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Hands Off Palestinian Revolution!



KING HUSSEIN: Nixon's choice in Jordan's civil war. See page 787.

***Interview with Belfast
Republican Leaders***

Castro's Speech on Workers Democracy

Priest Says Mitrione Was Torture Expert

"A top U.S. Catholic official has called for an investigation into the possibility that the U.S. is 'exporting torture' to Latin America," according to an article in the September 4 issue of the weekly *National Catholic Reporter* published in Kansas City, Missouri.

The official, Father Louis Colonnese, is director of the division for Latin America of the American bishops' conference. He has suggested that Daniel Mitrione, the American police adviser executed by Tupamaro guerrillas in Montevideo August 10, was engaged in training Uruguayan police in methods of torture.

"The former chief of the Uruguayan secret police with whom Mitrione worked has reportedly stated that Mitrione allegedly used 'violent methods of repression and the use of torture with the support of the government,'" Colonnese said.

"A full and impartial investigation must be made to determine whether Mitrione was paid with tax money by an agency of the U.S. government to teach and perform torture under the euphemistic guise of promoting internal security."

Colonnese pointed out that prior to his assignment in Montevideo, Mitrione had served in Brazil as an "internal security expert" in Belo Horizonte and Rio de Janeiro, both cities noted for frequent cases of torture of political prisoners. The article continued:

"He [Colonnese] cited a dossier prepared in April, 1970, by the American Committee for Information on Brazil, a group of university professors specializing in Brazilian affairs.

"The dossier included a report from twelve political prisoners concerning a class in torture that they claimed took place October 8, 1969, at the headquarters of the State Police of Minas Gerais in Belo Horizonte.

"According to the report, ten political prisoners were tortured 'in the presence of 100 military men in a live demonstration of the varied methods of torture in use.'"

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Hands Off the Palestinian Revolution!

By Les Evans

King Hussein's drive to exterminate the Palestinian commando organizations has plunged Jordan into civil war and raised the threat of direct imperialist intervention in the Middle East.

The king's proclamation of martial law September 16 was followed the next day by full-scale assaults by the army on commando offices and camps in Amman and throughout the country. The Palestinians have responded by unifying all their forces under the central command of Yasir Arafat and digging in for a show-down fight.

Between 5,000 and 10,000 persons were killed or wounded in the first three days of the conflict—the heaviest toll in any Arab country since the June war in 1967.

The king has failed, however, in his attempt to wipe out the guerrillas with one blow. The September 20 *New York Times* reported:

"By the weekend it appeared that he had miscalculated.

"Instead of the clean stroke that would break the hold of the commandos, his army was trapped in a murderous war of tanks and artillery against highly motivated guerrillas among the stone and concrete hill cities of northern Jordan."

By September 19, in fact, Hussein was forced to declare a cease-fire, although the Palestinians said this was a trick and refused to abide by it.

Even in Amman, where Hussein claimed that only "a few pockets of resistance" remained, the *New York Times* cited testimony that "more than half" of the city was still in commando hands when the "cease-fire" was declared.

It is clear from the evidence that the confrontation was sought by Hussein who views the very existence of the armed commando organizations as a threat to his continued rule.

The timing of the attack was determined by the collapse of the American "peace initiative" to which Hussein, as well as Nasser and the Soviet Union, had subscribed. The so-called

Rogers Plan was designed to split the "progressive" Arab bourgeois regimes from the Palestinians by offering Nasser and Hussein in effect a separate peace with Israel.

The Palestinians, however, demonstrated their ability to scuttle such a settlement at their expense—this was the effect of the dramatic aerial hijackings carried out by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine September 6 and 9. This apparently convinced Hussein that all the Palestinian groups would have to be crushed if the U.S.-inspired deal with Israel was to be carried off.

That this was no easy task was plain. Since the June war, which discredited the Egyptian and Jordanian regimes in particular, the independent fighting organizations of the Palestinians have become a powerful force, with the main contingents of their strength in the refugee camps of Jordan. More than 12,000 Palestinians are under arms in the various guerrilla groups and thousands more have weapons as part of loosely organized popular militias. In the recent period the clashes between the Amman regime and the commandos have led to a situation of dual power in large sections of the country, even including areas in the capital.

The Jordanian bourgeoisie could not tolerate this situation indefinitely. When its diplomatic maneuvers were stalled, it moved to direct military confrontation.

The army initiated attacks on commando posts in the south. These were carried out for the most part by Bedouin tribesmen. Two weeks before the declaration of martial law, shellings of guerrilla bases in the north had become commonplace.

The government tried to blame the guerrillas for these clashes, but observers dispute this claim. The Paris daily *Le Monde*, for example, reported September 17:

"For our part, we were able to verify that the twelve fedayeen killed Monday evening [September 14—before martial law was proclaimed] in Sour-

ra near the Syrian frontier fell into an ambush set by the king's Bedouin forces and not in a fortuitous clash as official circles claimed. The bodies of the Palestinians were horribly mutilated afterward. According to reliable witnesses, the royal army initiated most of the bloody incidents which have occurred in recent days."

The guerrillas were not caught by surprise by Hussein's move. Nor did they expect much help from the other Arab states. Yasir Arafat made this plain in a September 14 statement to a group of Arab ambassadors, including the representative of the United Arab Republic.

"Gentlemen," Arafat said, "please inform your governments that King Hussein has deliberately prepared a detailed plan which must culminate in a blood bath. I have irrefutable evidence that he intends to liquidate the Palestinian resistance fighters. I presume that your governments cannot or will not wish to do anything for us. But I insist on informing you of this matter so that you cannot one day wash your hands of all responsibility." (September 17 *Le Monde*.)

The Palestine Liberation Organization, the umbrella group which coordinates the various commando organizations, moved immediately to readmit the Popular Front, which had been suspended because the other members disapproved the hijackings.

As early as Tuesday, September 15, *Le Monde* said: "... all the organizations refused to accept a compromise and were preparing hastily for a 'major political and military confrontation.' A people's congress was called for Thursday to establish a program of struggle, the main lines of which were already known—public meetings, demonstrations, strikes. A general strike they thought they could begin Saturday was to lead into a movement of civil disobedience. The population would then be invited to boycott the state by refusing, for example, to pay taxes."

A majority of the Jordanian population are Palestinians, providing a

substantial base for the struggle against the Hashemite king. Even so, on the purely military side Hussein and his commander-in-chief, British-trained Field Marshal Habis Majali, have a substantial numerical and material advantage. The Jordanian army includes 58,000 ground troops, who constitute perhaps the best trained and equipped force in the Arab states. They possess substantial supplies of heavy artillery and 160 American-made M-47 medium tanks, as well as nearly 800 armored cars.

At best the guerrillas can field some 25,000 troops who have undergone military training. Perhaps another 40,000 Palestinians are armed, but lack training and heavy weapons.

So far the Syrian and Iraqi armies, which have substantial contingents stationed in Jordan and are pledged to support the guerrillas, have made no move to intervene.

Much will depend on the ability of the guerrillas to mobilize the Palestinian masses in the areas they hold—particularly Irbid, the country's third largest city which has been declared a "liberated zone" by the Palestinians. Abu Hassan, the chief political officer of Al-Asifa, the military wing of Fateh, was quoted by the September 19 London *Guardian Weekly* as calling this zone "the first Arab Soviet."

The popular character of the struggle was indicated by Hussein's shelling of whole sections of Amman in a general assault on the civilian population. Even the government of Libya, which follows the lead of Nasser in all things, departed from Egypt's neutrality to condemn the shellings as a "massacre."

The outcome of the conflict will have a profound effect on the future of the Middle East. A victory for Hussein would be a serious setback for the Arab revolution and would strengthen the hand of imperialism throughout the region.

A guerrilla victory would give state power to the most consistent opponents of Zionism and imperialism. It would stave off indefinitely the possibility of a settlement dictated by imperialism with the backing of the Kremlin. And furthermore, such an outcome would seriously undercut the authority of the collaborationist Arab regimes, particularly in Egypt and Lebanon, who are banking on Hussein's victory.

Tel Aviv and Washington are keen-

ly aware of the stakes in this conflict. For the moment they are betting on Hussein, but Nixon has threatened explicitly to send in the Marines if the battle goes the other way, or if Syria or Iraq aid the guerrillas.

Nixon has escalated the preparations he ordered when the hijackings were still the center of attention. The September 19 *Los Angeles Times* put it bluntly:

"The U. S. is positioning planes, weapons and troops in and around the Middle East to intervene in Jordan if President Nixon decides American help is necessary to prevent guerrillas from ousting King Hussein and to recover the 54 airliner hostages."

According to the *Los Angeles Times*, Nixon is prepared to:

● Send American fighter-bombers from the two Sixth Fleet carriers now in the eastern Mediterranean into battle in support of Jordanian troops and to fly air defense missions against Iraqi and Syrian planes [if these should intervene on the side of the commandos]. . . .

● Fly in emergency shipments of small arms and ammunition which the Jordanian troops reportedly need.

● As a last resort, land army paratroops now in Germany or helicopter-borne marines now en route on a carrier from North Carolina."

Nixon outlined his plans to a group of newspaper executives at a private meeting in Chicago September 17. The *Chicago Sun-Times* later reported:

"The U. S. is prepared to intervene directly in the Jordanian civil war should Syria and Iraq enter the conflict and tip the military balance against the government forces loyal to King Hussein."

Another alternative suggested by the president and reported in a September 19 Associated Press dispatch was that "Israel might go to Jordan's aid."

Nixon even told the newspaper executives what pretext would be used if Washington decided to send troops—they would be necessary to save American lives!

The *Sun-Times* killed its story after two editions, at the request of the White House. But Nixon's press secretary Ronald Ziegler refused to disavow plans for an American invasion.

The *New York Times* on September 19 indicated that even Nixon didn't take seriously his own excuse for sending troops:

"Initially, American officials were

careful to tie any military action to protection of American lives, but the President in his remarks [in Chicago] reportedly made it contingent as well on the political survival of King Hussein's regime, even if protection of American lives was given as the primary pretext for action."

Such a move could have the gravest consequences for the Middle East and for the world. The Soviet Union, which has refused to even verbally support the Palestinians in their life and death struggle with Hussein, issued a warning to Nixon to stay out of Jordan.

"It is common knowledge," Tass commented September 18, "that in the past, imperialists repeatedly used the pretext of the protection of their citizens for military interference in the internal affairs of Asian, African or Latin-American countries. The concentration of ships of the U. S. Sixth Fleet near the coasts of Syria and Lebanon, military preparation on British air bases on Cyprus and other events are alarming symptoms which in no way contribute to the relaxation of tensions in the world."

Although the degree of understatement raises questions as to Moscow's determination to effectively counter Nixon's drive, it is hard to see how the Kremlin could ignore a landing by American combat troops in the Middle East.

Nixon evidently hopes to turn Jordan into another Dominican Republic if Hussein should falter in his anti-guerrilla campaign. But it could just as easily become another Vietnam. The Palestinian resistance fighters may well prove to be better organized and led than the Dominican Constitutionals of 1965.

Nixon should also consider before launching his aggression that the presence of Soviet advisers in Egypt could lead to a direct clash between the superpowers. The last such confrontation was during the Cuban missile crisis of 1962 when President Kennedy threatened the entire world with nuclear annihilation in order to impose his demands on the Cuban and Soviet governments.

One thing is certain. The millions of people throughout the world who have at some time protested the American aggression in Vietnam will not stand idly by if American troops are sent to violate the right to self-determination of another oppressed people in a different part of the world.

Castro Discusses Workers Democracy in Cuba

By Allen Myers

"We have been able to unleash the energy, interest and will to move ahead of millions of people in spite of the fact that we are a small country. Now we must know how to channel that energy, guiding that formidable and extraordinary revolutionary mass movement toward the possibility of ever greater participation in the decisions that affect their lives.

