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Uneasy Truce in Jordan Civil War

Solidarity with the Fedayeen!

Australia:

100,000 Protest Vietnam War

West Bengal:

Peasants Defend Land Seizures



RUDI DUTSCHKE: Tory government orders convalescing German student leader out of Britain. See page 820.

What Next for Chile?

Behind Allende's Electoral Victory

100,000 Australians March Against War in Indochina

More than 100,000 persons in cities all across Australia demonstrated against the Vietnam war September 18. In Sydney and Adelaide, police attacked the demonstrations and hundreds of marchers were arrested.

The largest protest was in Melbourne where 50,000 people occupied the city's main business district for 30 minutes," according to the September 19 issue of *The Australian*.

Large demonstrations also occurred in Sydney (15,000), Adelaide (4,000), Brisbane (4,000), Canberra (2,000), Perth and Hobart.

In spite of police attempts to provoke a confrontation, the Melbourne action was peaceful and only four persons were arrested. The Melbourne newspaper *The Age* reported September 19, however, that "after police forced a change in the planned route, violence was close."

In Sydney police provocations met with greater success. *The Age* described the beginning of the trouble:

"The Moratorium timetable was thrown into complete confusion by police who stopped the scheduled rally at town hall.

"Thousands of demonstrators [who] were unable to reach the town hall regrouped at the Archibald Fountain where they decided on another attempt to stage their Moratorium meeting in the vicinity of the town hall. . . .

"A pitched battle developed in Margaret Street, as police ripped down placards and crammed the protesters on to the footpath."

Later, the paper continued, "Bus loads of police reinforcements cruised the streets looking for any trouble spots, and were not to be denied."

The Australian said that "Some of the ugliest scenes came when police punched and kicked demonstrators in King Street."

Police put the number of arrests in Sydney at more than 300, but organizers of the march said that the number passed 400.

In Adelaide, where 4,000 marched and another 10,000 spectators lined the route, mounted police rode their horses into the crowd. Newspapers

estimated that 130 were arrested. *The Age* described one of the victims:

"One of the first to be hauled off by the police and thrown into a police wagon was Mr. Bruce Muirden, press secretary to the Deputy Premier and Minister of Works . . .

"A uniformed constable snatched his camera from him and confiscated it."

Professor G. L. Harcourt, one of the organizers of the Adelaide march, said later: "We just got smashed by the cops in a completely brutal way."

He told the press: "It has been shown where the violence lies—and it is not with us. The demonstrators were peaceful and good humored."

The large size of the demonstrations indicate a continued mass sentiment for an end to the war. The demands of the actions, which were organized by the Vietnam Moratorium Campaign, were for the immediate withdrawal of all Australian, U.S., and allied troops from Vietnam and for an immediate end to conscription.

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Civil War in Middle East Ends in Uneasy Truce

By Les Evans

Shortly before launching his military assault on the Palestinian commando organizations, Jordan's King Hussein told a visitor in Amman that we would have to kill 20,000 Palestinians in twenty-four hours in order to restore his control over the country (*New York Times*, September 20). By the time Jordan's ten-day civil war subsided in an uneasy truce after Yasir Arafat agreed September 25 to accept a cease-fire, the number of dead and wounded may well have exceeded the king's forecast.

Hussein, with Nixon's public backing and encouragement, sought to repeat in Jordan the kind of massacre of the left carried out by the pro-American generals in Indonesia in 1965. Unlike the Indonesian Communist party, which collapsed virtually without a struggle, the Palestinian commandos put up a heroic resistance in face of unfavorable military odds.

The bloody Hashemite monarch succeeded in dealing a heavy blow to the Palestinian resistance; but as the cease-fire went into effect, the guerrillas still controlled the cities of Irbid, Ramtha, and Jarash in northern Jordan, as well as a substantial area in the center of Amman.

The Palestinian fedayeen were in an especially difficult position because not a single one of their governmental "allies" made a move to prevent their extermination. The Kremlin, which poses as a friend of the Arab revolution, gave implicit backing to Hussein, declaring that Moscow would remain "neutral" as long as the United States did not intervene militarily. Kosygin-Brezhnev went even further, pressuring the "progressive" Arab governments such as Syria to stand aloof from the beleaguered Palestinian fighters.

The common aim of this international posture was to eliminate the Palestinians as a party to any settlement of the "Middle East question." This is Nixon's avowed goal and is incorporated in the so-called Rogers plan which has been accepted in principle by Jordan, Egypt, the Soviet Union,



YASIR ARAFAT

and Israel. The plan is based on the United Nations November 22, 1967, resolution on the Middle East, which does not recognize any national rights of the Palestinian people.

The airline hijackings carried out by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine September 6 and 9 sought to underline the Palestinian resistance to any "settlement" made at their expense. Hussein's answer under Nixon's prodding was to engage in a showdown fight. The chief responsibility for the bloodletting rests with Washington — and with the Moscow bureaucrats who played along with Nixon. Hussein merely did what he was called on to do as a client of American imperialism and an adherent of the Rogers plan.

Despite all their previous pledges of support, the bourgeois Arab regimes, "progressive" and reactionary alike, refused to come to the aid of the Palestinians when they faced the murderous weapons supplied by the Pentagon. Not a single government sent troops to defend the Palestinian masses from the massacre that took

place in the refugee camps — especially in the Wahdat camp in Amman.

Even Syria made only the most meager contribution to the struggle. According to most accounts the Syrians permitted armored units of the Palestine Liberation Army (PLA) to cross the Jordanian border and engage Hussein's tanks. But only a few Syrian units were involved, no air cover was provided, and the tanks were withdrawn at a crucial juncture in the battle.

It must be said that the Syrians were threatened with an American imperialist invasion for which more than 20,000 U. S. troops were mobilized.

The Soviet Union also interceded to urge the Syrians to desert the commandos. The Kremlin came out flatly for the continued existence of the Hashemite monarchy; that is, it sank a knife in the back of the Palestinian fighters. Soviet head of state Nikolai Podgorny expressed his government's attitude in a speech September 23 (reported in the September 24 *Washington Post*):

"... it is urgently necessary to put an end as soon as possible to the bloody clashes in Jordan, to terminate discord between Arabs, to attain a just agreement between the Jordanian government and organizations of the Palestine resistance movement.

"The Soviet Union has consistently come out for this in its appeals made recently to a number of states — both those belonging and not belonging to the area — and firmly stressed the inadmissibility of external interference in developments in Jordan, under any pretext whatsoever."

The inclusion of states "belonging . . . to the area" clearly shows that this warning was meant to include Syria as well as the United States.

The threat of an American invasion was very real. Nixon made one thing perfectly clear. He was ready to convert the Middle East into another Indochina if that were required to prevent the Palestinians from overthrowing the Hashemite puppet.

The plans for U.S. military inter-

vention were published in detail. The September 22 *New York Times*, for example, reported:

"Senior American military planners said tonight [September 21] that United States forces were being alerted for either of two possible military actions in Jordan.

"One would involve sending American paratroops and transport aircraft into Amman, Jordan, to try to evacuate . . . the 300 or more United States citizens now jeopardized in the fighting there.

"The other would involve use of fighter-bombers operating from aircraft carriers in the eastern Mediterranean in an effort to drive back to Syria the force of 200 to 300 Syrian tanks in northern Jordan."

The September 22 *Washington Post* said that "American combat forces put on alert this weekend after a series of urgent White House meetings now number more than 20,000 at bases in this country and West Germany."

The evidence is overwhelming that Hussein planned in cold blood the mass murder of unarmed Arab civilians. The September 25 Paris daily *Le Monde*, for example, carried this eyewitness account by Alex Efty, an Associated Press correspondent in Amman:

"The Bedouin soldiers of King Hussein, who came in from the desert to drive the Palestinian commandos out of Amman, have devastated the city as if they were in an occupied territory and not the capital of their own country.

"After six days of fighting, it is rare to find an undamaged house; certain neighborhoods have been pulverized by artillery, especially the vast refugee camps in the outlying districts where thousands of Palestinians live cramped up as many as a dozen to a room."

Efty wrote in his journal for September 17:

"In the southeast of the city the hill where the Wahdat refugee camp is located seems on fire. Two hours after the beginning of the cannon barrage, the slums disappeared under a thick layer of smoke, broken only by the crests of the hills."

Arthur Chesworth, writing from Beirut in the September 24 *Washington Post*, described what he had just seen in Amman:

"Two-thirds of a once proud royal capital of 600,000 has been utterly destroyed.

"For the past six days I watched every murderous minute from my hotel in Amman—itself a fortress under heavy and almost constant artillery and machine-gun fire. . . .

"The commandos say that at least 8000 Palestinians have died and that their total casualties number tens of thousands.

"They say that in one refugee camp alone 7000 are dead."

Hussein is at war, not with a small band of "extremists," as the Western press likes to put it, but with the majority of his own people. Some 60 percent of the population is composed of Palestinians, among whom there is overwhelming support for the fedayeen. *Le Monde* commented that the guerrillas "move in the population like 'a fish in water.'" In Amman the people have sheltered the commando sharpshooters, while in the north, popular committees have been established to run the guerrilla-occupied cities.

The pattern was established in Irbid, which fell to the fedayeen more than a week before Hussein declared martial law. Loren Jenkins, a correspondent for *Newsweek* magazine, published in New York, described how the people of Irbid decided to join the guerrillas:

"After Bedouin supporters of King Hussein massacred 23 guerrillas in an ambush near Irbid, local fedayeen—most of them members of Al Fatah and an extremist commando group called the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PDF)—brought the bodies of their dead comrades into the city and displayed them in front of the main mosque. 'They were completely mutilated,' one Irbid shopkeeper told me. 'Some had their hands tied with their intestines, others had their eyes gouged out or had been dismembered.'

"The reaction of the populace was what the commandos had expected—instant outrage. 'Those who had never believed us about the barbarity of the army were suddenly awakened to action,' said one guerrilla. In a seemingly spontaneous explosion of anger, the Irbidians swarmed out of the mosque and laid siege to government buildings. But after the initial flare-up there was little bloodshed." (September 28 *Newsweek*.)

Jenkins described how new institutions of popular democracy were set up in Irbid (Jordan's second largest city, with a population of 150,000):

"To replace the city administration, the commandos set up on every street 'people's committees,' which in turn elected members to larger district committees. These groups, composed of commando commissars as well as leading residents of Irbid who support the Palestinian cause, held evening meetings to discuss such matters as the future organization of the city and preparations for its defense. Although they are similar in structure to the local soviets that the Bolsheviks formed in the early days of the Russian Revolution, the committees seemed to be a relatively spontaneous response to local events with no overt influence from Moscow or Peking."

Leaders of the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine described the committees as "the first Arab soviet."

In the Israeli-occupied area of the West Bank of Jordan there was an immediate reaction against the massacre. Amnon Kapeliouk reported in the September 24 *Le Monde*:

"The Arab merchants in the Jordanian old section of Jerusalem observed a symbolic two-hour strike Wednesday morning [September 23] to demonstrate their solidarity with the struggle waged by the fedayeen against 'the tyrannic Jordanian sovereign.' Some 90 percent of the stores lowered their blinds and transistor radios broadcast military music and the communiqués of the Palestinian commandos. . . .

"Even the most loyal partisans of the Hashemite sovereign, who have not criticized him since the Israeli occupation, now express their condemnation of the Jordanian army's action against the Palestinians. 'The king has lost all his partisans on the West Bank in one fell swoop,' one of them told us.

"When you talk with the inhabitants of the occupied territories, you see their hatred of the Amman regime headed by 'the criminal king' or the 'Hashemite Nero,' as he was designated in one of the petitions signed Tuesday at Nablus. . . .

"An article in the Jerusalem Arab paper *Al-Quds* compared the misdeeds of the Bedouin soldiers to those of Genghis Khan and his grandson Hulagu, the destroyer of Bagdad."

West Bengal Peasants Fight Police Attacks

By Jagdish Jha

[Jagdish Jha, a member of the Socialist Workers party (SWP—the Indian section of the Fourth International), is a leader of the Village Workers and Tillers Union in West Bengal which in November 1969 conducted a successful strike of 15,000 farm laborers in 400 villages of the Bankura district.]

* * *

Bankura, West Bengal

On August 25, 1970, when I arrived at Bankura District Court to attend a summons case, the police placed me under arrest, saying that I was wanted in connection with some other charges they had filed against me. They refused to release me on bail or personal bond.

I was detained in Bankura jail for seven days. In the meantime, Comrades Tante Saren, Laskar Mandi, and Lachhu Mandi, who had also been arrested, were brought there and detained along with me. Three of us were finally allowed release on bail while Lachhu Mandi was kept in custody under Section 107 Indian Penal Code [IPC], the police claiming that he was wanted in another case.

