

Intercontinental Press

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Meaning of Korean Communique:

More Pressure on Hanoi

Nixon Uses Weather as Weapon:

Floods Threaten North Vietnam

ITT's Request to Nixon:
Help Overthrow Allende



KIM: U.S. rulers, Maoist bureaucracy recommend his agreement with Park regime as model for Vietnam.

Which Way Forward for Irish Revolution?

Frame-Up of Civil Rights Leader Fails

The head of the Dominican Comité de Familiares de los Presos, Muertos y Desaparecidos (Committee of Relatives of Prisoners and Killed and Missing Persons) accused the police June 18 of "prefabricating dossiers" on people like herself for no other reason than that they are not supporters of the regime. The police had issued a warrant for the arrest of Gladys Gutiérrez Segarra in connection with the fire-bombing on June 15 of two stores in Santo Domingo, the Sederías [silk goods] California and La Opera. On June 16, a far-left group known as the Grupo Plinio after its leader, the lawyer Plinio Matos Moquete, claimed responsibility for the bombings. Subsequently, the police revoked the warrant for the civil liberties figure.

At this point, she appeared from hiding and denounced the police. After expressing her thanks to individuals and various newspapers for demonstrating concern over the police attempt to link her to the bombings, she stated: "My case is only one. Just like me, there are thousands of cases in which the police act precipitously, bringing charges capriciously and without any basis against many men and women who as a result are today rotting in the prisons of our country." She added that "if I had turned myself in to the police, my situation today would have been quite different." She said she could have been jailed or deported without the police ever admitting that they had no grounds for suspicion against her.

"I would like to make clear that far from intimidating me, this kind of violation of human rights entrusts me with the responsibility of defending the rights of the people with even greater determination," she added.

"Today they want to imprison me on charges of arson. Tomorrow, what will they charge me with? I hear the echo of these words of a great man murdered by this regime: 'I prefer to be a fugitive from injustice than from the justice of the people.'" □

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North Vietnam Threatened by Widespread Floods

By Allen Myers

"State Department officials said today," Bernard Gwertzman wrote in a July 5 dispatch to the *New York Times*, "that there was a strong likelihood North Vietnam would be flooded later this summer, but they said North Vietnam's dike system would be responsible rather than American bombing raids."

Since the Nixon administration has not developed new means of forecasting weather several months in advance, the comments of the unnamed officials can only be seen as a quite specific threat of Nixon's willingness to risk millions of civilian lives by destroying the dike network.

The attempt to lay the blame for this destruction on the Vietnamese themselves merely adds one more lie to the already countless total put out by Nixon on the war. It is an attempt to make American and world public opinion believe that the Vietnamese, who have constructed their dam system over hundreds of years, don't really understand what they are doing and have only themselves to blame for the disaster being planned in Washington.

Lest the Vietnamese misunderstand the threat, the officials went on to give Gwertzman even more precise prophecies:

"The State Department officials interviewed said that in view of the heavy air campaign against North Vietnam, accidental bombing of the dikes could not be ruled out. . . .

"Administration experts, studying the over-all situation in North Vietnam, have concluded that there is 'a higher than normal probability' that floods similar to last year's may strike next month."

The threats reported by Gwertzman become all the more serious in view of the disclosure that the U.S. government has been engaged for at least nine years in artificially increasing rainfall in Indochina. Weather modification as a weapon in the war has been rumored for some time, despite occasional denials from Washington. In March 1971, for example, syndi-

cated columnist Jack Anderson reported that the U.S. had been seeding clouds over Laos and Cambodia since 1967.

Last April, at a hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the following exchange occurred between Senator William Fulbright and Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird:

Fulbright: ". . . In other words, you have never engaged in the use of this, whatever it may be, weather control, although you have a capability of it. Is that the reason?"

Laird: "We have never engaged in that type of activity over North Vietnam."

It requires no great sophistication nor experience of official evasions to see that Laird restricted his answer to North Vietnam. But for some unexplained reason Fulbright, who is supposed to be a "dove," neglected to ask the obvious question, "What about South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia?"

As it turned out, however, Laird was lying about North Vietnam as well. In a series of articles published in the July 3, 4, and 9 *New York Times*, Seymour Hersh reported: "The United States has been secretly seeding clouds over North Vietnam, Laos and South Vietnam to increase and control the rainfall for military purposes."

The beginning of the program, however, had only a tangential connection with "military purposes." Hersh quoted one former CIA agent as saying that cloud-seeding first occurred over Hue, South Vietnam:

"We first used that stuff in about August of 1963, when the Diem regime was having all that trouble with the Buddhists.

"They would just stand around during demonstrations when the police threw tear gas at them, but we noticed that when the rains came they wouldn't stay on.

"The agency got an Air America Beechcraft and had it rigged up with silver iodide. There was another dem-

onstration and we seeded the area. It rained."

From these modest beginnings, the rain-making operation appears to have evolved into an important weapon.

"A Nixon Administration official," Hersh wrote, "said that he believed the first use of weather modification over North Vietnam took place in late 1968 or early 1969 when rain was increased in an attempt to hamper the ability of anti-aircraft missiles to hit American jets in the panhandle region near the Laotian border.

"Over the next two years, this official added, 'it seemed to get more important—the reports were coming more frequently.'"

The U.S. warmakers have refined the operation with a chemical that produces what one scientist called "rain that had an acidic quality to it and it would foul up mechanical equipment—like radars, trucks and tanks." The scientist did not say what the acidic rain would do to people. Presumably Nixon will shortly inform us that U.S. pilots are instructed not to allow the rain to fall on civilians.

Even without the deliberate attacks on the dikes of North Vietnam, the rain-making in Indochina poses dangers that are not even understood by those engaged in it, Hersh reported:

"Military and Government specialists acknowledge that there is little precise knowledge of the short-range impact of cloud seeding and practically none of the long-range ecological effect of changing the amount of natural rainfall. Some scientists have published data suggesting that weather modification, in combination with other ecological stresses such as air pollution and pesticides, may have a synergistic effect—that is, result in collective changes far greater than either abuse would have caused by itself.

"In Indochina, where heavy bombing already has robbed much of the landscape of its natural water-holding capability by destroying foliage and trees, artificially induced rains

may result in far greater flooding than expected, along with heavier soil erosion."

The June 16 issue of *Science* magazine quoted a somewhat more blunt description by Leonard S. Rodberg, a fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies: "The people in that area are totally dependent on the weather for their livelihoods. If we change the pattern we destroy their ability to exist. We've done it not only with weather modification but with defoliants and herbicides."

The destruction being visited on Vietnam, North and South, almost defies description. There are now a reported 900 fighter-bombers and approximately 200 B-52s involved in the air war. More than 90 B-52s, each carrying as much as 30 tons of bombs, were recently sent against a single area near Hue in the course of only one day.

In the July 8 *New York Times*, Joseph B. Treaster quoted "senior United States air officers" as saying that the damage inflicted on North Vietnam since April is greater than that done in an entire year at the height of Johnson's bombing campaign.

"Senior officers," Treaster wrote, "say that with fewer limitations and more advanced equipment and weapons—especially the new 'smart' bombs, which are guided to pinpoint accuracy by either laser beams or television—they are subjecting North Vietnam to 'a whole new order of magnitude of war.'"

"Pinpoint accuracy" appears to be Nixon's substitute for the "surgical precision" that Johnson claimed for the raids during his administration. (Jack the Ripper also operated with surgical precision, but no one ever claimed that that made him more humane.) Nixon's phrase is likely to return to haunt him just as Johnson's did, for an abundance of witnesses have testified to the fact that civilians are the most frequent targets of the U. S. bombs.

In a July 8 dispatch from Hanoi, Jean Thoraval described his visit to Hungyen, a town thirty-six miles east of Hanoi, which had been hit by a U. S. raid.

"Hungyen is a town of workers and peasant farmers, with long, wide streets," Thoraval wrote. "Nowhere in the part of the town we visited could

"Of Course We're Hitting North Vietnamese Civilians — Why Should We Treat Them Any Better Than We Do The South Vietnamese?"



Herblock in the Washington Post

we see a barracks or a fuel dump, or even a warehouse that could be used for storing war supplies.