"This implies the development of a new society and of genuinely democratic principles—really democratic—replacing the administrative work habits of the first years of the Revolution. We must begin to substitute democratic methods for the administrative methods that run the risk of becoming bureaucratic methods."

These words were addressed by Fidel Castro to the August 23 rally in Havana's Chaplin Theater celebrating the tenth anniversary of the Federation of Cuban Women [FMC]. They indicate the task facing the Cuban leadership in its attempt to solve the questions raised by the economic dislocations that came to the fore during the recently completed sugar harvest.

In his July 26 speech, Castro placed primary responsibility for these dislocations on errors by the leadership, and had suggested the creation of workers' committees in the sphere of distribution, and workers' representation in the management of factories as mechanisms which could help avoid such errors in the future. [See *Intercontinental Press*, September 7, 1970, page 715.]

Castro's August 23 speech followed three days of intensive discussion in the Political Bureau of the Communist party, and should therefore provide a reliable indication of the thinking of the leadership as a whole.

One of the most significant passages came early in the speech, and alluded to the discontent Castro had described on July 26:

"When we speak of discontent or in-conformity, we speak of discontented persons within the Revolution, not against the Revolution; to improve the



FIDEL CASTRO: Officials "can be replaced at once—at any hour of the day or night."

Revolution, not to destroy the Revolution; to make the Revolution stronger, not to liquidate the Revolution! That is the difference, the radical difference that exists between the revolutionary processes and among the discontented within the revolutionary process and the discontented outside the revolutionary processes." [All quotes in this article are taken from the August 30 issue of the English-language *Granma Weekly Review*, the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Cuba.]

Here Castro has taken an important step which separates the Cuban revolution from the attitudes of the bureaucratized Communist parties of the Soviet Union, China, and Eastern Europe on the question of proletarian democracy.

For perhaps the first time since the Stalinist degeneration in the Soviet Union the leadership of a ruling Com-

munist party has officially recognized that dissent—within the context of support for the revolution—is a legitimate right rather than a form of treason.

If this recognition of the right to opposition views is followed, as it logically should be, by the guarantee of the right to form tendencies which seek to win a majority to their view—again, within the overall framework of support for the revolution—the Cubans will have created a powerful tool for the further democratic development of their revolution.

Castro promised that attempts would not be made to solve economic problems by demanding further sacrifices in the living and working conditions of the people:

". . . we must do all this [solve the various problems of economic development] without working 17, 15, or 14 hours a day, because it is impossible to think that we would maintain such a state of affairs in a revolution. Only the most inhuman living conditions could explain or justify having a man work these hours, for such a long workday is prejudicial to man's life and health.

"The Revolution has to find other solutions. We can't use these solutions. It has to resort to technology and machines."

He went on to say that the use of technology requires "100 percent or 200 percent—if it were possible—work efficiency, efficiency in the use of available resources; they require a 100 percent or 200 percent efficiency in organization and the use of raw materials and any other kind of resources . . ."

As in his July 26 speech, Castro returns several times to the problem of making the utilization of resources—including human resources—more efficient. But the "bureaucratic methods" to which Castro referred in the passage quoted at the beginning of this article are dangerous to the revolution not only because they are economically inefficient. More dangerous is the possibility that such methods are a symptom of the development

of a bureaucratic caste based on the material privileges it is able to arrogate to itself by misusing its power over economic administration.

Castro this time went further than in his July 26 speech by mentioning the danger specifically:

"And the moral principle we should embrace—above all, the revolutionary vanguard, those in posts of responsibility, should be to make even more sacrifices than those that we ask of the people. (APPLAUSE)

"And nobody should be surprised if any *manifestation of privilege-taking should arouse the most profound indignation* among the masses. (APPLAUSE) This is but logical.

"These are matters that have to do with the tasks and duties of revolutionaries and of all those in posts of responsibility. These are essential, fundamental matters." (Emphasis added.)

Castro's speech contains several suggestions for concrete steps that would involve the masses in deciding policy. At one point he appears to be considering Lenin's view, expressed in *State and Revolution*, that the functions of administration should be "within the reach of every literate person." Castro says:

"We must create the institutions which give the masses decision-making power on many of these problems. We must find efficient and intelligent ways to lead them deliberately forward to this development so that it will not be simply a matter of the people having confidence in their political organizations and leaders and their willingness to carry out tasks, but that the revolutionary process be at the same time—as Lenin wished—a great school of Government in which millions of people learn to solve problems and carry out the responsibilities of government."

Castro remarks that prior to the revolution, administrators and technicians of the largest firms were perhaps responsible for the functioning of ten sugar mills; now the government must coordinate and provide for 153 mills—after having lost thousands of the best-trained personnel to the higher wages in the United States.

This is one of the primary reasons that the revolutionary government has placed, and continues to place, such great stress upon education.

Education, however, is a matter requiring years. More immediate is the necessity to establish structured forms

of control by the masses over the individuals engaged in administration.

Castro suggests that control over the administration of the economy should be exercised through mass workers organizations similar in form to such mass organizations as the Federation of Cuban Women, the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution and the farmers' organizations.

After discussing the past work of the FMC, he says that it ". . . reveals to us all the possibilities latent in this organization and the mass organizations. It shows us an excellent way, an excellent revolutionary, democratic way.

"On one occasion we said that the women's movement constituted a revolution within the Revolution. Today we may add that the mass organizations in general, as revolutionary vehicles of the masses, as formidable instruments of progress, also constitute a revolution within the forms of development of our revolutionary process. . . .

"The work that is being done with the school councils, the support to education and health, the support to production and the direct participation in the solution of those problems—all these things are pointing to a very interesting way—perhaps the best way, the very best way—to overcome the difficulties that still lie ahead."

Later he adds: "It is deplorable that we have not given these organizations our full attention and that we have not promoted the development of our workers' organizations to the utmost . . ."

It is not clear from the speech exactly how Castro sees the mass organizations exercising control, but he does list as one of their functions the right of recalling officials:

"And, if the authorities appointed by the masses don't do their job well . . . This is not the much touted 'representative democracy'; this is proletarian democracy! Because, if it is made up of representatives of the mass organizations, the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution in the area, the women and the workers, and they all get together and name a man for the job and he doesn't live up to expectations we say that he can be replaced at once—at any hour of the day or night."

If Castro is able to institutionalize this principle, it will mark a qualita-

tive step forward for the Cuban revolution.

The unanswered question is *how* will the workers "get together" to exercise the right to recall officials?

Since Castro suggests that members of several different mass organizations meet together to make such decisions, it would seem that no single one of these organizations could provide the framework.

There is also the danger that the mass organizations will act only as instruments for mobilizing the masses if channels are not clearly established through which the workers can exercise real power.

It is likely that the revolutionary leadership has not yet reached any final conclusions on this subject. Castro indicated the intention of the Cuban leaders to seek workers' participation in planning any new structures that are to be created:

"What form are we going to give this organization? This was one of the subjects we discussed. How are we going to achieve this? And, most important, we want the comrades at the grass-roots level to participate in the discussions. The workers at the grass-roots level should participate and give their opinions, and the comrades in leadership positions should also participate, so that we can give the most correct, most effective form to the workers' movement."

Japan Buying Cuban Sugar

A Prensa Latina dispatch quoted in the August 15 issue of *Direct From Cuba* reports an important breach in the embargo the U.S. has tried to impose on Cuban trade. Japan will import more than 1,000,000 tons of sugar from Cuba this year, "representing 50 percent of Japan's total sugar imports."

Cuba's Minister of Foreign Trade, Marcelo Fernandez Font, noted that with the funds obtained "we have been increasing our purchases in Japan, chiefly of capital goods very much needed for the economic development of our country." Fernandez predicted an increase in this type of trade between Japan and Cuba.

Education American Style

"They [the South Korean army] have 105 percent discipline. If someone does something wrong they just stand him up and beat the hell out of him. They do everything by the book. We taught them that."—U.S. Lieutenant Colonel Donald Hiebert, quoted in the September 13 *New York Times*.

Call for International Antiwar Actions

[The call reprinted below was issued September 4 in the United States by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), a broad alliance of student, labor, and other antiwar forces organized at a conference in Cleveland, Ohio, June 19-21. NPAC is sponsoring antiwar demonstrations across the country on October 31.

[A press release from NPAC notes that the Vietnam Mobilization Committee, the nationwide Canadian antiwar coalition, is already planning October 31 demonstrations in all major Canadian cities in solidarity with the American actions.]

* * *

For a decade the world has watched with horror as succeeding presidents of the United States directed vast missions of death against the people of

Indochina. The mass murders of the Indochinese and the systematic destruction of their homeland by the armed forces of the United States is an unspeakable crime against humanity. Untold numbers of Indochinese men, women, and children have perished in this criminal and unjust war of aggression. Never has a small nation withstood such an onslaught of destructive power year after year.

The American people are also victims of their government's Southeast Asia war policies. Over 50,000 of their sons have been killed and casualties exceed 300,000.

Nixon's invasion of Cambodia proves that his administration prefers to destroy all of Southeast Asia in the fires of war rather than recognize the Indochinese peoples' right to self-determination. The Cambodia invasion also exposes the hypocrisy of Nixon's

peace proposals. Despite Nixon's endless promises to terminate U.S. military presence in Indochina and despite highly touted troop withdrawals, 400,000 American soldiers remain in Southeast Asia and U.S. planes continue to carry their daily cargoes of death and destruction. The reckless and desperate character of Nixon's war policy carries with it the perils of new escalations and the possible use of nuclear weapons.

The massive outburst of public indignation in response to the invasion of Cambodia forced the U.S. to withdraw its troops, at least temporarily. The peoples of the world, if united in the defense of the right to self-determination, can complete this partial victory and end U.S. military intervention in Southeast Asia.

Men, women and youth in every land! Join with American antiwar demonstrators in protest against the war on Saturday, October 31, 1970! Make October 31 "International Peace Action Day"!

Take to the streets and demand: U.S. out of Indochina now! Self-determination for all peoples now!

Soviet Union

Yuli Daniel and Five Years of Dissent

By George Saunders

Yuli Daniel has reportedly been freed, five years to the day since he and his fellow Soviet writer Andrei Sinyavsky were arrested September 12, 1965. Thus one of the first major victims of Soviet "re-Stalinization" has completed the term to which he was condemned. And with him, the present stage of intensified political life passes the half-decade mark.

For the arrest and show trial (in February 1966) of Sinyavsky and Daniel marked the beginning of a whole series of political trials and other acts of stepped-up repression by the heirs of Stalin. At the same time the Sinyavsky-Daniel case became a *cause celebre* for dissident Communists not only in the USSR but throughout the world.

(There were protests, among others, from the Communist parties of Italy,

France, Britain, Austria, Sweden, and Denmark.)

The widespread resistance by Soviet citizens to this revival of Vyshinsky's methods set the tone for a continued deepening and expanding of opposition to the bureaucratic machine. Many of the key figures of the new Soviet opposition first tested their courage in this struggle or later ones directly from it.

Daniel and Sinyavsky were sentenced respectively to five and seven years' hard labor for "anti-Soviet slander." Their uncensored works had circulated in *samizdat* and were published outside the Soviet Union.

Their real "crime" was to have written works effectively satirizing and criticizing the bureaucratic regime and its policies both under Stalin and his accomplice-successors. In other words,

they failed to adhere to the official (Khrushchevian) version of what had gone wrong. They made their own, independent criticism.*

The attack on these two writers was part of a struggle, still going on, between forces favoring and opposing the rehabilitation of Stalin. It was also the opening gun in a drive against

* Although not revolutionary Marxists, both Daniel and Sinyavsky wrote from a point of view supporting the October revolution, expressing no capitalist sympathies (indeed, the opposite), and viewing Stalinism as opposing and betraying what Lenin and the Bolsheviks fought for. Cynical and pessimistic notes also sounded in their writings, flowing from their doubts and isolation as intellectuals in a time of working-class quiescence. But such elements of mysticism, idealism, or religiosity are not and could never be valid grounds for arrest and imprisonment.

samizdat, to suppress that growing voice of independent expression and — potentially — organization.