I was released from jail at 8:00 p.m. on September 1. On my release I learnt that the police had registered yet another case against me under Section 107 IPC. The investigating officers again detained me for eight days since I could not be released on bail. No proper arrangements were made for food, etc., in the jail. As a result I fell ill two days later. No medical treatment was made available to me.

There was an illustrious prisoner with me in Bankura jail. He was Comrade Kewal Singh, a colleague of the RCPI [Revolutionary Communist party of India] leader Hena Ganguli, who was shot dead by the police in Calcutta some months ago. Singh had been kept in a solitary cell, chained all the time. He had been charged with murder under Section 302 IPC. The

case against him was heard by the Calcutta High Court and he was ordered discharged by the court. But the Bankura police had framed some "dacoity" [robbery with violence] charges against him and had brought him to Bankura sub-jail.

Singh has been detained in Bankura for more than eighteen months without trial. The police have not been able to establish any crime by him, nor has he been "identified" as one of the wanted persons even by the police witnesses. Yet he is kept in custody under very trying conditions.

Cases of police harassment are increasing against the rural poor, particularly workers of the Palli Shramik Krishak Sangh [PSKS—Village Workers and Tillers Union] in Bankura district. The police have filed charges against at least 121 activists of the PSKS so far.

A strange thing is that the police representing the President's Rule in West Bengal do not arrest rich farmers occupying government land illegally, but when the poor and landless peasants begin to cultivate government land lying waste, various cases are filed against them in order to terrorize them.

During my detention at the Bankura court, a police party on August 26 raided Krishnapal village, headquarters of the PSKS, with a view to rounding up the members of the Shramik Sena (Toilers Army), a volunteer corps of the PSKS, and supporters of the SWP during my absence. A police party of about thirty from Simlapal as well as Unda Thana (police stations) arrived in the village at ten in the morning.

On sighting the police party, Comrades Laxmikant Roy, Panchanand Roy, Aditya Roy, Gopal Roy, and others asked their people to withdraw from the village into a nearby jungle.

The police party chased them for some distance but the villagers had crossed a cultivated watery field and assembled in the jungle. The police, who were armed, did not cross the

field but stayed on the "safer" side and threatened to shoot at the assembly. There was a tense atmosphere of confrontation between the villagers and the police.

The villagers raised the slogan *Inquilab Zindabad* (Long Live Revolution) and challenged the police to attack them. Realizing that the situation would get out of control, the police returned to their thanas. The police raided the village again at night but were unable to arrest any of the leaders.

On August 27 the police in the dead of night raided the neighbouring village of Kaima, inhabited by Adivasi peasants, and arrested Comrades Tante Saren, Laskar Mandi, and Lachhu Mandi, organizers of the PSKS. Others could not be found by the police.

The police party was about twenty strong. They had come in a police van and the arrested leaders were taken to the Lal Dongra police station, which is far from the village, rather than to the nearby Simlapal Thana, because of the fear that local villagers would demand release of their leaders. Later the prisoners were taken to the district jail at Bankura and detained with me.

As the police repression against the landless peasants who have captured government land and "benami" lands [land held under fictitious names to evade the legal ceiling on holdings] held by jotedars [capitalist landowners] was intensifying, local jotedars also began their offensive. In the village of Dolderia, jotedars tried to eject a group of landless peasants who had seized government land. As the report about the jotedar offensive spread, some 200 landless peasants from the neighbouring villages arrived on the spot, armed with their traditional weapons of bows and arrows, and demonstrated in defence of their fellow workers.

The jotedars notified the police about the gathering. Having learnt that the peasants had assembled in large numbers and fearing a serious confronta-

tion, the police chose the better part of valour. They did not interfere. A large number of women also participated in the demonstration, which was accompanied by drum beaters and a band party.

The jotedars and the police in Ban-

kura district—as in other districts of West Bengal—have realized that they cannot easily beat back the resistance of the rural poor when they are organized by the PSKS, led by supporters of a revolutionary party like the SWP. The rural poor in the district, both

men and women, are mobilizing their ranks in common action to defend their rights to seized lands and against police-jotedar repression. This has created a new atmosphere in the entire state as far as the militant struggles of the rural poor are concerned.

New Opportunities for Mass Work

Canadian Trotskyists Hold National Convention

Some 240 participants gathered in Toronto September 4-7 in the largest assembly ever held by Canadian Trotskyists. The occasion was the national convention of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière [LSA/LSO].

Delegates represented thirteen branches, eight more than at the league's last convention in 1968. Reports in the September 21 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a biweekly revolutionary-socialist paper published in Toronto, give other indications of the LSA/LSO's success in participating in the mass movements in Canada. John Riddell wrote:

"The outstanding theme of the convention emerged in the discussion of building the revolutionary socialist movement.

"If other sessions gave a picture of the new possibilities for the achievement of socialism in Canada, this discussion reemphasized the need for a mass revolutionary party of world scope to lead this socialist revolution. It brought home the crucial importance of the present period—one of preparation—in assembling and training revolutionary cadres in the vanguard organization—the LSA/LSO.

"This convention showed that this process is well underway. League membership has grown by 35% since 1968."

There were three other major areas of discussion: the growth of separatist sentiment in Quebec, the women's liberation movement, and the development of a left wing known as the "Waffle" caucus in the New Democratic party [NDP—the Canadian labor party].

The convention discussions—conducted in English and French by means of simultaneous translation—

had been preceded by the discussion of the resolutions in local branches of the league. Supporters of minority positions were given equal opportunity with the majority to present their views, and proportional representation in the election of delegates.

The resolution on Quebec which was adopted by the convention is entitled "For an Independent and Socialist Quebec." It read in part:

". . . A powerful nationalist upsurge has extended deep into the ranks of the urban working class, the vast majority of the Québécois population, taking form notably around the massive mobilizations in defense of the French language and the development of the mass sentiment for an independent Quebec.

"The growing support for independence is profoundly revolutionary. It signifies above all a collective disillusionment in the capacity of the existing legal and political structures—and by implication, the social structures which they consecrate—to overcome the national inequality; and it denotes a deep desire for a radical change from top to bottom in the entire political sphere. This is the essential revolutionary dynamic of the national consciousness."

In his *Labor Challenge* summary of this discussion, John Wilson described the LSA/LSO's recognition that the nationalist sentiment has not yet found its proper political form:

"But while the growth of this sentiment is highly progressive the emergence of the Parti Québécois (PQ) as its principal political expression is not. The convention rejected any notion that the PQ as such is a step forward and condemns the opportunist capitulation of the majority of the Quebec left to the massive sweep of the PQ's

popular support. It characterizes the PQ as a bourgeois nationalist party with a case-hardened leadership of middle-class professionals and careerists which precludes changing it from within or without. Even were the PQ to take power and negotiate a 'cold' (peaceful) agreement with Ottawa for 'sovereignty,' this would not move Quebec one iota toward solving the basic cause of its national oppression—the ownership and rape of the economy by the foreign imperialism.

"For the workers, the PQ is an obstacle, a trap, a diversion. The burning objective necessity facing the Quebec labor movement is to break from the PQ and establish a viable alternative—a mass labor party responsible to the class."

Wilson added: "Key to this process is building the cadres of the revolutionary socialist movement in Quebec—nucleus of the future mass vanguard revolutionary party."

Liz Angus noted in *Labor Challenge* that the discussion of the women's liberation movement stressed the objectively anticapitalist nature of that struggle. The reporter for the document submitted by the political committee ". . . emphasized the necessity for actions around transitional demands which have broad appeal for women and carry them forward in an anticapitalist direction. One such demand which has particularly demonstrated its effectiveness in mobilizing broad sectors of women is 'free abortion on demand.'

"The LSA/LSO must link the women's liberation movement with the class struggle," she said, "particularly by pressing the New Democratic party to move out as an ally in the fight for women's rights."

The discussion included contribu-

tions by "speakers from nearly every major city in Canada and many smaller centers." Angus described some of the high points:

"Penny Simpson and Brenda Zannis of Montreal spoke of the particular problems Québécois women face — the triple oppression of these women — as women, as workers, and as Québécois.

"Kate Porter of Vancouver contrasted the intervention of the LSA to that of other tendencies in the women's liberation movement. The Communist party, she said, 'flunked out at the beginning,' in ignoring or opposing it. Various Maoist groups oppose its independent dynamic, supporting only struggles around wage issues. The New Left women often try to transform it into a last-ditch substitution for a revolutionary party. Only the LSA/LSO, she said, has the perspective of building and broadening the movement."

Discussion on the New Democratic party ranged from the formation of the Waffle caucus to the long-range strategy to be followed by revolutionaries in the NDP. Anne Macdonald in *Labor Challenge* described a paper submitted by Ross Dowson which gives a historical view of the labor party:

"It unequivocally reaffirms that the NDP, from the day of its founding has been the political party of the English-Canadian working class. It warns, however, that 'While in its ranks there are forces that will come to the revolution, this party will never make the revolution, nor can it be reformed to serve this purpose.

"Thus the NDP represents both an opening to and a barrier against, stands both on the way and athwart the way of the building of the revolutionary vanguard.

"For the class as a whole over the entire past period the NDP represents a progressive and important step forward in their political development and it will continue to do so for some period.' Only if this party ceases to be the alternative in the eyes of the class would revolutionaries be justified to stop supporting it."

Macdonald writes that the potential of the Waffle caucus has already been indicated by its ability to win as many as one-fourth or one-third of the delegates at NDP conventions.

"The Waffle formation is vital to provide a vehicle through which the

growing numbers of conscious socialists in the NDP can come to grips with the anti-socialist leadership, and to prevent socialists from dropping away from the party, and from meaningful political activity, through the lack of any concrete perspective for action.

"However, nationally and in two key provinces, B. C. [British Columbia] and Ontario, the Waffle's leadership is firmly in the hands of a cliquish middle-class leadership. . . .

"This centrist element tends to lack understanding of two key political facts. First they envisage the takeover and use of the state in more or less its present form, either through electoral means, perhaps reinforced by mass mobilizations, or through some other, undefined process.

"They do not see that the present state machinery, totally shaped by and committed to the capitalist class, has to be swept aside so new structures can be built and controlled by the workers. . . .

"Moreover their petty-bourgeois character has led them to misunderstand the key role of the NDP's roots in the organized working class, and even to question at times their orientation to the NDP."

The convention outlined as key problems facing the Waffle caucus the need to develop demands which lead the working class toward socialism, the need to deepen its roots within the NDP, and the need to realize the necessity of democratic leadership, within both the party and the caucus.

In addition to outlining the tasks facing the LSA/LSO in the coming period, the convention also heard a speech by Alain Krivine, who brought greetings from the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. Krivine was a key figure in the student movement which touched off the May-June 1968 upheaval in France, and in 1969 he was the presidential candidate of the Ligue Communiste, the French section of the Fourth International.

"For three years, we have been in a new revolutionary period in Europe," Krivine said.

"Thousands of youth, especially students, have been radicalized. It was possible for us to participate in the May Day demonstration in Paris this year, from which we have been excluded in the past, and to mobilize 10,000 workers and students to march behind our banners."

Krivine described how the radicalization had begun to destroy the influence of the reformist leaders of the working class:

"Before the period of new radicalization Trotskyists were unable by their own actions to set a revolutionary example before the working class. The workers movement was totally controlled by Stalinism, and social democracy. But now in Europe, we are beginning to be able to organize mass actions on our own."

The final business of the convention was the election of the central committee, the national leadership of the LSA/LSO. Manon Leger, the League's candidate for mayor of Montreal, was elected president and Ross Dowson was reelected executive secretary.

"As the convention closed with an enthusiastic singing of the 'Internationale,'" Riddell wrote, "the spirit was one of unity and confidence—confidence that this assembly had made the decisions, laid the groundwork for a qualitative new leap in the growth of the LSA/LSO."

Angolan Describes Struggle

Commander Toka, a member of the central committee of the Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola [MPLA—Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] spoke in Detroit July 25 at a meeting sponsored by the All African Peoples Union.

Toka said that approximately one-third of the country has so far been liberated from the control of Portuguese imperialism. He pointed out that the arms used in Angola by Portugal are supplied to it by the United States through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The Angolan revolutionary stressed that the Black liberation movement in the United States was an aid to the struggle in Angola.

He said that the goal of the Angolan movement was to "place control of all the means of production in the hands of the people." Asked if aid from the USSR and China would influence the type of government established by a victorious MPLA, Toka replied that such a government will be "not like theirs . . . it will be democratic."

