



Photo by John Gray

CHICANO ANTIWAR demonstration of 20,000-40,000 in Los Angeles August 29, shortly before it was attacked by police. Sign in left foreground reads: "Long

live the Mexico of Zapata and Juarez, but down with those who murder students! Freedom for the 300 prisoners—teachers, poets and writers."

Chicanos Demand End to War in Vietnam

Rhine Brine

Every day 50,000 tons of salts in the Rhine flow over the West German-Netherlands border, reports Lyn Shepard in the September 3 issue of the Boston daily *Christian Science Monitor*. And salts are only a part of the river's pollution.

Contamination of the Rhine begins almost at its source in Switzerland. Although such cities as Zurich, St. Gall, and Geneva have modern sewage treatment plants, the city of Basel does not treat its sewage at all, but simply dumps it into the Rhine at a rate of two cubic meters per second. Four large chemical firms in the area pour untreated industrial sewage into the river.

One problem, says Shepard, is that Basel lacks space for a sewage treatment plant. The Swiss want to build a plant across the border in West Germany or France, to be used jointly by the host country and Basel. But discussions of the plan have been going on for ten years without producing concrete results.

The chief culprit in salt pollution of the Rhine is "a highly profitable potassium salt mining operation in the French Alsace [which] has dumped its unusable 'abraum salt' by-product into the Rhine." Marine biologists estimate that these mines are responsible for 40 to 50 percent of the salt pollution. They are also the cause of most of the chloride content of the river, which amounts to 300 milligrams per liter in the Netherlands, where the Rhine is used as a source of drinking water.

"The Dutch have protested that this heavy saline content . . . imperils plant life and causes farming losses amounting to millions of Dutch guilders every year." Appeals to the French government have produced no result.

The Netherlands, France, Switzerland, West Germany, and Luxemburg have representatives on a body known as the International Commission to Protect the Rhine Against Pollution. "Yet after twenty years of studies, the commission can only wring its hands and despair . . ."

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Los Angeles Cops Attack Chicano Antiwar March

By Allen Myers

Los Angeles police attacked the Chicano moratorium demonstration August 29, killing two persons and injuring scores of others.

The peaceful demonstration, estimated by eyewitnesses at 20,000 to 40,000, was by far the largest Chicano antiwar action that has occurred in the United States.

Writing in the September 11 issue of the revolutionary socialist weekly, *The Militant*, Antonio Camejo reported that "the organizers of the demonstration made clear that it would be peaceful and legal so that the central point would not be obscured: Bring All the Carnales [brothers] Home.

"The Los Angeles County sheriff's department deputies, however, took a provocative stance from the beginning of the action. At virtually every corner along the route of march, police were stationed in groups of two and three. Their open contempt toward the marchers created several incidents during the march."

After the parade through the East Los Angeles barrio, the demonstrators arrived at Laguna Park, where a rally had been scheduled. A number of them headed for a nearby street where refreshments such as beer were on sale. Froben Lozada, in the same issue of the *Militant* quoted above, described what happened next:

"One store refused to allow the Chicanos in. A crowd of about a hundred Chicanos began to gather around the store, demanding to be allowed in. Some pounded on the windows, and they eventually entered the store. The police, who had clearly planned in advance to attack the demonstration, swiftly moved in on these Chicanos, and they were beaten back with a hail of full, 16-ounce beer cans.

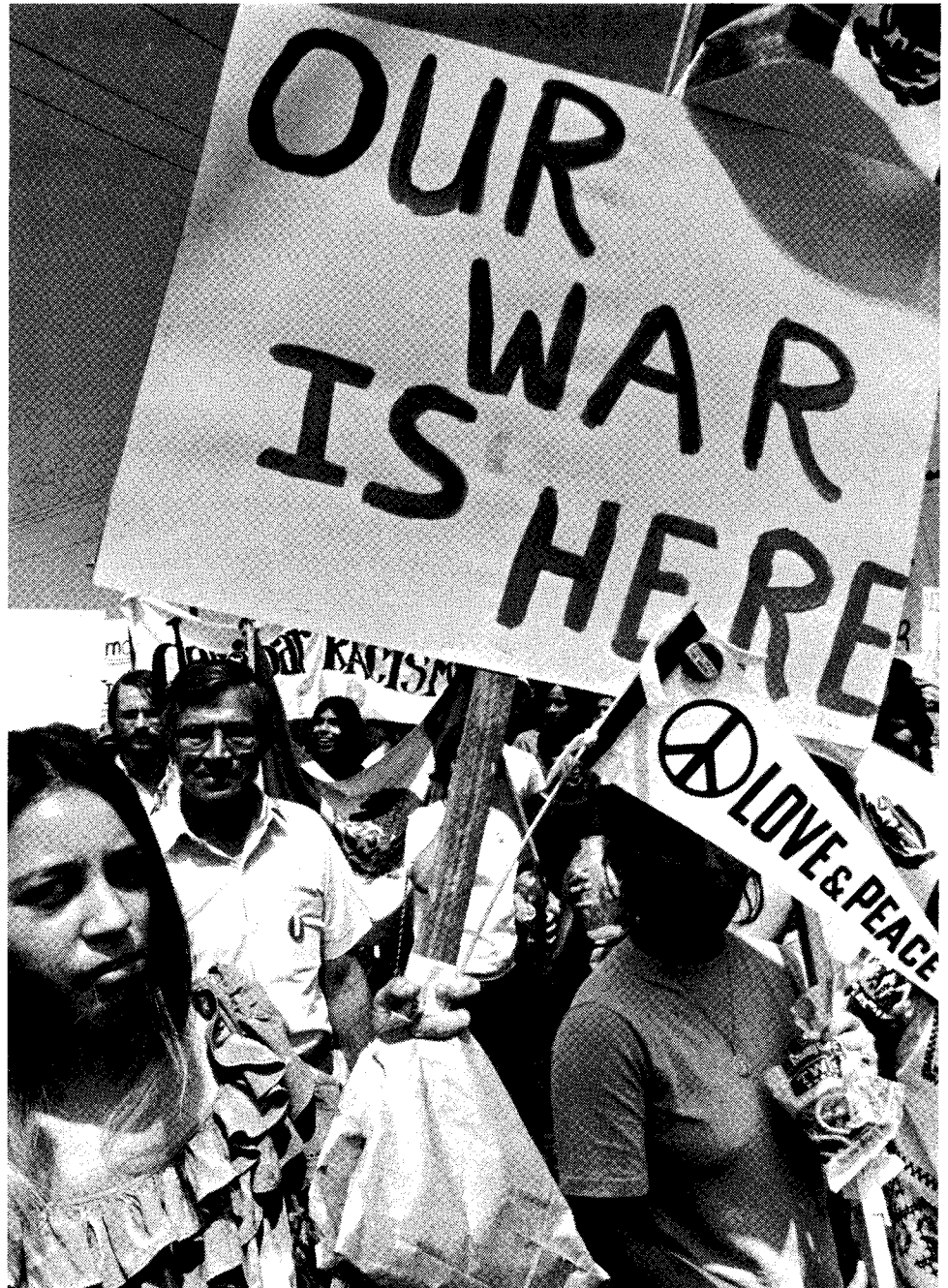
"The sheriff immediately got massive reinforcements and instead of dispersing the Chicanos, drove them back to the rally site two blocks away. . . .

"At this point, about 500 sheriff's deputies poured out of police buses . . . dressed in full riot regalia, and charged the mass rally. They attacked without warning, neither notifying the

monitors nor announcing with bullhorns that they wanted the rally to disperse. They brutally clubbed and beat about fifty Chicanos and had the crowd dispersed in about fifteen minutes."

Following the attack on the rally,

the police rampaged through the East Los Angeles barrio, harassing and arresting residents. Several hours later, Ruben Salazar, a well-known Chicano columnist for the *Los Angeles Times*, was found dead in a restaurant. He had been struck by a 10-inch



AT LOS ANGELES DEMONSTRATION. Demand end to Vietnam war.

Photo by John Gray

tear-gas grenade fired from a distance of fifteen feet.

Angel Gilberto Diaz died September 2 of gunshot wounds suffered during the police assault. Another Chicano was hospitalized in critical condition after being knocked through a plate-glass window by a gas grenade.

Los Angeles police reported 185 arrests. Among those arrested were Rudolfo "Corky" Gonzales and sixteen other leaders and candidates for office of the Raza Unida party. All were held on felony charges; Gonzales was arrested on "suspicion of armed robbery"!

The seventeen had been driving in a truck to the rally, which Gonzales was supposed to address, when stopped by the police, who reported finding three rifles in the truck. Because Gonzales had \$370 in his possession, he was therefore "suspected" of having committed armed robbery—even though the police have not been able to specify any particular robbery.

In still another attempt to provoke further confrontations, police cars massed outside the offices of the Chicano Moratorium at 3 o'clock in the morning following the demonstration.

The Chicano community reacted to the attacks with a spontaneous upheaval. For two nights, residents of the barrio fought with police and burned several white-owned businesses. The *Los Angeles Times* estimated damage at \$1,000,000.

The National Chicano Moratorium Committee and the Congress of Mexican-American Unity have demanded that all charges against those arrested be dropped. Throughout the Southwest, Chicanos have rallied to the defense of the rights of their brothers. Bail-bond drives are going on in Chicano areas of Texas and protest meetings are being planned by the Mexican-American Youth Organization. In Crystal City, Texas, Chicano city officials have announced that flags will be flown at half-mast.

Mass actions protesting the police attack have been scheduled for September 16, Mexican Independence Day.

Several aspects of the Chicano demonstration and the wave of solidarity with the victims of the cops are worth noting.

1. The antiwar demonstration was a massive one. It thus followed the growing trend in the United States to

take to the streets in the largest possible numbers in expressing protest.

2. The size of the demonstration and the extent of the sympathy for the victims of the police attack show that the antiwar sentiment in the United States is continuing to broaden and deepen.

3. The Chicano demonstration was led by neither Blacks nor radicalized students. But it showed the influence of the Black and student protest movements.

4. The Chicano movement is not merely *repeating* what others have done. It has advanced somewhat beyond them. This was shown in particular by the internationalism that marked the parade, the recognition

that the Vietnamese and the Chicanos are victims of the same imperialist system.

A further expression of this internationalist consciousness could be seen in the placards carried by some demonstrators expressing solidarity with Mexico's political prisoners.

Aid is needed by the victims of the police attack. Protests should be sent to the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, Los Angeles, California.

Statements of solidarity and financial contributions can be sent to the East Los Angeles Community Union (TELACU), 274 South Atlantic Boulevard, Los Angeles, Ca. 90022.

France

Maspero Indicted for Defending Maoists

François Maspero, the well-known French left-wing publisher, was indicted August 27 on charges of reconstituting a banned organization. Maspero had aided the defense of the outlawed Maoist group, La Gauche Prolétarienne, by stocking its newspaper—*La Cause du Peuple*—in his Paris bookstore on Rue Saint-Séverin.

Maspero was freed on his own recognizance pending trial. He faces multiple counts of the charge on the grounds that he offered for sale more than one issue of the Maoist paper.

Maspero has a long history as a defender of civil liberties and of the struggles of oppressed peoples. The August 29 Paris daily *Le Monde* gave the following account of his previous encounters with the police because of his political activities:

"At the time of the Algerian war, M. Maspero was indicted, in July 1961, on charges of threatening the integrity of the frontiers, for having published a work by Mssrs. Benabdallah Oussedik, and Vergès, regular defenders of the militants of the FLN [Algerian National Liberation Front], entitled *Nuremburg pour l'Algérie* [Nuremberg for Algeria]. Moreover, several works published by him were seized by the police during this period: *le Droit à l'insoumission*, [The Right to Insubordination]. *Des voix dans la Casbah* [Voices in the Casbah], by Hocine Bou Hazer; *La Révolution al-*

gérienne par le texte [Documentary History of the Algerian Revolution] by André Mandouze, and the magazine *Partisans*.

"Maspero's bookstore, in the Latin Quarter, was also plastic-bombed by supporters of French control of Algeria.

"In 1963 François Maspero was sentenced to a 300-franc fine for having displayed six books dealing with sexuality and eroticism in a window of his bookstore.

"In July 1967 Maspero, who had published M. Régis Debray's book, *Revolution in the Revolution*, was expelled from Bolivia, where he had gone in order to testify on behalf of the young French intellectual.