"The most badly damaged thoroughfare was Law Street, inhabited mainly by craftsmen and farm workers. There, the meanest dwellings, straw huts for the most part, had been blasted and burned. Even more solid buildings were often reduced to rubble."

The air war against North Vietnam, Anthony Lewis observed in the July 3 *New York Times*, "... is strategic bombing of a most thorough and intense kind. Strategic bombing is supposedly designed for use against an industrial power, such as Germany in World War II. What makes it so

noteworthy now is that it is being used against a largely peasant country with the barest beginnings of industrial development.

"Most Americans thought it grotesque and horrifying when Gen. Curtis LeMay spoke in 1965 of bombing the North Vietnamese 'back into the Stone Age.' But something very like that is happening right now."

The bombardment of South Vietnam is, if anything, even more intense. Writing in the July 7 *Christian Science Monitor*, Daniel Southerland described the plight of civilians in the areas occupied by the liberation forces. His account was based on interviews with refugees who fled the bombing

of Quangtri province.

"Many of the refugees spoke of the B-52 raids, and shuddered when they did so. According to the refugees, all the members of several families were wiped out in raids by the huge bombers.

"After the Communists took Quang Tri, the entire province was apparently turned into a 'free fire zone' for U. S. bombers and Navy destroyers." (Emphasis added.)

The refugees told Southerland of at least three groups of refugees—total-

ing some 750 persons—who had attempted to flee south to escape the bombing, had been sighted by observation planes, and had then been bombarded by planes and naval gunfire—presumably with "pinpoint accuracy."

The current offensive of the Saigon puppet army, which is attempting to recapture Quangtri city, is being made literally behind a curtain of bombs. The Saigon forces were reported advancing behind a barrage laid down by thirty B-52s and dozens of fighter-

bombers, in addition to artillery and naval gunfire. The attempt to take Quangtri can only be for propaganda purposes. It is clear that if the puppet forces actually reach the city, there will be nothing remaining there to "capture."

During the 1968 Tet offensive, a U. S. officer aroused worldwide indignation when he remarked that a city had been "destroyed in order to save it." Richard Nixon is now applying the same strategy to all of Indochina. □

Setting an 'Example' for Vietnam?

Park, Kim Agree to 'Transcend Differences'

In an agreement foreshadowed by several overtures from Kim Il Sung earlier this year, the North and South Korean governments issued a joint communiqué July 4 announcing their "common desire to achieve peaceful unification of the fatherland as early as possible."

The two sides agreed on three principles for unification. First, it is to be the result of "independent Korean efforts without being subject to external imposition or interference." Second, it is to be brought about by "peaceful means, and not through the use of force against each other." Third, the goal will be to seek a "great national unity" by "transcending differences in ideas, ideologies, and systems."

In addition, the two regimes agreed "not to slander or defame each other" and to take steps to prevent "inadvertent military incidents." A hot line between Pyongyang and Seoul was installed the next day "to deal directly, promptly, and accurately with problems arising between the South and the North." And a North-South "coordinating committee" was established, to be co-chaired by the two main figures in the secret negotiations leading up to the agreement—Lee Hu Rak, director of the South's Central Intelligence Agency, and Kim Yong Ju, director of the Organization and Guidance Department of the North Korean Workers (Communist) party. Kim is a younger brother of North Korean Premier Kim Il Sung.

The agreement can be viewed as

a byproduct of the Nixon trip to Peking and the détente between Mao and Nixon. Certainly the cues on present-day application of the theory of "peaceful coexistence" emanating from the Nixon-Mao talks were picked up in the Korean agreement. The effect of the accord is to recognize the legitimacy of the Park Chung Hee regime in the South. This was noted with considerable satisfaction by the *New York Times*, which reflects the views of an influential sector of the U. S. ruling class, in a July 9 editorial: "Those accords pay lip-service to reunification, which is mentioned twelve times in the brief fourteen-page agreement. But the key phrase is the one that talks about 'transcending' rather than eliminating the differences in the 'ideologies and systems' of the two states."

In addition, the agreement is understood to recognize the right of U. S. occupation forces to remain in the South. There are some 40,000 U. S. troops currently in South Korea. "The U. S. troops," Seoul's foreign minister, Kim Yong Shik, told newsmen, "are stationed in Korea as members of the United Nations Command established in accordance with a U. N. resolution." He declared that the United Nations should not be considered "an external force or power" and the presence of its troops would thus not be incompatible with the agreement. "The United Nations should not be considered a bad foreign force," Lee Hu Rak told a news conference.

The *New York Times* hailed the

agreement in a July 5 editorial as "a historic development of the utmost importance for improving the political atmosphere in Asia and the world" and as a "major advance." The underlying reason for such elation is clear: The U. S. ruling class sees in the agreement an example that can be used as one more club in the campaign to bludgeon the Vietnamese into settling for something less than their freedom and independence.

"News of this agreement must raise the question why similar concord cannot be reached in Vietnam," the *Times* observed. "Moreover many leaders in both South and North Vietnam will notice that the North Koreans are willing to make the first major advance toward reunification without requiring either the prior exit of United States troops or a change of regime in Seoul. It would be rash and unjustified to conclude that progress in Korea assures progress in Vietnam, but Seoul and Pyongyang have set a useful example that neither Hanoi nor Saigon can ignore."

The response of the Nixon administration to the Korean agreement has been "enthusiastic," reported *New York Times* Washington correspondent Bernard Gwertzman July 4. He quoted a senior state department official's view of the pressure the agreement places on the Vietnam liberation forces: "First China invited enemy No. 1, the United States, to Peking. Now North Korea has a friendly dialogue with enemy No. 2, South Korea, which has as many troops in South

Vietnam as the United States. This must have a damaging effect on Hanoi's morale."

It has been clear for three years that Nixon's goal in Vietnam is to gain a settlement similar to the armistice that formally ended the Korean war. The ruling bureaucracy in Peking has now made it clear that it too, like U. S. imperialism, regards Korea as a model for a Vietnam settlement.

Chou En-lai gave the first public indication of the bureaucracy's views on this subject June 16, when he praised former U. S. President Dwight Eisenhower for negotiating the armistice "in a straightforward way." (See *Intercontinental Press*, June 26, p. 723.)

Then on June 25, the twenty-second anniversary of the beginning of the Korean war, *Renmin Ribao*, the official newspaper of the Chinese CP, went a step further. The paper portrayed as an unqualified "victory" the compromise forced on the Korean revolution whereby a puppet regime supported by U. S. troops was maintained in Seoul:

"With the support of the people the world over, the heroic Korean people finally forced the U. S. imperialists to sign the armistice agreement after a bitter trial of strength with the U. S. aggressor troops. The victory of the Fatherland Liberation War of Korea not only defended the revolutionary gains of the Korean people and the security of China, but also made a great contribution to the revolutionary struggle of the world's people against imperialism and its running dogs and set a brilliant example for the cause of liberation of the oppressed nations and people of the world." (Translation by *Peking Review*; emphasis added.)

The Korean war did represent a defeat for imperialism in that the latter was prevented from carrying out its intention of overthrowing the workers state in North Korea. But that defeat was sealed by the intervention of Chinese troops, not by the armistice agreement. Only the most myopic bureaucrat could see the armistice, which legitimized the Seoul puppet regime, as a victory for the Korean revolution.

Eisenhower did not have to be "forced" to sign the agreement any more than Nixon would have to be

"forced" to sign a truce that left a puppet government established in Saigon. But that is precisely the sort of "victory" that the Peking bureaucracy has in mind for the Vietnamese revolution, as another passage in the *Renmin Ribao* editorial makes explicit:

"U. S. imperialism is continuing its war of aggression in Indochina, and carrying out war escalation against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Recently, it has not only mined and blockaded the ports of north Viet Nam but also steadily expanded the scope of its naval and air attacks there. It can be said with certainty that the perverse acts of U. S. imperialism can

only result in defeat, as it suffered in its war of aggression against Korea, thus lifting a rock only to drop it on its own feet."