Another questioner asked Toka his opinion on "African socialism," and was told, "There is only one socialism."

Angel of Mercy

Mrs. Nixon's visit to Peru at the end of June cost the U.S. government \$2,000,000. American and Peruvian aircraft and their crews were diverted from earthquake relief work for three days to prepare for her arrival.

How Can British Imperialism Be Defeated?

[This is the concluding part of the interview with Irish republican leaders that appeared in our September 28 issue. The participants are 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. The interview was obtained in Belfast August 5 by Gerry Foley of *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Q. You have mentioned many examples of bullying by British troops which in your opinion represent attempts to provoke the people in the nationalist areas. Could these incidents, on the other hand, be interpreted as attempts to cow the nationalist population, to demonstrate that the imperialist occupation forces can move at will through the nationalist areas? If there is no active opposition, might not the British authorities achieve their objective?

McGurran. The British imperialist forces in Ireland have always tried to intimidate the people. They have tried by massive show of strength and beating up people, or a section of the people, to show the rest what would happen to them if they got involved.

This same attitude was shown by the RUC [Royal Ulster Constabulary] October 5 [the first big civil-rights march in 1968] when their objective seemed to be to give everybody, or as many as possible, a hiding. The idea was that if enough people got a thumping or beating, they wouldn't come back to more civil-rights demonstrations.

But the British don't understand the way the people react to this. Where the soldiers or police seriously injure or beat up on individuals, the people get their back up. And what they do to one person may stir up fifteen or even fifty more, who at least will come out onto the streets to protest.

For example, over the fourth, fifth, and sixth of July, the Lower Falls

area was completely overrun by the British forces. Wholesale looting, destruction, and brutality went on. The people haven't recovered from it yet. But we had mass protests, solidarity marches by women of various areas, and by men of other areas which were not affected. They came down to show the British occupation forces that they would not stand for this.

There is obviously a policy to imprison a lot of people on very flimsy evidence. For example, a lot of people were locked up for breaking the curfew that was imposed on this area over the weekend of July 4-5, although the military had no legal right to impose a curfew. A lot of people are being batoned on the theory that the more savagely they are beaten the less likely they will want to engage in any further activities against the British army.

But, in the main, the people are not being scared off. They will not accept a situation where an alien army is occupying the area and will not let you walk your own streets, or for that matter will not allow you to sit in your own house without the danger of these people kicking in the door and dragging you out into the streets and fabricating tales of your having been seen throwing a milk bottle.

The judiciary take the word of any soldier or policeman as final, even if you have seven or eight witnesses on your side. And all convictions for "disorderly" conduct mean a minimum sentence of six months in prison. Scores of people are now being put away in prison because of perjured evidence.

This is a policy to terrorize and cow the people so that they will not participate in any kind of activity against the British occupation forces. Provocation has given the British army the opportunity in a lot of areas to do this. The more areas that are terrorized in Belfast and other parts of the North, the more effective, they feel, their hard-line attitude is going to be in keeping the people down and in keeping them in their homes.

Even the women can't go out to

shop or go out in a normal kind of way to have a walk about the streets and see what's going on because they are likely to be kicked all around the place. In fact, you could say that they would be lucky if they were only kicked around the place and not sent to prison for six months because somebody decided he didn't like the look of their face.

There is obviously a policy to break the will of the people to resist oppression. We've had this problem with the RUC and the B Specials and to some extent we were able to defeat that. And I think that we will be able to defeat the same tactics on the part of the British army. This will take, in the main, a propaganda job, a publicity job in exposing what is going on here and making it clear that all the facts will come out about what developed here in this area on the fourth and fifth of July and in other areas since.

McMillan. I'm more inclined to think that the provocation being offered at the moment by the British troops has got one objective and that is to stimulate a confrontation between the British troops and the ordinary people of the streets. It must be obvious since the fifth of October [1968], when the police used such brutal repressive measures in order to break up the civil-rights demonstration in Derry, that such tactics do not cow the people, that they have the opposite effect. After the first big civil-rights march in Derry was attacked by the police, 15,000 or 20,000 people turned out for the next.

You had the same reaction from the Irish people when General Freeland issued a warning that anyone using or throwing petrol bombs would be shot on sight. This threat did not have the desired effect, so the result was that a young lad, Daniel O'Hagan, was brutally and cold-bloodedly shot dead in the streets of Belfast from a distance of twenty yards. This was cold, calculated murder. It was calculated to instill such fear into the hearts of the people that

they would go home and cease their opposition to the forces of occupation.

Again this had the opposite effect. It had the effect of spreading the trouble from one to all the nationalist areas in Belfast. The history of Ireland shows that the more repression that is used against the Irish people the more they will resist it.

McBurney. In spite of the fact that that young fellow was shot dead for allegedly throwing a petrol bomb, in the subsequent six days' riots there were more petrol bombs thrown in all areas and yet withall the British army stood back and didn't curtail the throwing of them at all.

McGurran. Yes, that's the sickening thing. They shot dead one man, supposedly to discourage people from throwing petrol bombs. As a matter of fact, it didn't have that effect. They must realize this will be the result. Their continued provocation within the area can have only one motive, and that is to continue the confrontation, to keep the pot boiling in order to create the conditions necessary for interfering people.

Q. *The obvious extension of the last question is whether or not the massive outbreaks that have occurred over the last year and a half represent a step forward for the struggle of the nationalist people, or a step backwards. That is, where is the civil-rights struggle at the moment? What is the next step in this campaign, or do you feel that the civil-rights struggle has been superseded by a national struggle in the strict sense?*

McGurran. I think the events of the past months are a step forward in one sense. We have been trying for so long to get across the idea that the kernel of the problem facing us in the Six Counties, facing the whole Irish nation, is the problem of British imperialism, direct and indirect British control of the destinies of the Irish people. By direct control I mean the use of occupation forces in the Six Counties; by indirect control, the use of puppet governments in Stormont and Dublin.

At least now the situation is a lot clearer in the minds of the ordinary people here in the Six Counties and

I think in a large part of Ireland as a whole, and, I hope, clearer in the eyes of the ordinary British man in the street and of people throughout the world.

Up to four or five weeks ago, the British were claiming that they were only here to keep the warring Irish apart. They washed their hands of what was going on in the Six Counties like some Pontius Pilate. But we republicans continually pointed out that the British were responsible for what was going on here. They claimed the ultimate authority. They were the ultimate authority for the setting up of the two states in Ireland. They were ultimately responsible to a great extent for what has developed in one of these statelets, the Six Counties.

Things are much clearer now. British imperialist forces are being used directly to help subjugate a section of the Irish people to the will of the fascist, undemocratic regime of the Unionist party which has been in control here for fifty years. At the same time, the behavior of the Twenty-Six County government has exposed their nationalist pretenses, exposed the fact that they were only paying lip service to Irish nationality even when they included a provision in their constitution claiming sovereignty over the whole thirty-two counties of Ireland and the people living in them.

The issue is now much clearer and can be seen throughout the world. It is ridiculous to have people like Jack Lynch, the prime minister of the Twenty-Six County government, saying that the problem is a problem of the Irish people and that they can solve it. The problem is British imperialist rule in Ireland.

The question is how you bring this fact home more forcefully to the British man in the streets. The problem is to get the idea across to him that his son, brother, or father is not serving in the British armed forces in the North of Ireland to keep the warring Irish Catholics and Protestants apart, but that he represents the British imperialist interests — the colonial interests, the occupation interests of the British government here in Ireland.

It is the job of the republican movement and other radical, progressive, and revolutionary bodies throughout the world to expose the fact that the 11,500 British troops in Northern Ire-

land are here in the interest of British imperialism to keep in power the Unionist overlords and the belted earls who are so much akin to the British Tory party.

We believe that the problem will only be solved when the people get the right to rule their own lives and control their own destinies. We believe that to gain this right the mass of the Irish people north and south will eventually have to come into confrontation with the forces of British imperialism and colonialism in the North, and neocolonialism in the South as represented by the Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael parties, in particular Fianna Fáil. This can only end up in revolution.

The events of the last months were a step forward in the sense that they brought the national question to the fore through a direct confrontation between the nationalist people and the British troops, which are now being used in the same way as the RUC and the B Specials were used before. That is, the troops are being used to suppress people who are demonstrating even about social conditions.

Since the national issue has come to the fore, the civil-rights movement has to some extent taken a back seat because it is a nonpolitical movement concerned only with basic civil rights and social justice. However, one way to keep a viable organization with mass support, and expose the lack of civil rights and social justice, is the campaign by the Civil Rights Association demanding that the Westminster government, which is the ultimate authority for the Six Counties, write a bill of rights into the Government of Ireland Act.

This work has been going rather slowly because of the outbreaks of trouble with the British army. More people are getting involved. But what is obviously needed is for the mass of the people to support this bill of rights covenant and force Westminster to accept responsibility for the situation that exists here. The British government must not be allowed to say that this is only the affair of the Northern Ireland government.

As has been pointed out, the Stormont government is ineffective at the moment. In fact, we have martial law; the area is ruled by British occupation forces and British troops and they are

directly under the control of the Westminster government.

To some extent also, the Civil Rights Association has had to take a back seat because it's a nonviolent movement, or a movement pledged to non-violence. It cannot take part in activities involving clashes with the British army. But it can keep a watch on destruction by the British army, brutality by the British army, ill-treatment of prisoners, and mass arrests on false pretexts. They could bring issues like this to the notice of the world.

McMillan. In initiating and spearheading the civil-rights movement, the republican movement had two main objectives. One was to unite as many people as possible behind certain basic demands. In this we were successful, insofar as we did unite various organizations of different political persuasions.

Our second objective was to bring about the abolition of the Special Powers Act in order to create conditions in which the republican movement could operate more openly. Our paper, the *United Irishman*, had been banned under the Special Powers Act. The Republican Clubs, the political wing of the movement, were also banned. If this ban were removed, we could work more openly in trying to solve the everyday problems of the Irish people.

To a certain extent the civil-rights movement has succeeded in bringing about the desired reforms. Even though the Special Powers Act is still being used in a limited sense by the British army, the ban on the Republican Clubs and the *United Irishman* is not enforced anymore.

But I think that the civil-rights movement has just about outlived its usefulness. The one big thing that it did succeed in doing was in proving to the people their own strength. It showed them that if an injustice was being perpetrated against them, they did not have to, as they did in the past, sit back and say that there was nothing they could do about it, and suffer silently.

Now the people have come to understand their own strength, and the lesson that the republican movement has learned from this is that if mass mobilization of the people is required to press political and social demands,

the potential for mobilizing these people is very great.

The republican movement realizes that social justice and basic civil rights can only be achieved in this country with the abolition of the border. It's from the partition of this country, the British imperialist domination of the Twenty-Six Counties and the Six, that social injustice and the denial of civil rights stem.

It's up to the republican movement now to educate the masses, especially the younger people, and to organize them to demand, not only civil rights but the political and economic rights that have been denied to them for years. This is the big thing that I see and I agree that the struggle has now developed beyond the demand for civil rights and is now taking on the countenance of a struggle for national liberation.

Q. Does that mean that you expect in the next stage that the republican movement will play the role of revolutionary party in the North, raising revolutionary demands and carrying out revolutionary political campaigns?

McMillan. The position within the republican movement at the moment is that what I would term a prerevolutionary situation has been brought about within the Six Counties but that the movement in the Twenty-Six Counties has not kept pace and that some balance will have to be achieved.

I feel myself that a situation could be brought about here where either at Britain's own decision or through the force of circumstances, the British army may be withdrawn from the Six Counties. I feel that this would not be a good development at the moment unless the movement were well enough developed in the Twenty-Six Counties to influence the solution resulting from the withdrawal of British troops.

Q. Do you intend to run candidates and develop direct action campaigns for the nationalization of factories and land?

McGurran. A combination of direct action and verbal demands for return of the lands and distribution of the large estates, return of the fishing rights [many Irish rivers and streams are still owned by the descendants of feudal lords], and cooperativism. We

do not call so much for dividing up the estates, for them to be handed over in little parcels to the small farmer. We want to persuade groups of small farmers to run them as cooperative farming institutes, and eventually to pool their land into communal farms. This is what we want rather than nationalization and dividing up the land.

Q. What about nationalization of the factories? You would agree, I think, that cooperativism is not practical in industry.

McGurran. What we have to do in industry is to lay the groundwork for workers' organizations within the factories, to get the workers to discuss the pros and cons of nationalization and workers' control or workers' ownership. We are attempting to do this in Derry City, trying to get our own movement more involved in the trade unions in order to radicalize them.