"In 1969, finally, after several seizures of the magazine *Tricontinental*, of which he was the French publisher, Maspero was sentenced in July to four months in prison and an 18,000-franc fine, which was reduced on appeal to 10,000 francs."

Metal Pollution of Air

According to Dr. Henry A. Schroeder of the Dartmouth Medical School, the health of Americans is threatened even more by pollution of the air through metals than by pesticides.

The researcher reports that lead, nickel, and cadmium pollution require "immediate control," and that beryllium, mercury, and antimony constitute a potential danger.

'La Mano' Accused in New Assassinations

Santo Domingo

The terror which has claimed more than 600 victims since the American invasion of 1965 is continuing in this country. More than 500 persons have been murdered by the *incontrollables* (as the government's hired thugs are called) during the four years of the Balaguer regime alone.

The city of Santo Domingo is patrolled night and day by military forces as if it were an occupied city.

In mid-July ex-president Juan Bosch, the present chairman of the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano [PRD — Dominican Revolutionary party] declared that he would expose the members of La Mano [The Hand], the organization which has been blamed for various attacks recently.

Bosch said that this terrorist organization was formed by members of the Dominican bourgeoisie working in close collaboration with the American CIA.

The ex-president of the Dominican

Republic accused this secret organization of being responsible for the attack which resulted in the wounding of the engineer José Delio Guzmán and the death of his son Julio. Both were in the home of Señor José Ares Maldonado, where Bosch is a frequent visitor, at the time of the attack. It is assumed, therefore, that Bosch was the intended victim.

Bosch said that there are Cuban exiles in La Mano and noted that a public organization was formed in Miami some time ago with the declared program of assassinating all the Latin-American political leaders it considered linked to the left. "We know perfectly well," the PRD leader added, "and everybody in Latin America knows that these Cubans are financed by the American government."

In another incident, the general secretary of the MPD [Movimiento Popular Dominicano — Dominican People's Movement, a pro-Maoist but independent party] was murdered by the po-

lice after giving himself up. At the funeral the army and the police snatched the body from the deceased MPD leader's relatives and friends and buried it immediately.

None of the cortege of more than a thousand was able to get into the cemetery. The captain of the police, Rubén Darío Ogando, declared: "The body was given a military burial without any Communist fanfare."



ANDREW PULLEY, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Congress from San Francisco, addressing Kansai, Japan, anti-war rally on August 11. Press coverage of Pulley's Far East tour included the following report on a demonstration in New Zealand by Hsinhua (July 20), the Chinese government news agency: "A black American told the demonstrators that U.S. imperialism is the number one enemy of the peoples of the world, that we are in the era of world revolution and that when the working class of America together with the working class of all countries wage class struggle, they will defeat U.S. imperialism."

Peru

Authorities Try to Silence Hugo Blanco

[The imprisoned Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco sent the following letter July 18 to the Lima press.]

* * *

Last week, "on orders from above," the El Frontón prison authorities took away my typewriter. According to official sources, this action was taken because I was using the machine to write "articles on agrarian reform" and "political fictions."

This attitude directly contradicts the claim of the government information office that I am being imprisoned here for having "killed fellow human beings," and not for defending the rights of the peasants. I do not think they are afraid that I will "kill my fellow humans" with a typewriter.

There are some confused things in the government information report I mentioned that should be cleared up.

One of them is the claim of the government spokesmen that the policemen in question died "in the performance of their duty." Does this mean that their duty was to defend landlordism?

Another confused statement is the one that designates only the police who were killed as my "fellow men." Does this mean that the peasants who these police massacred do not deserve to be called "fellow humans"?

Sincerely,
Hugo Blanco

P. S. When it is the government information office that falsifies facts and slanders a prisoner, is the Press Law applied?

Growing Mass Movement a Threat to Bourgeoisie

By Tariq Ali

[The article below is reprinted from the August 1970 issue of the British socialist paper *Red Mole*.]

* * *

The bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties in Pakistan are at the moment completely and wholly absorbed in the pre-election campaign. In other words, manoeuvres, secret alliances between landlords, lies, counter-lies, intrigues, press conferences and public meetings dominate the political scene in Pakistan today. As the press is under the control of a semi-fascist, ex-Justice of the Supreme Court, few reports of the left or its activity get into the newspapers.

The demagoguery and rhetoric used by all, except the extreme right parties, is virtually the same: we are all it seems in favour of nationalising all the major industries, drastic land reform, an anti-imperialist foreign policy, and of course regional autonomy. We also are all anti-Indian, though some of us are more anti-Indian than others. And the anti-Indianism used by 99 percent of the political parties in Pakistan is blind and indiscriminating. It does not differentiate between the Indian ruling class and the Indian masses—the workers and poor peasants who will overthrow the Indian bourgeoisie and make the socialist revolution in India.

The freedom which the military regime of General Yahya Khan has extended to the bourgeois political parties and to all well-known political figures, does not by any means extend to the rank-and-file militants in the student movement or to militant workers. There are over 400 political prisoners in West Pakistan today. Most of them are completely unknown. The current regime has learnt some lessons from its predecessor and is not interested in creating martyrs.

The general election promised for October 5, 1970, serves a dual purpose. In one sense it is clearly a genuine concession as it is the country's first ever general election on the basis

of adult franchise. On the other hand it is undoubtedly a diversion meant to steer the masses clear from the path of direct action and autonomous struggles. It is an exercise in forced amnesia: the sooner the masses can be made to forget the five months' struggle which they launched in November, 1968, and which resulted in the overthrow of the dictator Ayub Khan. Despite the imposition of martial law in March '69, the new regime has not been able to inflict a decisive defeat on the masses. The combativity of the workers has remained at a very high level in both East and West Pakistan. In particular the 1969-70 strike wave in West Pakistan marks a qualitative change in Pakistani politics. It reflects the growing maturity and class consciousness of the urban proletariat. Despite the virtual non-existence of independent trade unions, the spontaneity of the workers and the amazing display of solidarity which they have shown has startled the owners of capital in West Pakistan. The regime has moved in to protect the capitalists and many militant labour leaders have received jail sentences and the requisite number of lashes (yes, workers are being whipped for going on unofficial strike).

Also despite the well-disciplined attacks by the semi-fascist Jamaat-i-Islami (which is financed by the CIA) and its allies, neither the workers nor the peasants have been intimidated. The peasants' rally at Toba Tek Singh earlier this year where over 40,000 peasants from all parts of West Pakistan assembled is one sure sign of this. Despite the fact that the leadership of the rally (the "pro-Peking" National Awami party) mismanaged the conference and could offer no real perspectives for the anti-feudal struggle (instead they bored the *dhotis* off the peasants with their stale, cliché-ridden speeches), the Toba Tek Singh conference remains an extremely significant development. This was followed up by a massive display of social democratic and general left unity. A call made initially by Bhut-

to's People's party to observe May Day was transformed into a massive display of force by the urban proletariat throughout West Pakistan. This was the first time that May Day has been celebrated in Pakistan by the workers and despite the propaganda unleashed by the right-wing parties against the occasion it turned out to be a tremendous success. In Lahore over 100,000 workers marched with red flags chanting anti-feudal and anti-capitalist slogans of which the two most popular ones were: *Only He Who Tills Shall Eat, Capitalists Stand Back: Pakistan Belongs to Us*. In Rawalpindi a smaller demonstration of about 10,000 in which this correspondent participated shouted slogans in favour of Lenin, Mao, and Che Guevara in addition to the ones mentioned above. Raja Anwar, the Trotskyist student leader of Rawalpindi, told the meeting that the dictatorship could not prevent the people of Pakistan from ending capitalism and feudalism in Pakistan.

The State of the Vanguard

The number of Marxists in Pakistan is without doubt on the increase: so much so that this correspondent could have a semi-public polemic with a leading Stalinist theoretician, Sardar Shaukat Ali Kasuri, on the question of Stalin and the role of Trotsky. This was at a meeting sponsored by the Peoples Thinkers Forum, a new group which has emerged and which invites representatives of *all* left tendencies to come and speak before its members. It is obvious that there has been a tremendous leap in consciousness which has resulted in a growing radicalization. It would now be accurate to say that the Pakistanis in Britain are less vulnerable to revolutionary propaganda than Pakistanis in Pakistan. The reason for this is the fact that they experienced a victory in the overthrow of Ayub Khan and they are aware of their own strength. It is of course a very real possibility that when no clear change is visible after

the general election, the masses for want of a proper alternative might become cynical and apathetic. However if they continue the struggle and make it impossible for the old regime to continue we could well see a Nasserite type military coup to preserve the essence of the social structure and also to make some concessions, which would have the effect of containing the mass movement for a certain period.

For Marxists, therefore, the central task which should guide and determine their strategy in the coming period should be the creation of a revolutionary Marxist cadre. A development which could speed up the formation of a revolutionary Marxist party which would be able to seize the initiative and provide leadership by intervening in the struggles of millions of poor peasants and workers. Particularly when the latter see after the general election that while the new vulture might have a smile on its face, it nevertheless remains a vulture.

The Pakistani bourgeoisie are today

facing a very serious crisis and they are unable to solve it. They also realize that the army which has backed them so often in the past and has pulled their chestnuts out of the fire of the masses is beginning to change its class character. The influx of petty-bourgeois elements from the cities into the army to replace the progeny of small landlords is bound to have an effect inside the army in a Nasserite direction. In addition the bourgeoisie is faced with the unsolved "national question" as regards Bengal and also "Azad" Kashmir.

The leading representative of the Bengali petty bourgeoisie is (Chiang Kai) Sheikh Mujibur Rehman and despite his radical rhetoric at mass meetings and despite the mass support he undoubtedly enjoys in East Bengal, it is clear that he will not be able to solve the national question. This could lead to serious social explosions in the province and an army intervention could have serious consequences.

Also the Pakistani-controlled section

of Kashmir is ruled tyrannically by West Pakistani bureaucrats and unrest is on the increase. The elements who favour an independent and united Kashmir are growing in number and refuse to accept the choice between two oppressors.

All these facts coupled with the deteriorating economic position are an indication of what confronts the government after the general election. As far as revolutionists are concerned, they should use the pre-election period to make revolutionary propaganda where they can and prepare to work hard during the immediate post-election period. Those who have buried themselves deep inside the social democratic parties will have to come out and assume a public face. If the task of chalking out a programme for a socialist Pakistan is ignored in the coming period, it could result in a severe and serious setback to the revolutionary socialist movement from which we might not be in a position to recover for the next two decades.

Chile

End of the 'Revolution in Liberty'

By Les Evans

Chileans went to the polls September 4 to deliver a smashing defeat to the ruling Christian Democratic party and an unexpected victory to Socialist presidential candidate Salvador Allende.

Final results gave Allende 1,075,616 votes (36.3%). He narrowly defeated former president Jorge Alessandri, candidate of the right-wing Partido Nacional, who received 1,036,278 votes (34.9%). The Christian Democrat, Radomiro Tomic, hand-picked heir to President Eduardo Frei, and until recently Chilean ambassador to Washington, ran a poor third, finishing with only 824,849 votes (27.8%).

Because Allende received only a plurality of the popular vote, the election is to be decided by congress at a session October 24. In the past the congress has automatically selected the candidate with the larger vote, but it is not required to do so by law.

Some 30,000 supporters of the multiparty coalition backing Allende took to the streets to celebrate their victory. The army deployed tanks and troops around government buildings, but withdrew them when it became clear that Allende was the winner.

In a victory speech to the giant crowd Allende declared: "I will not be just one more president. I will be the first president of the first authentically democratic, popular, national and revolutionary government in the history of Chile."

During his campaign the Socialist party senator promised to restore diplomatic and trade relations with Cuba and to carry out extensive nationalizations, particularly of foreign-owned businesses.

The election marked a sharp polarization in Chilean politics. Eduardo Frei's "Revolution in Liberty" that swept him to power in 1964 appeared finished. Even the future existence of

his Christian Democrats seemed in doubt.

In 1964 the right-wing parties formed an electoral bloc behind Frei's candidacy to prevent Allende from winning office. (Allende has been the perennial candidate of the Socialist party since 1952, his current victory representing his fourth try.) The Christian Democrats won 42.3% of the vote in 1964. In the legislative elections of 1967 this dropped to 35.6%, and dropped still further in 1969 to 31.1%

Allendri's *Nacionalistas* broke with Frei to the right over the government's token agrarian reform and minimal social welfare measures.

There has been a growth on the left as well, further isolating the Christian Democratic center and reducing the room for maneuver of bourgeois reformism.