The agreement between Park and Kim will clearly fit in quite neatly with Peking's attempt to pressure the Hanoi leadership into a settlement. The Maoists will be able to point to the agreement as "proof" that U. S. imperialism can be peacefully evicted from its colonies. The fact that the imperialists have no intention of leaving South Korea will not at all disturb the bureaucrats, who long ago learned that the essence of "peaceful coexistence" is betrayal of revolution masked by fine words. □

More Frame-Up Trials in Sri Lanka

On June 29 Sri Lanka (Ceylon) Attorney General Victor Tennekoon charged a second group of young rebels with having participated in the 1971 mass uprising against the "United Front" government of Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike. (The first group to be charged consisted of forty-one defendants who were brought to "trial" June 12. There has been no report of their fate.) Most of the twenty-two accused, whose cases will be heard before the special Criminal Justice Commission, were undergraduates at the University of Ceylon in Colombo at the time of the revolt.

The indictment states that "between the 1st day of January, 1970, and the 1st day of October, 1971, at Colombo you, with others, did conspire to wage war against the Queen [Elizabeth II of England, that is], and that you have thereby committed an offence under section 115 of the Penal Code."

This war against Elizabeth II, according to the indictment, was to be conducted by kidnapping Bandaranaike, "in order that the said Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike may be murdered or may so be disposed of as to be put in danger of being murdered. . . ."

Tennekoon described the alleged plot to abduct Bandaranaike in some detail, but it is unknown whether the defendants will be granted the right

to defend themselves. There has been no report on exactly how many of the 14,000 youths held in concentration camps will be brought before the Criminal Justice Commission.

It is clear, however, that the regime intends to tolerate no loosening up of the police state under which it has ruled since April 1971. At a ceremony that followed the laying of the foundation stone of a new police station, Maithripala Senanayaka, minister of irrigation, power, and highways, declared, "If the misled youths think that they can hit back after their retreat last April, they are badly mistaken. The security forces of the country have now been greatly strengthened and they have been armed to the teeth to meet any situation, unlike in April, when they were attacked unawares. . . ." Any force that attempts to "overthrow" the government, he added, "will be crushed with all the might at the Government's command."

K. B. Ratnayake, the minister of parliamentary affairs and of sports, said, according to the *Ceylon Daily News*, "that the Government had not considered that the insurgent threat was over and that was why security measures were being strengthened. . . . Referring to those detained in connection with the April events the Minister said that no other country in the world would have spared them."

Ratnayake had a novel explanation

for the regime's magnanimity in this respect: "It was because Ceylon was a Buddhist country where compas-

sion prevailed and had a Buddhist lady as its Prime Minister that those youths were tolerated." □

Expresses Thanks for Help in Suppressing Youth

Bandaranaike Salutes Chou in Peking

Another "anti-imperialist" leader has made Chairman Mao's guest list. The latest recipient of China's drums, gongs, and cymbals routine is Sri Lanka (Ceylon) Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike, who arrived in Peking June 25. She was greeted, according to the Chinese news agency Hsinhua, by a crowd of 100,000 persons, which averages out to about seven for each of the 14,000 political prisoners now held in Sri Lanka concentration camps for having intemperately opposed capitalist exploitation of their country.

Chou En-lai himself met Bandaranaike at the airport. *Hsinhua Daily News Release* of June 26 informs us that "welcoming crowds" cheered "welcome, warm welcome!"—an appropriate, if not especially stirring slogan for a welcoming crowd. Also: "Students of more than 40 nationalities and other people at the airport danced to the beating of drums. . . . Hundreds of schoolchildren were jumping and cheering the distinguished guests. . . . Thousands upon thousands of people in their holiday best beat drums and cymbals, waved bouquets, and shouted slogans to greet the distinguished guests from Sri Lanka. A thrilling scene of welcome and jubilation met the eye at Tienanmen Square. . . ."

Renmin Ribao, the official organ of the Chinese Communist party Central Committee, waxed enthusiastic about the Sri Lanka government in a June 25 editorial, liberally quoted, as part of the lead article in the June 30 issue of *Peking Review*. "Defying brute force and pressure, and persevering on the road of independence, they [the people of Sri Lanka] have waged a resolute struggle to defend and consolidate national independence and against foreign interference."

On the night of June 25, Chou En-lai held a state banquet for the Sri Lanka visitors, and Hsinhua dutifully reprinted the speeches of both Chou

and Bandaranaike. "Since the independence of Sri Lanka," said Chou, "and particularly during the tenures of office of the late prime minister Solomon Bandaranaike and of Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the government and people of Sri Lanka have made unremitting efforts and achieved considerable successes in eliminating colonialist forces, safeguarding and consolidating national independence, opposing foreign control and interference, and developing the national economy."

While Chou avoided explicit mention of Bandaranaike's latest battle—against the youth of Sri Lanka—

the prime minister in her speech did not fail to thank the Chinese bureaucrats for their welcome assistance in that fight: "We, therefore, sincerely appreciate the understanding which the People's Republic of China has shown in their relations with us and their scrupulous observance of the principles of mutual respect and non-interference. Our own faith in nonalignment as a policy which is suited to our interests had ample vindication during the insurgent movement of May 1971, when many nations rallied to the support of my government."

Bandaranaike's reference to the success of nonalignment is well taken. Not only Chairman Mao, but also Richard Nixon, made his contribution to the slaughtering of Sri Lanka youth. But, as Bandaranaike pointed out, Chinese aid has been especially generous: "Your aid programme has taken the form of credits, outright gifts, participation in joint services, and technical assistance."

"One of the main purposes" of the visit, she added, "is to express my thanks in person." □

Bhutto, Gandhi in First Encounter

The Arguments Not Settled at Simla Summit

By Jon Rothschild

Shortly before the India-Pakistan summit meeting, which was held in Simla, India, June 28-July 3, Pakistani President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was asked his opinion of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. "I have always seen her like this," he replied, "a diligent and hard-working student, a woman devoid of intelligence and imagination." Reflecting for a moment, he added, "With all her saris, her red mark in the middle of her forehead, her little smile, she will never succeed in impressing me. . . . She irritates me. God! Don't make me think about it!"

But Bhutto was impressed enough to show up June 28 in Simla, site of the old headquarters of the British viceroys and the town in which the agreement dividing the subcontinent into Pakistan and India was signed in 1947.

The results of the latest meeting, however, were considerably more modest. Both sides agreed to renounce force as a means of settling their differences, which seems to be the standard opening gambit in this year of summitry. After the accord goes into effect, there will be a thirty-day period during which the troops of each country will withdraw from the territory of the other. (This was a gain for Bhutto. India holds several thousand square miles of Pakistani land, Pakistan only some fifty square miles in India.)

The cease-fire line in Kashmir will be frozen and "shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognized position of either side. Neither side shall seek to alter it unilaterally, irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations."

Both sides agreed to continue ne-

gotiations aimed at "normalizing" relations between them. Travel restrictions will be eased; exchanges in the fields of culture and science are envisaged; and "Trade and cooperation in the economic fields will be resumed as far as possible."

Nearly all concerned expressed satisfaction with the accord. On July 10 the Pakistani National Assembly is scheduled to discuss ratification, which seems certain because the two major opposition parties, the Jamaat-i-Islam and the National Awami party, have already stated their endorsement.

In India, only the right-wing Jan Sangh party has expressed opposition to the pact, which it called a "sell-out."

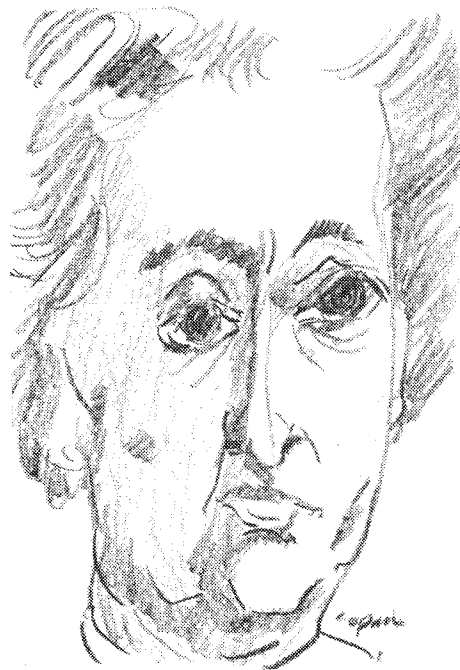
Abdus Samad Azad, foreign minister of Bangladesh, Gandhi's silent partner in the talks, told reporters, "Our first reaction is that it is a success toward the road to greater success and the path to a durable peace." Bhutto himself said the agreement contained "no defects."