The bureaucracy has failed miserably in this attempt. As with a fire in dry forest, the efforts to stamp out *samizdat* have only sparked new outbursts.

The Sinyavsky-Daniel trial announced to the world that the liberal façade of Khrushchev's time was being replaced by a return to Stalin's ruder methods. However, the new stage in Kremlin repressive policies could only be a *partial* step back toward totalitarianism. The Soviet population would not accept a full return to the "old days"; that would provoke, if not outright revolt, certainly a severe dislocation, including of the economy. Even the partial "re-Stalinization" may be a factor in the present economic slowdown.

Confronted with this problem, the ruling clique is hesitant, even contradictory in its repressive policies. In some cases the Kremlin strategists have tried to present political trials merely as matters of technical offenses (disturbing the peace; violating passport rules; failure to be employed). And more and more, the option of confining oppositionists in psychiatric hospitals — thus avoiding semipublic trials completely — has proven attractive to the police minds under Brezhnev.

The regime's indecisiveness, its unsteady control of the balance of forces, is reflected in the release of Daniel itself. Under Stalin such a figure would never have been released. An additional sentence would have been contrived for him immediately — another few years "on the horns," to use the prisoner jargon made famous in Solzhenitsyn's novels.

The regime has not chosen to hold Daniel beyond his term, although in the case of another dissident — Anatoly Marchenko — an additional sentence was recently imposed after a "public" trial on prison grounds. (This according to the *Chronicle of Current Events*.) Daniel has also participated in protest activity during his prison term (of which more below) but in Marchenko's case the regime used such activity as a pretext for further incarceration.

Whether Daniel will be allowed to remain out of prison for long will be an indication of the trend of bureau-

cratic policy toward dissidents and, more important, a test of how strong public pressure is in defense of the dissidents, both from within the Soviet Union and in the international Communist and revolutionary movement.

Recently, the Soviet opposition movement, or at least a section of it within the higher levels of Soviet intellectual and scientific circles, was able to win the release, at least temporarily, of the geneticist Jaurès Medvedev. Medvedev had been forcibly taken by the KGB for psychiatric examination and threatened with confinement in a "special" psychiatric prison-hospital. The proposal for a similar campaign to free General Pyotr Grigorenko from such incarceration has been made in a letter by the logician-poet Aleksandr Yesenin-Volpin to Solzhenitsyn.

If such efforts can be organized and can win even partial victories like the one in Medvedev's case, the continued freedom of Yuli Daniel is likely. Otherwise his fate is likely to follow the pattern applied to other oppositionists. After a year or two at large, if dissident activity continues, a new trial or "hospital" confinement is arranged.

Even if the oppositionist remains out of confinement, however, there are constant "nonjudicial" harassments to expect. For example, Daniel has not been permitted to return to Moscow, where he had lived before his arrest, with his wife Larisa Bogoraz and his nineteen-year-old son Aleksandr. He was allowed to choose, reportedly, between three other cities. He chose Kaluga, 120 miles northwest of Moscow. (The other choices were not reported, although presumably they were even farther from his former home, or even more isolated and provincial.)

Solidarity within the opposition movement is becoming a growing factor counteracting the effect of police harassment, however. It was surely knowledge of support from others that shored up Daniel and Sinyavsky during their trial, helping them resist pressure to "confess" to their accusers, a la Vyshinsky.

A reception for Daniel upon his arrival in Kaluga was reportedly being prepared by his friends and well-wishers.

He was being driven there by his son, who met him upon his release from the prison in the city of Vladimir.

Aleksandr Daniel played an impor-

tant part in the defense effort on behalf of his father. In a recent open letter to British author Graham Greene and others, he called attention to his father's transfer to the stricter confines of the Vladimir prison just as his term was nearing its end. This appeal may have helped guarantee Yuli Daniel's timely release by focusing attention on the case.

While in prison, Daniel endured barbarous treatment, almost completely losing his hearing because of ear trouble which the authorities ignored. Nevertheless, he continued to engage in protest activity. He participated in two hunger strikes — one in 1968, the other in 1969 — while in the Potma labor camp, in barren Mordvinia, in the Volga region south of Gorky.

In his eloquent "Letter to a Friend" of May 1969, circulated widely in *samizdat*, Daniel defended and explained this protest. In these strikes he collaborated with, among others, Aleksandr Ginzburg and Valery Ronkin.

Ginzburg was the daring young oppositionist who compiled and circulated the *samizdat* volume *White Book on the Sinyavsky-Daniel Case*, an activity for which he was tried and convicted with several others in January 1968.

Ronkin was one of the leaders of the neo-Bolshevik youth group, basing itself on Lenin's *State and Revolution*, that published the *samizdat* magazine *Kolokol*. This group was broken up by the secret police in late 1965.

Daniel, together with Ginzburg, Ronkin, Yuri Galanskov, and two other political prisoners, sent a statement to the session of the Supreme Soviet in June 1969, demanding correction of the harsh conditions in Soviet prisons. They cited many details such as the fact that prisoners were forced to work twelve to fourteen hours a day on a diet of only 2,413 calories.

Presumably because of this activity, Daniel and Ronkin — and just recently Ginzburg too — were transferred from the Potma labor camp to Vladimir prison, which according to Soviet oppositionists is notorious for its even stricter regimen.

The regime has freed Daniel in spite of his firm resistance to its attempts to break him. He is not likely to give up that resistance now. Not only are his comrades Ginzburg and Ronkin

and unnamed others still in Potma and Vladimir. In the Irkutsk region of eastern Siberia, in the remote town of Chuna, Larisa Bogoraz is serving out the term of her exile. (Her "crime" consists not only of having defended her husband, as well as Ginzburg, Galanskov, and their fellow defendants in 1966-67-68, but also of having demonstrated in Red Square at the time of the invasion of Czechoslovakia along with Pavel Litvinov and a handful of others.)

Larisa Bogoraz's heroism has become a watchword among Soviet oppositionists. Prevented by the KGB from getting work in her profession as a linguist and threatened by the law against "parasitism" (not being gainfully employed), she was forced

to take work in a lumber mill in Chuna. Her work required heavy labor, dragging boards weighing a hundred pounds or more. Determinedly, she did the work, refusing offers of help by the men workers. Because of the harm this did to her health, doctors finally prevailed on the police to let her obtain a clerical job.

Yuli Daniel will hardly abstain from the struggle to free his fellow political prisoners and to force the authorities to observe the rights guaranteed in the Soviet constitution. But only a dramatic growth of the opposition movement or of support for the oppositionists from the international left will stay the bureaucratic hand already raised to sweep Daniel back to his cell at the first opportunity.

pital was opened in 1965 "in the building which was formerly a German forced labor prison . . . The most fearful arbitrariness prevails in the Chernyakhovsk hospital, where the patients who are ill, and equally the political prisoners, are daily in danger of beatings and sadistic humiliations on the part of the supervisory personnel and the male nurses, whose rights are limited by nothing."

Another passage from Yesenin-Volpin's letter, according to the *Times*, reads as follows:

"Imagine all these things together, the absence of legal guarantees, the pressure to accept crude notions about social adaptation, the indefinite length of the imprisonment, the pathological cases surrounding you, the fear of unknown medicines, the crudeness of the general atmosphere, the isolation.

"Only after imagining all this can one begin to understand what compulsory treatment is, and then to make various comparisons, perhaps even with gas chambers."

Yesenin-Volpin also notes that Grigorenko has even been denied writing instruments. "To put any person for a long time into conditions where it is forbidden even to write is more likely to drive him mad than to cure him of any mental illness."

The success of the protest campaign in winning Medvedev's release thus appears to have encouraged other Soviet intellectuals to strive to win greater freedom of thought. Another passage from the open letter indicates that the process is just beginning:

"I feel that our society has not yet matured enough to make worthwhile a campaign for the rights of those judged insane. However, particular cases are already reaching its consciousness and Grigorenko's case seems to me suitable as the starting point for a broader struggle for these rights."

He proposed at the least a campaign to win for Grigorenko permission to correspond with the outside world under the slogan, "A pen for Pyotr Grigorevich Grigorenko!"

Commuter Programming

"As the train starts in the morning, the first thing they [the train crew] do is to organize the passengers to study Chairman Mao's works so that the passengers attend a class on Mao Tsetung Thought every time they take the train." — Hsinhua, August 28, 1970.

Soviet Union

'A Pen for Pyotr Grigorevich Grigorenko!'

Soviet logician and poet Aleksandr Yesenin-Volpin has sent an open letter to Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn commending the famous novelist for his forthright denunciation of the Soviet government's practice of imprisoning political dissenters in mental institutions.

The 5,000-word letter dated July 20 calls for a special campaign on behalf of former Major General Pyotr Grigorenko, a leading critic of the Brezhnev regime, who has been confined in a mental hospital since last year because of his efforts to provide legal aid for a group of imprisoned Crimean Tatars. [See *Intercontinental Press*, November 10, 1969, page 1008.]

In his letter Yesenin-Volpin also endorses Solzhenitsyn's public criticism of the confinement of biologist Jaurès Medvedev in a mental hospital. Medvedev was released after widespread protest from a number of leading scientists and writers. [See *Intercontinental Press*, June 29, 1970, page 648.]

In excerpts from Yesenin-Volpin's letter published in the August 26 London *Times*, the Soviet poet said that in some cases people have been tried in their own absence, "and in some of our republics even secretly. The victim can then be held in a lunatic asylum. . . . All the means of psycho-



PYOTR GRIGORENKO

logical pressure and modern medicine can be applied in the attempt to achieve a complete transformation of the personality."

He revealed that Grigorenko was transferred in early summer from Tashkent, where he was arrested, to the prison mental hospital in Chernyakhovsk near the Polish border.

According to the Soviet underground *Chronicle of Current Events*, this hos-

Will Nixon Impose Wage-Price Controls?

By Dick Roberts

Wage-price controls in the United States? This once unthinkable proposition is being repeated with increasing frequency in financial circles both in the U.S. and abroad. On September 7 it was suggested by one of the most authoritative sources on questions of international finance—the International Monetary Fund [IMF], housed in Washington, D. C., which is responsible for overseeing the relative values of world currencies.

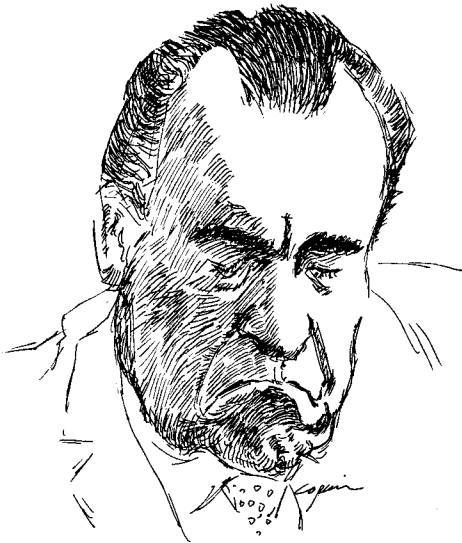
"Crucial to any assessment of the world economic outlook," the IMF stated in its annual report, "is the situation in the United States. . . . The importance of arresting the United States inflationary spiral and restoring price and cost stability can hardly be exaggerated. At stake are the checking of the inflationary trend on a worldwide basis, the long-run stability and efficiency of the United States economy, the much-needed strengthening of the balance-of-payments position . . . and the sound functioning of the international monetary system."

The IMF was more cautious in the language it chose to prescribe remedies. Without mentioning the U. S. specifically, according to the *New York Times* (September 8), "The report gave very general support to an 'incomes policy'—described as 'ranging from moral suasion to direct controls' on private wage and price decisions—as supplementary to monetary and fiscal restraint for curbing inflation."

