Engels's book *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* was that the family institution arose out of the class needs of private proprietors and the state. Women have been oppressed through the institution

of the family during the periods of slavery and feudalism, not only during the relatively recent period of capitalism.

The women's liberation movement is raising a series of demands that say society should take responsibility for the home and family chores traditionally assigned to women. These are all transitional demands, demands which can lead to consciousness of the need for socialism and the overthrow of the capitalist state.

The demand for free, twenty-four-hour child-care centers controlled by those who use them, for instance, is a transitional demand. The responsibility for child care should be taken off the backs of individual women and individual families. To give the best possible care to *all* children, this task should be socialized, taken over by society as a whole.

The demand for free and legal abortions and birth-control information on demand implies that *all* medical services should be nationalized. Demands for free or low-cost laundry and food services, to relieve women in each family of this responsibility, also raise the question of the need to nationalize all industries, and run them in the interests of people's welfare rather than profit.

The awakening of women of all classes makes it easier for them to understand and become involved in other forms of the class struggle. At the same time, the emergence of a strong women's liberation movement will help stimulate women on the job to struggle for their interests as women workers. This awakening of women to struggle on their own account against the capitalist state can only aid the struggle of the working class as a whole.

The SLL's expert on the women's liberation struggle includes a glaring contradiction in his reply to the women critics of the *Workers Press*. He says that the demand for equal pay for women is a good demand. But he also says that "women's problems" should not be separated from the "real class questions." If the demand of equal pay for women can be raised, why should women not fight against all the other inequalities they face as well? Why shouldn't they fight against *all* the inequalities they face on the

job, inequalities in education, inequalities within the family, and inequalities they face owing to being penalized for bearing children? Are these inequalities any less urgent to women than their lack of equal pay?

But, the *Workers Press* argues, the condition of women can't be changed without a socialist revolution, and therefore it is reformist to struggle for these concrete demands. Lenin had quite a bit to say about this attitude in his conversations with Clara Zetkin, a communist women's leader in Germany. Lenin explained why it was absolutely necessary for the communist parties to organize special party commissions or bureaus to conduct work among women. He said, "The Communist women's movement must itself be a mass movement, a part of the general mass movement. Not only of the proletariat, but of all the exploited and oppressed, all the victims of capitalism or any other mastery. . . . There can be no real mass movement without women."

After pointing out the necessity for arousing women and winning them to follow the leadership of the Communist party, Lenin continued: "I am thinking not only of proletarian women, whether they work in the factory or at home. The poor peasant women, the petty bourgeois—they too are the prey of capitalism, and more so than ever since the war. . . ."

"That is why it is right for us to put forward demands favorable to women. This is not a recognition that we believe in the eternal character, or even in the long duration of the rule of the bourgeoisie and their state. It is not an attempt to appease women by reforms and to divert them from the path of revolutionary struggle. It is not that or any other reformist swindle. Our demands are practical conclusions which we have drawn from the burning need, the shameful humiliation of women in bourgeois society, defenseless and without rights. We demonstrate thereby that we recognize these needs and are aware of the humiliation of the woman, the privileges of the man. That we hate, yes, hate everything, and will abolish everything which tortures and oppresses the woman worker, the housewife, the peasant woman, the wife of the petty trader, yes, and in many cases the

women of the possessing classes. The rights and social regulations which we demand for women from bourgeois society show that we understand the position and interests of women and will have consideration for them under the proletarian dictatorship. Not, of course, as the reformists do, lulling them to inaction and keeping them on leading strings. No, of course not; but as revolutionaries who call upon the women to work as equals in transforming the old economy and ideology.

"Every such struggle brings us in opposition to respectable bourgeois relationships, and to their not less respectable reformist admirers whom it compels, either to fight together with us under our leadership—which they don't want to do—or to be shown up in their true colors. That is, the struggle clearly brings out the differences between us and other parties, brings out our communism. It wins us the confidence of the masses of women who feel themselves exploited, enslaved, suppressed, by the domination of the man, by the power of the employer, by the whole of bourgeois society. Betrayed and deserted by all, the working women will recognize that they must fight together with us."

The women's liberation movement certainly does bring out the differences between a revolutionary socialist organization and sectarians. The SLL's answer to women who are coming to an understanding of their oppression as women is: Just accept your status, women, and wait and hope until the revolution comes.

Meanwhile, the only thing women can do, according to the SLL, is to join the SLL: "The decisive task internationally is the building of the Fourth International, in Britain the Socialist Labour League.

"You can duck that, deny that, refuse that, you can talk in your groups about emancipation till time immemorial, but outside of that perspective you remain a reformist clique of dogooders, an obstacle in the revolutionary road."

But, as Lenin pointed out, why should any woman join an organization that gives no assurances whatsoever in its daily practice that it will fight for the interests of women?