If it had no defects, it also had virtually no substance. The major issues dividing the Indian and Pakistani ruling classes were left unsettled, and even undiscussed. No agreement was reached on the question of the 90,000 Pakistani prisoners of war now held in India. Bhutto still demands their unconditional release. Gandhi still insists that Bangladesh Prime Minister Mujibur Rahman must agree to any such move. Rahman still maintains that Bhutto must recognize Bangladesh before any discussions on the POWs can take place and affirms that he intends to bring to trial some fifteen hundred Pakistani soldiers responsible for the 1971 slaughter of the Bengali people. Bhutto wants the trials called off and has said that if they take place, all further talks are definitely off.

The second major obstacle to an India-Pakistan detente is the question of Kashmir. India presently holds two-thirds of the province, Pakistan the rest. Both sides claim the entire area.

The June 30 *New York Times* reported that an "informed Indian official" suggested that the problems of Kashmir, the POWs, the war-crimes trials, and the recognition of Bangladesh could be resolved through one big horse-trade.

Rahman would cancel his plans to hold massive trials, and whittle the number of accused down to a few.



INDIRA GANDHI

Bhutto would reconcile himself to this and recognize Bangladesh. The POWs would then be returned. The big price Pakistan would have to pay would be to recognize the present Kashmir cease-fire line as an international

boundary, thus giving up all claims on the Indian-held section of the province.

The possibility of military ouster of the firmly entrenched Indian troops in Kashmir seems remote at best. The deal offered by the Indian official is thus probably one Bhutto would like to make. But the domestic situation in Pakistan, where his rule is unstable and he is threatened by leftist mobilizations of the workers, nationalist mobilizations of the component provinces of what is left of Pakistan, and the jingoist aspirations of the still powerful army, make it difficult for him to compromise or bargain.

Gandhi, on the other hand, whose party recently swept national elections by riding on the crest of a wave of chauvinism arising from the December war against Pakistan, is in no hurry to make any concessions that would allow Bhutto maneuvering room.

So despite the hopeful declarations of all the rulers concerned, the much-sought subcontinental restabilization remains for the moment out of reach—a fact that was reflected in the latest (June 17) proposed Pakistani national budget. More than 60 percent of federal revenues will be spent on "defense," a record in the history of Pakistan. □

Bangladesh

Reorganizing the Transport System

By S. B. Kolpe

As we landed at the Chittagong airport we could see some ships damaged or half-sunk at different points in the harbour. But port operations have been partially restarted, enabling smaller vessels to enter. A team of Soviet experts is engaged in clearing the navigation channel. And the port is expected to be commissioned fully within about six weeks.

While I drove down in an auto-rickshaw from the airport to the town along the harbour, I saw two Greek cargo vessels, heavily damaged, blocking two jetties. They must have been bombed by the Indian air force planes. I was told that they were chartered by the Yahya regime to transport military personnel and hardware.

En route, a dry dock complex is expected to come up. Work on it had been begun by a Yugoslav engineering firm even under the old regime, but it had to be suspended during the military crack-

down. Yugoslavia being among the first few countries to recognize Bangladesh, work on the dry dock is likely to be restarted soon.

Chittagong is the biggest port town of Bangladesh, more strategic even than Chalna, which handles larger quantities of sea cargo. As many as twenty ships are said to have been sunk around Chittagong and some seven around Chalna.

The biggest postliberation problem facing the new-born nation is the near-total dislocation of its means of transport and communication. Although Chittagong is rail-linked with Dacca, separated by a distance of 216 kilometres, regular train service cannot be restarted between the two centres till the major bridge across the Bhairav River, blown up by the Pakistani troops before their surrender, is repaired. Several smaller bridges and culverts along the rail line have also been damaged.

A road coach service operates between the two towns, but the road bridges are also said to be unsafe. There are three flights between Dacca and Chittagong, but the evening flight usually gets cancelled these days because of the cyclonic weather conditions. The Bangladesh Biman has chartered a Swedish DC-7 plane to meet the heavy passenger traffic. I managed to join its inaugural flight from Dacca to Chittagong.

The Indian airline has given two Fokker Friendship planes to Bangladesh. A former Pakistan airways employee traveling with me to Chittagong told me that the Yahya regime had managed to take away all serviceable aircraft, even those owned by various government departments to West Pakistan, via Rangoon.

The Bangladesh Biman has to start almost from scratch. Two passenger helicopters were flown into the Dacca airport by a giant Aeroflot transport plane. More planes are expected to arrive from other friendly countries. The BB operates two flights between Dacca and Jessore, two between Dacca and Sylhet, and one between Dacca and Ishurdi. All flights are heavily booked for several days in advance.

Mr. Kazi Zairul Quaiyum, one of the few "Bengalee" industrialists and a prominent leader of the ruling Awami League and also a member of the Constituent Assembly, painted a grim picture of the economic problems facing Bangladesh after its liberation.

The situation has been made much worse by the planned attempts by the West Pakistani regime to deprive the newborn nation of whatever means of trade and communications it had earlier.

Mr. Quaiyum said that during a recent tour of the important rail yards like Akhuara and Pharthalli he found "not a single wagon on the rails." His hunch was that the occupation forces had shipped most of the wagons to Karachi.

This applied to railway passenger coaches also. Most of the coaches left behind, he said, were thirty to sixty years old.

Of about 9,000 trucks that were registered under the old regime in Bangladesh, only about 3,000, and they are the older ones, were to be found in the country. About 2,500 trucks, taken by freedom fighters to India for their use, have also not returned.

Most of the tractors and jeeps found in working condition had been shipped by the Pakistani army to Karachi. A large number of private cars used in Bangladesh have also been found on their way to West Pakistan.

Mr. Quaiyum, who is himself a small tea planter, said that almost all forty-seven textile mills, employing about 75,000 workers (now nationalised), were closed for want of cotton supplies. Bangladesh needed six lakh [one lakh equals 100,000] bales of cotton, and steps were being taken to import cotton from the Sudan, Egypt, Argentina, and the Soviet Union.

Sixty-five percent of the jute mills were working at present, and production had been stepped up. Stocks were piling up. The main difficulty was the absence of shipping facilities because of the dislocation of the country's ports.

The tea industry, employing about 1.20 lakh workers, accounted for a production

of 70,000,000 pounds. Of this about 20,000,000 pounds were exported to Great Britain alone, while the balance was consumed internally (15,000,000 pounds) and by West Pakistan in the past. With the Pakistan market gone, the problem now will be to find new markets for the tea grown and processed in Bangladesh. □

'Computerized Bulldozer' in Overture to Peking

Tanaka Takes Over as Japan Premier

Kakuei Tanaka, the fifty-four-year-old Japanese minister of international trade and industry, whose nickname is "the computerized bulldozer," was elected president of the ruling Liberal-Democratic party at a special cau-

gered a furious faction fight within the party over the question of his successor.

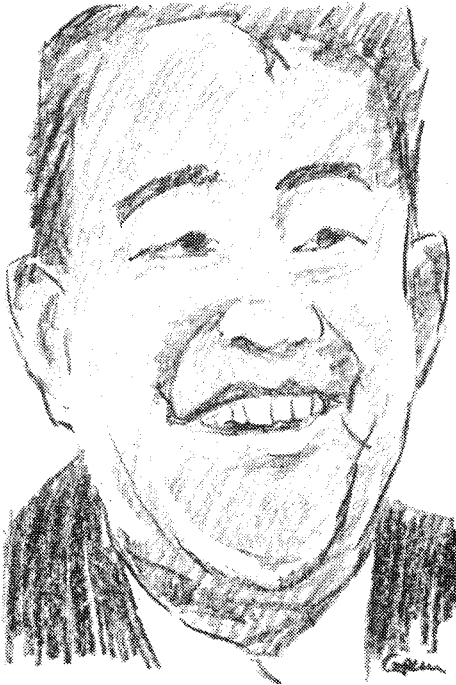
Fukuda, the best representative of the old party bureaucracy, was considered a sure bet, but two weeks before the party caucus Yasuhiro Nakasone, head of the party's executive council, dropped out of the race and threw his support behind Tanaka. This was a clear sign that Liberal-Democratic leaders were having second thoughts about the desirability of continuing with the Sato team.