Frei's reputation as a protégé of Washington proved to be a liability

for his candidate. Tomic's record as a Washington ambassador only further strengthened his image as the State Department's choice. The Nixon administration did not hesitate to meddle directly in the campaign. (The American government has long given open support to politicians of its choice in Chile. Malcolm Browne reported in the March 9, 1969, *New York Times* that Washington "had heavily subsidized Mr. Frei's campaign" in the previous presidential election in 1964.)

The U. S. Information Agency organized frequent showings of a propaganda film on Czechoslovakia purporting to "prove" that voting for Communist candidates in 1948 had paved the way for a Russian dictatorship in that country.

Rumors were circulated that the army would stage a coup rather than

accept Allende as president. Whether this was intended merely to frighten voters away from Allende or was a serious project, it was clear at least that the mysterious comings and goings of U.S. military personnel made even the Frei government nervous enough to publicly question Washington on its intentions. The September 5 *New York Times* reported:

"The United States Navy has applied for Chilean visas for 87 officers, noncommissioned officers and civilian employes over the last eight months, a development that has left the Chilean Government deeply worried. . . .

"At one point the Chileans were told that the visa applicants made up a Navy band—an explanation that they did not believe and that was later withdrawn."

Later explanations, including the claim that forty-nine of the men were to aid naval exercises that had been canceled, and that thirty-eight of the others were to help in the rotation and resupply of a staff of ten at an Antarctic naval station, have not added to Washington's credibility.

Allende has been declared the official winner of the popular vote by the Frei government. But several hurdles lie ahead that will determine whether he will be able to take office and what he will be free to do if he does finally become president.

First he must win a majority in the joint session of congress October 24. It is here that the bourgeois parties will be free to demand programmatic concessions in return for their votes, and where the composition of the broad coalition that backed Allende will be put to the test.

There are 150 members of the Chamber of Deputies and fifty members of the Senate, meeting together for a total of 200 votes. The Christian Democrats command 78 votes. The Nationalists have another 39. Together they can easily block Allende's election, although this is not expected to happen.

The Allende forces represent a multi-class bloc dominated by the Communist party (28 seats) and the Socialist party (20 seats). It also includes the bourgeois liberal Radical party (33 seats) and two small left-wing formations (2 seats).

It should be pointed out that the current election does not represent a sharp shift to the left. Even in 1964,



Photo by Prensa Latina

SALVADOR ALLENDE GOSENS

at the time of the Christian Democratic landslide, the combined vote of the Communist, Socialist, and Radical parties amounted to 36 percent of the total, only .3 percent less than the September 4 results. What is new is the split among the bourgeois parties over whether or not to pursue Frei's program of capitalist reforms.

The Chilean Socialist party stands to the left of the Communist party, and Allende himself is in the left wing of his party. He is an open supporter of the Cuban revolution, and was in turn supported during his campaign by Cuban Premier Fidel Castro.

The Communist party, however, is one of the most slavishly pro-Moscow in the world and adheres to a rigidly reformist and electoral scheme for the "democratic revolution." Its perspective for maintaining a viable majority in congress is to preserve the alliance with the Radical party at all costs and to win an important sector of the Christian Democrats.

Luis Corvalán, the CP's general secretary, spelled out this perspective in an interview with the Cuban news service Prensa Latina distributed earlier this year.

"Corvalán: As Unidad Popular

Intercontinental Press



Photo by Prensa Latina

LUIS CORVALAN

[People's Unity, the name of the five-party bloc of Allende supporters] becomes an even more powerful force, the only one able to block the right and win, it can be predicted that the popular sector that still backs the Christian Democrats will leave them to join the left. The pro-government and reactionary sector of the CDP would join the traditional right-wing forces. All of this is more than likely."

Allende views himself as in the tradition of the Popular Front government of 1938. In an interview with Sonia Sepulveda of Prensa Latina earlier this year he gave his views of that experience:

"The Chilean parliament has been a going concern for over 120 years, a fact which distinguishes this country to a considerable degree from the rest of the Latin American nations. For example in 1938 Chile had Latin America's only popular front government; it was composed of non-Marxist parties like the Radicals as well as Marxist organizations. At that time the Radical party was the majority grouping. Thus the president was a Radical, but the government was composed of Radicals, Socialists and members of the Democratic party plus the parliamentary support of the Communist party.

"At that time it was said that the situation would not be tolerated. However, the popular front government took decisive steps towards the economic and social development of the country: the incorporation of the middle class, the presence of the organized workers in the CTCH [Chilean Workers Federation, predecessor of the present Central Unica de Trabajadores (CUT—Central Workers Union)] and the Production Development Corporation, which meant oil, steel, electricity for Chile.

"Our tradition, our history, what we did before, allow us to say that Chile represents a social vanguard in Latin America, and that after trying out old formulas of traditional capitalism and Christian Democratic reformism, the way to socialism is now open by way of Unidad Popular."

Undoubtedly Allende's program is more radical, on paper, than the program of the Popular Front of 1938. But it remains to be seen what his bourgeois allies, present and prospective, will allow him to put into practice.

88 Intellectuals Protest Jailing of Writers

[The following appeal, signed by eighty-eight Iranian writers and artists, is currently being circulated in Iran on behalf of five imprisoned intellectuals. The shah's controlled press has not published the appeal, which is being distributed in typed or handwritten form. The signers include many of Iran's best known poets, artists, and literary figures. The translation from the Persian is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Ferydoun Tankaboni, a contemporary writer of Iran, a high school teacher, and the author of the following works: *Man in a Cage*, *Prisoner of the Soil*, *A Chess Pawn*, *Stars of a Dark Night*, and *Notes of a Turbulent City*, was arrested because of the publication of his last book and still is being held in prison.

Then Mohammad Ali Sepanlou, the poet and the translator of the books: *The Sigh of the Desert*, *Travelers on Foot*, *Torrents*, *Surrounded*, *The Just*, and *The Childhood of a Boss*, was imprisoned for some time along with Naser Rahmani Nejad, actor and theatrical director. The latter two were singled out and arrested because they

had jointly protested the imprisonment of Ferydoun Tankaboni.

Subsequently, Dr. Manouchehr Hezar-khani, the writer, who has translated *A Chapter in the Congo*, *On Palestine*, *Racism and Education*, and *King Christophe*, was arrested and is still being held in prison.

Finally, M. A. Beh Azeen, the well-known writer, was arrested. He is the translator of: *Towards the People*, *Scattered*, *Peasant's Daughter*, *Nakshe Parand*, *City of God*, *Mohre Maar*, *Iranian Carpet*, *Baba Gorive*, *Zanbag Daareh*, *Dokhtar Amu Bot*, *Charm Saghari*, *Dan Aram*, *New Built Earth*, *Jean Christophe*, *The Play of Love and Death*, *Exception and the Rule*, *The Letters of Saint Michael*, and *Khorshid Khanom*.

The arrest of these writers is a violation of the principles of freedom and the rights of literary people.

These unjust arrests degrade the nation which has traditionally held its poets, writers, and artists in high esteem, has respected them and protected them. The undersigned protest these arrests, and demand the immediate release of Ferydoun Tankaboni, Dr. Manouchehr Hezar-khani, and M. A. Beh Azeen.

Mitchell Bows to Pressure

Shirley DuBois Wins Visa Fight

By Abdeen Jabara

In a letter received by Dr. C. Eric Lincoln, President of the Board of the Black Academy of Arts and Letters, the Immigration and Naturalization Service has announced that it is reversing its earlier refusal to grant Shirley Graham DuBois, widow of the late W. E. B. DuBois, a visa to visit the United States where she had been invited by Fisk University to deliver an address. [See *Intercontinental Press*, May 25, 1970, page 491.]

The letter stated that "in light of the reason for which Mrs. DuBois now

wishes to visit the United States, this service has concurred in the recommendation of the Department of State." In point of fact, the implication of the Justice Department's letter that Mrs. DuBois now had an acceptable reason for visiting the U. S. was a face-saving device employed to escape the embarrassing position the department had gotten into with its policy of denying visas to any well-known person of leftist political persuasion. Mrs. DuBois's earlier application was based on the same reason as her present

visa: to honor several invitations to speak and to attend to personal business.

The real reason for the Justice Department's reversal was the loud outcry from the Black community at the denial of a visa to the widow of one of the most honored and revered Black historians and activists in history, W. E. B. DuBois.

As in the case of Ernest Mandel, the Belgian Marxist scholar [see *Intercontinental Press*, March 30, 1970, page 284], the State Department had recommended the waiver by the Attorney General of provisions of the Immigration and Naturalization Act barring "aliens who, because of their activities, membership in, or affiliation with certain organizations, are excludable from the United States." Attorney

General Mitchell refused a waiver in both cases.

The American Committee on Africa immediately circulated a letter of protest to the Justice Department which was signed by numerous organizations such as SCLC [Southern Christian Leadership Conference], NAACP [National Association for the Advancement of Colored People], etc. Congressman Charles Diggs, Jr., of Michigan wired a protest. Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, called on Mitchell to reverse his ruling. Senator Edward Brooke likewise protested Mitchell's action. Critical editorials appeared in the *New York Post* and *New York Times*.

The DuBois case differs from the Mandel and Tariq Ali cases [on Tariq Ali, see *Intercontinental Press*, December 15, 1969, page 1109] in several

important respects. Mandel and Ali are not native-born Americans who renounced their American citizenship, as is Mrs. DuBois. Secondly, Ali is a political activist who had allegedly participated in actions in London against American imperialism. In Ali's case, the State Department did not recommend a waiver of the Immigration and Naturalization Act.

There are, however, some equally important similarities. All three are of political persuasion. All three were invited to speak in the United States by respectable universities or associations. The denial of an entry visa to all three meant the denial of the First Amendment right to free speech. Finally, all three were denied visas by the Nixon administration in what appeared to be a pattern of excluding Americans from the free flow of ideas.

Amadeo Bordiga—1889-1970

'One of the Only Authentic Italian Bolsheviks'

[The following obituary for Amadeo Bordiga appeared in the August issue of *Rouge*, the weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste, the French section of the Fourth International. Bordiga, a founder of the Italian Communist party and a life-long opponent of Stalinism, died July 24 in Naples.]

* * *

Amadeo Bordiga died this week at eighty-one years of age in Naples. Despite theoretical differences which divided us, we must salute him as one who was—along with Gramsci—one of the only authentic Italian Bolsheviks. He responded without hesitation to the appeal of the young Russian revolution, and died, after fifty years of Stalinist betrayals, a convinced communist.

In postwar Italy the Maximalist fever had infected the Italian socialists. The PSI [Partido Socialista Italiano—Italian Socialist party], the only party of the Second International which, along with the Bolsheviks, did not support the entrance of its national bourgeoisie into the war, welcomed the Russian events and tried to reproduce them mechanically in Italy.

The news of the defeat of the Italian

army at Caporetto, a defeat of the national bourgeoisie, followed immediately by the news of the October revolution, the overthrow by a minority of the world's most backward bourgeoisie, led the Italian socialists to draw the conclusion that the fall of the capitalist class, the revolution, was imminent.

But the Italian socialists failed completely to comprehend the mass uprising which developed in Turin. Unable to control it, they tried to channel it into a "participationist" (already!) course. In the midst of this confusion, two young Italian theoreticians, Antonio Gramsci and Amadeo Bordiga, understanding the scope of the task to be accomplished and the duty of the Italian socialists, tried to give a theoretical foundation and an organizational structure to the insurrectionary movement. Gramsci headed the *Ordine Nuovo* group in Turin; Bordiga the *Il Soviet* group in Naples.

In this period, the two young theoreticians founded the Bolshevik minority tendency in the Socialist party. But they had already developed opposing positions. Gramsci advanced a theory of factory councils as the structural basis of a future "producers' state."

Bordiga advocated a somewhat Blanquist conception of minority action (he translated Lenin's formula "fewer but better" into "few but good") and refused to make any tactical utilization whatever of the instruments of bourgeois "democracy," above all, elections.

This Bolshevik faction was a very tiny minority in the party at the Congress of Bologna in October 1919. But in contrast to the majority of the party, it was directly linked to the struggles of the proletariat. At the Livorno congress in January 1921, it led a decisive battle against the reformist tendency of Turati and the "unity" tendency of Serrati.