The implications were evident: "The International Monetary Fund sharply faulted the U. S. for permitting both too much inflation and too much unemployment, hinting that a stronger wage-price policy could help," the *Wall Street Journal* stated September 8.

Suggestions of wage-price controls—an "incomes policy" as it has got to be known following former Prime Minister Harold Wilson's austerity program in Britain—have come from noteworthy sources in the U. S. as well.

Controls have been repeatedly de-



NIXON: What inflation?

manded by the *New York Times*, which seized on the IMF report to push this stand editorially September 10:

"The Nixon Administration is still hoping that its basic 'game plan' will both check inflation and cure unemployment. The IMF report should help convince the President that, if its recent burst of optimism about inflation proves mistaken, he may have to call for quicker and more effective action to stop the nation's wage-price spiral."

Fortune magazine, the financial publication of the *Time-Life* enterprise, stated in a special August issue on world business:

"Much of the [international] inflation is being caused by a strong wage push, perhaps unprecedented in scope at a time when the world is neither engaged in a general war nor recovering from one. In 1969 the typical wage settlement in the advanced countries resulted in increases of 8 percent. In 1970 contracts are lifting wages at a 10 to 15 percent clip in many countries.

"International companies are discovering that a skilled as well as a docile labor force is increasingly hard to

find. . . . The strength of the new push in wages, declares this year's annual report of the Bank for International Settlements, suggests that the current inflation can hardly be dealt with by monetary and fiscal actions alone. The bank and other voices of orthodoxy have therefore been putting forward the heterodox recommendation that governments add income policies—or wage-price guidelines—to their anti-inflationary arsenals."

But the Nixon administration has consistently reiterated that it will not adopt any form of incomes policy and it insists that it can combat the U. S. inflation solely by fiscal and monetary means (i.e., through tax policies and control of the money supply). At the so-called "Summer White House" in San Clemente, California, the administration stated recently that it is making progress in this direction.

Arthur F. Burns, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, declared: "The evidence seems to be very clear it has been possible to cool off a highly overheated economy without throwing it into a recession or depression. We would not want to suggest that the struggle against inflation is over but think now we are beginning to achieve some results." (*New York Times*, August 25.)

A few days later, one economic statistic was given front-page treatment. The index of wholesale prices dropped for the first time in two years and wholesale farm prices took their sharpest decline since 1948. In San Clemente, George P. Shultz, director of the Office of Management and Budget, stated that the decline in the wholesale price index was "one more point—a fairly dramatic one" in a series of signs that inflation is slowing.

Well, which is it? Are the international authorities and their supporters in the editorial room of the *New York Times* too far removed from the day-to-day humdrum of events to see what is actually happening? Or are Nixon and his advisers juggling the statistics

to produce the results they would like to see?

The evidence that the rate of inflation has significantly slowed is not convincing. And there are reasons to believe that the view from San Clemente is somewhat biased.

For example, close examination shows that the decline of wholesale prices was not caused by Nixon's anti-inflationary policies. It was due to the overproduction of farm goods:

"The sharp decline [in farm prices] was largely caused . . . by the oldest factor in farm economics—a steep rise in the supply of some farm products," the *New York Times* reported September 8.

Nixon has avoided discussing other factors which belie his rosy economic prognosis. *New York Times* financial editor Thomas E. Mullaney gave a few examples in the September 6 edition:

"Among the somewhat less cheerful developments were: the threat of an automobile strike against General Motors and Chrysler at mid-month following union rejection of the industry's initial 6-per-cent-a-year wage offer; the moderate reduction in the capital spending plans of American business; the 7 per cent decline in auto sales during the final 10 days of August and the recent rather lackluster trend in general retail sales and construction activity."

National unemployment reached 5.1 percent in August, leaving over 4,000,000 persons jobless. By July, teen-age unemployment hit 15.7 percent, and unemployment for Black teen-agers, 30.2 percent. "So bleak were the prospects," the *New York Times* said August 17, "that 336,000 more youths than last year were not bothering to look for work."

The administration's present thinking in regard to wage controls was indicated when Nixon established the "Inflation Alert" commission in June. That panel issued its first "alert" August 7.

It "refused to place blame on industry or labor," the *New York Times* reported. But the panel pointed out that wage increases in settlements "have not slowed down." The idea is to keep talk about the so-called wage-price spiral alive in the public mind—for future use.

The real reason Nixon opposes wage controls at this time is not be-

cause inflation is being stemmed without them. It is because the administration is afraid to provoke the organized labor movement at a time when unemployment is rising as fast as prices and the unions have shown increased militancy.

Furthermore, it is Nixon's war in Southeast Asia that is the chief immediate cause of the inflation. Rising domestic opposition to the American aggression in Indochina makes it very risky for Nixon to demand cuts in the workers' standard of living that will be seen by everyone as an impost to pay for the war.

Yet the financial experts who advocate an incomes policy would have Nixon try to persuade or compel the American workers to accept wage restraints in order to combat the inflation caused by the war. Such a solution is unpalatable for the bourgeoisie, as even many of its proponents must realize.

This dilemma for the ruling class is illustrated by the *New York Times*. On one hand, William V. Shannon, a *Times* editor, wrote July 27:

'Wall Street Journal' Says No to Controls

The Wall Street Journal, New York's leading daily financial newspaper, opposes wage and price controls in the United States at this time. The influential newspaper seized the opening of the United Auto Workers strike against General Motors [GM] to explain why.

The fundamental problem facing big business in the U. S. and the central cause of the 350,000-man strike is inflation, the *Wall Street Journal* noted September 16. The strike took place because "the union expects more inflation and is trying to race well ahead of it. In the process GM workers already are incurring wage losses that even an inflated settlement won't immediately offset."

"Somewhere, sometime, someone has to call a halt," the *Wall Street Journal* hopefully indicated. But wage and price controls are not the answer because the workers wouldn't accept them; further, they would threaten the jobs of the union bureaucrats: "A number of observers argue that the Administration should simply tell the

"If [Nixon] is interested in reducing inflation, he will do so by stopping the war in Vietnam and materially cutting back on military programs.

"Wars and stable prices do not go together. Not even the most adept economic juggling or facile rhetoric can conceal that fundamental incompatibility."

But when the editorial board of the *Times* recommended the IMF report against Nixon's economic "game plan" they apparently forgot their own advice of a few months earlier. The reality is that the *New York Times* does not favor *withdrawal* from Vietnam, and this leaves their position ambiguous—at best. Can the inflation be stemmed while the war is continuing? Is Nixon supposed to follow the IMF's advice without withdrawing from Southeast Asia?

These defenders of imperialism have not addressed themselves to this key question, and leaving it unanswered, they have offered no more of a solution to the problem of the U. S. inflation than has Nixon.

unions and companies to be good and set 'proper' wages and prices.

"But the current mood strongly indicates that leaders in the UAW, as in most other unions, could comply now only at the definite risk of their own jobs." (Emphasis added.)

Hard Times on Wall Street

Leon T. Kendall, president of the Association of Stock Exchange Firms, predicts that fifty New York brokerage firms will be forced out of existence in the next six months.

Kendall was quoted in the September 10 *New York Times* as saying:

"In the last eighteen months, mergers, dissolutions and liquidations have taken 80 member firms from the N. Y. S. E. [New York Stock Exchange] rolls. We are likely to lose 50 more firms before another six months passes.

"Net, our industry has lost more firms in the last eighteen months than we lost during the entire Depression from 1929 to the low for our industry in 1940. There is evidence that we are losing firms at a faster pace than we did between 1929 and 1933 and it's my guess that we are probably losing money on operations at a faster pace now than in the nineteen-thirties."



IN LECUMBERRI PRISON. These photographs were taken January 1, 1970, twenty-three days into a hunger strike called by the Mexican political prisoners to demand that they be brought to trial or released. The same day, visitors to Lecumberri were fired on by guards and the political prisoners were

attacked by common prisoners, armed and incited by prison authorities. At left above is Jose Revueltas, the famous novelist, standing in the corridor outside his cell. At right is a group of unidentified prisoners beneath a banner reading "Hunger Strike for Freedom." The strike lasted forty days.

Mexico

Protests to Commemorate Tlatelolco Massacre

A group of friends of the political prisoners in Mexico have issued an appeal for international solidarity actions on October 2 aimed at winning the release of these victims of repression. The appeal dated August 30 declared:

"October 2, 1970, marks the second anniversary of the massacre at Tlatelolco, Mexico. During the 1968 Mexican student movement (immediately preceding the Olympic games), police and soldiers descended upon a peaceful mass meeting in the Plaza of Three Cultures, shot and bayoneted to death an estimated 500 students, teachers, workers and bystanders. Bodies were carried off unidentified, many of the wounded were killed rather than taken to a hospital, and doctors in hospitals

helplessly watched many bayoneted victims bled to death while the authorities refused to admit blood donations from friends.

"During the entire 1968 student movement the police consistently terrorized real and suspected leaders of the movement. They were harassed, arrested, tortured, and even murdered.

"Over 150 political prisoners are still being held in Mexico City jails. Most of them have neither been tried nor sentenced. They have been imprisoned for over two years."

The appeal called for a boycott "of Mexico and Mexican products." An international effort is being made to organize demonstrations on October 2 "before Mexican embassies and consulates throughout the world."

Accompanying the appeal were a number of photographs of some of the political prisoners being held at Mexico City's Lecumberri jail, two of which are reproduced on this page.

The friends of the prisoners said they believed the demonstrations could have an important effect in bringing pressure to bear on the lame duck Diaz Ordaz regime:

"The Mexican government is rather sensitive to world opinion. Political repression is not reported in Mexican newspapers, as almost all the dailies toe the government line. Even in the United States, coverage of the political prisoners in Mexico has been scant. October 2 is an attempt to embarrass the Mexican government and demand the release of its political critics."

Details of Sato's Sellout Stir Japan

Sato's government has been saying that reversion is "unconditional," which would mean that, as in the main islands, the U.S. bases on Okinawa could not be used without "prior consultation" with Japan.

"Consultation," however, is likely to remain a mere formality: "For one thing the Japanese feel there has never been 'prior consultation' in any emergency such as the January 1968 Pueblo case."

Moreover, the whole controversy about the conditions of reversion may be purely academic since as Nakamura points out ". . . the Nixon-Sato communique after reversion talks last November stated that Okinawa would be returned in 1972 provided that the Vietnam War had ended by then. The communique also said consultation would be renewed if the war was still going on."

The United States has no intention of giving up its bases in Okinawa, although it is trying to pressure Japan into assuming some of the costs of defending imperialist interests in Asia. Washington is encouraging Tokyo to build up its military forces, implicitly making this a condition for the return of Okinawa.

The Senate subcommittee evidently dealt with this in its hearings, to the further embarrassment of the Sato regime. According to Nakamura, "The report also has strengthened Japanese suspicion that the US will never waive its rights over Okinawa until Japan is fully capable of replacing the strength the US maintains today on Okinawa, including the possession of nuclear weapons." (Emphasis added.)

Nakamura goes on to say: "It is even suggested the US would secretly bring nuclear weapons on to Japanese soil if Tokyo did not accede to such a request."

A more likely variant not mentioned in the article is the possibility that Sato would agree to the stationing of nuclear weapons in Japan, and the U.S. in return would agree to support the fiction that it had been done without Sato's knowledge.



EISAKU SATO

In an article evaluating last November's meeting between Nixon and Japan's Prime Minister Eisaku Sato, we described the joint communiqué issued by the two heads of state as an agreement that "would further commit . . . [Japan] to American imperialist aims in the Far East in exchange for minimal concessions on the administra-

India

Aid for the Rich

Between 1951 and 1969 the World Bank, the International Development Association, the United States, West Germany, Britain, the Soviet Union, and other countries provided India with economic aid at an annual rate ranging from \$90,000,000 to \$1,824,000,000. This aid, economist B. R. Shenoy wrote in the September 5 issue of the Hong Kong weekly *Far East-*

tion of Okinawa." [See *Intercontinental Press*, December 1, 1969, page 1062.]