The fight, and the eventual decision of party bureaucrats to break with Sato's choice, was a result of both the steadily declining electoral strength of the Liberal-Democratic party and the desire of Japanese capital not to be left out in the cold while U. S. corporations get a head start in the potentially vast market of China. Party leaders, according to the July 5 *New York Times*, "have realized that an energetic new Government is needed to rehabilitate the party's image."

For that task, Tanaka seems like just the man. He was first elected to parliament in 1947 as a candidate of the now defunct Progressive party. Since then, despite ups and downs that included his being arrested, deprived of parliamentary immunity, and jailed on bribery charges in 1949, he has remained a member of parliament, switching his allegiance to the Liberal-Democrats at the opportune moment.

Tanaka became a rich man by founding a construction company and growing fat off the World War II economic boom.

In 1962 Tanaka became finance minister; in 1965 he was named secretary general of the Liberal-Democratic party; and in 1971 he became minister of international trade and industry. In that post, he supervised the



SATO: Insufficiently energetic?

cus of party members of parliament held July 5. The following day, he became the new premier of Japan.

Tanaka, the only leader of the Liberal-Democratic party who does not have a college education and who is widely regarded as a flamboyant maverick, won the party presidency in a second-ballot runoff against Foreign Minister Takeo Fukuda, who was the hand-picked choice of retiring Premier Eisaku Sato. In June, Sato, who had ruled for seven and a half years, announced his retirement. This trig-

Japanese side of the U.S.-Japan negotiations on textile imports and other economic matters.

Tanaka will not significantly alter Japan's pro-United States policies. "Our relations with the United States," he has said, "are as important to us as sunshine and air." Nevertheless, Tanaka is considered more independent than his predecessor.

In his first press conference as Japan's new premier, for example, Tanaka announced his desire to "normalize" relations with Peking "based on the view that the People's Republic of China is the only legitimate government representing China."

This gambit was quickly answered, even if unofficially, by Peking. On July 7, the influential Tokyo newspaper *Asahi* reported that "Peking would be willing to hold talks on normalization of Chinese-Japanese relations if the new Government decides to earnestly take up the normalization issue."

The following day, the Peking correspondent of the Japanese news agency Kyodo, reported that the Chinese government would respond favorably to a Japanese offer to normalize relations if Peking were "properly informed" of Tanaka's intentions. The correspondent cited "informed sources" as explaining that Peking would insist on three conditions for such normalization: that Japan affirm that Peking is the sole legitimate government representing all of China, that Japan affirm that Taiwan is part of China, and that the 1953 Japan-Taiwan treaty be abrogated.

One obstacle in Tanaka's path is Fukuda's apparent unwillingness to admit defeat. Only July 7, Tanaka announced his new cabinet. Ohiro and Miki, two of his rivals for the premiership, were both named ministers, the former a foreign minister, the latter minister without portfolio. Two supporters of the Fukuda faction were likewise offered posts, but they refused to accept them, insisting that the Fukuda group receive four ministerial posts.

Fukuda said he would support the government, but from outside the cabinet. The July 8 *New York Times* reported that this situation "disturbed party circles and business interests that back the Liberal-Democrats."

The Tanaka-Fukuda clash, the *Times* reported, may lead to a general election before the end of the year.

'Chip' Versus 'Old Block'

Dutch CP, Kremlin Heat Up Their Dispute

[We have translated the following article from the June 3 issue of the Amsterdam weekly *Vrij Nederland*.]

* * *

Anger over the growing rebellion of the CPN [Communistisch Partij Nederland — Communist party of the Netherlands] must slowly be taking unprecedented forms in Moscow. At the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Dutch party held over the weekend, the leadership and the delegates did not want to take one step in the direction of the accommodation demanded by Moscow. In the unanimously adopted final resolution, not one line appears suggesting reconciliation with the Russian fraternal party. To the contrary, the CPN's *own autonomy* is once again strongly stressed. Moreover, the positions taken—such as the completely negative assessment of Brandt's Eastern treaties—go directly against Moscow's line.

About 1964, at the urging of Paul de Groot, the CPN set out on its own course. Where before Moscow's directives had always been warmly received here, the growing Sino-Soviet conflict created a possibility for the Dutch party leadership to carve out an independent position within the Communist world movement, roughly like the Rumanian party.

At first the CPN balanced between Moscow and Peking, with de Groot quietly cherishing the hope that he could play a big role again as an internationally recognized peacemaker between the two great powers—a hope that no one outside our borders seems to have taken seriously.

All these years the CPSU took a conspicuously noncommittal position. Moscow had to sit by and watch fairly quietly as a number of untoward things happened. The CPN leadership forbade party members to visit East European embassies (receptions were being misused to bring influence to bear). International conferences were boycotted. The invasion of Czechoslovakia was condemned. One of the CPN leaders, Baruch, who called for holding fast to the Russian line, was squeezed out of the party. Wim Hulst, the chairman of the Vereniging Nederland-USSR [Netherlands-USSR Association] was also gotten rid of, and as a result the whole association was put on the blacklist.

Obviously trying to influence the congress that has just been held, as sort of a shot across the bow of the CPN, the Soviet magazine *Voprosy Istorii* published a strong attack in January on Paul de Groot. Despite his seventy-two years, de Groot is still the party's chief ideologue, although he operates in the shadow of Felix Meritis. Several years in the past,

the veteran leader expressed criticisms, in his memoirs among other places, of the 1939 Nazi-Soviet pact.

The lesson of this, according to de Groot, was that whenever a socialist country—rightly or wrongly—feels that it must sign a treaty with an archenemy, the other Communist parties must not be obligated to defend this line unconditionally in their own countries. The Russians understood that in the minds of de Groot and the CPN this self-critical analysis of the 1930s (as the chief editor of the *Volksdagblad* at the time, de Groot had approved *everything* Stalin ordered) had dangerous implications for the here and now. This is a period, after all, when old and new enemies are trying to get together again and are signing open or secret treaties.

An apparent final warning to the Dutch troublemakers came in an article in the May 12 *Pravda*: "The CPN press has systematically printed material distorting the real situation in the USSR and incorrectly interpreting the policy of the Soviet government. . . ."

That the CPN leadership was not going to let itself be affected by this warning was obvious from an article by the editor in chief of *Waarheid*, Joop Wolff. Six days after the jab from *Pravda*, he wrote that the Eastern treaties must be considered as a concession by the Russians to the West German revanchists, the thrust of whose expansion is aimed "against the national and the real interests of the peoples of the buffer states and of capitalist Europe."

In the resolution presented by Paul de Groot and approved by the congress, the line from 1939 to 1972 was followed. The Soviet Union was reproached for making a mountain out of a molehill and selling out the small West European countries to West German monopoly capitalism, which was singled out emphatically as representing "the greatest danger to the peace."

The main attack was on national and *international* revisionism (the second adjective was added by Marcus Bakker, who chaired the resolution committee and apparently decided at the last minute to throw in another lump). There was no criticism of Communist China, and Nixon's visit to Peking was judged positive: "Since the victory of the socialist revolution in China, the imperialists no longer have any possibility of definitively suppressing the many-millioned peoples in the tropical areas." No word was said about the Soviet Union's gigantic financial and material aid to Egypt, Cuba, and revolutionary Vietnam.

But in the report of the leadership on the past year's work, it was noted very

somberly that organizational activity (reinforcing the party!) had not measured up to the possibilities and that CPN members of parliament, aldermen, and municipal councillors had deviated to the right (accepting "Social Democratic concepts in their parliamentary work"). But at this congress apparently no one wanted to chop off any heads.

It was more important to stress unity — with an eye above all to the attacks that can still be expected from East Europe. It can be anticipated that very shortly Moscow's blasts, which have already been picked up in the East German magazine *Horizont*, will also be repeated by other East European parties — and perhaps by the French CP. There has already been discussion about this.