The Bordiga-Gramsci tendency accepted all the stipulations of the [Communist] International (the Twenty-One Conditions plus expulsion of the reformists). They received 58,000 votes, against 98,000 for the unityites and 14,000 for the reformists. They walked out of the congress and in a nearby hall initiated the first congress of the Italian Communist party, the Italian section of the Third International. The party elected a leadership which included Gramsci, Bordiga, Terracini, etc.

A rather lively polemical discussion

took place from that time on between the Lenin-Trotsky leadership and the Italian Bolsheviks. Lenin condemned the Gramscian theory of "councils" as a syndicalist deviation from the experience of the soviets. Gramsci, drawing out the lessons of the Turin councils, lined up with the positions of Lenin.

But the most violent battle would be fought against the "leftist" positions of Bordiga: against his anti-electoralism and his opposition to alliances with the middle classes, denounced by Lenin in *Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder*.

Lenin and Trotsky, apparently seeing the mounting danger of fascism more clearly than the Italian communist leaders, on several occasions during Gramsci's visits to Moscow pressed him to condemn his comrade. He refused to do so, as he was strongly influenced by Bordiga's personality and his weight in the party.

With the coming of fascism, a period of grim repression began for the Italian communists. At the same time, in Moscow, with Lenin's death the Stalinist offensive hit on all fronts. In the European Communist parties Stalin sought to oust the authentic revolutionary leaders, to replace them with creatures in his pay. Togliatti, the representative of the Italian CP in Moscow, was a big help to Stalin in this job.

At the Congress of Lyon in 1926 (a congress in exile) Gramsci won 90 percent approval for a motion *politically* condemning Bordiga's leftist positions. For the Stalinists, this was the first step in the purge.

Gramsci and Bordiga, locked up together in fascist prisons, drew closer together. This did not signify an abandoning of their respective positions, but a condemnation of the methods increasingly employed by the Stalinists to eliminate their political opponents. In 1929 Bordiga was expelled from the Italian Communist party. But he kept on fighting. He made contact with Trotsky's International Opposition. This rapprochement of the two leaders—who did not set aside their disagreements—assumed a specific meaning in a specific period. Bordiga sought, as did Trotsky, international support for the struggle against the Stalinized leadership of the International. But Bordiga persisted in his ultraleftism and even a minimum ac-

cord would not have been possible between the two oppositionist tendencies.

From that time on Bordiga found himself more and more isolated in the communist movement, international as well as national. Togliatti continued to drag him through the mud, hoping by degrading Bordiga to kill the revolutionary aspirations of the Italian proletariat—the better to impose his own collaborationist line.

Reduced to the status of a sect, the group of Bordiga's sympathizers closed ranks around the master in the Bay of Naples area, as enlightened commentators on the class struggle. Bordiga, who never accepted the Trotskyist analysis of the bureaucracy, continued to preach his conceptions of an active minority. In recent years his

ideas have had a certain revival in the putschist activities of some groups.

Bordiga can be counted to some extent among the "political" victims of Stalinism. What would have become of Bordiga and Gramsci if Stalin had not taken power in the Communist International? If fascism had not deprived them of all means of action? History will never tell.

Before his death, Bordiga was able to take part in the new revolutionary upsurge in the world, principally in the development of the struggles of the Italian working class in the last two years. That is the best homage that could be rendered to the revolutionary leader of the sit-in strikes of 1920. What he was unable to do because of the barrier of Stalinism, the world working class will yet accomplish.

Argentina

Raul Nicolas Gonzalez Killed in Car Crash

Raúl Nicolás González, a leading Argentinian Trotskyist, was killed in an automobile accident May 26 in the city of Córdoba. His comrades gave an assessment of his life's work at the end of June in the clandestine bulletin *Milicia Obrera* (Workers Militia).

González joined the Trotskyist movement in Bahía Blanca in 1957, becoming active in the current around the publication *Palabra Obrera*, which represented a united front of revolutionary Marxists with young comrades of the Peronista vanguard of the workers.

After two years as a conscript in the navy, González started work as a laborer in a machine shop at Ferrocarril Roca in Bahía Blanca. He rapidly won the confidence of his fellow workers, who elected him shop steward. He became a trade-union leader and organizer, and was a motive force behind Agrupaciones Gremiales [the Trade-Union Alliances], which, under the aegis of Peronism, fought a hard fight against U. S. colonialization of the country.

González worked to build Trotskyist nucleuses in Chaco and Tucumán, among the poorest and most violent regions of Argentina. But he devoted the last decade of his life to working in his native Córdoba, which had been

transformed by the development of an automobile assembly industry and of a modern, highly skilled, and combative proletariat.

González worked in the Forja and Kaiser plants, where he was elected shop steward, until being fired in anti-union repressions. Despite his ouster from the automobile plants, González continued his activity among the workers.

At the time of his death, González was studying the lessons of the May 1969 workers' uprising in Córdoba and trying to find effective means of opposing the repression instituted by the military dictatorship.

Con Son No Exception

Columnist Jack Anderson on August 31 quoted an eyewitness on conditions in the South Vietnamese prison at Tam Ky: "There would be from fifty to 100 prisoners kept in large rooms with concrete platforms to sleep on, but since there were far too many people to lie down, most of the prisoners had to sit or stand throughout the night. . . .

"In the interrogation center there was the usual electrical shock, beatings, sticking with pins, burning with cigarettes and at times, water torture." The observer said he often complained to the prison's American advisers, "but no one did anything about the situation."

IRA Chief Speaks on Struggle for Socialist Ireland

[The following interview was given to Gerry Foley in Dublin August 19. Cathal Goulding is chief of staff of the Irish Republican Army (IRA), the military force descended from the section of the revolutionary army that refused to accept the Anglo-Irish treaty of 1922. The IRA supports the political views of the Sinn Féin party.]

* * *

Question. Do you see any similarity between the struggle of the Vietnamese people to win control of their own country and the present fight of the Irish people to expel foreign occupiers and defeat or win over their native allies?

Answer. I certainly do. The first similarity is that when the French empire was weakening and the French were being forced out of Vietnam, the American imperialists came in to replace them.

That is, imperialism is international. International financiers and international speculators have developed interests in all the colonies, whether British, French, or any other. The same thing has happened in Ireland.

The same thing might happen to us here in Ireland as happened in Vietnam. The British empire is disintegrating and it is not so fantastic to imagine that if the British were driven out that the Americans might move in to replace them.

The Americans already have bases in Derry and other places in the Six Counties and I believe that they would support imperialist rule here if we were strong enough to beat the British.

Therefore, we have to take the proper attitude toward the Vietnamese struggle. We have to publicize the reasons why America went into Vietnam, to explain that it went in to protect the vested interests of the American establishment and other imperialists all over the world. We have to do this to protect ourselves from American intervention here.

Q. Do you believe that there are any sections of the native capitalist



CATHAL GOULDING

class that are capable of resisting imperialist domination, any capitalists with whom you could ally yourselves in the struggle to liberate the country?

A. Yes. The main forces of native capitalism are in favor of maintaining British rule in Northern Ireland and British influence in the south. They understand that if the Irish people ever become the rulers of their own country that they will move forward to take control of their own destiny as well.

The main forces of native capitalism know that the objective of the Irish people is to establish themselves in full control of the means of production, distribution, and exchange, and that this means we are going to establish a socialist republic in Ireland.

However, there are small family businesses that are going to be completely annihilated by the Common Market, and these people see no future for themselves except in a free Ireland. When we try to force the evacuation of the British imperial troops from Ireland and establish an independent Irish economy, the majority of these

people will be on our side. To some extent, they are already.

Q. Will there be any separation in time between the national and social revolutions?

A. I think that in the future the revolution, or the fight to establish national independence, must develop toward a fight to establish the ordinary people in the ownership of Ireland.

If we don't have a program and a policy to bring about such development, we are only wasting our time. We don't intend to exchange foreign capitalist exploitation for native go-between capitalist exploitation. Therefore at some stage the struggle for national liberation must develop toward the establishment of the people in the ownership of Ireland, that is, toward a struggle to establish a socialist republic.

Q. Have you developed a program for linking the struggle for national liberation with the struggle for socialism, that is, some means of convincing the workers that by fighting for national freedom they are also fighting to better their own conditions?

A. We have tried to make the ordinary people understand, that is, the people who are on the housing list, who have not been provided with houses, who have no jobs, who may have very small landholdings, that they have to depend on the largesse of the foreign lords, or the lords of the conquest, to earn their own living in their own country.

We have to develop an awareness among these people that the fight for freedom is not only a fight for national liberation but a fight for social justice as well, that it would be a waste of time for them to throw in their lot with the small capitalists or other exploiters simply to establish national independence, which would mean that these small capitalists would then become big capitalists.

But if we can beat British imperialism and force evacuation of British

imperialist forces from Ireland with the help of small businessmen, then our development towards a socialist republic will be much easier. The opposing forces will be much weaker.

At the present moment we are showing the people by taking them into the streets, by making them lobby the people who represent them in national and local government, that this system is not geared to provide people with the things they need. By our agitational campaign we are showing the people that the present system is geared instead to make profits for the exploiters and the speculators. We have been very successful in this campaign.

People are beginning to realize that the material and manpower in the building industry, for instance, is being used to provide a very small number of people with huge profits by constructing luxury hotels, office blocks, and deluxe flats.

Much less money is being spent in providing the homes that ordinary people need. The people are beginning to realize that if they want to get these houses, then the building industry must be nationalized and industry must be run by the people.

The same thing applies to the land. The landless people and the people on small farms realize that as long as British imperialism remains here, there is no hope of their being allowed to use the natural resources of this country for their own benefit, that they will always be in a position where they can be exploited by the bigger man.

We are showing the people that it is not the government of this country or any capitalist country which determines policy in industry or agricultural production. We are teaching the people that the ones who establish these policies are those who will profit from them, that is, the vested interests. The people who control vested interests are the ones who control and make government policy.

Q. Which social class do you think will play the leading role in liberating the country from British imperialism?

A. The class that always plays the leading role in any national liberation struggle is the working class, the people of no property, the landless people, the industrial workers in the city, and the very small peasant farmer.

These are the people who have tradi-

tionally supported the national liberation movements in Ireland all through the centuries.

Rich people were never interested in national liberation. They are already liberated. They have theirs. Only the ordinary people, the people of no property are incorruptible. They have nothing to lose.

Q. Has the republican movement developed a program specially for the industrial working class?

A. We have nearly finished a social and economic program which deals with all the problems of the urban worker, rural worker, small peasant proprietor, and all the questions that affect the future of the ordinary people of Ireland.

We also have short-term policies regarding trade unionism, agrarian reform, and the fisheries. We are very active on all these fronts.

For example, when factories are going to be closed down, when the shareholders of these factories want them closed down because they are not getting enough of a return on their money, we try to get the people to demand that these factories be handed over to them to work as cooperatives.

And for the past five or six years we have been very active in trying to help the people in the country areas to form cooperative farms and work in cooperation with each other. We have also been working for the nationalization of the rivers to enable the people who live along their banks to earn a living from fishing.

Q. Do you think there is any hope of developing industrial or agricultural cooperatives under capitalism?

A. No, I don't think that cooperatives can develop fully under capitalism. But at the same time I do believe that urban and rural co-ops can teach the people lessons in revolution. They can teach the people how they can run their own affairs. Co-ops can teach the people they can run businesses, not just work in them. Through co-ops people can get away from the idea that they need the money of foreign investors to exploit the resources of the country.

By working to develop cooperatives we are doing two things at once — building up the scaffold of an economic system counter to the one run

by the establishment and developing a revolutionary attitude in the people. We are trying to create a revolutionary system of the people and a revolutionary attitude based on it, where the people will resist the establishment and demand cooperatives or communal effort in industry and on the land.

Q. Do you see any similarities between the struggle of the nationalist population in Northern Ireland and that of the American Black people?

A. The fight of the nationalist people in the Six Counties is very much like that of the American Negroes. For instance, the Negro is a second-class citizen in the United States; so also is the nationalist in the Six Counties. If a nationalist and a Unionist go forward for a job, no matter what qualifications the nationalist has, the Unionist will get the job.

The same sort of thing happens in the United States. Segregated schools are second-class schools. The best teachers go to the best schools and the best schools are given to whites. The same sort of thing is happening in the Six Counties.

Q. What lessons do you think that nationalists of Northern Ireland can draw from the struggle of the American Black people?

A. The first lesson that the people of the Six Counties learned from the American Negro was that they could not get anything unless they organized and demonstrated to demand their rights.