Obviously there are those in the republican movement who feel that it is not possible to radicalize the trade-union structure. But to my mind, at the moment—and I stress at the moment—that is too obstructive a view. One would have to be within an organization like the trade-union movement to see whether or not it is possible to democratize it and radicalize it. If it isn't, then you will have to change your tactics.

But if it is possible to really radicalize the trade unions and create the kind of industrial movement that Connolly envisaged, then you wouldn't have a situation where one small group of trade unionists goes out on strike and the rest carry on like before. A radicalized trade-union movement supporting the demands of a revolutionary movement would be a power to be reckoned with. We will have to push revolutionary demands more.

But I have always been opposed to the rhetoric of revolutionary demands, that is, just raising them from the platform or in a newspaper or book. These demands must be accompanied by deeds. The person, group, or organization that claims to be revolutionary must be prepared to take the first step in the physical confrontation necessary to achieve such demands. If it is in housing, you have to be prepared to actually physically take over empty houses, put people in to squat, and physically defend them. If you call for distributing land, you have

to actually physically take it over, even if it is only a token protest. You must show the people by example what to do.

We will have to look seriously at the problem of factory closures. It is not enough to talk about what should be done. At some stage in the immediate future we are going to have to physically do it. We're going to have to walk in and take over a factory and use it to produce what the people need, even if they can't afford to buy it.

This is what we are going to have to work towards, where we can walk into the factories and take the initiative and not just hope the people will follow us but be confident that the people will come with us. And this can only be achieved by education of the people, not only the education of the mass of the people but the education of our own members as to the necessity to build up a revolutionary spirit in the masses.

My own personal opinion is that we should only put up revolutionary candidates when we have grass-roots organizations that have the support of the people in the area. Because otherwise political campaigns are likely to detract from our work. The cult of the personality can very easily arise. In the process of getting elected, and even more after being elected, the individual can rise above the interest of the organization he represents and maybe water down its revolutionary message, or revolutionary principles.

I don't believe that parliamentarism has any part in revolutionary activity, or has a very minor part. It has a place only at the very end. I don't believe that it is possible to gain power through parliamentary means. Possibly in the immediate aftermath of the revolution we might have some use for a parliament as a means of containing the counterrevolutionaries, by having the form of power to counteract the counterrevolutionaries. But in the period leading up to the victory of the revolution, I don't think that there is any value to parliamentary activity. But again I say that's a personal opinion.

I think that revolutionary demands must be pressed by deeds, that is, by making the revolution in the smallest local sense, whether it is taking over a factory, or a river, or a piece of land, so that people can see what is meant by the demand that you

are making and see that you are ready to participate with them in carrying it out.

Q. What activity do you intend to concentrate on?

McGurran. I think that here in the North with 11,000 British troops ranged against us that for the next period we are going to see a dispersion of activities. One activity will be developing a more conscious understanding in the minds of some in the republican movement of what the next stage is going to have to be, of the situation we are going to have to develop towards.

More importantly, we are going to have to get the ideas of the republican movement out to the mass of the ordinary people. Because unless they understand what our ideas are and how we reached the decisions we make based on our ideas, they will not participate in our actions and support us.

When we talk about taking over of land and large estates, there has to be a certain amount of work done explaining to the farmer that we are not asking him to participate with us so that he can grab off another ten or fifteen acres of land to go with his other twenty acres. It isn't a question of his getting some more land so that he can sit back and say, "Screw you, Jack, I'm all right." But what he has to do is band together with the people in his area and they have to fight as a group, not as individuals.

The whole question of the Common Market is one that we're going to have to flog literally to death to get across to the working class and the farmer.

McBurney. It seems to me that Gerry's been asking what our next action is going to be in the situation that's involved here. Well, I don't agree that we actually have a revolutionary situation here. I feel that to have that we would have to have the amalgamation of all the small groups throughout the country, North and South, under one national leadership in order to make possible the occupation of factories, farms, and what have you. We haven't come anywhere near what I term a revolutionary situation.

I think we are inclined to get the

thing confused here. We're so closely involved with the situation that we lose sight of the whole. It doesn't seem to me that it is a revolutionary situation in the sense that it can lead to the establishment of the socialist republic. It is certainly a very revolutionary situation of a sort, but one that can only lead us to federalism of one kind or another. And then we're back to square one of just exactly where the hell to go from here.

McMillan. That's what I meant when I said that there is a prerevolutionary situation existing here. But we have maybe three, four, five more stages to go before we reach the position where we can begin to implement the taking over of factories, forming cooperatives of small farmers, and all the other things Malachy [McGurran] has outlined. I think we have a fair distance to go.

Q. The next question, logically, is how, in this stage, do you propose to extend the struggle to the South? Or do you think that is desirable? Are you trying to extend the kind of radicalization that exists in the North to the South?

McGurran. We are more concerned with the situation in the North. At the *ardfheis* [national convention] level, the leadership can put forward ideas on how to heighten the struggle in the South.

The struggle on a social level in the South predates the civil-rights agitation and confrontations with the police, B Specials, and British army in the North. But it has never achieved the kind of mass participation that, for example, the short-term civil-rights struggle had here. The situation in the South is obviously going to have to be developed. But it must develop out of the conditions that exist in the Twenty-Six Counties. You can't apply a blueprint for revolutionary agitation to both the North and the South.

Revolutionary activity must be suited to the most local level, to the parish-pump level in fact. What are the problems in the local parish? They may vary from parish to parish. What work has been done so that people in the parish will support revolutionary demands? They may not

consider them revolutionary, of course. We may not put them forward in that light.

Getting water piped in in the rural areas of western Ireland could be termed a basic amenity. But with the kind of local government structure you have in the west of Ireland, it is a revolutionary demand to get piped water into houses. But what we want is to get the people working on such things, demanding what is theirs by right, we want to get them to stand up and fight for it as a body and as a group. And from there we want to get them to the stage of realizing that all the people have the same kind of rights that they do at the local level, the right to the wealth of the county, of the province, and of the nation.

This type of work will have to be carried on by the people in the local areas themselves, to some extent independently of the next parish, or the next county, independent North from South. But overall guidelines will have to be worked on further, and in greater detail. There can be no blueprint for it, however.

The people who represent the movement in the South must be the ones to develop the movement's policies and tactics there. Possibly they can take examples of the activity in the North and use them. But we should not have to depend on them to help us in the situation here and they should not have to wait, or hope for our participation in the struggle in the South.

We must plan on the basis that they will be able to take on the enemy forces, to use the military term, in their own area. But some form of plan will have to be worked out nationally and in detail. No one, however, can produce an overall blueprint and just say here it is; now start carrying it out. Our strategy will have to develop logically.

Q. What sort of international support do you think is needed at the present stage?

McGurran. I think that the socialist, radical, and revolutionary groups outside Ireland could play a very large part in advancing the situation in the Six Counties. For example, they could help us fight imprisonment without charge or trial, internment, which

is a serious possibility in the situation that exists in the Six Counties at the moment.

What I would like to see is united action by the revolutionary groups, whether it is in the United States, France, or Germany — even Latin America — in direct action and propaganda aimed at British economic interests in their countries, as well as political and military representatives.

Another important thing revolutionary groups can do is explain the role of British imperialism here and the meaning of the republican revolt. The clashes here have been played up in the press around the world as a Catholic versus Protestant confrontation. I

Great Britain

Maudling Orders Rudi Dutschke Deported

Rudi Dutschke, the well-known German socialist student leader, has been ordered to leave Great Britain before September 30. Dutschke went to the United Kingdom two years ago for treatment of injuries he received when a Berlin ultrarightist fired two bullets into his head on April 11, 1968. He has been convalescing there since then. A year ago he received a fellowship from the Heinrich Heine Foundation. He entered Cambridge University and has been doing research on the history of the revolutionary movement in the post-1917 period.

Dutschke has never fully recovered from his wounds. He has lost 50 percent of his vision. He has difficulty in talking and is under treatment for epilepsy.

The famous student leader was admitted to Britain only on the proviso that he abstain from all political activity. His professors confirm that he has strictly kept his pledge. In any case, the extent of Dutschke's physical disability would make it difficult for him to take part in politics.

The decision of Tory Home Secretary Reginald Maudling to expel the convalescing student leader angered some of the most solidly conservative quarters. The London *Times* in an editorial September 16 condemned Maudling's action as stupid, shabby, and petty.

am not saying that there have not been such confrontations and that there is no danger that they might occur again. But I think that it has become clear in the last three or four months that the real fight here is against British imperialist interference in the affairs of the Irish people.

The British have been here for 800 years and it would seem that they are still prepared to use every means to maintain their rule. They have even had to take troops out of West Germany to send here. In this connection, another thing the revolutionary groups outside Ireland could do is propaganda work aimed at British troops wherever they are stationed.

The *Times* noted that Dutschke was in a certain sense a political refugee. As a leading spokesman for the now defunct German SDS, Dutschke was slandered by the reactionary gutter press headed by the Springer combine as public enemy No. 1, making him a prime target for ultrarightist gunmen.

The London Trades Council, which represents 300,000 trade unionists, unanimously passed a resolution attacking the Tory government's witch-hunting move. The resolution declared: "This London Trades Council is gravely concerned by the decision of the Home Secretary to force Mr. Dutschke to leave this country by September 30.

"Such a decision, by its implications, strikes at the very roots of the most elementary and hard-won rights of the British people in general and the trade-union movement in particular.

"We urge the Home Secretary to implement the traditional hospitality of the country and allow Mr. Dutschke to stay in Britain to continue his studies without further interference or discrimination."

The Tory government's persecution of Rudi Dutschke has no conceivable purpose except to establish a tough "law and order" image for the new regime. The very pettiness and vi-

ciousness of the action indicates that it was intended to appeal to the same type of audience Vice-president Agnew caters to in the United States—the worst reactionaries who can be relied upon to support a policy of repression.

The world's oldest and most sophisticated bourgeoisie has apparently reached a new stage of decadence, finding itself obliged to copy the demagogic methods of its crude transatlantic cousins.

In fact, Maudling's move was, if anything, more clumsy than the McCarthyite antics of his American counterparts. The nonsensical reason he gave for expelling Dutschke must have increased the indignation aroused by his arbitrary action.

Dutschke was to be expelled, the guardian of British security alleged, not because he had violated his agreement to avoid political involvement but because it was in contradiction to the tradition of British liberty to demand that newcomers to the country renounce the exercise of their political rights.

"What puzzles liberals here," Bonn correspondent Norman Crossland wrote in the September 26 issue of the *Guardian Weekly*, "is the argument of the Home Secretary that residence permits should not be granted to people who have restrictions placed upon them.

"Naively the Germans ask whether it would not be better to remove their restrictions than expel the applicant."

Casino Opens in Belgrade

The Tito regime has permitted an American syndicate to open a lavish gambling casino in Belgrade's Yugoslavia Hotel. The August 25 *Los Angeles Times* reported that the syndicate expects to make \$2,000,000 profit a year from its customers—mostly the American jet set.

The Yugoslav government receives none of the gambling profits, but hopes "... to realize a good hard-currency revenue from the splendid year-old hotel which has up to now had but few customers other than official delegations."

The director of the gambling syndicate told the *Times* reporter: "We have had nothing but the most wonderful and enthusiastic cooperation from the government and the tourist administration here. They've given us everything we've asked for and we are allowed to take out everything we net at the tables. . . . We are here to try to help and I think it will be profitable for all of us."

What Next for Chile?

Behind Allende's Electoral Victory

By Alfredo Garcia



ALLENDE: Military coup could bring sudden end to his 'popular front.'

[Written on the eve of the Chilean elections, the following article indicates how the outcome at the polls reflected the class struggle in Chile. Its prognostications have already been borne out in many respects by the course of events since then. For an account of the September 4 election itself, see *Intercontinental Press*, September 14, page 743.]

* * *

Santiago

The Partido Demócrata Cristiano [DC—Christian Democratic party] has governed the country for six years. Its chances of retaining power are being put seriously in question. Political shifts in favor of other bourgeois forces are always possible. The peculiar feature of the situation lies in the fact that this time the stability of the bourgeois system itself is at stake.

The crisis in Chile cannot be fully understood without reference to its his-

toric social background. In recent decades the country has undergone its greatest rate of growth; its structures have reached their maximum development. Chile cannot move forward qualitatively without destroying the entire existing social framework and the relationship of forces that sustains it.