We stressed that the communiqué, far from limiting U.S. bombing of Indochina from Okinawan bases, rather opened the possibility of such strikes being launched from the Japanese main islands. Moreover, the issue of nuclear weapons on Okinawa was to be decided "without prejudice to the position of the United States Government."

None of these facts, however, prevented Sato from presenting the negotiations to the Japanese public as a great success in which he had won the "reversion" of Okinawa by 1972. Sato rode this "success" to victory in the December elections.

Now the truth is becoming public in Japan. Koji Nakamura in an article entitled "Somebody's Lying" in the September 12 issue of the Hong Kong weekly *Far Eastern Economic Review*, reported:

"Heavily censored extracts from a US Senate sub-committee hearing on the future of the Ryukyu Islands point up major differences in what the Japanese believe to be the terms for reversion . . . and what the Americans assume them to be.

"Highlights of the report are that reversion in 1972 is a target, not a firm commitment; restoration of Japanese 'sovereignty' over the Ryukyus is to have a material bearing on Japan's defence responsibilities towards South Korea, and, by inference, Taiwan; and that reversion will not 'prejudice in any way' the post-reversion military freedom the US now enjoys on Okinawa . . .

"These findings are contrary to what the Japanese government has been telling its public. . . ."

ern Economic Review, has failed in both its political and economic objectives.

For the United States government, which has provided 56 percent of the aid to India, the political objective has been, in the words of then President Dwight Eisenhower in 1958, "to defeat the spread of communism." This was to be accomplished by economic

development which would reduce the gap between the developed and underdeveloped nations and at the same time raise the standard of living of the masses.

Shenoy calls the aid program a "triple failure."

"Taking first the achievement on the poverty front, the economic condition of the Indian masses is so low that any improvement in it must show up in the consumption of the basic needs of living. In 1957-58, when aid gathered momentum, the per capita daily consumption of foodgrains was 15.74 ounces—below jail rations, army rations and the nutritional norm. . . . In 1968-69, notwithstanding the so-called green revolution, foodgrain consumption at 15.44 ounces was below the level of 1957-58."

Per capita consumption of cotton cloth has also declined, from 14.5 meters in 1957-58 to 14.1 meters in 1968-69.

The situation has been even worse in rural areas, which accounted for 82 percent of India's population at the time of the last census in 1961.

"The policy of accelerated industrialization . . . on the one hand, left largely unchanged the percentage of the rural to the total population and, on the other, the rural population's share of the national income shrank continually, touching 42% of the national income in 1966. [It was 50% in 1961.] As a result, the contrast between rural and urban incomes grew, instead of being corrected. In 1966, per capita rural income was 16.7% of the urban income. . . .

"Social injustice in the industrial sector is no less pronounced. From 1959 to 1964—later figures are not yet available—in the wake of a rapid increase in capital equipment per worker, gross receipts of employers from manufacturing activity nearly doubled. Real wages, however, rose by but 13%." At the same time, unemployment has been increasing—at a rate faster than the rate of population growth.

However, a small minority is doing quite well for itself "thanks to inflation and the tremendous profits from the monopolies." The existence of this minority is witnessed by the statistics on consumption of automobiles, radios, air conditioners, and refrigerators, not to mention "the overcrowding of holiday resorts and of expensive hotels,

and the enormous increase in luxury flats and residences."

It would take no great political insight to make predictions on the basis of these economic facts. Shenoy notes briefly:

Vote to Support Palestinian Struggle

Iranian Students Meet in New York

By Javad Sadeeg

Some 250 persons attended the eighteenth annual convention of the Iranian Students Association in the U.S. [ISA], held in New York City September 2-7. Participants included three representatives from the Confederation of Iranian Students, the worldwide Iranian student organization.

The generally youthful and enthusiastic atmosphere attested to the fact that the ISA is making headway in recruiting new arrivals from Iran to its antishah and anti-imperialist positions.

It was generally agreed that the successful Tehran bus boycott of last February, which forced the shah to make important concessions, opened a new period in Iranian politics, favorable to further mass actions [see *Intercontinental Press*, March 30, 1970, page 281].

However, in appraising the extent and the depth of the radicalization of the various sectors of society, especially the peasantry, there was no general agreement, and a frank discussion took place.

The highlight of the convention was the appearance of Abu Samir, a representative of one of the Palestinian commando organizations participating in the armed struggle. He analyzed the present situation and proclaimed the Palestinians' determination to fight until victory. He was given a standing ovation with shouts of "Victory to Palestine," and "Down with imperialism and Zionism."

The convention decided to give first priority in its international work to cooperation with Arab students in support of the Palestinian revolution.

The convention voted to support the struggles of the Iranian people against the shah's dictatorship, although few

"The negative achievement on the poverty front has impinged negatively on the other aid objective of containing communism. India is nearer communism today than when aid gathered momentum. . . ."

concrete proposals for action were discussed.

A number of participants advocated the building of a vigorous defense of the political prisoners in Iran as a means of exposing the real nature of the shah's rule. The proponents of such a campaign, however, remained in a minority.

The convention demonstrated that the shah's regime has not been able to win over the Iranian youth. And the ISA is growing stronger despite the repressive measures taken by the regime to weaken and isolate it.

Soviet Economy Car a Steal

In September the first cars were produced in the \$445,000,000 factory built in the Soviet Union by the Italian Fiat company. The September 13 *New York Times* reported that the Soviet government plans to produce 20,000 of the automobiles—officially described as an "economy car"—this year.

The new automobile, named Zhiguli, is to sell for 5,500 rubles—about \$6,100. This raises some questions about the market for the Zhiguli.

The average factory worker in the Soviet Union earns approximately \$150 per month. Such a worker, eager to own one of the new "economy" cars, might conceivably do without food, clothing, housing, etc., in order to save his entire wages. In that case, he would be able to purchase his Zhiguli in only three years and four months.

A less abstemious worker who saved only \$25 per month—one-sixth of his income—would be able to buy his brand new 1970 Zhiguli in the year 1990.

The conclusion seems inescapable that Soviet planners have discovered a section of society whose yearly income surpasses what the average factory worker can save in twenty years. The members of this caste should be easily identifiable as they drive their Zhigulis through the streets of Moscow.

Intellectuals and the Third World

By Ernest Mandel

[The following article is reprinted from the English-language edition of the May-June, 1970, issue of *Tricontinental*, the theoretical organ of the Executive Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America (OSPAAAL), published in Havana. The editorial note which precedes the article is by the editors of *Tricontinental*.]

* * *

Ernest Mandel, respected Belgian economist, is the author of this interesting article concerning the historic responsibility of the intelligentsia.

Taking as a base the universe that pertains to each intellectual—whether he belongs to the highly developed nations or to the Third World countries—the author analyzes the role that intellectuals must play in the revolutionary task of transforming the world.

Mandel is editor-in-chief of the weekly *La Gauche*, and political secretary of the Belgian Workers' Confederation. Among his books are *Formation de la pensée économique de Karl Marx (Formation of the Economic Thought of Karl Marx)* and *Traité d'économie marxiste (A Study of Marxist Economy)*.

* * *

The division of the world into "rich" and "poor" countries, the growing distance between the two, the function of the world market as the mechanism through which wealth is continuously transferred from the poor to the rich countries, is without any doubt the most astounding scandal of our epoch—since it summarizes the shameful exploitation to which more than two-thirds of humanity is subjected by a tiny minority of owners of great international capital.

Certainly, for Marxists, this scandal is nothing more or less than the inevitable result of the imperialist phase of capitalist economic and social development, in itself the inevitable product of the very existence of capitalism. They understand that it would be useless to hope to fight the misery of the Third World without undertaking the battle against imperialism, and still more useless to hope to overcome imperialism without controlling the source of its power: the private property of the means of production, the existence of a bourgeois class that monopolizes this property, and the existence of another social class—the proletariat—which is obliged to sell its work force.

But in the world in which we live, most intellectuals have come to know the intolerable misery of the Third World before understanding the true origins of the evil or else without understanding them fully. It is a question of a consciousness raised by the magnitude of the scandal—all the more startling when contrasted with more

than twenty years of tremendous economic growth in the imperialist countries and an even more rapid growth in the countries that have abolished capitalism. This consciousness has been powerfully fortified by the extent of the revolt of the peoples of the Third World against the misery that victimizes them. Even when we speak of a partial or insufficient consciousness, of a semiconsciousness, to state it correctly, we speak of an undeniable fact that has profoundly influenced political, social, and cultural life in the majority of countries over the past ten years.

In France it was undoubtedly the war in Algeria that played the revealing role; in the United States—and on an international scale—the war in Viet-Nam has had the same effect. It is through this war that the basic injustice of international imperialist relations has become apparent to hundreds of thousands of non-Marxist intellectuals: the exploiters attack their victims to punish them for the crime called "attempting emancipation."

The first reaction of intellectuals in the face of their consciousness of imperialism, and of the widespread revolt against it, has been different depending on whether the intellectual is from the imperialist countries or the Third World.

Among the former, the chief reaction is one of bad conscience: a refusal to admit colonialist repression and wars; the search for ways to stem the hemorrhage of wealth that world commerce represents today for the colonial and semicolonial countries; calls for increased aid on the part of the "rich" countries to the "poor" countries; even to the point of personal compromise (as technical assistants and in other forms) to alleviate somewhat the misery of the peoples of the Third World.

Among the second group, the reaction of individual commitment and group responsibility has prevailed more quickly. From the moment that underdevelopment is no longer conceived of as "fated" (geographically, anthropologically, historically, or sociologically), but rather as an evil to eliminate, participation in the fight for its elimination quickly takes hold. There is an obvious parallel between the widespread commitment of intellectuals in liberal movements (that is, in the national bourgeois revolution) from the beginning of the 19th century, in the majority of European countries, and the widespread commitment of intellectuals to the national liberation movements of the Third World, following World War II.

Nevertheless, there is a fundamental difference between the historic and social situation of the intellectuals of Western and Central Europe at the beginning of the 19th century, and that of today's intellectuals confronted with the liberation movements of the Third World. The intellectuals are part of a social class whose nature can be precisely defined, even though its contours remain necessarily vague: the petty bourgeoisie, the "new" middle class (which, in general, has no means of produc-

tion of its own). This social class was the revolutionary force *par excellence* during the classic period of bourgeois revolutions, on the eve of or just after the industrial revolution, when the modern proletariat was just about to be born or was still very weak. Today it can no longer play the same role, since the industrial proletariat on the one hand and the poor peasants and landless semiproletariats on the other, are the principal revolutionary forces in modern world society.

In relation to these revolutionary forces—which, historically, are the forces that will bury the misery of the Third World—the intellectuals, as a social group, necessarily occupy an ambiguous position. Attracted by the ideals of justice and rationality embodied in the cause of the socialist revolution, the inevitable sacrifices, the continuous efforts, and the "leveling egalitarianism" implied in that same revolution make them pull back. The spirit flies to the aid of the oppressed while the flesh, which is weaker, settles for the not-unimportant material advantages that contemporary capitalist society provides for them.

This ambiguity in the social position of intellectuals is reflected in the eternal shifts in their political positions, now allied with the revolution, sometimes turning their back on it, at other times associating themselves with the imperialist and capitalist bosses. It is further reflected in their own ideology toward the key problems of the Third World.

In the imperialist countries this ideology of the intellectuals can run the gamut of variables from the propagation of international philanthropy on a large or small scale, to the elaboration of apologetic or cynical sophisms—which "show" that, for an entire epoch in history, the misery of the Third World is condemned to continue. All these ideological positions have in common the refusal to admit the fundamental responsibility of imperialism and capitalism for this misery, and also the refusal to accept the fact that only a revolution that sweeps out all the imperialist and capitalist structures can initiate the process of self-emancipation for the peoples of the Third World.