Aside from the threat of attacks from the East, the CPN has nothing to worry about. In recent years, it has won some goodwill among the youth and students, as in Groningen and Amsterdam, where the student associations are largely under the control of CPN members. The most recent Vietnam demonstration was a great success. The social and economic situation is favorable to left-wing critiques. The Cold War is a thing of the past. Most unions of the NVV [Nederlands Verbond van Vakverenigingen — Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions] have taken an open-minded attitude toward the Communists. (In this connection, it was a tactical blunder of the first order that Platje Jr., who has always denied being a member of the CPN, had to be elected to the presidium and speak as a delegate; his father was elected to the party leadership.) The PSP [Pacifistische Socialistische Partij — Pacifist Socialist party] is scarcely a factor any more, and this was the first conference where there was no discussion of the "Wagenaar-Gortzak clique." Finally, since the departure of Baruch, no one has felt the need to defend a deviationist standpoint.

In a phrase, the delegates should have felt the same sort of enthusiasm that has enabled them in the past to shrug off the "productions of the poison pens of the bourgeois press."

The sad thing is that with all this, the CPN has not been able to develop into a serious factor on the left. Under de Grott's leadership what was white yesterday has become black today. And what tomorrow will bring remains uncertain and open to chance. Stalin as a historical figure is out, but Stalinism as a method remains the basis of the party's activity. The concluding resolution was dictated in advance. It was never discussed in the branches. Only the delegates to the district conferences were allowed "to inspect" it, as if it were some kind of rare stamp from Mauritius.

Examples of Stalinist thinking and operating can be expected in the near future to be directed against supposed and real friends of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, Gortzak, Wagenaar, and a series of other oppositionists in the past were

expelled precisely because of their so-called anti-Sovietism!

The fact that members of the CPN are still supporting the Vereniging Nederland-USSR is apparently a thorn in the flesh of the party leadership. In the meantime at least, a paper has appeared by the name of *Notities* that seems to have the aim of combating *Communistische Notities*, published by Baruch. *Notities* is being put out by Jan Brasser from Krommenie and Harrie Kleuver, who was reelected to the Political Bureau. It has contained attacks on "Soviet papers" and on Baruch, who was described as a "Gestapo agent."

Right to Strike Revoked

Czechoslovak Unions 'Normalized'

On the eve of the eighth congress of the Central Council of Czechoslovak Trade Unions, which opened June 12, the Communist party newspaper *Rude Pravo* announced that the meeting would "definitively mark the end of the most complicated — one can say the blackest — period of the revolutionary trade-union movement."

"Anti-Soviet and antiparty elements," *Rude Pravo* claimed, had been able to push their way into the unions "even after the party's change of direction," a polite term for the Soviet invasion of the country and the ensuing "normalization."

The major task of the congress was to annul all the decisions of the previous congress, which took place in March 1969, before the Russian-backed bureaucracy was able to retake firm control of the Czechoslovak Communist party. Fully one month before the actual convening of the eighth congress, the work of overturning the trade-union gains of the "Prague spring" period was well under way. On May 11-13, twenty-two decisions or documents from the 1969 congress were voided by the present union leadership.

In his opening address to the congress Karel Hoffman, president of the union federation, called the gathering "an important line of demarcation" in the life of the unions. He denounced "right opportunist deviationism" and claimed that the 1969 congress had allowed "antisocialist forces" their last opportunity for "an overt political presence." Among the repealed decisions of the 1969 congress was the

This continued wallowing in the filth of slander and innuendo does not increase the desire of outsiders to concern themselves seriously and intensively with the positions of the CPN, even though on domestic politics and especially on international political questions they are interesting in themselves.

De Groot has criticized on paper the Communist policy in the 1930s. But he and the party leadership blindly following him are still operating completely in the spirit of those years.

The Dutch party is a chip off the old block, but their comrades in Moscow are not going to be quick to admit it. □

one granting Czechoslovak workers the right to strike.

Josef Kempny, a member of the Presidium and the Central Committee of the Communist party, alleged that the "normalization" process was going swimmingly. "Even those who had chosen to adopt a wait-and-see attitude and had engaged in passive resistance are in the process of becoming convinced of the correctness of the party's policies."

Even allowing for Kempny's Stalinist notion of the process of "convincing" people, there is evidence that his claim represents some wishful thinking. One of the areas of Czechoslovak life to be most recently hit by the normalization purge has been the theater. Many actors, actresses, writers, and directors were active in the Prague spring and are now being forced into premature retirement.

On June 10 the famous Za Branou company gave its last performance before being closed down. The occasion was marked, according to the June 14 *Le Monde*, by a "spontaneous demonstration." For an entire hour, the audience, amidst tears and flowers, applauded the actors and directors. "As can be seen, the self-satisfied speeches of the leaders have still not succeeded in completely blocking out the voice of the public," wrote *Le Monde*. □

Limits to Coexistence

Three days after the North-South Korean communique was announced, the Seoul premier warned citizens that it was still illegal to listen to radio Pyongyang.

Official Republicans Weigh Lessons of Struggle

By Gerry Foley

A dramatic shift in the Irish situation was marked by statements from both the Official IRA (May 29) and the Provisional IRA (June 22) that at least for the time being renounced the use of terrorist methods. For the period ahead both the major militant organizations of the nationalist community have given priority to politics.

This attitude on the part of the organizations that lay claim to the republican tradition seems to represent a historic change whose significance may extend far beyond the present crisis. For decades militant nationalists have tended to stand aloof from politics, seeing themselves primarily as "soldiers." Concentration on military activity and abstention from parliament kept political issues out of the movement.

The authority of the leadership did not depend on their political program but on their position as the inheritors of the revolutionary legality of the first independent parliament in Dublin, which was sworn to defend the complete separation of a united Ireland from the British empire.

The politicalization of the republican movement began under the leadership, for the most part, of the present heads of the Official IRA and Official Sinn Féin. To a large extent, the group that left in 1969 to form the Provisional IRA was led by figures who had opposed the new orientation and favored a return to the old military tactics. By deeply dividing the traditional republican movement on what were in essence political issues, the split and the polemics that followed it seem to have finally laid to rest the principle of the legal continuity of the republican regime driven from power in 1922.

In particular, now that the Provisionals have announced their intention to enter the political arena, it can be expected that the question of who represents the valid tradition of republicanism and who can achieve its historic aspirations will be decided finally on the basis of political ar-

gument and discussion and through testing political programs in action.

The Irish radical movement seems to be headed for a period of intense discussion and experimentation in which all the old traditions and inherited concepts will inevitably be re-examined and tested in a ruthlessly objective way. Despite the pressures of repression and the threat of repression, the new period opening up seems to offer unprecedented possibilities for laying the foundations of a consistent revolutionary strategy and building the solid basis of a mass revolutionary party.

In his speech at the annual commemoration of the birth of Wolfe Tone, the legendary founder of republicanism, Seán Garland, the national organizer of Official Sinn Féin, set a good tone in many respects for the kind of political discussion that is needed. He said, according to the June 19 *Irish Times*:

"We have learned, we must learn, from the failures and shortcomings of those who, bravely and defiantly, went before us. We have learned, and we must learn, from the mistakes made in our time." Garland pledged that the Official republican movement would defend all victims of repression in a comradely way, "whether the internment camp or prison, the court or the Ministerial Order, be North or South and whether the prisoner be Loyalist or Provisional, Saor Eire or pacifist."

Polemics With Unnamed Groups

The June issue of the *United Irishman*, the organ of the Official republican movement, failed, however, in a number of ways to establish a sound basis for the discussion needed in this phase. Several articles contained attacks on other antiestablishment tendencies. But the groups in question were neither named nor quoted, a practice that does not make for either constructive journalism or political clarity.

An unsigned article entitled "Impe-

rialism and Capitalism" developed a whole theoretical argument whose target was defined only as "the Trotskyites" and their alleged slogan "Bosses Out; North and South." The slogan was considered wrong because Irish business is controlled by foreign capital. This is not exactly a new discovery. The same observation could be extended, as the anonymous author implies, to all countries dominated by imperialism. In fact, the concept of permanent revolution is based on this very fact and its logical implication, that the struggle against imperialism, as it develops, must become a struggle against capitalism as such. Since it was following this principle that the Bolshevik party led by Lenin and Trotsky made the Russian revolution, it is strange to accuse the continuers of this tradition, "the Trotskyites," of overestimating the Irish capitalist class.

The author does seem to draw another conclusion from the weakness of Irish capital, i.e., that it is possible to fight imperialism without fighting capitalism. Such a concept has reportedly led some Latin American anti-imperialists to believe that the only way they can fight oppression in their countries is to prepare to invade the United States. But that is a long and very important argument. It is to be hoped that in the next installment of his article, the author will define both the positions that are being argued for and those that are being argued against in a more precise way.