The conquest of power by the DC was more than the triumph of a simple political formula. It signified the culmination of the growth of the national bourgeoisie, with the extension of political power to the newest sector of this class, which was formed in the feeble industrialization that began in the thirties and accelerated in the period between 1940 and 1950. In broad terms, this completed the process of assembling the national bourgeoisie. This was achieved by means of an intrabourgeois struggle, involving inevitable sectoral shifts, political ruptures, and partisan realignments which concealed the underlying consolidation of the national bourgeoisie.

The consolidation took place in the context of expanding and transforming the society. The development of the urban industrial productive apparatus created new classes and knit them together with ties of mutual dependence. A numerous industrial proletariat, disciplined by wage exploitation, grew by leaps and bounds.

This industrial development under bourgeois leadership has not eliminated underdevelopment or weakened our subordination to imperialism. But it is unquestionable that by modifying our social structure, transforming the entire social classes, this development has forced the classes to make readjustments, brought them into more violent collisions, and aggravated the conflicts which urgently require solution.

The state apparatus has grown out of all proportion, reaching a stage of hypertrophy, its pores clogged with innumerable functionaries. Such disproportionate growth of the government bureaucracy reflects the contradiction between social and industrial

development on the one hand and the relative weakness of the national bourgeoisie on the other. It reveals the contradiction in a policy of development that instead of liberating the country from imperialism has maintained and deepened this dependence.

The underdeveloped countries must carry out the tasks of a bourgeois democratic revolution. The history of the possessing classes of Latin America is one of incapacity in this regard. The appearance of nationalist currents of various stripes is the expression both of the need for a bourgeois-democratic revolution and the limitations of the national bourgeoisies. Chile is no exception in this regard.

This general statement, however, does not relieve us of the task of defining the peculiar features of the process. It requires us to isolate the specific aspects of this failure and its paradoxical results. The bourgeois-democratic program and the bourgeois-democratic revolution itself have been carried on in subordination to imperialism.

Chilean society has expanded and developed in a democratic direction without generating an authentically nationalist bourgeoisie and without fundamentally liberating the country from its subordination to imperialism. The bourgeoisie has undergone a continual process of consolidation; each new stratum that has appeared has quickly integrated itself with its predecessors. Although the accommodations have not always been smooth, in continually superimposing themselves one on another the different bourgeois formations have always meshed together without provoking any basic conflicts.

Playing a decisive initiating role in the society and the economy, the state has successively incorporated the ruling classes into its apparatus, disciplining them and regulating the conflicts of the various layers. Thus it has given the bourgeoisie an inner unity which it could not have achieved had it formed in an independent process free of supervision by the state apparatus. While in general the state represents the ruling class, in our history the ruling classes are consubstantial with the state, fusing with it into a bureaucratized bourgeois class which faces all vicissitudes as a bloc. That is its peculiarity.

In rising to power, the DC exhausted any possible progressive residue in the

national bourgeoisie, completing the historic process of the fusion of its various strata. This ultimate integration must be seen in general terms which do not—and could not—exclude the secondary antagonisms and the political shifts necessary for this historical integration within the context of the national state apparatus.

The DC arose and grew in a social and political climate which in many ways was contradictory and confusing. Its expansion and triumph came in the years 1950-1964. Originally an offshoot of the landed aristocracy and its Partido Conservador [Conservative party], the Christian Democrats were to make their fortune in a society in transformation, stirred by powerful social and political yeasts.

Although of bourgeois origin, the members of this party were not, properly speaking, the owners of land or industry. They sensed the collapse of the old structures and the emergence of new and more dynamic ones, agilely finding niches for themselves in the grand process of change. Based in the liberal and technical professions, this element increased in importance along with the general development of the country, becoming the owners or managers of rising industry.

This new bourgeois grouping moved with audacity and clear-sightedness to take advantage of the disorientation to be seen in many intermediate layers and among the workers as well, influencing their thinking. In this way the Christian Democrats developed a social base which the traditional parties of the bourgeoisie could not achieve.

The Christian Democrats' bourgeois-democratic reformist program enabled them to penetrate deeply into the masses of the people. The party was vertical in structure. Petty-bourgeois elements, peasants, and a marginal layer of workers filled its ranks. But while its rank and file consisted of elements from several classes, the leadership remained bourgeois. The party's reformist program was directed more toward removing the remaining obstacles to the full development of a bourgeois and capitalist society than to meeting the aspirations of its rank and file.

The Chilean Working Class

The growth of the DC and its conquest of governmental power in Sep-

tember 1964 would be incomprehensible without taking into consideration the behavior of the working-class parties in those years.

Chile is one of the countries in Latin America that has exhibited considerable institutional stability and a bourgeois-democratic system of unquestionable breadth. Under strong pressure from the workers and the middle classes, the various governments have continually had to extend democratic rights. The Chilean working class possesses solidly organized and firmly rooted parties of its own which have exercised a decisive weight in winning the advances achieved in this field.

For decades the bourgeoisie has found itself forced to deal with the workers through the intermediary of these parties. On this condition it has maintained its class domination, paying continual tribute to the workers' demands and thereby advancing bourgeois-democratic reforms on all levels. We have had a parliamentary system, universal suffrage for all citizens over eighteen years of age, including illiterates; a minimum wage, a month's sick leave per year, vacations, a sliding scale of wages, and other benefits. All these advantages are eloquent testimony to this progress.

Within the context of this vigorous democratic development, two formidable obstacles arose to the further extension of democracy—foreign ownership of the mines and the persistence of large landholding, or latifundism. While the entire big bourgeoisie conspired to prevent the nationalization of the big mining industry, the same was not true of the land.

The conservative aristocracy maintained itself on the basis of a monopoly of the land. From this monopoly it drew not only its revenues but the means for preserving its social and political domination by manipulating a docile and plundered peasantry. Isolated from political life and without organizations of their own, these peasants served as pawns in the conservatives' political games.

Hundreds of thousands of peasants remained outside the market, limiting the expansion of industry. A large part of the industrial bourgeoisie understood that agrarian reform was necessary and wanted it. Only exceptional political circumstances prevented them from carrying it out. The land was the Achilles' heel of the conservative oligarchy. The DC, which

sprang from this class but was not its heir, could put forward this solution with much greater determination. This was the reason the DC gained such an extensive base in the countryside, a base which enabled the party, once in power, to initiate an agrarian reform which is playing a prominent role in the present political life of the country.

Rise of Christian Democrats

A glance at events further in the past will help us to understand better both the rise of the DC and the evolution of the workers parties. During the fifties, beginning with the second Ibañez government in 1952, the masses displayed a strong disaffection from their class parties, the Socialists and the Communists.

While in those years the workers reorganized their union movement, creating the CUT [Central Unica de Trabajadores—United Workers Federation], this reorientation was not paralleled in the political field. The workers parties, especially the Communists, were incapable of understanding the Ibañista phenomenon and did not understand how to proceed tactically to reestablish links with the disoriented masses.

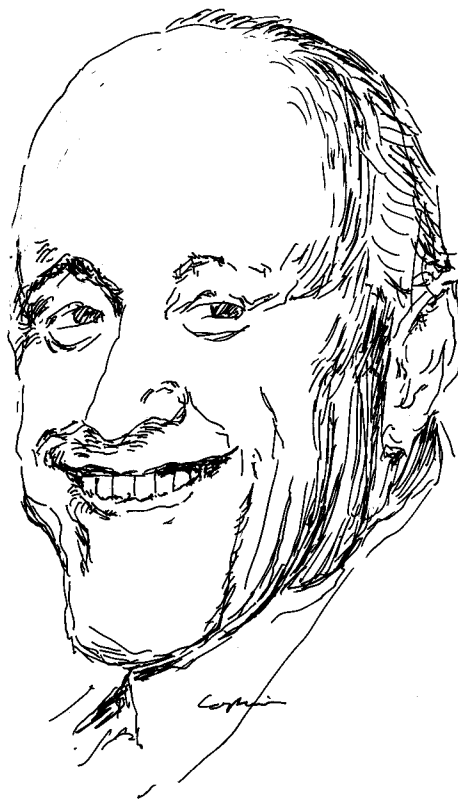
Large sectors of workers were attracted to Ibañez as a personality and moved away from the traditional workers parties, contributing to the achievement of a bourgeois solution. For their part, the bourgeois parties experienced their worst crisis yet. In their impotence they allowed a social and political relationship to exist temporarily that assured the stability of the regime. The Ibañez government, which began without any major partisan commitments, was a time for reconsolidation in both the bourgeois and workers parties.

Disoriented by the Ibañez phenomenon, the parties vacillated in a game of supporting and rejecting his government. In this period of general reconsolidation (1952-58), the DC won a multiclass base and laid the foundation for its victory in 1964. While the workers parties made progress in reconsolidating, they were unable—or unwilling—to prevent the DC from producing a real split in the working-class movement and delaying its political unification.

In the bourgeois camp the reorgani-

zation of the parties caused a shift in the center of gravity—an extraordinary growth of the DC and still greater decline of the traditional bourgeois parties, such as the Conservatives, Liberals, and Radicals. In order to block an advance by the workers, these parties would have to give unconditional support to the Christian Democrat campaign in 1964.

Once again the bourgeoisie consolidated itself at the price of accepting the reformist program and victory of the DC. In these circumstances there could be no social defeat for the work-



ALESSANDRI: Bids for mantle of unifier of Chilean ruling class.

ers. As a whole, the masses went on the offensive.

Yet a split occurred in the mass movement. Despite its unquestionable negative effect, this division did not break the revolutionary thrust of the proletariat.

In a few short years, the workers healed the split, reuniting at a higher level. The years of Christian Democratic rule were filled with events of the greatest importance, of social and political dislocations requiring a definitive solution.

In those years the DC exercised undivided political power, needing support from no other party. The Partido

Nacional [Nationalist party] remained in opposition, as well as the Radicals and other bourgeois microfactions. From this fact it might be deduced that the bourgeoisie was divided. This was true if you looked at the jostling of political formations and not at the real behavior of the classes.

However, we must take into account that in all important problems or critical situations the bourgeoisie and its parties rallied behind the president of the republic. Thereby, they revealed the fictitiousness of their division, that is, its purely conjunctural character, which at no time endangered an effective defense of their class interests. At bottom the bourgeoisie is solidly organized and under the blows of the present situation it will probably overcome the secondary contradictions that still exist in the party setup.

Christian Democrat Reforms

It is quite clear that the DC intended to carry out its reformist program and took significant steps. Its failures were rooted in its bourgeois nature, in the social contradictions which block any further progress along the reformist democratic road. It aspired to solve the country's two major problems—the land problem and imperialist domination in big mining.

The DC advocated and got an agrarian reform law of unquestionable importance. Its objective was obvious—to destroy latifundism with the aim of creating a new middle class of agricultural proprietors developing on farms no larger than eighty hectares. The legalistic tradition of the bourgeoisie produced a complex and involved law, which has given rise to confusion and delay in applying the agrarian reform. By paying compensation, the government sought primarily to avoid ruining the landowners and secondarily to avoid arousing their anger.

Slowness in applying the reform law has enabled landlords to evade the inevitable expropriations by artificially dividing up their land. The delay made it possible for them also to withdraw capital, depriving those benefited by the reform of machinery, tools, fertilizer, and the implements required for production. On the lands expropriated this has resulted in a decline in

productivity with dangerous consequences.

We cannot fail to recognize that even applied in a bourgeois manner the agrarian reform has irreversibly undermined the rural structure. As of this date latifundia with an area of close to 3,000,000 hectares have been expropriated and turned over to the peasants in mixed forms embracing individual owners, cooperatives, and "establishments" [asentamientos], according to the DC terminology.

The Peasant Movement

The impact of the agrarian reform has created a historically new situation, modifying the classical pattern of social and political forces. The landowning oligarchy, which was politically on the decline, has been dealt a mortal blow. It is losing the basis of its past strong position. Politically it has been disinherited and in the long run its disappearance is inevitable.

With the weakening of the landlords, the peasant masses are liberating themselves in fact, and their political and social consciousness is developing by leaps and bounds. The peasants themselves are now spurring the agrarian reform throughout the countryside. They are occupying land, driving out the landlords, pressing or fighting the agrarian reform officials, as the case may be. They are organizing themselves in unions, forming regional and national peasant leagues, waging militant strikes, and raising their voices with a new tone.

Rapidly the peasants are learning the political and organizational techniques of the workers, in whom they see their natural ally. In recent months the peasants unleashed a national strike that brought them fully into the class struggle.

"Compromise Nationalizations"

In tackling the problem of nationalizing the big enterprises in Yankee hands, the DC and its government have proved not merely cautious but capitulationist. The leopard's spots soon reappeared. After long negotiations with the American magnates, the Christian Democrats rejected nationalization outright and accepted a "compromise form of nationalization," in which the Chilean state pays the

imperialists millions of dollars in order to gain possession of 51 percent of the big companies.