Among the many variants on this petty-bourgeois ideology we can point out: the mania for wanting to give good advice to the oligarchic governments in the countries of the Third World (as if these governments did not represent social interests deeply tied to the maintenance of the status quo—that is to say, of misery); the primary preoccupation with psychological, moral, cultural, and even religious problems in the process of development (they state things as if the Hindu religion were the principal obstacle to the modernization of India; they do not understand that it is rather the impotence of the Indian bourgeoisie to undertake the modernization of the country that explains the survival of this religious power), etc., etc.

In the countries of the Third World, the principal variations on this typical intellectual ideology are, on the one hand, reformist illusions, the obsession for seeing the source of the evil in the "feudal agricultural system" or considering that an agricultural reform carried out by the bourgeoisie would radically change the situation (as if a radical agricultural reform would not clash with the interests of imperialism and the urban bourgeoisie, as

much as with the landowners who operate under the old system!), and on the other hand, an elitist tendency, which supposes that the initiative of a small group of bold intellectuals (at worst, the organizers of a coup d'etat) could put a halt to all the old confusion. The two variations usually have in common a desire to separate arbitrarily and radically "the national liberation phase" and "the phase of socialist revolution," without understanding that one inevitably flows into the other if it is to be successful, because only the social classes interested in making a socialist revolution have the capacity to resist imperialism in the long run and to carry through to the end their national liberation, eliminating the domination of international capital and the world imperialist market on the national economy.

The intellectuals cannot reach any true clarity concerning the misery of the Third World, without real commitment. The unity of theory and revolutionary practice is a total unity: without revolutionary practice it is impossible to acquire a sufficient theoretical comprehension; and without revolutionary theory, practice is condemned to groping and to being nearsighted and ineffective. For the intellectual in the imperialist countries as well as in the countries of the Third World—total commitment means participation in the revolutionary struggle. Without this participation, there is no way of freeing oneself of co-responsibility for the misery of 2,000 million human beings.

The forms of this participation can vary according to the circumstances—that is to say, according to the intensity of the revolutionary process at different stages and in different countries. Often we have ridiculed the "valise carriers"* (almost all of them intellectuals) who viewed an immediate act of material support for the Algerian revolution as the principal task of French revolutionaries in the period 1956-62. It is certain that the patient task of constructing a revolutionary organization capable of intervening effectively when a revolutionary situation presents itself, held priority even in this epoch in France. But it is also certain that such an organization cannot be built if the selection of its members is on a purely literary basis, or according to their participation in purely reformist working-class activities (there were no others in the France of that period). The participation—even though it may be indirect—in real revolutionary activities, anywhere in the world, is the necessary condition for the formation of a true revolutionary vanguard.

In this sense it is not really by chance that the new revolutionary vanguards that are gathering today in the imperialist countries, in France, in Japan, in Italy, and even in the United States, have known their baptism of fire through a real identification and a fierce defense of the actual revolutionary struggles which have developed in the course of these last years: the Cuban and Vietnamese revolutions; solidarity with the guerrillas of Latin America and Palestine. Finally, this "commitment" to the revolutions of the Third World, has accelerated the resurgence of revolutionary struggles in the imperialist countries themselves, rather than retarding it.

* During the Algerian war, Algerians living in France made monthly contributions to the Algerian revolution of millions of francs, which were transferred in valises by French sympathizers in order to avoid apprehension by French authorities. — *Tricontinental*.

The Situation in Northern Ireland Today

[The following interview was given to Gerry Foley of *Intercontinental Press* in a house in the Lower Falls Road nationalist ghetto of Belfast, August 5. At that time, massive British armed forces were occupying the area.

[The participants in the interview were Malachy McGurran, Liam McMillan, Malachy McBurney, and Bob McKnight, all leaders of the Irish republican movement in the city of Belfast or the region of Northern Ireland. All organizations of this militant nationalist movement are outlawed in Northern Ireland. But the ban has not been enforced recently and it is possible even to hear individuals speak at street meetings as representatives of the strictly illegal military arm of the republican movement, the Irish Republican Army.

[Every so often as this interview was being recorded, armored cars, tanks, or armed patrols passed the windows. Fortified military emplacements surrounded the compact maze of densely populated narrow streets that compose this nationalist stronghold. Small children playing on the sidewalks sang jingles like "If You Hate the British Army, Clap Your Hands."

[Almost exactly a month before this interview was recorded, large units of the British army broke into the Falls Road after some people in the neighborhood objected to the presence of a military team ostensibly searching for concealed arms. Although neighborhood defense groups armed only with light weapons held off the troops for several hours, ultimately they were unable to halt the British tanks.

[In this period also tensions were building up in anticipation of the Paisleyite Apprentice Boys march scheduled for August 12 in Derry City. The ghetto rebellions were touched off a year ago in this same city when the Unionists gathering there for their annual parade attacked the nationalist ghetto, spearheaded by the police.

[Two days before this interview was taped, 5,000 people marched up the Falls Road in tribute to the nineteen-year-old youth, Daniel O'Hagan, who

was shot dead at close range by British troops in a local disturbance. That evening, Monday, August 3, a major clash occurred between troops and neighborhood youths in front of the Divis Towers, a high-rise housing project in the Falls section. CS gas blanketed the area. Squads of British soldiers occupied the building, floor by floor, beating on the doors and stair railings with their clubs. Streams of weeping women carrying infants and leading small children poured out of the rear of the building. Large angry bands of youth gathered on corners throughout the area, but did not combine to attack the British forces.

[In this period, the big bourgeois press in Northern Ireland and Great Britain was talking ominously about the need for getting rid of the "trouble-makers."

[In this situation the only radical organization rooted in the oppressed Catholic population was the republican movement and its military arm, the Irish Republican Army (IRA). The walls of buildings and bridges in the Falls were covered with slogans like "Join Your Local Unit of the IRA," or "Join Your Local *Slua* of the Fianna' (the IRA youth organization).

[At the time this interview was recorded, discussions were just beginning in the republican movement about how to handle the new situation. But the discussion summarized below may give an indication of how the leaders on the spot view the problems that exist and what approach they will take toward solving them.

[The text of this interview has not been corrected by the participants. The footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Question. What has been the focus of the republican movement's activity in the period leading up to and following the British army's invasion and occupation of the Lower Falls Road nationalist ghetto July 3 and 4?

Malachy McGurran. Well, as I told you in the last interview [see *Intercon-*

tinental Press, April 13, 1970, page 324], the republican movement has been trying to explain to the people why the British army is here. We have tried to make clear that it is not a peace-keeping force, that it is here at the request of both the Stormont [Northern Irish parliament] Unionist¹ government and the British government to maintain the status quo; in fact, to try to move things back to where they stood a year ago [before the ghetto rebellions of August 1969].

The rule of law, the "Queen's law," did not apply in large areas of Belfast and in a fairly large section of Derry City. These areas were what was called free areas, that is, areas where the people were in control of their own destinies. The peace-keeping forces could not, or did not want to come in to give any form of protection to the ordinary people. The people took on the job of protecting themselves.

In order to overcome the religious divisions in the people, the republican movement advocated the extension of self-rule to the Unionist, or Protestant, areas as well. We favored the spread of areas where the rule of law as envisaged by the Unionist and British governments did not run, where the Queen's writ did not run.

I think that fear of the example of self-rule was the main reason, apart from the pressure of right-wing Unionists, for the attack by the British army on the Falls Road area on the third, fourth, and fifth of July. Within twenty-five minutes of the time the arms dump [supplies of small arms and ammunition allegedly belonging to the IRA] was found, and the initial confrontation between the British troops and

1. The Unionist party that has ruled the autonomous British statelet of Northern Ireland since its inception is organized as a caste party representing the Protestant, historically pro-British, majority in the area. Its avowed purpose has been to defend the privileges of the historic Protestant upper caste against the Catholic, nationalist under caste. In the recent period, however, there has been an attempt to convert the Unionist party into a more normal conservative party, by winning the Catholic middle and upper classes.

the people—the ordinary people of the neighborhood—the whole area was completely sealed off.

This concerted attack forced the defenders of the Falls Road area, the Irish Republican Army, to make a decision. They had either to let the military walk in, disarm the area, and leave the people defenseless, or resist. The decision was taken to resist. The resulting battle has gone down as the largest single engagement with the British army in Ireland since 1916. There was more widespread fighting in the 1918-21 period and more troops involved, but the actions were scattered and small-scale. The defenders of the Falls Road confronted and tied down 3,500 British troops.

After the British troops occupied the Falls, the Unionist overlords, John Brooke and Captain Long, made a point of traveling in the area, obviously in an attempt to show that Unionist rule had been restored.

We republicans, as I have said, have tried to break down the religious barrier dividing the people by making it clear not only to the Catholic, or nationalist, working people, but to the Protestant working class that the only reason the British army is here is to protect British imperialist interests. They would as quick take on the people of the Shankhill [the Protestant neighborhood adjoining the Falls] as they would the people of this area. Of course, since the people of the Shankhill are the main support of the Unionists, such an attack would be more embarrassing for the Unionist government than attacks on the "rebel" areas.

Republicans still have the job of getting this message across. And we are attempting to do it through our newspaper, the *United Irishman*, through the political activity of the Republican Clubs [the illegal but tolerated public organizations of the republican movement in Northern Ireland], through the leadership given by the Irish Republican Army in showing the people that not only are we prepared to defend them but we are prepared to work in their interests in any capacity we can. This goes for both questions like housing agitation and defending the rights of squatters physically and militarily.

Of course, we have run into a certain amount of opposition from the church, or rather certain churchmen. They call us "red republicans," for

example. When you try to change the social conditions of the people, you will run afoul of the establishment.

The establishment at the moment is composed of Orange [Protestant] and Green [Catholic] Tories. The Green Tories represent the Catholic middle class and elements of the Catholic clergy. I say "elements" because there are some in the clergy who are prepared to stand with our group and with other organizations in defense of the ordinary working-class people and of their rights. The Orange Tories include the Unionist party and the Orange Lodges, as well as the middle- and upper-class sections of the Protestant population.

But despite this opposition the republican movement must concern itself with social questions because it is these questions that affect the daily lives of the people.

Another obstacle in the way of our attempts to unite the working people against British imperialism is the group that calls itself the Provisional IRA and the Caretaker Sinn Féin.² This group is distinguished mostly by its complete lack of any kind of perspective. Since they split from the republican movement, they have been prepared to take in anyone and everyone just to bolster up their numbers. As a result they have been flooded with people whose only objective seems to be to get a gun and go out for revenge for everything that has happened since last August.

I believe that some of the Provisional leadership may be socially minded, believing that their organization must concern itself with the social and economic problems of the people. But they are finding it impossible to point their own people at the local level in this direction. As I said, there are many people who, because of their upbringing and the whole tradition in Northern Ireland, are big-

2. The Provisional IRA and Caretaker Sinn Féin represent, essentially, a right-wing, antipolitical breakaway from the official republican movement. The officials accuse the Provisionals of being supported by the wing of Fianna Fail, the ruling party in the Twenty-Six Counties, represented by Neil Blaney, Kevin Boland, and Charles Haughey. These three former ministers in the cabinet of Prime Minister Jack Lynch were involved in the scandal that broke in early May 1970 over alleged illegal importation of guns to the North.

oted. And the leadership of the Provisionals seems to have made no attempt, or can make no attempt, to eradicate this kind of fear, bitterness, and ignorance from their ranks.

On the other hand there is the problem of the Paisleyites of the Ulster Volunteer Force [UVF]. We have made certain attempts at reaching out to the ranks of this organization.

For example, in opposing the government's six-month ban on all marches, we also supported the right of the Orangemen and Apprentice Boys to march, even though they are bigoted and sectarian organizations.