In dismissing women's liberation as not a "real class issue," the SLL ignores the fact that the majority of women are either wage workers themselves or wives of workers. The best way to mobilize these women is not only on "working class demands" but on *all* the forms of oppression they suffer.

Working-class women suffer oppression *as women* even more than other women. They have the lowest paying, most demeaning jobs, and then come home to the work of caring for children and keeping the house. They are often subjected to physical brutality from their husbands. They rarely have any free time away from their children or job. They are denied birth-control information and cannot afford an abortion to prevent unwanted children. For these reasons, the women's liberation movement has the potential of uniting working-class women with women of all other layers in common struggles which can severely weaken capitalism.

Mark Ruskin makes another point which clearly indicates that the SLL has capitulated to the general chauvinist attitudes toward women. He says that the demand for equal work opportunities for women is "an irrelevance." He maintains that "To many working class women, marriage means a liberation from this work," and that it is the ruling class which wants women to enter the work force in order to exploit them more.

A film review by Frank Cartwright in the February 3, 1970, *Workers Press* says: "The capitalist state is being forced to supply some facilities for this process [hiring more women workers] to continue and the oppressive outcome is being further guaranteed by the radical ladies whose perspectives end with obliteration of all 'role' differences between men and women."

In the first place, marriage is anything but "liberation from work." If women don't get a paying job, they still have their work as domestic slaves in the home. The argument that women have it easier working in the home, so why should they complain, is analagous to one justification offered for slavery of Black people. People said that slaves actually were happy because they didn't have

any serious responsibilities and were "suited" to that type of labor.

Women should not only be given "equal" job opportunities. Marxists must demand *preferential hiring* of women in all fields of employment where they have hitherto been discriminated against.

Not to support preferential hiring to achieve equal opportunities for women in employment is to support their being kept within the bounds of the family and shoved into domestic drudgery and into serving as a doubly exploited reserve army of labor. The women's liberation movement has never maintained that women should be *forced* to work. It has supported women's right to choose. And if they choose to work, they should be able to enter any field of work without discrimination because of their sex.

The refusal of the SLL to support this demand amounts to telling women that the nearest they can come to "liberation" under capitalism is to get married so that they can be financially dependent on their husbands and concern themselves solely with the dreary and petty work within the four walls of their home. This is completely contrary to the Marxist position that discrimination against women in the sphere of production and their relegation to the position of domestic slaves is at the very foundation of their oppression under capitalism.

Rather than tell women they are better off staying in their homes, revolutionists, along with the women's liberation movement, should demand steps to free women from work in the home, such as free, twenty-four-hour, publicly financed, community-controlled child-care centers.

The attacks made by the SLL on the new and growing women's liberation movement are another proof of the sectarian and non-Marxist views held by the leaders of this organization. The women's liberation movement is a potentially anticapitalist movement which is spreading with uneven pace all over the capitalist world. Women, especially young women, are throwing off their oppressed mentality and entering into struggle.

The reaction of the SLL to this movement is to try to squash it, and

crush this spirit of protest and indignation at oppression. This attitude has nothing to do with Marxism; in fact, it is the antithesis of Marxism. It must be exposed by revolutionists if women's liberation activists are to be won

Documents

Healy's Request to Discuss Unification

[The following statement was issued July 5 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the World Party of Socialist Revolution founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938.]

* * *

At the end of April, Gerry Healy, the national secretary of the Socialist Labour League, asked to talk with Pierre Frank, a member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

In the following weeks, two conversations were held which included other members of the two organizations.

Comrade Healy raised the question of organizing a mutual discussion that might open the way to the Socialist Labour League and its French sister organization, the Organisation Trotskyiste, unifying with the Fourth International.

It should be noted that this move by Comrade Healy stands in strong contrast with the slanderous attacks that have constantly appeared in the press of the SLL and the OT against outstanding figures of the Fourth International, with the systematic refusal to engage in common actions in Britain and France, even in defending victims of repression by imperialism or Stalinism, and with the claim to be "reorganizing" the Fourth International.

In addition to this, it should be noted that on a whole series of political issues the SLL and OT have not modified the very sharp differences they have expressed for years in opposition to the Fourth International.

Under these circumstances, unification is not a realistic perspective.

The Fourth International is, of course, in favor of unifying revolu-

tionary forces wherever possible on a principled basis. We are therefore prepared to reexamine the question of the SLL and OT unifying with the Fourth International if objective evidence should show that this is feasible.

The SLL and OT might well begin this process by beginning to discuss their political and theoretical differences with us in a frank and comradely way, without the use of slander or falsifying the positions we hold, and by beginning to engage in common actions on such elementary questions as the defense of victims of the class struggle.

Israel

3,200 Arab Prisoners

More than 3,200 Arabs are being held by Israeli police in the territories occupied since the 1967 June war, according to David Caute, writing in the July 11 issue of the British *Manchester Guardian Weekly*. As many as 700 of these prisoners, by police estimates, have no prospect of being brought to trial. Their detention, nominally limited to one year, can be continued indefinitely if the military governor convinces a commission that this is necessary. The governor appoints the commission.