Considering the exceptionally high prices of copper on the world market, this transaction means a juicy deal for the imperialists. And it has the additional advantage of bringing the state in as partner, which is a political guaranty of the safety of present and future investments and which disguises the foreign nature of these investments, thereby assuring them still greater impunity.

None of the DC's so-called achievements has contributed to the stability of the country or promises to keep the government in power. The country is experiencing a stage in which its firmest structures are breaking down, a prerevolutionary stage which, far from abating, promises a serious political confrontation between the classes. The Chilean revolution is leaving behind its bourgeois-democratic phases; the present democratic and institutional coexistence represents a residual product of this revolution and not a fresh hope for its advancement.

The Current Situation

What has actually occurred? The Christian Democratic triumph in 1964 did not represent a political and social defeat of the workers and the peasants. Contained and frustrated in 1964, the working masses recovered rapidly. The mass movement rose continually in an ascending spiral. When it lost momentum, the movement did not wane but only halted preparatory to advancing more vigorously and penetrating more deeply.

Conjunctural divisions were overcome in action. Local and national strikes of blue- and white-collar workers demonstrated this. As unity in action deepened, it reached the level of political unity and it has become quite apparent that the government and the ruling party have lost their decisive influence.

At the beginning of 1967 a successful general strike clearly indicated this evolution and the mobilizations of the first half of 1968 confirmed it. This pressure abated in the second half of 1968 and declined still more through 1969. But beginning late in 1969 the movement went on a general offensive.

The months that have passed in

1970 have seen a seemingly unflagging chain of conflicts in which it was difficult to distinguish political from economic objectives. Government and private clerks, students, peasants, one after the other have occupied the stage in strikes and conflicts. The most conservative structures of the society have been shaken and strikes have multiplied in sectors which seemed immovable, as in the court system, where the whole gamut of officials from the most modest clerks to senior judges were caught up in protests.

Without exception the universities of the country have been rocked by persistent reform movements which have thrown the academic authorities into confusion. Engaging in the most militant kinds of actions, the students have been strengthening their ties with the struggling workers and moving at top speed toward achieving a new revolutionary political consciousness. The slum-belt workers occupying state and private land have found their best allies in the students.

Polarization of Classes

This is the reality the country is experiencing. It is necessary, of course, to refrain from picturing the situation as explosive. These actions are still developing in a peaceful atmosphere and their revolutionary edge remains sheathed. This is a time of accumulating pressures that have not yet reached the critical point. Polarization of the classes is clearly occurring and seeking political form. One element in the situation is the disparity between the class struggle and the coming election. While the polarization is clear at the economic level, this does not hold true in the lineup of political forces campaigning for the presidency.

The presidential election September 4 is of unquestionable importance. We must be clear on that. But the electoral contest is not the predominant element in the Chilean situation. The election is subordinate to the powerful unfolding of the class struggle, which has preceded the electoral campaign. The class struggle is rooted in the instability of the social relationships, in the breaking down of the social structure, in the bourgeoisie's incapacity to achieve a solution along the traditional path of extending democracy, and the understanding of the

bourgeois leaders—over and above party divisions—of the dangers of such democratization. The struggle is heating up at a time when bourgeois reformism is virtually exhausted, and this reality cuts off the possibilities for neoreformism. The ruling classes know that they cannot avoid a fight.

Capitalists Not Demoralized

The climate of democratic coexistence is bound to deteriorate. Along with this perspective, we must keep in mind other elements. The bourgeoisie is not going through a period of internal decomposition, nor is it demoralized. On the whole it appears intact. The characteristics and political evolution of the situation are isolating the bourgeoisie, and it must rely on other social supports than those it enjoyed in its prosperous days.

For the time being this evident disadvantage has not undermined the structure of the bourgeoisie itself, but is having the effect of reinforcing the capitalists' will to fight. In the present stage the bourgeoisie cannot regain a social base by its traditional democratizing and legalistic policy. This reality will force it, today or tomorrow, to resort to illegal means and to break the bounds of constitutionality.

Whether it attempts to do this by arming its own followers or by using its present repressive forces is a tactical question which in the last analysis will not alter its orientation or delay its decision.

The Partido Nacional

In the bourgeois camp the most notable political fact is the reconsolidation of the Partido Nacional. This party represents a fusion of the Conservative and Liberal parties, whose ranks were thinned by the rise of the DC. This party—plus the dissident Radicals—was the basic political force behind the candidacy of Alessandri, who appears to believe that he will succeed in winning the presidency.

Improving its position over 1964-65, the Partido Nacional got a vote of about 20 percent in the 1969 parliamentary elections, which was far from regaining its former predominance. The Christian Democratic vote dropped from 45 to 30 percent, clearly showing the attrition it has suffered

in its four years in power. From such figures we cannot conclude that the Nationalist upturn will carry this party to leadership of the bourgeoisie.

The DC has maintained its position as the largest party, with the advantages deriving from control of the government. Of course, since March 1969 [the date of the parliamentary elections], the situation of the Christian Democrats has worsened, as demonstrated by the left split that produced the MAPU [Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria—Movement of United People's Action]. The DC is still not ready, except in the event of a major calamity, to give up its primacy in the leadership of the bourgeoisie. The candidacy of Radomiro Tomic is a clear expression of its determination to maintain its leadership.

The agrarian reform considerably limits the Partido Nacional's possibilities for growth outside the bourgeoisie, and there is no evidence that the bourgeois sectors that found shelter in the DC are emigrating to the Nationalists. The disparity stands out between the real class movement and its reflection in the existing electoral combinations. While the bourgeoisie is moving toward consolidation, this course does not automatically eliminate the structural modifications that have taken place in its social bases and in their interrelationships.

The bourgeoisie is moving toward concentration in social isolation. Politically it retains the initiative but it has not solved the problem of forming a united leadership. It is very likely, given the existing social pressures, that achieving such a leadership will involve going outside the present political formations to some extent.

Try to Close Ranks

Alessandri's candidacy is an expression of the bourgeoisie's efforts at consolidation, which need not imply a reinforcement of the Partido Nacional. Pressured by the strength of the workers and the UP candidacy, and finding it difficult to withdraw one of its candidates, the bourgeoisie may rally in fact behind one of them, achieving the necessary unity in this way. In the long run the disparity between the social and political struggles cannot be maintained. There are not three different fundamental camps and the names in the electoral arena indicate

the extreme difficulties preventing the class polarization from finding expression in the present political lineup.

The political emancipation of the peasantry has created a historically unprecedented situation. A worker-peasant alliance is emerging in practice which is tending to take a permanent form, prefiguring a future workers and peasants government. The peasantry is taking a vigorous part in the struggle; it is intact without deep scars. Its various strata have not yet revealed their contradictions. In the electoral arena, some sectors may lean toward the DC candidate but it is highly unlikely that any will incline toward Alessandri.

The Unidad Popular

The proletariat is united in one union federation. The sectors included in the UP have experienced no losses from their social bases and are struggling unremittingly against the industrialists, the landlords, and the government. In general, the Unidad Popular is developing in this context and the Communist and Socialist parties are winning additions to their ranks. The union federation is coordinating its activity with the political leadership.

The split in the DC produced the MAPU, shifting a valuable sector of the DC youth to the left, and they are joining the elements which have been most radical in applying the agrarian reform. In joining the Unidad Popular, these youth deprived the DC of essential capital.

Considering the social forces backing it, the UP has sufficient capital to suggest that it may win September 4.

What exactly is the Unidad Popular and what is its political significance? In the first place, it is a coalition of parties. From a class point of view, its existence depends on the support fundamentally of the working class, large sectors of the salaried middle class, socially emancipated contingents of the peasantry, and revolutionary students.

Basically the bourgeoisie has no direct weight in it. From the standpoint strictly of the parties that compose this coalition, however, the situation is different. The kingpin of the combination is the powerful Communist party, with a large following among the middle

layers of the working class and a solid organization.

Next in importance is the Socialist party, which has less influence than the CP and suffers from chronic internal weakness, torn by antagonistic currents. It is favored by the fact that it is Allende's party.

In addition there is the MAPU, whose real strength is still unknown. Its base is composed of youth of a very left-wing stamp. While there are elements of bourgeois origin in the MAPU leadership, they do not speak for any definite sections of the bourgeoisie.

The Partido Radical [Radical party] is part of the UP. This is a divided, debilitated, and mutated bourgeois party. In the most recent past it suffered as a result of the growth of the DC. It improved its positions slightly in 1969 but suffered the pressure of polarization, breaking up and having to adopt a much more awkward electoral stance than in previous years. Trying to restore its political credit and gain a social base, the party leadership played its leftist card and linked up with the UP, hoping to repeat its performances of 1938-42-46.

The most solidly bourgeois section resisted this orientation and shifted to the right, causing a split. It aligned itself definitively with Alessandri. The structurally bourgeois section has abandoned the Partido Radical.

Drained by this defection, the party seriously anchored itself in the UP. It had to remain in the coalition in spite of an unsuccessful attempt to impose one of its own men as the presidential candidate.

This drain to the right modified the reality inside the party but no one should be deceived into thinking that it has lost its bourgeois character. Its washed-up leaders are essentially not the owners of the means of production, of industry, or the land. They are professional politicians of the democratic bourgeoisie. Their ideology, life styles, culture, etc., still tie them strongly to the system. They regard the UP as the best ground for maneuvering to restore bourgeois domination over the working masses.

Besides these major formations, a number of microfactions and personalities of dubious background have joined the UP. They are destined to gravitate toward the Partido Radical.

Once again. What does the Unidad Popular represent? This question must

be answered unequivocally. The UP is a class-collaborationist coalition. The Communist and Socialist parties have once again consummated a hybrid alliance.

The Coming Confrontation

Does this settle the problem? Revolutionists must seriously analyze this phenomenon, give a responsible answer, and set a policy attuned to the future of the working class and of its revolutionary party.

The crucial fact is that Chilean soci-



FREI: Christian Democrat 'alternative' ends in bankruptcy.

ety is polarizing and the bourgeoisie as a whole rejects class collaboration. The capitalist class is orienting toward a decisive confrontation with the forces of revolution. It pursues this line unerringly and without vacillation. Today the bourgeoisie's aggressive political intentions are in collision with the objective course of the proletariat and the peasantry. The workers and peasants are struggling, moving left, escaping from reformism and marching toward revolution. This head-on collision makes class collaborationism an impossibility.

No "popular front" is in the cards

for the future. The proletariat has won an inalienable political independence and if its leadership has been able momentarily to corrupt it, this will be only a passing deviation from the main line of movement. The mass struggle will regain its independence, whatever the outcome of the election.

The Unidad Popular is a vestigial form of collaboration with a super-structural section of the bourgeoisie. The existence of such a formation is dangerous in itself but by no means fatal. This bourgeois excrescence is trying to divert the massive shift of the exploited, is striving to deflect and contain their offensive. And in this attempt the bourgeois element finds allies in the reformist leadership of the workers parties.

Election Not Decisive

It would be a crime to whitewash the UP. But failing to recognize the positive elements in it, condemning it in toto out of some sectarian dogmatism, would mean suicidal isolation.

The struggling masses are not staking their destiny on the upcoming election. The election is but an event in the midst of their struggle. No one can prevent the Communist and Socialist parties from holding effective leadership of the UP and it is this fact that attracts the workers.

The objective course of the Chilean revolution subordinates all intentions to an iron law. The existing political structures in which the revolution is developing may temporarily obscure the nature of the process but in the long run they cannot divert it. The Chilean revolution insistently seeks a higher expression in a workers and peasants government.

The creation of the Unidad Popular represents a step backward for the Chilean workers movement. While in past campaigns, bourgeois elements weakened the workers' class consciousness and compromised the political independence of the proletariat, today we face—with the limitations noted—an organic combination of workers parties and bourgeois parties.

The UP's program is democratic and leftist with a vague evocation of ultimate socialist goals that cannot conceal its present objective—to preserve bourgeois society. Despite its propaganda efforts extolling a mythi-

cal people's power, the UP's objective is to maintain the bourgeois order.

If Salvador Allende wins, we will see the formation of a worker-bourgeois coalition government, which under cover of party politics, will block authentic mass participation in the administration of the country and will defend the capitalist structure.

Threat of Counterrevolution

Of course, nothing is decided in advance. A tempestuous situation like the present one can frustrate the maneuvers of classes, coalitions, and parties, and expose the real intentions of both social and political groupings. The bourgeoisie is making every effort to present the UP candidacy as Communism at the gates. It knows that this is false, but this lie serves to prepare the minds of its cadres for the future counterrevolutionary struggle.