When we helped to initiate the civil-rights movement in Northern Ireland we copied to a great extent the approach and activities of the Negro people in America.

On the other hand, I think the Negro people in America, those militant groups which have now moved beyond civil rights, could have learned something from us. We always had a military organization, a movement that could use physical force against the establishment [that is, the Irish Republican Army — IP].

So, the Negroes in America and we in Ireland could have learned lessons from each other. But the main lesson we learned from the American movement was that physical force and struggle couldn't come first, that we first had to try to inject some mili-

tancy into ordinary people who wouldn't join in a violent struggle but would support a peaceful one, people whom you could organize to march, to demonstrate, sit-in, and things like that. It was this peaceful activity that really brought the situation to a head in the Six Counties.

Q. There is an interesting similarity between the situation of the nationalist population in Northern Ireland and the Black people in America. Both are minorities. Both have to struggle against the resistance of a prejudiced majority which believes it has an interest in preserving the status quo. Since the nationalist population of the Six Counties is a minority, how do you think it can overcome the resistance of the Unionist majority?

A. The policy of our conquerors has been to divide the people. Before we can make any real headway in winning even human rights for the nationalist population in the Six Counties, we will have to make some breakthrough to the Protestant working class, which is the main support for trade unionism in the Six Counties.

The antagonism between the nationalist or Catholic minority in the Six Counties is very similar to that between Black and white in America.

White workers in America enjoy marginal privileges over Black workers. The Protestant worker is allowed marginal privileges over the Catholic worker in the Six Counties. Thus the Protestant worker thinks that in resisting the demand of the minority for human rights that he is protecting his own interests. We've got to get over the idea to the Protestant workers that as long as this division is maintained in the working class they will be easy marks for exploitation.

Q. One of the problems in uniting the working class in America, Black and white, is that the unions themselves often reflect the attitudes of a workers' aristocracy. Large sections of the union movement have resisted the demands of the Black people.

The trade-union movement in Northern Ireland resembles the American unions in this respect. A larger percentage of the Protestant workers are unionized and enjoy status in their trades. A much higher percentage of Catholic workers are employed or concentrated in the lower paid jobs.

How can the unions serve as weapons against the caste system in Northern Ireland when they themselves reflect its structure?

A. There is a difference between the trade-union movement in America and in the Six Counties. In the States the union bosses support the existing system. This isn't exactly true of the Six Counties.

In the Six Counties the majority of the trade-union leadership are radicals. Unfortunately the workers have been loyal to the government, which was established as a "Protestant government for a Protestant people." The majority of the union leadership is good while the majority of the union membership may be bad. With this in mind I think we will be able to develop an awareness among the union members in the Six Counties because we have more or less 70 percent of the union leadership on our side.

Q. Do you think the caste mentality of the Protestants can be eliminated under capitalism?

A. I don't think that this can be completed under the present sick capitalist system that prevails in the Six Counties.

But I think that we have a better chance of improving the attitudes of the Protestant workers than you have in America with the white workers because of the bad economic conditions that exist in the Six Counties.

The union bosses in America are against integration. They're afraid they'll lose their jobs and their power if there's a large influx of Black workers into the trade unions. But in the Six Counties this fear doesn't really exist because there are a number of people who besides being Protestants are radicals; they're members of revolutionary parties like the Communist party of Northern Ireland and other socialist groups. These people want integration, they want to see basic human rights given to ordinary Catholic workers. They want to organize the Catholic workers and give them equality within the union and on the job.

Therefore, I think we can improve the attitudes of the Protestants to a considerable extent, even within this system. But we will never be able to establish complete working-class unity until we have a working-class state.

Q. How do you propose to approach the problem of the military occupation of Northern Ireland, within the context of Northern Ireland, of Ireland as a whole, and internationally? Do you favor a worldwide campaign for the withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland?

A. We do favor such a campaign and we are trying to develop one particularly through our allies in America, the people who are organizing the different Irish emigrant groups in America. We are trying to get these people to do as much work as possible to publicize why the British troops are in Ireland, what they are doing and what they are protecting. We have Irish organizations in Australia, New Zealand, America, and England. We have also established contact with other countries where there are socialist groups and we are trying to work with these people to arouse worldwide feeling against the occupation of Ireland by England.

But I believe the job of pushing the British troops out of Ireland will eventually have to be done by ourselves. I think that when we have developed a certain awareness in the people as to what is best for them, the need for controlling the resources of the country and developing them to meet their own needs instead of for the profits of the few, that we will have sufficient support here to be able to make the position of the British occupation forces intolerable.

Our agitational and other political activity is geared to producing an awareness among the Irish people that if they want freedom they must have a workers army and that this workers army will have to be armed and will have to drive the British occupation forces out.

Q. What tactic do you favor toward the British troops who are here now? Do you intend to do political work among the British troops, to explain to them why they're here, to promote dissent within the British army? Does the republican movement's campaign of nonfraternization with the troops exclude doing political work among them?

A. The best way to bring pressure to bear on the British troops is through the trade-union movement in

England. For a start, there are a lot of Irish people working in England, a lot of Irish people in positions of influence in the English trade-union movement.

We have succeeded in getting a number of resolutions passed at different union meetings and congresses calling on England to evacuate the British troops and let the Irish people determine their own future.

The unions are the best way for influencing the British troops because they are basically working-class people. The ordinary soldier is a worker or the son of a worker. If the unions in England can influence his brother, father, relatives, and neighbors, then they can influence him, too.

The purpose of our campaign of nonfraternization in the Six Counties is to convince the British Tommy that he is not wanted here.

Q. What forces in America do you think can be enlisted in support of the struggle in Ireland? Do you think that any elements in the American establishment or national and local government can be depended on to support the struggle in Ireland?

A. I don't think that any of the political bosses or the people who are associated with these types in America can be made to honestly support the evacuation of British troops from Ireland. These people are basically imperialists. They support an imperialist regime in America. The majority of them support the war in Vietnam and other imperialist ventures that America has engaged in.

I am glad to see American politicians come out on the side of the struggle in Ireland. But I always remember that these people have done nothing basically to support the civil-rights campaign or the fight for human rights of the Negro population in America and they haven't done anything really sound in forcing the administration in America to evacuate their troops from Vietnam.

I believe that these politicians, whether they're of Irish origin or descent, are just using the emotions of Irish exiles in America to gain political support for themselves. I think there are very few we can depend on in any shape or form to give us any support here for our cause.

Q. Because of their position in

American society, many workers of Irish birth or descent are strongly antipathetic to the struggle of the Black people. Has it been your experience that this attitude on the part of the American Irish prevents them from giving full and effective support to the fight in Ireland?

A. The attitude of Irish-born residents of the United States of America — and the majority of these are working class — has been a tremendous source of disappointment to us here. We have been disappointed both in their attitude toward the struggle of the Negro people for their rights in America and their attitude toward our objectives here in Ireland.

As long as we declared that we were just fighting for national independence we had the support of the majority of these people. But since our national independence struggle has developed into a class struggle as well, a lot of the American Irish are hesitating to give us support. Some of them have openly attacked us.

I believe that it is the duty of the Irish organizations in America to give their full support to the struggle for basic human rights in America, for the emancipation of the Negro, and for the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam.

Q. Do you think that the military organization of your movement is compatible with full internal democracy, democratic discussion of policy?

A. Yes. Our movement is basically a revolutionary movement. We are not organized like, say, the American army or the British army. Our military organization has annual conferences which set the basic policy. Resolutions come from units all over the country and from ordinary members. The officers appointed to run the headquarters staff of the Irish Republican Army are elected by the members. So our military organization is basically a workers' army.

It is an army in which the working class and the small farmers have a say in the policy. They have a say in what our tactic or strategy is going to be for each year, and they also have a say in who should lead the army. The man who may be chief of staff one year could be an ordinary soldier the next.

Q. Are there any special guarantees for the rights of political minorities within the IRA and Sinn Féin?

A. There have always been dissident groups at our conferences and conventions who don't accept the policy put forward or want to offer some other line of policy. The provision that's made for these people is this: They can be and often are elected to the executive of the army or to the headquarters staff but they must accept the ruling of the majority for the coming year.

Discussions are held regularly, almost once a month. We can see that a decision taken at the convention might not be relevant in a month or two. And we have the power to change these decisions when they're not related to the political or military situation. A special convention can be called at any time if the ordinary members demand it. The local meetings can put forward ideas about how these resolutions or policy decisions should be changed or dropped.

Q. Are there any circumstances in which you think physical force is justified in dealing with opponent political groups on the left or opposition groupings within your own movement?

A. We do not intend to use any military means or physical force against other groups on the left. We believe that these groups will learn that their policies are wrong when they try to put them into practice and that they will move closer to us.

I do believe that we should attack such groups publicly by telling the people by every means we have what our differences are with them and why their policies are wrong.

We do advocate physical force against the establishment. I don't see any establishment giving the majority what they want. I can't see them handing the wealth over to the ordinary people unless the people have the necessary physical force to support their political ideas. The examples of Spain, Greece, Portugal, Guatemala, and Vietnam prove this. The people are only safe when they have the armed force to resist a dictatorship by the right. If they have no armed force, they'll end up like Greece.

Yuyitungs Kidnapped by Marcos, Jailed by Chiang

On March 23 of this year, Quintin and Rizal Yuyitung, respectively publisher and editor of the Manila daily newspaper *Chinese Commercial News*, were arrested by Philippine police and charged with "the commission of acts inimical to the government of the Republic of the Philippines."

In their trial, however, it quickly became clear that the real "crime" of the two Philippine-born Chinese newsmen was criticism of President Ferdinand Marcos and sympathy for the student movement.

Moreover, the brothers had offended pro-Chiang Kai-shek elements in the Chinese community by advocating that Philippine-born Chinese integrate themselves into Philippine society instead of recognizing the claim of the Taiwan government that they are Nationalist Chinese "citizens."

It was suspected that in this instance the Marcos government was considering handing the Yuyitungs over to Taiwan. Faced with possible execution by Chiang's military courts should they be deported, the Yuyitungs at the end of April renounced any claim to Taiwanese citizenship. Quintin Yuyitung told the press, "I'd rather be stateless than render allegiance to a government that would even go out of its way to fabricate charges to destroy me and my family." (A high official had been sent from Taipei to

testify against the newsmen at their trial.)

Unconcerned about legalities, on May 5 the Marcos regime forcibly placed the Yuyitungs aboard a plane to Taipei, where they were held without bail in a military prison on a charge of "treason."

At the time of their deportation, it appeared a virtual certainty that the Yuyitungs would be executed by the Chiang regime. One Manila columnist called the deportation "premeditated and deliberate murder."

But fortunately for the Yuyitungs, the case had begun to attract the attention of the international press, particularly after the International Press Institute on May 18 passed a resolution condemning the Marcos government for its "flagrant and high-handed action."

The Institute also sent a delegation to Taipei to intervene on behalf of the newsmen. As a result, the Chiang regime promised the brothers an open trial.

On August 14 the Yuyitungs were brought to trial before a military court in Taipei. The conservative *Far Eastern Economic Review* noted in its August 20 issue that "none of the charges accused the brothers of anything more suspicious than could be alleged against the publisher and editor of any liberal newspaper in the world. They were charged with reprinting re-

ports from the New China News Agency. This charge Rizal admitted. But he pointed out that the reports had been received via Western news agencies which routinely carried significant Peking statements. Rizal also admitted to the crime of having read the works of Mao, and Karl Marx's *Das Capital*.

"The prosecutor also accused the brothers' newspaper of having printed more than 100 photographs of Mao since 1950—more than twenty years."

The trial was attended by foreign newsmen and three representatives of the International Press Institute. The military court lost no time in convicting the brothers and sentencing Quintin Yuyitung to two years' and Rizal Yuyitung to three years' imprisonment.

Thus two newsmen, who were not citizens of Taiwan, were convicted for actions committed outside the country which could be construed as crimes only in the most dictatorial of societies. Said the *Far Eastern Economic Review*:

"The brothers had ten days in which to lodge an appeal and many pressmen expressed the hope that the widespread shock about the sentence would be sufficient to convince the Taiwan authorities of the harm they had done to their own cause. It was agreed, however, that it was too late to put a more favourable gloss on the part played by Manila in this sad episode."