In another unsigned article, "Sec-tarianism and the Provisionals," the same lack of precision can be noted. But in this context, it is more serious: "For Jack Lynch [the Dublin premier] stood idly by while government money was poured into the pockets of the Provisionals fully aware that in the end the Provos must go down. They would go down because they had no politics. The unscrupulous alliance between various ultra-leftist elements, the rejects of English Trotskyist parties, and the Provisionals

showed this bankruptcy which British Imperialism and its native collaborators hoped to use to drag the genuine official Republican Movement with it."

Even the syntax is confused. The "rejects of English Trotskyist parties" are presumably the People's Democracy group (PD), a far left group in Northern Ireland, a few of whose leaders are supposed to have belonged at one time to the English International Socialists (IS). The IS group in England is a nationally limited multitendency organization whose majority supports an anti-Soviet position condemned by Trotsky and the Fourth International. The alleged alliance between PD and the Provisionals has been the occasion of bitter statements by Official republican leaders, who thought that all socialists should support them as against their supposedly purely nationalist rivals. But none of these condemnations has done much to illuminate the political issues.

Since over the past four years the Official republicans have on occasions worked with PD as well as combated it, it seems time for them to make some kind of general assessment of that organization's politics that could educate their followers. They now have a theoretical magazine, *Teoiric*, that presumably could do this.

Debate With the Provisionals

But the debate with the Provisionals is obviously a much more immediate and urgent problem. They are the Officials' main rivals for the leadership of the nationalist people. They have mass influence in some areas and outnumber the Officials in most of Belfast. In fact, I have heard one of the most objective leaders of the Official IRA say that the majority of the Irish people were Provisional-minded. Furthermore, the Provisionals are suffering severe repression at the hands of the Free Staters and the imperialists. Certainly arguments with such a tendency should be conducted in a careful and educational manner. But the tone taken by the *United Irishman* does not seem likely to encourage any Provisionals to listen to the Official arguments:

"The Provisional Alliance has acted as the agent of reaction. When the Republican Movement, drawing on its experience in the previous military

campaigns, realised that freedom could only be achieved as a result of the social struggle and participation of the Irish people as a whole, the Provisionals deliberately set out to subvert these new methods of struggle. The fragile unity created in the West Belfast Democratic Alliance, the hesitant co-operation between housing redevelopment groups on the Shankill [a Protestant neighborhood in West Belfast] and the Falls [the adjoining Catholic area] were blown apart at the behest of government circles in the South.

"There can be no doubt that the Provisionals were successful in the aim envisaged for them by Fianna Fail and British Imperialism. After August '69 the British Army and government had been forced by the balance of political circumstances to operate in a progressive way. The Downing Street declaration was extracted from an unwilling (and untrustworthy) Wilson government. The British were drawn into an open confrontation with right wing Unionist forces and the misguided Protestant workers who supported them. This contradiction between British Imperialism and its former most constant ally was what should have been exploited by those who genuinely sought developments towards greater power for the people. But the Provisionals, as part of their effort to prove how militant they were and as part of Blaney's programme for fighting the Lynch leadership, sabotaged that situation, developed an aggressive campaign (which very soon became more of an anti-civilian than an anti-military campaign) and allowed Britain to escape the hook on which she was caught. The results have been the steady descent into spiralling sectarian violence."

Fortunately, a statement on the back page of the *United Irishman* was somewhat more balanced: "It was not the IRA which fired the first shots, it was not the IRA which launched a war against the people in the North. While the Provisional Alliance can be justly condemned for their deliberately sectarian activities, the overwhelming burden of the guilt for the violence lies firmly at the feet of the British Army and the British administration."

The situation that has developed in Ireland in recent months does call for strong judgments and rigorous criticisms. The terrorist tactics that were advocated principally by the Pro-

visional IRA have been proved totally bankrupt, and the reaction against terrorism in the nationalist community has left the militants dangerously isolated. An ebb has developed in the national struggle, similar to some extent to the one that followed the failure of the 1956-62 guerrilla campaign. On a subjective level, bitterness is certainly justified. Frankness and honesty, however, are what is needed. Ironically the most balanced and constructive statement in the June *United Irishman* came in a letter from an apparent supporter of the Provisionals:

"I note within the back page of your May issue you spend some space in launching criticism at the Provisionals concerning activities which took place ages ago. In any event I would have thought that, if you are not to belie the title of your paper, it would have been best to forget what may have been strategic errors of which we are all capable at times, especially in times of considerable stress. In this case of course your rather self righteous criticisms are directed at an ally and in this you are culpably guilty of carrying on in just the same sectarian manner as you say those you accuse have done. Not being God we all of us make these errors and I doubt you will wish to claim that neither you nor your organisation have ever done so."

In fact, as the Provisionals themselves admit, they have carried on most of the terrorist activity, but the Officials have also made errors of the same type, which have resulted in serious setbacks for the struggle. The shooting of William Best in Derry on May 19 and the bombing of the officers' mess in Aldershot, England, in February are the salient examples.

If the Officials honestly admitted these errors they would very much strengthen their argument against terrorism, in which essentially they have been proved correct. Furthermore, such an honest and objective debate could open the way for the greatest possible unity and political clarity of all tendencies opposing the imperialist system in Ireland.

Catholics and Protestants

Unfortunately, the Official republicans have presented their argument against terrorism in a distorted form. They argue that the Provisionals'

methods were wrong because they divided the Protestant and Catholic workers. It is entirely clear that the terrorist methods of the Provisionals and, to a lesser degree, the Officials, have divided the nationalist population. The militants in the nationalist ghettos are now feeling the results of this in unmistakable ways. It is much more dubious that terrorist actions by any nationalist organization are responsible for dividing the Protestant and Catholic workers, although such actions could be expected to aggravate sectarian fanaticism and reinforce the position of the ultrarightist agitators.

The Officials have a strong case when they stress that the proper tactic is to try to allay the fears of the Protestants, not to increase them. They can argue convincingly that appeals to the interests of the Protestants as workers have a necessary educational effect both on the popular strata of the Unionist community and the nationalist people themselves. Such arguments should fall on fertile ground among the Provisionals, since the formal position of both republican organizations on the need for reaching the Protestant workers is exactly the same.

But to argue that it was the Provisionals, acting as conscious or unconscious agents of the Dublin government, who prevented working-class unity seems a little fantastic. The Dublin government did not need to foster a prolonged terrorist campaign—with all its attendant pressures, including repeated and provocative violations of Free State territory by British troops—in order to break up the "fragile" unity being forged with the Protestant workers through the West Belfast Alliance or the "hesitant cooperation" of the Shankill Redevelopment Association with its presumed counterpart in the Falls. No one but the Official republicans and the Irish Communist party seemed very impressed by such "breakthroughs." And these groups were apparently determined for ideological reasons to exaggerate all contacts with Protestants.

There is no evidence whatsoever that there was any significant development toward common actions by Protestant and Catholic workers. All claims to this effect sound peculiarly unsubstantiated and vague. There is, however, considerable evidence that the simple fact of Catholics protesting peacefully against their oppression has resulted

in increasingly dramatic polarization of the two communities.

Thus, it does not seem very likely that the kind of argument made in the June *United Irishman* will go very far in convincing the supporters of the Provisional IRA. In fact, the Officials' claim that it was their rivals' military campaign that wrecked hopes for Protestant-Catholic unity is apt to look like doctrinaire leftism and dogmatic frenzy to the politically uneducated followers of the Provisionals. Furthermore it is bound to look divisive. If it were true after all that the Provisionals were responsible for the antagonism between Protestant and Catholic workers, there could be no cooperation between both republican groups. The Provisionals would have to be regarded as mere "provocateurs."

Moreover, the way the Official IRA has dealt with the question of terrorism is likely to confuse its own ranks. The front-page statement in the June *United Irishman* says, for example: "The IRA has decided to reaffirm its political programme in an effort to avoid sectarian war, to bring about a political confrontation between the Irish people and British Imperialism.

"It is to be expected that the Provisionals may try and sabotage this development. But the onus rests in the main on the British aggressor forces. Obviously, if there were any repeat of the Bloody Sunday episode in Derry the IRA would have to reconsider its position."