The UP leaders insist on defending their democratic alternative within the rules of the system, maneuvering between the pressure of the revolutionary process and the threat of a counterrevolutionary response in preparation. Interested solely in the electoral arena, they seem to believe that the masses act only with the ballot in mind.

They minimize the revolutionary essence of mass actions. The election has a fixed date. The workers know it, just as they know that in the long run the chronology of the revolution will be established by their own actions.

In a political process that has not fully developed its possibilities, it is obviously risky to venture a prediction. The UP has the basic capital needed for a victory. Such a triumph would not mean the victory of the revolution; it would not usher in a revolutionary government of the workers and peasants.

All the charlatanism about achieving socialism through elections is simply an abandonment of the revolution. It can only demoralize the proletariat, put the revolutionary vanguard off guard, help the bourgeoisie rearm, and, in the last analysis, set the stage for a cruel defeat.

Whatever the result of the election, it will certainly not liquidate the advancing revolutionary process. This process has a dynamic that demands that one or the other class triumph; and by forcing a polarization, it will precipitate a class confrontation which will follow the laws of civil war.

October 5, 1970

The results at the polls may or may not accelerate this dynamic, depending on how they affect the subjective factor. The ranks are on the march against the system and the leaders are trying to deflect this thrust into the electoral arena.

A Military Coup?

The bourgeoisie is consolidating and reinforcing itself but it is still not in position—let us say military position—to first contain and later crush this offensive. While its normal apparatuses of repression are powerful, disciplined, and armed, they are not sufficient in the present conjuncture to guarantee a successful counter-offensive.

The bourgeoisie needs a new relationship of social forces, which is not yet perceptible. It is in the heat of the overpowering offensive by the workers that the capitalist class will try to forge a unified leadership. The election is a preliminary test which can be useful to the bourgeoisie by making clear to the class as a whole its urgent need to reorganize and to create by violence this new relationship of social forces which it cannot achieve through the traditional means.

To block this counterrevolution, to propel and transform the present stage into a revolutionary situation opening up a real perspective for the conquest of power by the broad masses, it is essential that the workers arm and construct a military instrument. The arming of the proletariat is the essential condition for further advance of the struggle and for the victory of the revolution.

This solution is being grasped and assimilated by the workers and we see that in each new confrontation—of course, this is only an incipient tendency—the workers, slum dwellers, and peasants provide themselves with rudimentary armament.

This development is changing the character of the mass actions. The reformist parties refuse to accept the task of arming the people and put all their energy into preventing them from taking up arms. Their refusal to carry out such an urgent task vividly reveals their rejection of revolution.

The revolutionary vanguard, which has already taken the initiative in this work, will have to raise the level of its activity and extend it, offering the

mass movement all its experience and knowledge. By its determination, it will have to carry this process through to its conclusion.

August 10, 1970.

Cuba

Javier de Varona

We have just received the sad news that early in the morning of March 1, Javier de Varona, an outstanding young Cuban intellectual, ended his life. He was a lawyer, writer, and promising professor of philosophy. His reasons for committing suicide were not reported.

He joined the left wing of the July 26 Movement in the difficult days of the struggle against the Batista dictatorship. Through exceptional experiences in the revolutionary struggle and arduous study, he reached high stature as a Marxist-Leninist.

Although he belonged to the so-called Third World, he understood the importance of the revolutionary struggle in the advanced capitalist countries and followed its developments with intense interest.

As an intellectual of a socialist country, he became deeply preoccupied in recent years with the broad problem of bureaucratic deformations in those states.

He stood at the height of his intellectual powers when he died at the age of thirty-four. He was working on such problems as the historical necessity for the Cuban revolution and the actual history of this revolution. He was concentrating on the concept of the revolution as a continental process. Other subjects also occupied his attention.

To those who knew him well, he leaves a bright memory of his insatiable curiosity, of his constant dissemination of ideas, and his passionate dedication to the cause of the proletarian revolution.

His premature death constitutes a grievous loss to the Marxist intellectual life of his country.

Pope Down to One Division

Pope Paul on September 15 abolished all his military forces except the Swiss Guards. The latter force has fifty members.

Mandel on Revolution in the West

Revolutionary Strategy in the Imperialist Countries by Ernest Mandel. Pathfinder Press, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. 15 pp. \$.35. 1970.

This pamphlet was originally written as a speech to be delivered at a conference in New York City sponsored by the Socialist Scholars Conference and the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, but Mandel was prevented from attending by the refusal of the Nixon administration to grant him a visa. In the speech that Nixon and Mitchell tried to ban, the author of *Marxist Economic Theory* takes up two questions which have increasingly concerned the radicalizing youth of the developed capitalist countries:

Is socialist revolution possible in the foreseeable future in the imperialist countries? And if so, what strategy can help bring it about?

Socialist revolution in the West, Mandel writes, is possible only if two con-

ditions are met. The system of world capitalism must be in a state of "historical structural crisis" and the working class must possess a revolutionary potential.

He argues that the historical crisis of world capitalism is primarily visible in the inability to solve the contradiction between underdeveloped and developed nations, the impossibility of solving the problems created by the technological revolution within the framework of private property and national boundaries, and the revolt of youth—both students and workers—against the mutilation of "their lives and their capacity for self-realization."

The revolutionary potential of the working class cannot be gauged by what workers think at any particular moment, but only by analyzing the concrete conditions of their lives and the direction in which these conditions force them.

Mandel thus points out where many "new leftists" go wrong: "Marcuse's main mistake is the assumption that,

because the capitalist class can undoubtedly largely shape the consumer behavior and ideas of a majority of workers, it can thereby erase the acute awareness of alienation in the field of production. . . . After all, what a man does during his work; the frustration he undergoes eight to ten hours a day—when one also counts the time spent going to and from the place of work—cannot but periodically influence his behavior at least as much as, and very likely more than, the manipulated 'satisfactions' he can 'enjoy' four hours a day and during weekends."

As evidence, Mandel cites the numerous workers' struggles in Western Europe which go beyond mere disputes over wages.

The revolutionary strategy which he then outlines is based on these concrete relations and struggles. The task of a revolutionary party—the existence of which is an indispensable condition for socialist revolution—is not only to generalize the experience of mass struggles, but to raise transitional demands which direct the struggles to a "decisive showdown with the bourgeois class."

—Allen Myers

Documents

Solidarity with the Fedayeen!

[The United Secretariat of the Fourth International issued the following statement September 20.]

* * *

At the present moment a battle is raging in Jordan between the armed forces of the Hashemite monarchy and the Palestinian guerrillas. The guerrillas are fighting alone. Not one of the demagogic Arab regimes, so prodigal in verbal assurances of solidarity, has offered material aid. The outcome of this struggle, still hanging in the balance, will prove decisive for the next stage of the Arab revolution.

A victory for the fedayeen would touch off a revolutionary rise of unprecedented proportions in the Middle East, changing the balance of social forces there in an even more spec-

tafular way than did the nationalization of the Suez Canal or the revolution in Iraq in 1958.

A defeat would certainly signal the physical liquidation of the Palestinian fighters in Lebanon. It would considerably strengthen the imperialist grip in the area, increase the weight of the Zionist state, and gravely injure the whole revolutionary national Arab movement, particularly the vanguard in Dhofar and South Yemen.

The bloody confrontation of September 1970 is the logical and calculated outcome of the Rogers Plan, which is in reality a Nixon-Kosygin plan. All the participants in these transactions were fully aware that the major obstacle to their aim of liquidating the Palestinian problem was the Palestinian people themselves. The fa-

mous United Nations resolution of November 22, 1967, which shamelessly brushed aside the national rights of this martyred people, constitutes the keystone. And the delayed outcome in 1970 of the 1967 resolution is explained in good part by the frantic search by all those involved to strangle the Palestinian revolutionary process in the most expedient way, whether by piecemeal methods or by armed violence.

Thus the fedayeen today face a united front of world imperialism, the Soviet bureaucracy, and Arab reaction (including the radical petty bourgeoisie, whether through affinity with the current regimes or through congenital cowardice.) Not least of the paradoxes is that the dyed-in-the-wool enemies of Arab emancipation—the Zi-

onist authorities and American imperialism—are trying to use the Arabs themselves to carry out their dirty work. The Nasser regime, playing along with this game, will never be able to live down its infamous treachery. In the wings stand the White House and the Pentagon, readying U. S. troops to intervene should Hussein and his generals prove incapable of drowning the fedayeen in blood.

In the general context of the Middle East and even the Arab world as a whole, the fedayeen unquestionably constitute a redoubtable enemy. Not for Israel on the military level, since, despite what has been said, the Palestinian guerrilla forces remain very weak (except in Gaza)—but *politically*; and not only for Israel but for the Arab regimes, for world imperialism, and for the Soviet bureaucracy.

The Palestinian resistance is undermining the very foundations of the bourgeois state in Jordan, rallying to its side the best elements of the Arab youth. This threatens in the long run to upset the precarious and unstable equilibrium of the region, opening the dikes to the rising tide of the Arab revolution. This is the peril which the enemies of the revolution seek at all costs to eliminate. Hence the determination of the Arab reaction to liquidate the fedayeen.

It is significant in this respect that the head-on assault was preceded by police measures in the United Arab Republic, particularly against the most advanced wing of the Palestinian resistance.

This same process explains the common interest which all the forces hostile to the broadening revolutionary perspectives in the Levant have in supporting Operation Liquidation. Hence the silent complicity of the whole ensemble of Arab states and bureaucratized states. Aware of the dialectical interdependence of the various sectors of the world revolution, the leaders of the Kremlin are acting with a sure instinct to preserve their privileged caste interests.

Unquestionably, the only hope the Palestinians have for victory in the final analysis lies along the road of mobilizing the Arab masses and gaining broad international support, whatever the immediate consequences of the current fighting.

The life-and-death struggle develop-

ing today constitutes the most glaring proof of the failure of the policy of "neutrality" in Arab "domestic affairs." The Arab regimes have flagrantly disregarded the most elementary principles of solidarity in order to silence the Palestinians. Today it can be seen what it has cost the liberation movement because the most outstanding leaders sought to avoid combating the hold of Nasserism on the Arab population and for having given up

Documents

Student Declaration on Chilean Election

[The following statement was drawn up by a committee of socialist students and professors at the University of Concepción after the victory of Salvador Allende in the Chilean presidential elections. It was read September 9 before an assembly of the Federación de Estudiantes de Concepción (Concepción Student Federation). We have translated this statement for the information of our readers.]

* * *

1. We begin this document by clearly stating that we recognize the political-electoral triumph of the popular forces and already consider Salvador Allende the president of Chile.

Chile has entered a prerevolutionary stage, marked by a change in the relationship of class forces. With the victory of Salvador Allende, the workers have won an important political-electoral triumph. The process of radicalization, expressed in the support of the workers for Salvador Allende, must also be understood to include an important sector of workers, small-town people, and above all, peasants who voted for Tomic. These people did not vote for the Christian Democratic candidate because of his centrist and bourgeois reformist essence but because of his leftist appearance and his demagogic and populist program.

This political-electoral victory does not mean social revolution. Ownership of the means of production is still in the hands of the capitalists; the bourgeois state apparatus and its bulwark, the army, remain intact; and basically workers and peasants power

organizing the popular masses of the region. The lesson will not be lost, just as the June 1967 defeat buried Shukairy and his racist ideology.

At the present time the primary task of all the revolutionists in the Middle East and throughout the world is to unconditionally defend the Palestine resistance, the vanguard of the Arab revolution, against all its enemies, above all the main enemy, U. S. imperialism.

has not been established. Social revolution means a qualitative leap from bourgeois democracy to workers democracy.

2. A *prerevolutionary process* has begun, which opens up three probable alternatives: (a) this process may be crushed in embryo by a proimperialist military coup; (b) it might be canalized toward a center-left course, with a reformist government being maintained, although it would be under the continual threat of a proimperialist coup d'etat if it were consistent with its program; and (c) it can lead into a socialist revolution, into a workers and peasants government, if the workers are capable of creating organs of power in the process of struggle and social confrontation.

Between now and November 4 [when the new president is inaugurated], the proimperialist bourgeoisie will probably attempt a coup d'etat. If it is unable to do so, it will try to use the joint session of congress [which will formally choose the new president] and perhaps try to get a second presidential election in order to gain a pretext for a "relatively constitutional" solution. To this end Alessandri's conservatives will provoke apparently tumultuous political acts which could produce a division in the Christian Democratic party. One sector would then vote for Alessandri in the joint session of Congress. He would resign and the president of the senate would have to call a new election. The U. S. State Department has not yet recognized the legitimate victory of Salvador Allende.