We opposed the ban on Orange marches on the basis that it was imposed by the Special Powers Act. This law is obnoxious to us, whether it is used against us—as it has been primarily for the last fifty years—or is used against the Orangemen.

The situation in Northern Ireland has changed since last April. We have had the direct confrontation between the British army of occupation and sections of the Irish people that I warned people in the United States would occur. I think that over the next few months such confrontations will become more widespread.

It seems to me, trying to look at the situation objectively, that there is the deliberate intent in some cases to instigate outbreaks of trouble, either by Provisionals, or agents provocateurs of the Unionists or the Westminster government. The objective of the authorities would most likely be to prepare public opinion to accept internment without charge or trial.

Internment would mean removal from the political scene of radical republican activists, and possibly other elements such as People's Democracy and civil-rights militants. It would mean that those elements of the Catholic working class and the Protestant working class who have been swayed or influenced by the radicalization of the republican movement and other groups would be left leaderless. It would mean that the Catholic middle-class elements—like those, for example, who originally were in the Unionist party and are now in the New Ulster Movement or the Alliance Party, or the Humes, for example, and the Eddie McAteers—would be able to regain the influence over the Catholic

working class that they have lost over the last eighteen months.

Internment would remove the leadership that the people need to develop independent structures, self-rule at the street, parish, county, or even provincial level, and to break down the Unionist monolithic structure that has kept the people divided for so long.

Internment would probably provoke a reaction from a large section of the Catholic, nationalist, anti-Unionist population. But at the same time the mass of the ordinary people would be left to the control of the Catholic and Protestant middle class, the Orange and Green Tories, which would mean that any upheavals would be on a sectarian basis.

What the Green and Orange Tories, the Unionist, British, and Fianna Fáil regimes want is a federal solution involving reincorporation of the whole of Ireland into the United Kingdom. The more sectarian clashes, death, and destruction in the Six Counties, the easier it will be for the establishment to impose its federal solution. This objective includes direct rule of the Six Counties from Westminster as a preliminary step.

The Provisionals say that republicans cannot be opposed to the abolition of Stormont. But the alternative to Stormont is direct [British] rule, and that is the greatest danger at the moment as it would strengthen Britain's hand in Ireland. We have seen in the streets of Belfast in the last three or four weeks what direct rule can mean.

Direct rule from Westminster is in fact operating here through 11,000 British troops in the Six Counties, 4,500 of them in Belfast. These troops have shown that they are here on the business of British imperialism and that they will not hesitate to take lives and destroy property to do its bidding.

Q. If the British troops are withdrawn, how do you propose to prevent the recurrence of attacks by Unionist fanatics and repressive forces on the nationalist areas?

McGurran. One way might be to develop further the concept of free enclaves such as we had here originally in the Falls before the British army invaded. Even with the British army

manning the so-called Peace Line [the barrier between Catholic and Protestant neighborhoods], the biggest impediment to the rise of sectarian fighting was the existence of local defense organizations of the people. Even the Shankhill people had their own defense organizations. The development of such organizations made people wary. At least it made them less inclined to start any kind of sectarian trouble.

Before the British army pulls out, organizations should be built up among the people which at least could forestall sectarian trouble. Perhaps such organizations could involve themselves in dealing with the economic and social problems of the people on both sides of the Peace Line, to bring them to a realization that it is more important to solve their material problems than have a go at each other.

A cry could be taken up in the Six Counties, in Ireland as a whole, and internationally by labor and left groups for the withdrawal of British troops. The problem we have to face is what is the alternative?

The alternative that has been suggested by Blaney and company is tripartite talks³ during the process of a pullout by the British army. But who is going to be in the deal that's going to develop out of this? The Free State government, the Northern government — an element of the Northern government — and the British government.

The result, one way or another, will be federation.⁴ That is why we have to have a definite attitude on interim measures between the pullout of British forces and the possible holocaust of sectarian civil war.

Bob McKnight. When Blaney suggested participation by Twenty-Six County troops in keeping the peace here, he knew it wouldn't be accepted. But the only alternative is United Nations intervention.

3. The three parties would be Belfast, Dublin, and London.

4. The republicans believe that because of changes in the economic relations of both Irish states with Great Britain that all three bourgeoisies involved want a reincorporation of the formally independent part of Ireland into the United Kingdom under some kind of federal formula.

McGurran. But UN intervention might have the same effect. It could lead to the development of a federal solution even quicker.

Blaney's suggestion of using Irish troops in the north is probably all part of the power game he is playing in Fianna Fáil. He wants to look like a republican, when he talks about republicans being maligned and so forth. But he is pushing for a federal solution just like Jack Lynch and the rest of Fianna Fáil, only he is using different tactics.

The most interesting thing is the silence of Stormont on the question of a federal solution. I don't think any of the Stormont cabinet have really come out hard and fast against the idea of a federal solution.

Malachy McBurney. I think that everything that is going on at the minute in the Six Counties is all geared toward a federal solution. There is absolutely no doubt about it. But it's only when they have managed to force through these reforms that they can go ahead with it. Ultimately, rule comes from Westminster. The Stormont government doesn't rule here at all. It's only a farce. The British army is ruling here.

McGurran. We have martial law conditions here.

McBurney. That's what it amounts to, when Freeland [the British commanding general] can execute people, in fact, which even the courts can't do. The British are going to soften the situation up with the heavy hand and then whether the Unionists like it or not they're going to be forced into tripartite talks. It's as simple as that.

McGurran. Yes, but what can we do about the tripartite talks? We are not going to have any say in the whole question. All three governments are going to come down real hard on all forms of radical activity, even ordinary social agitation.

One of the primary objectives in this will be to destroy the revolutionary movement in Ireland.

McBurney. It is what is going to happen despite all our efforts to try to forestall a federal solution and edu-

cate the people towards the establishment of a socialist republic.

Things are against us and the only thing we can do is to see that when the federal solution does come that the movement remains as intact as possible all over the country, so that we can follow up from the federal solution to carry on the work towards the establishment of a socialist republic. That's our prime consideration. There is nothing else, I think, that really we can do.

McKnight. I don't think we have any choice in the question of federalism. We can see the provocation that the troops are putting on the people. The fact that there's so much trouble going on gives the British the pretext they need. They'll intern everybody and then stop the trouble. And it will appear to the world that those who were jailed were the troublemakers. And when we are interned they will carry out the federal solution and after that in a year or six months, as soon as they can possibly manage, they will go into the Common Market.⁵

Because once they get the radical element, the element that can and will lead the people, out of the road in internment and branded as troublemakers, it will leave the way open for them to go ahead into the Common Market.

McGurran. The only ones in the Twenty-Six Counties who verbally oppose the Common Market are the Irish Labour party. The only ones here in the North who oppose it are the Ulster Constitution Defense Committee, the Paisley elements. Paisley makes the Common Market out to be a Roman plot because it was established by the Treaty of Rome.

Of course, from the economic point of view, small farmers and small shopkeepers oppose the EEC [European Economic Community—the Common Market] because of the damage it would do to them.

We know from experience that the British government can defeat any kind of a physical challenge where the people are not offered a political phi-

losophy they can back. The pitched military battle has always played directly into their hands.

It is possible that the British will leave the Provisional element alone, hoping to force a quicker development to a direct military conflict with no kind of social or economic overtones. Then our cause will be defeated again and we will be set back in our attempt to win support for radical policies on behalf of the people.

I would say that the three governments have probably discussed this question among themselves and decided that the biggest threat to them is from a national organization with very well-defined political objectives and political philosophy and with the military experience, the military tradition, and the military know-how to back it up. Working with the people in militant mass action keeps us from isolation in which the government could quite easily smash us and destroy us physically.

McKnight. It's quite obvious that the authorities consider us the biggest threat because at all times here the work of the British military intelligence has been directed at us.

If we have a period of trouble it tends to hold back our organizing and building up our strength. Our education programs are hit in the head. I think the British want trouble now in order to spike our guns, so to speak.

Like Malachy was after saying, the military is outside photographing everybody that passes. This area is well known and recognized for its radical republicanism. There is only an odd Provisional here and there and the rest are backing the official republican movement. All the pressures that are built up on us in this area would more or less prove that we are more of a threat to the establishment than the Provisionals would be, even with their blowings up and burning of property.

McGurran. Another problem is what happens to the other radical groups we are in cooperation with, if we are put out of the road through internment. Could they carry on a radicalization? I don't think so. Most of them are quite small. People's Democracy has no real organization outside of Belfast, and even here is run by a

small number of people. If that leadership were gone, they would be stopped. The Communist party of Ireland also doesn't exist outside Belfast. Other groups like some of the elements in the Republican Labour party would be cowed into having no contact or association with us.

For most of these people imprisonment without charge or trial is a fearful thing. It is nearly traditional for republicans to expect it. If it happens, you and the people struggling on outside have to make the best of it.

I think that what will have to happen is for the movement to go seriously underground and work underground as it has openly to strengthen the organizations of the people to resist not only internment but all of the political, social, and economic pressures they are being subjected to.

I can't see internment here without internment in the South as well. There would be no point to interning republicans here unless they were interned in the South. There might not be mass internment in the Twenty-Six Counties, but selective internment instead.

If large numbers of people were interned here in the North alone, that could lead to developments in the Twenty-Six Counties which both Stormont and Dublin would hate to see. Maybe we can play one against the other, in that the Twenty-Six Counties might not be in a position to risk internment.

But the whole philosophy of Jack Lynch has been to produce a situation where internment would be possible, developing a red scare and smearing dissidents as hooligans, claiming that a small clique of people were behind all opposition to any kind of injustices. Even at the beginning of the civil-rights struggle, they tried to say that it was just a small clique of agitators that was stirring up the pot, hoping it would boil over.

The threat of internment will have to make the movement rethink its activities in the Twenty-Six Counties, concentrate a lot more on its social and political agitation.

I think, for example, that the Citizens for Civil Liberties is completely ineffective in its present structure. It will have to be widened and made into some form of mass organization. Unless this is done, we could quite

5. The republicans regard the Common Market as meaning increased imperialist exploitation and destruction of Irish nationality.

quickly see the development of a dangerous situation in the Twenty-Six Counties.

McKnight. You can go to the European Commission on Human Rights in Strasbourg if you're illegally interned and it's going to take approximately two years for this case to come up. And you'll win at the end of it. But it wouldn't matter one iota to the establishment because at that stage they would have already got through their federalism. Also they would have gotten themselves into the Common Market. And so internment would pay.

Q. You have mentioned the danger of provocations directed from Dublin to give the British government an excuse to smash radical activities in the nationalist areas of Belfast. But one of the problems that's evident to any visitor to this city is that there are masses of young people in Belfast, kids from as young as twelve on up to youths in their twenties, who appear to be completely exasperated with the system, are not willing to live their lives under the same kind of system that their parents have had to live under, and are determined to fight actively now against the system that exists.

But the most obvious thing for these young people to do is to attack the troops since the role of these forces here is to maintain the system. What kind of revolutionary perspective do you have to offer these youth in the immediate period as a substitute for spontaneous attacks on the occupation troops?

McGurran. A lot of the fighting with the troops is spontaneous, an unthinking response to the provocations of the troops themselves. There are enough examples of this, where the military have come in and thrown up barricades and marched up and down the streets with batons swinging, insulting people, and deliberately provoking the situation.

We believe that this is a deliberate overall policy. On the other hand, we know that certain elements within the Provisional organization are following the Blaney-Boland-Haughey line. As early as last weekend we had a situation where these three gentlemen talked about a federal solution and

were quite strong about it. Immediately some of the so-called militant leaders of the Provisionals came out with the same philosophy.

Apparently Blaney and these people believe that the continuation of trouble here, either sectarian trouble or trouble between the British army and a section of the nationalist population, will bring federalism closer. It is immaterial to them what they do to keep the pot boiling over.