West European Conference in Belgium

Auto and Steel Revolutionists Discuss Problems

Rome

A conference of revolutionary steel and automobile workers took place over the last weekend in July in Belgium. The organizers of the meeting were the Ligue Communiste [Communist League—the French section of the Fourth International] and the Jeune Garde Socialiste [Socialist Young Guard] of Belgium. Delegations of

workers were present from France, Belgium, Italy, Germany, and Denmark.

The meeting opened with a welcoming speech by a leader of the Liège Jeune Garde, who chaired the conference. In the plenary session which followed, the delegates listened to reports on the situation and the struggles of the recent period in a series of

big European concerns. Next, two commissions met. One discussed the specific problems of the steel industry, the other of the automobile industry. A final plenary session was devoted to reports from the commissions and to political conclusions.

A delegate from the Cockerill-Ougrée plant, a member of the Parti Wallon des Travailleurs [Walloon Workers

party], took the floor first, reporting on the working conditions in his plant and the gains the workers had made in winning control over the composition of work teams, tempos of work, and over the pours (in the Thomas foundry). Markedly better conditions than those normally existing in the plants as regards breaks were also won thanks to the combativity of the workers.

As to the future outlook in the Cockerill-Ougrée plant, the bosses envisage new investments which will involve increased "rationalization" and attempts to reduce manpower. The workers must be prepared for hard struggles in this area.

A worker militant from Taranto, a member of the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari [Revolutionary Communist Groups—the Italian Section of the Fourth International], centered his report on the struggles that have unfolded in recent months in the Italsider steel company.

Above and beyond the strikes for new contracts, the workers in Taranto and Italsider centers in other cities have waged a fight against the present highly differentiated wage scale based on job evaluations. They have also fought for a substantial cut in the workweek. The vanguard workers are now demanding a thirty-six-hour week.

There is a secretariat of workers' delegates in Taranto, but the experience with these delegates so far has been rather mixed, even though the pressure from below has been quite strong, enabling the revolutionary vanguard to play an important role both in the trade unions and in actions outside the regular union structure.

A worker member of the Ligue Communiste then spoke about the situation in Sidelor in Lorraine. In this sector concentration has accelerated and the working class has paid a heavy price in jobs. Some 3,000 workers were laid off. As for the wage structure, the differentiation is very pronounced and there are almost fifty categories.

In this stage the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor, the CP-led union] is relying primarily on the adoption of a statute governing the conditions of steelworkers. The vanguard is campaigning for a sliding scale of wages, for a monthly minimum wage of 1,000 francs [5 francs

equal US\$1], for narrowing the wage differential, for payment of a monthly salary, for eliminating distinctions between blue- and white-collar workers, for including all remuneration in the base pay, for equal raises for all, for a forty-hour week now, and against layoffs without a guarantee of re-hiring.

A worker from Mannheim, a member of the GIM [Gruppe Internationaler Marxisten—International Marxist Group, the German section of the Fourth International], spoke on the situation in his company, Daimler-Benz, where both the objective and subjective conditions are more favorable than in the average German concern. For example, in the plant council there are a large number of militants under CP influence as well as three Trotskyist workers.

The Daimler-Benz revolutionists see their fight as part of that of the working class as a whole and give particular stress to the five points specified in the special May Day issue of *Was Tun*: (1) unions must not participate in "konzertierte Aktion," that is, collaboration with the bosses; (2) all contracts must be submitted to the workers in the plants for approval; (3) a sliding scale of wages; (4) equal raises for all; (5) trade-union control of vocational training and a greater role for youth in the trade unions.

The situation in the automobile industry was the subject of a report by a member of the Ligue Communiste from the Renault plant and a FIAT worker belonging to the Italian section of the Fourth International.

After giving a detailed description of the different sectors of the trust, the report on Renault highlighted the existing wage differentiation and pointed out that surplus value [or the rate of exploitation] has increased from 63 percent in 1969 to 66 percent at present. The report also gave special attention to the trade-union and political relationships in the Renault plants. The Billancourt plant, which is by far the most important center, is still a bastion of the CGT and the PCF [Parti Communiste Français—French Communist party]. But the revolutionists have scored some important points, distributing their press and leaflets as well as participating in trade-union struggles and propagandizing through the national political campaigns conducted by the Ligue Communiste.

Trade-union work has centered especially around the line of demanding the elimination of job studies and calling for equal raises for all (the CGT is still in favor of hierarchical-type raises).

The FIAT activist's report focused on analyzing the almost uninterrupted struggles which have occurred in this concern over the past six months. So far the bosses have failed to reestablish "normal" conditions and their attempt to carry out speedups (either directly or by pretending to increase the teams on the line) have been particularly unsuccessful.

The reporter stressed the importance of the experience of having shop delegates and a council of delegates, despite the efforts of the trade-union bureaucrats to dampen the militancy of the workers and siphon away the council's content. In recent weeks, the council has gone through a crisis, he said, but a considerable number of delegates are ready to continue the antibureaucratic battle.

In the plenary session, an activist from Bari reported for the commission on the steel industry and an activist from Paris for the commission on the automobile industry. The practical conclusion was a decision to establish permanent contacts on the European level. Belgian comrades were given responsibility for coordinating work in the steel industry; French comrades for the automobile industry.

After a few remarks about the result of exchanging experiences, a delegate from Cockerill-Ougrée stressed that in the last analysis, over and above all the economic struggles, the problem was to fight for the overthrow of the capitalist system. The fight for workers control had to open up the way for a struggle for power.

In the closing speech, Livio Maitan, a member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, noted that the growth of the automobile industry as well as of the steel industry had contributed strongly to the prolonged boom that Western Europe experienced in the postwar period. But it was now clear, he said, as statistical data eloquently indicate, that we are in a phase where the tendency is toward decline.

Everyone knows that the automobile industry is heading rapidly toward saturating the market and the steel

industry already has excess capacity. The result of this situation will be increasingly stiff international competition, which in turn can only further stimulate the process of economic concentration and rationalization, with all the well-known consequences for employment. Hence the necessity for the working class to prepare for very sharp and very important struggles.

The action the bosses and their governments take cannot in any case eliminate a series of explosive contradictions. In the first place, the basic tendency is unquestionably toward supranational economic concentrations and the formation of larger and larger markets. But this by no means excludes retreat toward protectionist practices as soon as any country is threatened by a grave crisis, especially in a key sector (it goes without saying that no protectionist measure can be more than a palliative).

Secondly, the tendency toward "free circulation" of manpower is already counterbalanced, at least partially, by the tendency to shift the consequences of recessions and depressions onto the shoulders of foreign workers. For certain countries in particular, a return of emigrants would have political, social, and economic repercussions of extreme gravity.

More generally, in addition, if increased unemployment may be considered a cushion of safety for the ruling class, very extensive unemployment on a European scale would inevitably provoke very violent reactions on the part of the working class. Precisely because the postwar working class has achieved a certain standard of living, has not experienced massive unemployment, and is fighting in a context which has changed radically since 1968, it is not ready to passively accept falling back into the conditions some capitalist countries experienced in the darkest periods of the 1930s.

Similarly, it is hard to believe that, above all, the new generations of workers will cheerfully accept the attempts at superexploitation and additional "rationalization" to which international competition will drive the bosses.

Our conference showed that the situation of the workers still differs quite a bit in several respects in the various European countries. However, if above and beyond all the peculiar features, you consider the payment to

labor, the differences do not appear as great, and show a tendency to decline. In an "open" market like the European one, it is impossible for different sale prices of labor power to crystallize in any durable way. International competition tends to block this.

But what is more important to point out is that the working class has an interest in pushing for increasing uniformity. This means that the workers must look more and more toward the need for establishing a supranational front, which alone would be in a position to counter the maneuvers and blackmail by the trusts and cartels. To this end we must campaign for European congresses involving national trade-union organizations, not just to do propagandistic work but to organize common struggles on a common platform. Delegates elected by the workers in the principal concerns should also be present.

The central axes of revolutionary work in economic struggles flowed clearly from the reports:

a) Simplification of wage scales, elimination of the differentiations that result in a fragmentation of the working class, equal raises for all.

b) Against rationalization and the speedup, reduction of the workweek without any cut in pay, increased breaks, rejection of the general practice of paying by the hour (fighting for these demands means fighting at the same time against cuts in employment).

c) A sliding scale of wages based on a system making possible full and rapid readjustments (collaboration is necessary between the workers and the

personnel of the statistical institutions).

It is clear to us, as the Cockerill-Ougrée delegate correctly noted, that all of these demands must be linked to a campaign for workers control, the logic of which is to promote a situation of dual power. This control must be essentially over hiring and firing (involving a right of veto), on working conditions (work tempos, the makeup of work teams, etc.), and over investments (opening up the books).

We have entered a stage in which the objective conditions exist for achieving concrete results in this area and the reports given to the conference indicated that important experiences have been undergone in several countries. The major problem remains, however, of the instruments which the working class needs for this struggle.

We must struggle for a deepgoing renewal of the trade-union movement, rejecting all the ultraleft conceptions circulating today. At the same time we must be the most enthusiastic advocates of new organizational forms such as councils of delegates, embryonic organs of the Soviet type, which are destined to develop wherever there is a powerful upsurge of the working class or a revolutionary or prerevolutionary situation. All of this must not make us forget for an instant the vital importance of a political vanguard, a party, which in our time cannot be conceived of except on a European and worldwide scale.

The conference was closed by its chairman, who thanked all the delegates for their contributions and the financial sacrifices they made in order to attend.

And They're Modest, Too

The August 31 issue of *Der Spiegel* reports on the results of a poll designed to determine how German capitalists and managers view themselves.

"Not uncommonly," the study reports, 'the person questioned felt himself reminded of the Demiurge,' the architect of the world in Platonic philosophy who served as intermediary 'between the highest divinities and the human world.' The entrepreneur sees himself as 'an autonomous individual, subordinate to no one, responsible to himself.' His employees, in contrast, need 'the anonymity of dependence' and 'need an outside will, which

puts them in motion, which sets goals for them.'

"The entrepreneur is—so say the entrepreneurs—a 'representative of values which must be defended against mass society and its collectivizing tendencies.' Moreover, the captains of industry believe that they alone 'incorporate the resistance, wield reason and quality against the growing instinctuality and sexualization of their social contemporaries and against the slogan-politics of present democracy.' They also know what makes them capable of this: 'inborn ability, which empowers them to be leaders.'"

How Labourites Came to Deny Asylum to Trotsky

Writing in the August 15 issue of the London *Guardian*, Richard Gott has disclosed some of the behind-the-scenes considerations which resulted in Leon Trotsky being denied asylum in England in 1929.

Gott reports that even before his arrival in Turkey in February, 1929, Trotsky had indicated interest in asylum in England but had received no encouragement from the Conservative government.

"Then in April 1929, Beatrice and Sidney Webb visited him at his house in Prinkipo, in the Sea of Marmara. They told him that, when the Labour Party won the forthcoming elections, there would be no difficulty in securing a visa, though Sidney Webb thought there might be opposition from the Liberals on whom Labour might depend for a majority."

As expected, the Labour party won the election and formed a coalition government with the Liberals. Sidney Webb became one of the members of the new cabinet.

On June 5 the Independent Labour party invited Trotsky to address its party school, and Trotsky consequently applied to the prime minister, Ramsay MacDonald, for a visa.

But in a June 10 editorial, the liberal *Manchester Guardian* noted that the "socialist" MacDonald was more interested in appeasing Stalinists and reactionaries than in granting asylum to revolutionaries:

"To accede to his [Trotsky's] request would place Mr. MacDonald under two fires. It would by no means endear him to the Russian Government at whose instance Trotsky is wandering abroad; on the other hand, it would terrify those thick-skulled yet chicken-hearted Conservatives in whose eyes every Russian, whether in an official position or not, is a plenipotentiary of the Third International.

"There was a time when a distinguished foreign statesman—and Trotsky is no less—could always rely on the hospitality of these shores if driven from his own. The sooner that 'right of asylum' is re-established the better."

On June 21 the Home Secretary, J. R.

Clynes, presented the cabinet with a memorandum arguing against asylum for Trotsky:

"The admission of Trotsky to this country might be regarded as an unfriendly act by the Soviet Government. . . . It might be represented as dictated by fear of Communist activities in India, China and the East generally and designed to shake the prestige of the Third International and the Soviet regime as a whole. His admission . . . might also be interpreted by the governments of France, Germany, Belgium and Norway as an adverse reflection on their refusals to admit him."