Caute estimates that between 500 and 1,000 Arab buildings have been dynamited by the Israeli military. This "excludes the three Arab villages in the Latrun area which were systematically destroyed in the aftermath of the 1967 war."

'Repression Is Infinitely Worse Today'

France's Premier Georges Pompidou is pressing his campaign to silence his opposition on the left. Richard Gott, writing in the July 11 issue of the staid British *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, testified that "by all accounts, the repression is infinitely worse today than a year ago.

"Pompidou's regime makes de Gaulle's appear a liberal paradise by comparison. Detention without trial, harsh prison sentences for trivial offences, the use of armed units in plain clothes all combine to indicate a marked deterioration in France's concern for civil liberties—never more than skin-deep at the best of times. Recent legislation has given France, Alain Krivine [a leader of the Ligue Communiste, the French section of the Fourth International] claims, 'the most repressive arsenal in Western Europe, outside the fascist countries.'"

Gott makes some interesting observations on the state of the left in France. He notes that the amorphous movement of May 1968 has polarized along political and organizational lines: "Daniel Cohn-Bendit is an anarchist and no longer lives in France; Geismar is a Maoist; Alain Krivine is a Trotskyist.

"But these simple labels are not sufficient to explain the complexity of the ideological debate that continues to convulse the revolutionary Left. Geismar's 'Gauche Proletarienne,' for example, and its weekly 'La Cause du Peuple' — currently edited by Jean-Paul Sartre — find little favour in Peking, even though the paper carries a picture of Mao on the front page. Mao's encomiums are reserved for a smaller, less significant, group of Maoists, the 'Front Uni,' that publishes 'L'Humanite Rouge.'"

Sartre became editor of *La Cause du Peuple* as a gesture of solidarity after the paper's editors were jailed and the Gauche Proletarienne banned by the government.

The Ligue Communiste, which along with most other left groups has come to the defense of Gauche Proletarienne's civil liberties, warned in a May 27 statement that the government hoped "to create a precedent, so that

when it thinks the conditions are ripe, it can ban all the revolutionary organizations." [See the June 15 issue of *Intercontinental Press*, page 576.]

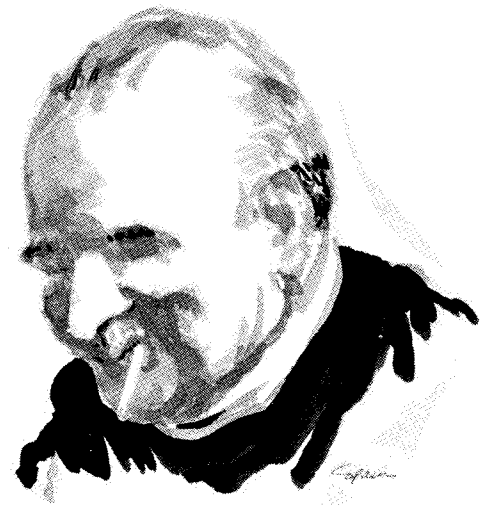
In Gott's estimate, the choice of the Gauche Proletarienne as a target for repression was carefully considered by the Pompidou regime:

"In the past few months the Maoists have been making all the running, partly because they're the most vocal and active—and also the most bloody-minded—and partly because M. Raymond Marcellin, the Minister of the Interior, wants it that way.

"He banned the 'Gauche Proletarienne' ostensibly because he considered it the most dangerous of the groupuscules. But he also hoped that the virulence of its views would throw discredit on the other Leftist groups that rushed to express their solidarity with it."

Gott observes that in some of their actions "the French Maoists seem more closely akin to Jerry Rubin's Yippies in the United States, or to the Dutch provos of yesteryear, than to the stereotype of a dangerous Marxist ideologue."

On the relative strengths of the groups claiming allegiance to Trotskyism, Gott has this to say: "The 'Ligue Communiste' appears to be the largest group and enjoys the support of that particular current of the Fourth



"Pompidou's regime makes de Gaulle's appear a liberal paradise by comparison."

International that has the formidable backing of the Belgian economist, Ernest Mandel. (Its paper, 'Rouge,' is the French counterpart of Tariq Ali's 'Red Mole.')

"But the paper 'La Verite' (which is associated with Gerry Healey's Socialist Labour League in Britain) and 'Lutte Ouvriere' (the French equivalent of the British 'International Socialism' group) also lay some claim to Trotskyist (or Luxemburgist) orthodoxy."

Billions Spent on "Sensors" in Vietnam

Columnist Jack Anderson reported July 10 that the U. S. has spent \$4,000,000,000 dropping electronic listening devices into Indochina jungles to listen for enemy troops. Says Anderson: "The . . . problem is that the expensive devices usually don't work."

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