The trouble is that a lot of the young people react without thinking, without realizing that they are being used. Obviously, we need to organize these young people and explain to them that you can't take on the British army with stones and bottles. Eventually, the military will win. And then they will be able to enforce their rule in an area where the people are trying to develop an organization and a proper defense. And these spontaneous rows are only going to stand in the way of this.

What can be done and has been done in the nationalist areas is to form these youth into defense organizations, or auxiliary organizations [that is, what are considered extensions of the IRA] or get them involved in the republican movement through our propaganda.

By bringing these youth into such organizations, we have a way of explaining to them the whole political picture, not just British imperialism but Unionism and Fianna Fáilism and Free Statism.⁶ We can explain to them the way that these three forces see their role in the whole situation in the north of Ireland and what they want to develop out of it. We can educate them to the realization that the federal solution is a process which has been directly sponsored by the Fianna Fáil government in Dublin.

But we have to be with these youth. We can't reach them from the sidelines.

6. "Free Statism" refers to the republican interpretation of the Anglo-Irish treaty of 1922 which set up the Irish Free State (renamed the Irish Republic in 1949) in twenty-six of Ireland's thirty-two counties. In the republican vocabulary this refers to the policy of accommodation with Great Britain which is favored by the church and the well-to-do in the South and has been followed by the Dublin government since its creation. The republican movement represents the section of the independence forces of 1918-22 which has never accepted this accommodation.

We have to be with them because the only way you can talk to these young people and get your ideas across to them is by showing them some kind of leadership, and showing them by example that we have to make the proper arrangements and organize for defense and for taking on the British army when the time comes. We have to point out to them that it will take proper organization, proper military organization, proper discipline and policy before we can effectively take on the British army.

One of the most important problems is propaganda and publicity. At the moment, up till recently anyway, the other side was able to control the press, propaganda, and publicity through the press media. They were able to present the British army, which is here as oppressor and an occupying force, as being peace-keepers.

Q. Youths are in the street right now. They cannot keep up this kind of tension forever. They will either win something or they will be demoralized. What are you offering these young people right now that they can win, that they can concentrate their energies on?

McGurran. One of the main things they can concentrate on would be the mass boycotting, or campaign of non-fraternization with the British occupation forces. They could support the campaign to make the British army, not only in Belfast but all over the north of Ireland, feel unwelcome here. It must, in fact, already be obvious to these soldiers that they are unwelcome here.

This campaign is something the young people can play a definite part in and be more effective than they would be in taking over the Divis Towers, or a block of flats, or an area of the street and defending it against the British army with stones or bottles.

What we want is that whenever the British soldier goes to buy a box of matches or a packet of cigarettes he will be refused. We want to create a situation where people will not serve him in the shops and where soldiers won't be able to go off duty in large areas of the city, or the region, because they are spat upon, shunned, or boycotted.

We want to get the young people

actively involved and spreading the message to their own neighborhoods and to their own families that every time the military come into your street the doors should be shut, the windows shuttered, the blinds pulled, the street left as if dead, a ghost street, a ghost parish, or a ghost town while the British army is there.

This I believe would be an effective way of making our point without a direct confrontation with the army at a time when we may not be in a strong position.

This campaign is something that could be worked on, but it would take propaganda, plenty of propaganda and publicity, and a certain amount of education. I don't think it would take an awful lot of time, however. I think it could be done particularly in Belfast in a short space of time. It would be an effective alternative to give to the young people, to which they could devote their energies without getting involved in physical confrontation that will result in their ending up in prison.

McBurney. The RUC [Royal Ulster Constabulary] is another problem. The RUC is following the military into the nationalist areas [from which they were expelled by the ghetto rebellions of 1969]. And the people are not going to accept this; they have not gotten over the role that the RUC played last August [when they spear-headed terrorist attacks on the Catholic neighborhoods].

Certain guidelines have been laid down for the police. Chief Constable Sir Arthur Young [appointed from London to oversee the Northern Irish police] has been attempting to get across the idea that he has created a new force. In actual fact, he hasn't done this at all. The same police that operated here before August are operating still, with the same type of arrogance. Take the example of the Cherry Hills area, where the young people have no facilities whatsoever for recreation. When some kids were kicking a ball up and down between the barricades to get some exercise, the police were petty enough to go across and lift the ball.

When the police went into that area of North Queen Street at that hour of the night, for another example, it was a deliberate provocation. The RUC going in there at that time, unan-

nounced, allegedly as the result of a call, could have led to no other situation than resistance from the local people, like before August last.

I feel that in these circumstances the RUC should be made completely aware of the fact that the people know that they have not changed. The boycott should be extended not only to the British army but to the RUC and all Crown forces throughout the Six Counties. The government here has a hostile population on its hands, and batons and CS gas cannot cow the people.

If this resistance could be effectively organized, the nationalist people in the Six Counties would be in a position to dictate at least some of the terms of the solution that is going to come about, whereas they're not at the moment. It's left entirely to the two Tory governments and probably the three Tory governments to settle among themselves in the interests of the capitalist class.

Liam McMillan. I think Gerry's question was what kind of activity we can offer to the younger kids between twelve, sixteen, and eighteen to prevent them from continuing with this confrontation between the British troops and themselves, which we say can only lead to the internment of the radical elements and the imposition of a federal solution and consequently entry into the Common Market.

This is a problem that has always been with us. Consciously or subconsciously, these kids hold strong nationalist, anti-British feelings, and these feelings will assert themselves in street riots at every opportunity that presents itself.

In the current situation, I feel myself that this feeling of patriotism has been exploited by the Provisionals at the instigation of elements within the Fianna Fáil party in order to foment the disturbances here. To a certain extent these disturbances are beginning to diminish, thanks mainly to the efforts of the republican movement to explain that these clashes are only in the interests of British imperialism. We have managed to quell them to a certain extent with the help of other adults in the community.

How best we can turn this energy of the kids to our advantage is a big problem. But one possible solution I can see, one activity we may be able to organize them in, is passive resis-

tance to the British forces, which continually go through these areas in heavy armored cars, armored jeeps, street patrols, swinging batons and insulting people.

We can organize these young fellows, in conjunction with the women folk, to block all the streets that these army patrols use. They could sit down, refuse to let the trucks pass, refuse to let the foot patrols pass. Now this may lead to the British army throwing CS gas. But it certainly would deprive the British army and the government here of the excuse that they were being actively attacked by these young hoodlums, so-called.

[To be continued.]

Reviews

Auto Worker Speaks

Life in an Auto Plant by Tom Cagle. Pathfinder Press, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. 23 pp. \$.25. 1970.

There ought to be some way to make this pamphlet required reading for every new leftist who speaks glibly of workers in the advanced countries being "co-opted" by the capitalist system.

Tom Cagle is employed at the General Motors assembly plant in Fremont, California, and he is anything but co-opted. He, and his fellow workers, are angry — at inflation which eats into their wages, at the bosses who are constantly trying to squeeze out extra profits from speedups, and at their international union officers who are more interested in their own privileges than in the needs of the members.

This pamphlet describes the reaction of the auto workers to the frustrations of day-to-day life in the plant, the manner — "which at times breaks out into open guerrilla warfare" — in which they fight back, the behind-closed-doors deals of union leaders with the company, and much more.

It shows as well the impact upon white workers of the nationalist movements of minority groups, and of the student radicalization, and concludes with a call for unionists to seek an alliance with these other forces.

— Allen Myers

A Turning Point in the Cuban Revolution

[The following editorial is scheduled for publication in a forthcoming issue of *Quatrième Internationale*, a revolutionary Marxist bimonthly magazine. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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The failure of the campaign to produce ten million tons of sugar, and more generally the serious economic difficulties officially admitted in Fidel Castro's recent speeches, raise a series of questions of acute interest to revolutionists not only in Cuba and Latin America but throughout the world. What are the reasons for these failures? Who is responsible for them? What tendencies might develop in Cuban society? These are the questions which must be examined in detail before drawing an overall balance sheet.

In answer to all those who will seize the pretext of the present difficulties to take their distance from the Cuban revolution, we must note again the underlying factors which have impeded a rapid and harmonious development of the first workers state in the Americas—that is, the onerous heritage of underdevelopment created by imperialist domination, and the blockade that has been imposed ever since the first revolutionary reforms. If anyone had any doubts about the concrete significance of these two elements, the analyses in Fidel Castro's July 26 speech should have removed them. (We hardly need to say that precisely a shortage of technicians and specialized personnel as well as the inefficiency and limited productivity of labor are typical vestiges of an underdeveloped society.)

It is hard to dispute the fact that the economic choices of recent years have basically been dictated by unavoidable necessities. This is the case, notably, of the decision to give priority to sugar production as the springboard for more general economic development. The reasons for this have been explained so many times that there is no point in going over them again here. The errors made by the

Cuban leadership must, in reality, be sought in setting growth rates that have proved excessive, in underestimating the danger represented by the disequilibrium that was inevitably going to result from concentrating on the campaign for the ten million tons, in insufficient effort to exploit other possibilities for increasing exports capable of bringing in hard currencies.

Fidel Castro emphasized that the responsibility for the failures was by no means that of the masses, which continually mobilized with enthusiasm and devotion. In an attitude with few precedents, he placed all the blame on the leaders, including himself. We obviously cannot be more Fidelista than Fidel. However, the problem does not lie in the deficiencies of individuals but, above all, of structures. In the last analysis, Cuba is paying a heavy price for the lack of a network of effective organs of proletarian democracy that could concretely involve the masses in administering the state. We have stressed the importance of this ever since the first phase of the revolution and it is now clear to everyone that this was not just a doctrinaire crotchet of ours but a vital necessity for the development of the revolution. If this question had been taken up and settled before this—and in fact there was no lack of opportunities to do so; for example, at the time of the first offensive against Escalante in 1962—the danger of bureaucratic deformations would have been sharply reduced. The development of the middle-ranking cadres and leaders whose absence or scarcity is now being so painfully felt could have been promoted on a much wider scale.

In any case, the question is now on the agenda. At the time of this writing, the Cuban leaders are engaged in very important internal discussions, as Castro mentioned in his speech to the women. As of now we do not know the results of these discussions but very positive indications emerge both from the July 26 and August 23 speeches. Fidel Castro has put his finger on the problem. He has denounced the lack of structures of work-

ers democracy and the inadequacies of the mass organizations. He has posed the question of workers control and participation by the workers in the administration of enterprises. And he did not forget the principle of having officials subject to recall at any time ("at any time of the day or night"). At the same time, he expressed more energetically than in the past his full confidence in the revolutionary potential of the masses.

It goes without saying that if the words of the latest speeches are followed up by achievements, the Cuban revolution will take another leap forward and write a new page of history. But we must not minimize the fact that the difficulties are manifold and that they are insurmountable unless real and entirely different solutions than those attempted in the past are introduced. Certain allusions in Fidel's speeches are not too reassuring in this regard. It seems that the restructuring is to be based on the already existing mass organizations (for our part, we are not convinced that much progress would be made, for example, if, as Fidel expressed the hope in his speech to the women, "the workers movement attained the level of the Women's Federation or the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution").

In reality what must be created is a whole political structure, a real framework for a workers state based on organs of the soviet type. Otherwise, nothing will be produced but substitutes or partial solutions which in a more or less short time would raise the same problems all over again. This danger is all the greater since there are cadres in Cuba who enjoy certain privileges, although these are limited, and have acquired a bureaucratic mentality. Precisely these layers will try to impose solutions of an entirely different kind; let us say, of a "technocratic" tendency. It is evident, moreover, that such tendencies will be promoted and assisted by the bureaucrats of the USSR and the other collectivist states of Eastern Europe.

Struggles that may even take an intense form are inevitable. The Fidelista group will not be able to express and impose a democratic, revolutionary line unless it acts decisively and with great clarity, assuring a mobilization and constant participation by the masses.