Clynes's memorandum went on to say that Trotsky was "an alien who would almost certainly become a centre of intrigue, against a foreign government with whom we desire to enter into friendly relations. . . . He could not be expected to abstain from politics and it would be necessary to keep a watch at the public expense on his activities. . . . If he were admitted here it would be necessary to take special precautions to protect his life. An equally important consideration is that once admitted there will be no practical means of removing him should the necessity arise. . . . Trotsky is only one of several who have been expelled from Russia and if Trotsky were allowed to come it would be impossible to resist the flood of other exiles and refugees who would cite his case as a precedent."

On July 11 the cabinet announced its refusal to grant asylum. As several observers noted, the "flood of exiles" feared by Clynes was already present in England. The *Manchester Guardian* wrote on July 12:

"It is difficult to believe that Mr. Clynes is deliberately discriminating against one in particular of many thousands of Russian refugees. Yet it is even more difficult to suppose that Mr. Clynes proposed to banish the whole of that numerous population—the ex-princes, ex-generals, ex-Ministers of old Russia now resident in England."

Even Fabian George Bernard Shaw, in a letter to Clynes, complained of

the "ironic situation . . . of a Labour and Socialist government refusing the right of asylum to a very distinguished Socialist while granting it . . . to the most reactionary opponents."

Thus it was not the Liberals—who in general favored granting Trotsky asylum—but the "socialists" of the Labour party who prevented his entry into England. Gott quotes Clynes speaking in defense of the decision in Parliament:

"In regard to what was called the 'right of asylum,' this country had the right to grant asylum to any person whom it thought fit to admit as a political refugee. On the other hand, no alien had the right to claim admission to this country, if it would be contrary to the interests of this country to receive him."

As Trotsky himself observed in *My Life*: "According to Clynes, the right of asylum does not mean the right of an exile to demand asylum, but the right of the state to refuse it. . . ."

"The pious Mr. Clynes ought at least to have known that democracy, in a sense, inherited the right of asylum from the Christian church, which, in turn, inherited it . . . from paganism. It was enough for a pursued criminal to make his way into a temple, sometimes enough even to touch only the ring of the door, to be safe from persecution. Thus the church understood the right of asylum as the right of the persecuted to an asylum, and not as an arbitrary exercise of will on the part of pagan or Christian priests. Until now, I had thought the pious Labourites, though little informed in matters of Socialism, certainly well versed in the tradition of the church. Now I find that they are not even that."

Indonesian Prisoners Deported

Some 5,000 Indonesian political prisoners were deported from Djakarta August 27 to the remote island of Buru, according to Agence France-Presse. The prisoners will only be fed for a short time after they arrive, as they are expected to produce their own food. The island is barren and no rice can be grown there.

Indochinese Revolution and the Soviet Bureaucracy

[The following is an editorial scheduled for publication in a forthcoming issue of *Quatrième Internationale*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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The new escalation of the imperialist aggression in Southeast Asia, with the invasion of Cambodia by American and puppet troops, has once again highlighted the crying disparity between the concentration of international counterrevolutionary forces on the Indochinese peninsula and the dispersion of anti-imperialist and anticapitalist forces throughout the world. The lack of a strong and coordinated response to this attack has confirmed the idea of the imperialist overlords in Washington that they did not go wrong in their calculations and that the Kremlin will not react. This conviction remains unquestionably the main factor encouraging imperialist aggression in the world today.

Confidence in the passivity of the Kremlin is not the result of pure speculation on the part of American imperialism. Every time Washington has escalated its aggression—from dispatching the first "military advisers" to South Vietnam and the Tonkin Gulf "incident" up to the invasion of Cambodia—the Pentagon and State Department military and diplomatic experts have not been satisfied with "estimating the risks" of more massive Soviet intervention. They have observed what was going on in Moscow and the area. Their conclusions have not been based on suppositions but on the facts.

For example, in the wake of the Geneva accords on Laos in 1962, for which the ground was prepared by the Kennedy-Khrushchev meeting in Vienna, the American imperialists stepped up their military intervention in the country without Moscow doing anything whatever to discourage them. One Sullivan, former U.S. ambassador to Laos, could boast before a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee: "I know of no di-

rect diplomatic protest by the USSR to the royal Laotian government and it is for sure that they have never made one to us." (*Le Monde*, June 4, 1970.) It can hardly be disputed that such an attitude on the part of the Soviet bureaucracy encouraged the extension of the imperialist aggression to South Vietnam and North Vietnam.

This whole scenario has been repeated for the third time in the Cambodian affair. After the counterrevolutionary coup d'état in Pnompenh—when Norodom Sihanouk has established a government in exile and a united front of struggle has been officially proclaimed between the Cambodian resistance movement, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and North Vietnam—the Kremlin still keeps a diplomatic mission accredited to Lon Nol's fascists. Moscow takes for good coin the fiction that this government—which officially called the American imperialists and the Thai and South Vietnamese mercenaries onto Khmer territory—is "neutralist"! And the Kremlin "warns" this government that if it continues to commit acts of this sort . . . civil war might break out in the country.

The fact is that this civil war has been raging *for years*, that Lon Nol's coup d'état represents only one episode in this civil war, that Cambodian "neutralism" has been broken down by explosive social contradictions which have led almost all the Khmer people to line up either with the revolutionary or the counterrevolutionary camp. All of this the masters of the Kremlin pretend not to notice. What admirable "disciples of Lenin" these are . . .

Repeating the ultraopportunist analysis it advanced at the time of the counterrevolutionary victory in Indonesia, the Soviet bureaucracy has gone so far as to accuse the Chinese of having "provoked" Lon Nol's counterrevolutionary coup d'état by its "adventurism" and "great-power nationalism" (in the June 5 issue of the weekly *Temps Nouveau* published in Moscow).

Chinese "nationalism" has nothing

to do with the Cambodian civil war where no direct Chinese intervention has made itself felt. As for the accusation of "adventurism," it is misplaced on three accounts. First of all, because it smacks of a reformist and Social Democratic conception of the class struggle, a conception that fascism is the response to an ultraleft, or extremist, or Communist threat. Next, because it is completely out of line with the facts. The Chinese repeated the opportunist error they already committed in Indonesia, giving 100 percent approval to the "left bonapartism" of Norodom Sihanouk, who put the very generals who would eliminate him in their positions. And finally this accusation is out of place because in reality it is directed against the Vietnamese revolutionists, whose ties with the Khmers Rouges are well known. Thus, it represents a despicable betrayal of those who have been on the firing line in the battle against imperialism for years.

The panic the Soviet bureaucracy feels at the extension of the revolutionary process in Southeast Asia is not a fear of the risks of an extension of the war throughout the world. To refute the hypocritical pretexts often advanced on this score by the lawyers for the Kremlin, we need only recall the much bolder Soviet intervention in the Near East. And this is despite the fact that this area is much closer to the zones that are vital for imperialism, thereby increasing the risks of a direct confrontation between Soviet and American "advisers." But the Kremlin regards Nasser as a trustworthy figure, capable of canalizing the revolutionary process in the Arab world and staying within the strict limits acceptable to the Soviet bureaucracy. On the other hand, the Vietnamese revolutionists and their allies are "stubborn and irresponsible" men who turn up their noses at the compromises brewed by Moscow and Washington. They are capable of keeping a revolutionary fire going that is slowly spreading to a growing number of countries.

It is understandable in view of this

cynical attitude by the Soviet bureaucracy, which willingly grants to the petty-bourgeois nationalist Nasser the planes and pilots it refuses to its own "comrades" in Indochina, that the Indochinese have moved back toward Peking.* The difference in the treatment Norodom Sihanouk has gotten in Peking and Moscow has not escaped any international observer, just as it has not escaped any observer that the imperialist aggression against the Khmer people has not aroused a single protest demonstration in the Soviet capital. In the eyes of the Kremlin, the close collaboration between the united front of the "Khmer resistance, the Pathet Lao, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam" and Peking constitutes added justification for reticence toward the Indochinese revolution.

In order to exploit this more sharply rightward course of the Kremlin, the Chinese leaders have moderated somewhat the excesses in their denunciation of the "new czars, accomplices and allies of American imperialism." It has been noted that Mao's May 29 statement on the new worldwide rise of the anti-imperialist struggle concentrated all of its fire on Washington. There was, in fact, a total absence of diatribes against the "new czars." This was doubtless the price Mao had to pay to obtain a new alliance with the North Koreans, who moved away from him when the "cultural revolution" reached its highest pitch, as well as to achieve closer collaboration with the Vietnamese. After years of failures and growing isolation, this represents an appreciable success for Chinese diplomacy.

Of course, the Kremlin is continuing to aid the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and this material help plays an important role in the Vietnamese revolution's capacity for resistance. But this carefully doled out assistance has just one function and one function alone. It is enough to enable the Vietnamese to hold on, awaiting the "compromise" that the Kremlin is trying to negotiate behind the scenes. It is abso-

* This does not mean, of course, that we are objecting to Soviet aid to Egypt. With regard to the Near East, it is worth noting that on the occasion of the recent battles in Amman between Hussein's troops and the Palestinian resistance, the Soviets also denounced the "irresponsibility" of the politically most advanced groups.

lutely insufficient as a response to the scale of crimes that imperialism is committing against the peoples of Indochina. Above all, it is insufficient to assure their victory.

In these conditions, the denunciations—which moreover are less and less numerous—coming from Moscow, of Peking's purported "sabotage" in the supplying of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam with arms seem suspect, to say the least. We are and remain advocates of a united front of all the anti-imperialist forces, including all the bureaucratized workers states, for the defense of the Indochinese revolution. But it is clear that in order to really aid the cause of this revolution, such a united front must include two precise provisions.

It must safeguard the complete political independence of the revolution, that is, be accompanied by firm resistance to any attempt by the Kremlin to get concessions, in return for increased arms deliveries, which would threaten the survival of the revolution. (Moscow follows a tradition in this regard which began with the Spanish Civil War and continued through the Yugoslav and Greek civil wars, the first Indochinese war, and so on.) Secondly, in the event of a stepped-up response to imperialism, those on the firing line—and the Chinese must be included among these—must get a clear guarantee of support against an escalation of imperialist aggression. Such a guarantee, moreover, is the best means of discouraging the escalation which looms up on the horizon every time a new phase of imperialist aggression in Southeast Asia fails to produce the expected "victory." In recent days, there has again been talk in circles close to the Pentagon of the threat of a nuclear war.

It is the Kremlin's refusal to meet these two conditions which is the *principal* cause of the lack of a real anti-imperialist united front for the defense of the Indochinese revolution. The sectarianism and verbal excesses of the Maoist bureaucracy are only a secondary cause. And this is all the more true inasmuch as this sectarianism could not be kept up for long in the face of any practical gesture by the Kremlin. The cause of the Vietnamese revolution is so dear to the masses of the world and to the masses who consider themselves Communists that all ideological claptrap will vanish in the face of a definite action sup-

porting this revolution. If the Chinese really send volunteers to Cambodia, as it has been claimed they will in circles close to Sihanouk, the criminal passivity of the Kremlin will stand out even more.

This passivity is already felt to be so intolerable today by the world anti-imperialist forces that the Communist parties of capitalist Europe, although they also are ultraopportunist and right wing, found themselves forced to issue a common statement in the wake of the aggression against Cambodia which was clearly to the left of the Kremlin's formal protestations. The Italian and French CPs have even organized anti-imperialist rallies that have mobilized tens of thousands of people. But one is still struck by three facts. These rallies were much less militant than the spontaneous demonstrations in the United States, in Germany, and in Italian cities like Milan. They were not coordinated internationally. They were carefully planned to prevent any spillover of the anti-imperialist struggle into working-class action, although the PCF [Parti Communiste Français—French Communist party] and the PCI [Partito Comunista Italiano—Italian Communist party] control the main union federations in their respective countries.

The new revolutionary vanguard rising internationally is naturally in the front ranks of the anti-imperialist struggle. It is concentrating its efforts on broadening and radicalizing this struggle, developing better international coordination, and extending the fight into working-class activity which can stay the criminal hand of the imperialist aggressors.

Nothing could better confirm the necessity and the urgency of building a revolutionary international, the necessity and urgency of building the Fourth International, than this crying disparity between the indignation of the masses of the world against the imperialist aggression and the dispersion of their efforts to halt this aggression and deal it a stinging defeat.

Can't Afford Schools

President Caldera of Venezuela has announced that the government will not be able to afford to open primary and secondary schools as scheduled September 15. Venezuela has the highest per capita income in Latin America.