3. In a seeming paradox, the Chris-

tian Democrats, the losers in the election, have become the key party in the postelectoral deals. The importance of this party lies not alone in the fact that it has the decisive votes in the joint session but in that it controls an important sector of the armed forces, which is a card it uses in all its negotiations. A section of the Christian Democrats is acting as a lure for the Unidad Popular [People's Union, the popular front backing Allende], promising the Allendistas jesuitically that if they remain quiet they will gain its votes in the joint session and a pledge that the army will not stage a coup. There must be no attempt to mobilize the workers, these Christian Democrats argue, because that would provoke an instinctive reaction by the military. Parallel to this, the ultraright wing of the Christian Democrats, in collusion with the Alessandristas, is speculating on a coup or the variant of new elections.

4. The real threat of a coup d'etat or new elections means that we must make it our primary political task to prepare right now, without losing a minute, to meet the plans of the right. We must not let our attention be distracted by evocations of the "democratic" tradition of the bourgeois state. We must call for a militant mobilization of the workers, peasants, slum dwellers, and students, without worrying about how this may affect the nerves of the military. The promp-

rialist bourgeoisie will execute its plans without bothering about whether or not the people's movement has offered a certificate of good conduct. Only a militant mobilization of the popular masses can halt the reactionaries' plot.

If the bourgeoisie fails to put its plans into effect between now and November 4 we will have lost nothing and we will have gained much in preparing the ranks of the workers for the possibility that they will attempt a coup d'etat after Allende takes office.

5. The principal task for this period is to organize *Committees Against the Reactionaries and for Socialism*. These committees must develop on the foundation of the Unidad Popular committees, where the politicalized masses are. They must not practice any sectarian exclusiveness but join with all those who are for the defense of the people's victory. They cannot be the same as the Unidad Popular committees, which are electoral in nature, but must be able to carry out tasks in accordance with the new political conjuncture. There is no question of forming parallel or divisive committees.

6. The revolutionary left must consider building these committees as anti-imperialist united front work involving a tactical alliance with the Unidad Popular. But we must keep it clear that we are maintaining our strategy of armed struggle, which is the only way

to oust the bourgeoisie and establish a workers and peasants government.

7. In order to carry forward the tasks outlined above, we consider it urgent to form a revolutionary front which must not only undertake common actions but a *rapid regroupment of the revolutionary left*, above all, those groups whose tactical and strategic positions are the closest.

The greatest dangers facing the revolutionary left in this situation are the following: (1) falling into conciliationist and capitulationist opportunism, which could lead gradually to liquidationism; (2) falling into sectarianism toward the Allendista movement, which could lead to suicidal isolation.

Regrouping in a tactical united front with Unidad Popular will enable the revolutionary left to integrate itself in the real process of mass struggle and to give impetus, with determination and revolutionary imagination, to the struggle against the bourgeois and imperialist plot.

We are not trying to deceive any Allendista compañero with this policy of a united front. We will be principled and unsectarian in working together with the Unidad Popular compañeros in the struggle against the bourgeois and imperialist plot. But at the same time, we make it absolutely clear that we will not retreat an inch from our strategy of armed struggle.

Unite to form committees against the reactionary plot.

Documents

Fourth International Reply to New SLL Proposals

[The Socialist Labour League of London and a group of its sympathizers in the United States have recently made several proposals that on the surface would imply a desire to seek unification with the Fourth International and its cothinkers.]

[The following statement concerning these moves was issued September 19 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

In a statement issued July 5, 1970, we reported that Gerry Healy, the na-

tional secretary of the Socialist Labour League, speaking on behalf of the International Committee, had asked to meet with Pierre Frank, a member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. In two conversations that were held, Comrade Healy "raised the question of organizing a mutual discussion that might open the way to the Socialist Labour League and its French sister organization, the Organisation Trotskyste, unifying with the Fourth International."

In its statement, the United Secretariat did not reject in principle the possibility of a unification some time in

the future. But we noted the following items:

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

2. That "on a whole series of political issues the SLL and OT have not

modified the very sharp differences they have expressed for years in opposition to the Fourth International."

"Under these circumstances," we concluded, "unification is not a realistic perspective."

Since then, two new developments have been called to our attention.

In the United States, the Workers League, a group sympathetic to the views of the International Committee, addressed a letter signed by Tim Wohlforth and dated August 18, 1970, to our cothinkers of the Socialist Workers party proposing a "joint meeting" in commemoration of the death of Leon Trotsky.

In England, the *Workers Press* of September 8 published a statement signed by Gerry Healy. In this statement, Comrade Healy specified that in his two meetings with Pierre Frank, which included other members of the United Secretariat and the International Committee, "At no time did I or anyone else from the International Committee make proposals as such for unity to the United Secretariat."

What he did do was to make an "approach." This, he pointed out, was clarified in the July 7 *Workers Press* as follows: "As part of this preparation the Committee requested G. Healy, the national secretary of the Socialist Labour League, to contact representatives of the Unified [United] Secretariat for informal talks around the possibility of joint discussion centered on outstanding political differences and directed towards the holding of a joint international conference."

Comrade Healy made two other significant points:

1. "Factional manoeuvring over 'unity' as such would convince no one, and we have no intention of engaging in this."

2. To facilitate "a comradely approach" to the discussion desired by the International Committee, "we are prepared to enter into mutual agreement that this be *no longer* conducted in our public press, but internally within our respective organizations."

Both the initiative taken by the Workers League toward the SWP and Comrade Healy's latest proposals to the United Secretariat appear to us to disregard the key question; that is, the depth of the political and theoretical differences separating us and whether these have been lessening or growing greater.

The differences involve two interrelated areas: (1) Characterization of the two sides from a class standpoint; (2) specific political and theoretical issues. In our opinion the differences in both areas have been growing greater since 1963 when the SLL and the OT held them to be so deep as to preclude participating in the Reunification Congress of the Fourth International.

We will defer consideration of the political and theoretical differences for another time and confine ourselves here to some items of public record that will serve to illustrate how the Socialist Labour League and its cothinkers have characterized the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and its cothinkers of the Socialist Workers party of the United States.

In the August 20, 1966, *Newsletter* (now the *Workers Press*), the Political Committee of the SLL charged the SWP with having "capitulated to imperialism" and with having "sold out the anti-war movement." The pamphlet published by us, *Healy "Reconstructs" the Fourth International*, which contained documentary evidence, including letters by Healy, showing the sectarian and antidemocratic character of the Socialist Labour League, was called a "provocation" that "constitutes a complete and irreversible departure even from revisionism. . . ."

The SLL Political Committee stated further: "We shall not hesitate to deal appropriately with the handful of United Secretariat agents who hawk it around the cynical fake-left in England."

In an article published in the September 3, 1966, issue of *The Newsletter*, Gerry Healy made the following allegations concerning James P. Cannon, one of the founders of the world Trotskyist movement: "He [Cannon] had decided to sell out to the Stalinist bureaucracy and the imperialists."

In the same article, Healy made his attitude unmistakably clear: "The Socialist Labour League is out to destroy Pabloism and its SWP accomplices. There can be [sic] and, we repeat, there never will be a compromise on these questions—the fight will go on until we destroy the Pabloites and the revisionist SWP."

A declaration passed by a special conference of the SLL and published in the December 3, 1966, issue of *The Newsletter* stated: "No longer a proletarian tendency, they [the SWP]

are the left wing of the radical middle class."

In the same vein, the declaration continued: "It is *this* to which the SWP is really orientated: the firmer tying of the US working class to the two-party system and the capitalist establishment, despite the propaganda protestations to the contrary."

The SLL declaration made the following assertion concerning the SWP: "Your political actions have placed you outside the camp of Trotskyism and of the working class."

In line with this slander, the authors of the declaration concluded by saying: "Henceforth we have no relations with the SWP: it is a fight between the working class and the servants of the class enemy."

This pronouncement was echoed by Tim Wohlforth, who is regarded by the International Committee as its leading cothinker and exponent of its views in the United States. In the February 13, 1967, issue of the *Bulletin*, in an attack on James Robertson, the national chairman of the Spartacist League, Wohlforth ended by saying:

"We warn Spartacist: There is presently a *war* going on between revolutionary Trotskyists represented by the International Committee and revisionist agents of capital represented by the SWP-Germain-Frank-Pabloite formation. You are on the other side in this war. Henceforth we will have no relations with you."

In our opinion, such assertions are not mere epithets. They express considered conclusions which Comrade Healy and his cothinkers have drawn as to the class nature of our political views, our political course, and the social composition of our organizations and sympathizing groups. This is the basic explanation for actions directed against us that otherwise remain inexplicable if not irrational. It is sufficient to cite two cases to illustrate the point.

The first is the assault on Ernest Tate on November 17, 1966, committed by six stewards of the SLL in the presence of Gerry Healy. Comrade Tate, a militant of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, was attacked while selling the pamphlet *Healy "Reconstructs" the Fourth International* in front of Caxton Hall in London where a public meeting of the SLL was being held.

The second case is the slandering of Hugo González M., a leader of the Bolivian section of the Fourth Inter-

national. During a savage witch-hunt in which many members of the Bolivian section were arrested and tortured and the entire police network was searching for Comrade González, the November 19-26, 1969, issue of *Informations Ouvrières*, the Paris publication of the French cothinkers of the Socialist Labour League, asserted: "Serious suspicions exist today that Mr. González [sic] Moscoso in person is working in the pay of the Bolivian government."

In following such practices, the International Committee is acting in accordance with its theory concerning the alleged "degeneration" of the Fourth International and the Socialist Workers party. As Wohlforth expressed it in defending Gerry Healy in the Tate case: "Ernest Tate and his political allies represent political scabs of the worst sort." In accordance with the "class" position he was taking, Wohlforth stated that the relationship between the SWP and its cothinkers on the one hand and the SLL and its cothinkers on the other "is symbolized by this confrontation with Tate."

To summarize: The International Committee has characterized the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and the Socialist Workers party as "servants of the class enemy," who "decided to sell out to the Stalinist bureaucracy and the imperialists," whose actions have placed them "outside the camp of Trotskyism and of the working class," and who must be dealt with as "political scabs of the worst sort."

No other conclusion is possible: Either (1) in making advances towards us, the leaders of the International Committee have decided to sell out to the Stalinist bureaucracy and the imperialists, and are following a course that will place them outside the camp of Trotskyism and of the working class; or, (2) the leaders of the International Committee have begun to recognize how wrong they have been in their characterization of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and its cothinkers in other countries but do not want to acknowledge their grievous errors, still less engage in public self-criticism.

If the leaders of the International Committee have changed their opinion, then it is their duty to make public their political reasons for changing. On what specific political issues have

they altered their views? We await their explanations with interest.

Of course another possibility exists — that Comrade Healy's "approach" to the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, and along with it Comrade Wohlforth's "approach" to the Socialist Workers party, are only part of a "unity" maneuver in the "war" being conducted by the leaders of the Socialist Labour League against the Fourth International and the organizations sympathetic to its views.

This would seem to be the most likely possibility were it not for the fact that Comrade Healy has expressly issued a public assurance that he has "no intention" of engaging in "factional manoeuvring" over unity "as such."

Comrade Healy's public avowal that no unity maneuver is involved makes it all the more imperative that the International Committee publicly clarify its stand on the alternative indicated above.

19 South African Prisoners Released

Nineteen black South Africans, including Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed African nationalist leader Nelson Mandela, were acquitted in Pretoria September 14 of charges against them under the Terrorism Act. However, another defendant, Benjamin Ramotse, was ordered held for trial later this month.

The release of the nineteen was ordered by the Supreme Court, which granted a defense motion to dismiss the charges on the ground that the defendants had already been acquitted of essentially the same charges in a trial in February.

At that time twenty-two political prisoners had been charged under the Suppression of Communism Act, which forbids membership in any nationalist organization. Although acquitted, they were immediately rearrested.

This totalitarian proceeding aroused widespread indignation not only in other countries but within South Africa as well. The case was the central issue involved in student demonstrations in May in which more than 500 were arrested. In an attempt to pacify public opinion, Prime Minister John Vorster promised the demonstrators that the twenty-two would be either brought to trial or released. [See *Intercontinental Press*, June 15, 1970, page 573.]

Ramotse was not involved in the February trial and therefore the September 14 ruling did not apply to him. He had asked the court to dismiss the charges against him because of the illegal manner of his arrest. (He was seized by Rhodesian police in Botswana and then handed over to South Africa.) The court in effect acknowledged the illegality of his arrest but nevertheless refused to order his release.

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