Political Declaration of Peruvian MIR

[The following declaration was passed last June by the Central Committee of the MIR (Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria — Movement of the Revolutionary Left). The MIR developed out of the wing of APRA (Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana — American Popular Revolutionary Alliance) that supported the Cuban revolution. It participated in an unsuccessful guerrilla campaign in 1965 which became the subject of Héctor Béjar's prize-winning essay *Peru 1965: Notes on a Guerrilla Experience* (serialized in *Intercontinental Press* beginning in the issue of January 26, 1970).

[The current declaration of the MIR is of special interest in the context of the debate now going on among guerrilla currents in Latin America on perspectives, particularly the problem of linking up with the masses.

[The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

To the Peruvian People:

"Only the masses, who have no interest in maintaining any system of exploitation, will be capable of decisively confronting the oligarchy and imperialism. This is the time of people, the time of the socialist revolution." — Comandante General Luis de la Puente Uceda.

A year and a half after the military coup of October 3, Peru is passing through a complex political conjuncture which is difficult to analyze. Organized and determined intervention by the working masses is required for an outcome favorable to the people and the revolution rather than imperialism and its national agents.

In view of the regime's latest measures, the MIR considers it essential to the revolutionary left and the exploited masses to clarify the character of the present political situation, its peculiar features, the main contradiction, and the strategic and tactical implications for the struggle for socialism.

1. In our political declaration of July 26, 1969, we noted that following the reformist measures adopted by the junta "the country entered a phase of expansion and modernization of capitalism marked by greater state involvement in the economy and a redistribution of property in the countryside in new capitalist forms."

This characterization unquestionably still remains valid, not being offset by the temporary, specific conflicts with Yankee imperialism which have not involved any fundamental antagonism.

2. Such temporary specific conflicts resulted from measures that objectively affected some interests of the big intermediary monopolist bourgeoisie and imperialism:

a) The expropriation of the International Petroleum Company.

b) The agrarian reform, which reduced the sources of income of the economic forces active in the industrialized agricultural complexes.

c) The handing over of *Expreso* and *Extra* to cooperative management.

d) State intervention in marketing fish meal.

e) Statization of the refining and marketing of copper.

f) Exchange control.

3. Despite these measures and the tensions they have generated, the junta's ambiguous and weak policy is shown in the following measures:

a) After the expropriation of the IPC, Cuajone was handed over to another powerful imperialist company, thereby increasing Peru's dependence.

b) By the agrarian reform, the junta tried to eliminate the traditional oligarchy's most important power base. But by paying compensation in bonds which could be used to cover 50 percent of investments in new manufacturing companies, the regime sought to make possible the survival and consolidation of these same exploiters.

c) Aside from making cooperatives out of *Expreso* and *Extra*, the junta has not changed the other varied

mechanisms of manipulating public opinion for the benefit of imperialism and its national intermediaries, the other organs of the press, radio, television, foreign news agencies, and publicity networks.

d) The new mining law will statize the refining and marketing of copper but the stimulants offered to mixed companies open the doors to imperialist penetration.

4. These limitations of the present regime are explained by the characteristics of the junta and the dynamics of the development of social contradictions. The junta is composed of an elite of the top military chiefs who govern, free from the direct control of the parties and traditional economic groups. The government is trying to direct the historical process, standing above social classes and relying on its military power.

The interests of this elite as a state bureaucracy and the representative of the socially and economically rising intermediate sectors of the bourgeoisie do not compel it to adopt the goal of socialism. Its anti-Communist and authoritarian conceptions, which indicate the lack of a definite ideological basis, alienate it from a real popular revolution.

As a result of this, capitalist reformism has followed a wavering line, adopting contradictory measures, fluctuating in a conciliatory or radical direction in accordance with the clashes of tendencies in the junta and the political groups that support it.

5. In contrast to the conflicts between the junta and American imperialism, the conflicts between the exploited classes on the one hand and Yankee imperialism and its national intermediaries on the other are constant and total. These conflicts represent a fundamental antagonism and now constitute the principal contradiction.

These conflicts occur daily because the workers in the cities and the countryside are in permanent struggle against the imperialist companies and the manifold bonds they have estab-

lished to dominate the country. Proof of this is the latest Cerro de Pasco miners' dispute and other recent mobilizations of workers against their Yankee bosses, as well as the growing rejection of imperialist penetration in any form.

These conflicts are all-embracing and total because the workers are struggling against imperialism as a whole and not just against one of its tentacles. They do not want just to expel the IPC but also Southern, Cerro, and Marcona Mining. The workers are struggling against the imperialist companies operating in Peru, against the various forms of political, cultural and military penetration, and against the national agents of Yankee domination.

These conflicts express a deep and irreconcilable antagonism because they can only be finally resolved by a popular anti-imperialist revolution culminating in socialism, in which the exploited classes and the proletariat in particular will play the leading role.

6. The conflicts between the junta and the exploited classes are also apparent. On several occasions, faced with strikes and wage disputes, the junta has maintained a conciliatory attitude toward the bosses and an openly repressive one toward the workers. The bureaucratization of the agrarian reform and the hierarchical form the government has imposed in its application impede the peasants from intervening in the changes in the countryside.

Law 17437 against the universities was aimed to paralyze and remove one of the main enemies of imperialism and its national intermediaries—the student movement. The government is keeping dozens of revolutionary fighters and hundreds of other people in the prisons awaiting trial for political and social crimes.

We cannot then automatically equate the interests of the proletariat and the exploited classes with those of the military junta.

7. It is essential to recognize that as a result of the temporary and specific conflicts of the junta with imperialism a patriotic and nationalistic sentiment has been awakened in broad popular sectors, stimulated by the demagogic propaganda of the regime. Moreover, the militancy of workers and the exploited classes in general

has increased under the direct oppression inflicted on them by the imperialists and their national intermediaries. Up to now this awakening has been directed by the left along two mistaken lines. Some left groups have fallen into the error of giving unconditional support to the junta, prostrating themselves before the temporary solutions it offers. Others have turned their backs on reality, failing to recognize the existence of temporary and specific conflicts between the junta and imperialism, following an ostrich-like policy and abandoning the masses to conciliationist and nonproletarian tendencies.

There are people who want the masses to adopt an attitude of tail-ending the junta, and for this purpose they limit their activity and sow illusions about "national capitalism." There are people who do not want to see the peculiar features of the present situation and who isolate themselves from the people. Both positions—reformism and dogmatism—run counter to the need of the exploited classes to achieve revolutionary independence.

These incorrect positions taken by some left groups result from a failure to understand the peculiar features of the principal contradiction that our country is now experiencing.

8. We can specify that the principal contradiction is the conflict between the people on the one hand and Yankee imperialism and its national intermediaries on the other. This contradiction governs the development of the other contradictions. It is on the basis of this contradiction that the revolutionary left must outline its tactics and its tasks.

The principal task of the revolutionary left at this time cannot be to blindly tail-end the military junta, or turn its back on the real political process the country is experiencing. The principal task of the revolutionary left is to bare the principal contradiction which opposes the exploited classes to Yankee imperialism and its national intermediaries, thereby leading the masses toward the final solution demanded by the structural crisis our country is suffering.

Starting from the economic struggles of the masses and the temporary and specific conflicts between the junta and imperialism, our immediate task is to

mobilize the proletariat and the exploited classes (who are presently disorganized and without a revolutionary political leadership), and thus open the way for revolution and socialism.

To achieve this, it is essential to maintain and strengthen the independence of the workers as a class and to raise them to a position where, together with other popular sectors, they will take the lead in the historical process. The interests of the exploited classes require solutions much more deepgoing and radical than the limited measures the junta proposes to carry out.

9. The MIR—which is now coming to the end of a long period of internal consolidation after the grave losses suffered in 1965—maintains its uncompromising stand against imperialism and its national intermediaries. A seizure of power by the proletariat and the exploited classes necessarily assumes a violent confrontation with the exploiting classes. The continental revolutionary war which the Latin-American peoples are fighting against Yankee neocolonialism, along with the heroic resistance of Vietnam, Cambodia, and the other peoples of Southeast Asia to the massive American military intervention, show us the sacrifices required for national and social liberation. Therefore, the MIR is preparing itself today as a political-military vanguard which will have to fight on all levels of revolutionary action against the mortal enemies of our people.

Strategically and tactically our present activity is aimed at achieving a linkup with the masses and strengthening them from within militarily and politically, always taking into account the historical peculiarities in the development of the contradictions. Many revolutionary situations have gone unutilized because of the political and military weakness of the exploited classes. It is essential that the revolutionary left not repeat the old errors.

In face of the junta and capitalist reformism, we keep our own banners flying, without falling either into "tail-endism" or an "ostrich" policy, or falling victim to the maneuvers and snares of imperialism in general and the CIA in particular.

If any social force tries to prevent the masses from making history and seeking complete and final liberation,

the MIR as a political-military organization must mobilize the masses against all obstacles. We must not forget that Marx pointed to the need at the right time for replacing the weapons of criticism with the criticism of weapons.

10. We must make a public self-criticism before the vanguard elements of the working class, the exploited classes, and the people in general. In the recent years—since the heroic days of 1965—our direct work with the masses has been hampered by internal clashes and problems. The MIR has lacked the capacity to carry out effective political work among the masses.

But since the MIR has overcome its former weaknesses, we are preparing today to increase our activity decisively among the workers, peasants, students, and the people in general, putting our positions and ideals into practice. Constant criticism and self-criticism will enable us to overcome the defects and limitations of our political work.

11. A Call to Action

Without falling into "tail-endism" or sectarian isolation from the masses, insisting on revolutionary independence of the exploited classes, we reiterate our call to the workers, peasants, slum dwellers, students, intellectuals, rebel priests, anti-imperialist officers—to the people and the revolutionary left in general—to forge *in struggle* a powerful front against Yankee imperialism and its national intermediaries.

This front will not develop overnight. It will not come from above. Our immediate task is to create the conditions for the formation of this front in the future. We revolutionists fighting for socialism must begin immediately to build "from below" militant unity of the people in *all areas where the popular masses are to be found*. We must mobilize the mass organizations and bring them to participate in leading the struggle against imperialism and its allies.

In the *initial* phase of this mass work we must develop adequate forms of organization and bold methods of organizing. We must apply our general tactical lines creatively, adapting them to the peculiarities of every situation. We must not lose sight of our general strategic objectives or forget our conception of the transition to

socialism. Also we must try to clarify as fully as possible the present political situation among the masses, avoiding deviations, and developing criticism of incorrect positions. At every opportunity we must evaluate the political situation and our own forces for accomplishing the tasks that are posed.

12. The immediate minimum program, which we propose to stimulate this popular mobilization, flows from all our previous analysis. This program seeks to unite as broadly as possible without any sectarianism every sector that has an interest in breaking all ties of dependence and beginning a real process of liberation culminating in socialism, with the proletariat and the exploited classes in the front line.

Minimum Program

1. Involve the workers and peasants through direct action in leading the struggle against imperialism and its national intermediaries and against the new forms of exploitation, maintaining their full independence from other social forces.

2. Expulsion of the Yankee imperialist companies (Cuajone, Toquepala, Cerro de Pasco, etc.) and the instruments of neocolonialist penetration (the Peace Corps, CIA, U. S. Information Service, counterinsurgency advisers).

3. Agrarian revolution, with the land being handed over, immediately and without payment, to the peasantry

and participation by the workers in administering the reform.

4. Across-the-board wage and salary increases and struggle against growing unemployment.

5. Urban reform, abolition of rent for housing, giving the homes to those who live in them.

6. Democratization of the country, liquidation of the antipopular repressive bodies, repeal of the antiuniversity law 17437, a halt to the government's antilabor policy, guarantees for popular mobilization on a national scale, a general amnesty for political and class-war prisoners.

7. Diplomatic and trade relations with all the socialist countries and active solidarity with the peoples who are struggling against Yankee imperialism and its allies.

Long live the heroic example of the guerrilla commanders de la Puente, Lobatón, Velando, Amaya, and all the heroes of 1965!

Down with Yankee imperialism and its national intermediaries!

For a real popular revolution! For a socialist revolution!

Fatherland or death, we will win!

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"Today, with Vice President Agnew again on the road selling the Nixon Doctrine of presumptive withdrawal, Americans are back over the skies of Cambodia strafing and napalming far beyond the border sanctuaries. But nobody in the Administration is asking for time to tell *that* to the public on television."—Herbert Mitgang in the August 31 *New York Times*.

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