Does this mean that if there are further British outrages—which is very likely at some point—that the Official IRA will return to using the same tactics that proved so ineffective and diversionary after the Derry massacre? Both the Aldershot bombing and the Best shooting were defended as retaliation for the British army atrocity, and these terrorist actions have had a major effect in isolating the militants. This result is particularly tragic since it is clear that the response to the Derry massacre in both the North and the South offered an opportunity for a real breakthrough for the national liberation struggle. Has the Official IRA learned nothing from these costly errors?

Dublin and the Provisionals

The question of the influence of the Dublin government and Catholic bour-

geois elements on the Provisionals is an extremely important one. At the time of the split and especially in May 1970, when Dublin politicians were found to be involved in importing weapons that appeared to be destined for delivery to the Provisional IRA or elements of it, the Official republicans charged that the Blaney-Boland faction of the ruling party in the South had engineered the breakaway from the movement.

All evidence on the dealings of Irish government intelligence officers with the republican movement that has come to light since then has tended to confirm this accusation. The promise of guns and money from Dublin for purely military activities could be expected to appeal to sections of the hard-pressed IRA in the North, which has traditionally tended to be an apolitical Catholic defense force.

The Irish government representatives reportedly set certain conditions for this support, such as the end of militant agitation on political and economic issues in the South and the removal of Communist leaders. In general, it has seemed that the Provisional leadership have been adhering to these conditions.

The Official leaders did not condemn taking guns and money from reactionary donors on principle, since the Official chief of staff Cathal Goulding has said repeatedly that he would take help from any source. They argued that the Provisionals' alleged deal was a betrayal on essentially two bases. They stressed that waging a purely military struggle, which they believed was a condition for Dublin support, played into the hands of reactionary forces. Such a struggle did not challenge the fundamental structures of the oppressive system in both parts of Ireland and could thus be coopted and manipulated by the right as previous such struggles had been. A terrorist military campaign could not mobilize the masses independently and on the basis of their own interests, which was a precondition for defeating imperialism.

The Official republicans' convictions were reinforced by the long experience of the IRA in trying to wage a purely military struggle isolated from the action of the masses. In the 1930s IRA activity served only to strengthen the demagogue De Valera, who eventually suppressed the organization. All of the IRA's struggles and sacrifices had

not clarified the issues facing the Irish people, who continued to be inhibited politically by conservative ideas even while supporting the military activities of the republicans.

Hatred and distrust of the Catholic bourgeoisie were hardened by memories of how the so-called national business interests had been able to outmaneuver the IRA in the past and of how the Dublin regime had cooperated with Belfast and London in crushing the guerrilla campaign of 1956-62. The younger republicans who had been attracted to the movement by its aspiration of achieving a socialist system in Ireland were particularly hostile to the idea of deals with the Catholic bourgeoisie.

Since the polemics between the two republican organizations were not conducted with the fullest political clarity, the Officials tended in fact to adopt a rather ultraleft attitude toward the Irish bourgeois interests. They failed to appreciate the contradictory position of the Irish bourgeoisie and proved unable to exploit it.

Now that the Provisional campaign has come to a dead end, however, the Officials should be in a good position to get across the points that many apolitical republicans in the North could not understand in 1969 and 1970.

The treacherousness of all sections of the Catholic bourgeoisie has been amply demonstrated. A number of Provisionals have been interned in the South and more are likely to be as soon as the government feels that the time is ripe. Whatever material support the Provisionals have gotten from conservative elements was clearly not enough to make a decisive difference in the struggle. Despite the Provisionals' anti-Communism, all of the conservative institutions of the Catholic population have attacked them. In fact, they have found themselves forced to denounce the Catholic church in harsher terms than the Officials.

Certainly it should be easier now to convince Provisional supporters that Ireland can be liberated only by mobilizing the masses of the people for a thoroughgoing social revolution. Anti-Communism also should be less of a barrier now that the Provisionals have shown themselves willing to obtain arms in Czechoslovakia.

Furthermore, there can be no doubt that it is worthwhile trying to reach the Provisional supporters. Even if

their popularity fades after the failure of their campaign, the Provisionals represent a nonpolitical nationalist sentiment that runs very deep in Ireland and in the overseas Irish. And this current has a material base in various traditional organizations. Also the possibility cannot at all be discounted that events in Northern Ireland even in the near future will regenerate an atmosphere favorable to terrorist activity.

Obviously, however, the Officials are not likely to convince many Provisional supporters that the organization they have followed was acting as an "agent of reaction" in the North. In the three years since the split the Provisionals have shown that they were following, in general, the traditional republican line and that this led them into the usual conflicts with the Free State. What has been shown is that traditional republicanism can be manipulated to prevent politicalization of the resistance to imperialist oppression. That, it seems, is the point that should be made, instead of resorting to dogmatic denunciations.

"Progress" and "Provocations"

Furthermore, Provisionals and even many Officials would be likely to wonder about the statement in the June *United Irishman* that "aggressive" actions by the Provisionals prevented the British army from carrying out a "progressive" role. This role presumably would have been to defend the Catholic ghettos and enforce reforms from Westminster.

It is true that the British were compelled to halt the pogroms in Belfast in August 1969. In particular, their attack October 6, 1969, on the Orange crowds who were protesting the abolition of the B Specials could be considered to have had a wholesome educational effect on the popular sectors supporting Unionism. But this does not take away from the fact that the primary function of the troops was to repress the nationalist population and that any secondary actions against the Unionists were necessary simply to strengthen Britain's hand politically to carry out this essential task.

In its report, the London *Sunday Times* Insight team,* which had no

* *Northern Ireland: Report on the Conflict*, Vintage Books, New York, \$1.95.

reason to try to whitewash Provisional "provocations," indicated that the Provisional leadership in Belfast wanted to come to an agreement with the British troops for maintaining the peace. But it found itself unable to control the seething hatred of the young ghetto dwellers in particular for the Orange system and the imperialist troops defending it. In report after report journalists have confirmed that no force in the nationalist communities could restrain the feelings of the oppressed population, who were raised from their knees by the mass protest movement and infuriated by the brutality and even the very presence of the British occupying forces.

The argument that the British forces would have carried out a "progressive" role if it had not been for "provocations" from the Provisionals is bound to have an unpleasantly familiar ring to many in and around the republican movement. For example, a former adviser to the Official IRA, Roy Johnston, made this accusation against his erstwhile comrades in his "Apologia" printed in the March 31 issue of the Dublin biweekly *Hibernia*:

"The lack of contact with the students allowed an immature ultra-leftist element to emerge, and even sometimes to appear to lead. The basic cause of the rapid escalation was, in my opinion, the heroic but ill-advised and provocative march on Derry through the Orange strongholds of Antrim in January 1969. Burntollert need not have happened. It achieved nothing except to inflame sectarian hatred.

"The rate of subsequent escalation exceeded by far the rate at which the republicans could learn their political lessons, with the result that when the armed Orange counter-attack struck in August 1969, the reaction of the republicans was 100% military.

"If the movement had been mature enough to react politically, recognizing the basic military impossibility of the situation, the British army would have had to act to disarm the Orangemen. No civilized government in contemporary Europe can afford to allow one armed section of its citizens to slaughter their unarmed neighbours."

The only possible conclusion that can be drawn from these paragraphs is that Johnston was opposed to the IRA trying to defend the Catholic ghettos on the grounds that this would

prevent the British army from carrying out its "progressive" role. If the Official IRA shared this analysis, the implications would be grave. Provisional supporters would be justified in thinking that this kind of schematism in theory called for betrayal in practice. A statement by the Belfast command of the official IRA reported in the June 10 issue of the *Irish Times*, however, should offer some reassurance:

"The Belfast command staff of the official I. R. A. has stressed that, while it supports the decision of its G. H. Q. [General Headquarters] to suspend military operations, it would continue to defend any working-class area from attack 'no matter from whom that attack should come.'"

After all, when a vicious repressive system is in crisis, it is impossible to depend entirely on political pressures to ward off frenzied attacks on whole populations. Who would have thought, for instance, before August 1968 that the Soviet regime would be prepared to invade one of its "allies" just to stop a few liberal reforms?

Nonetheless, the question is still left unanswered as to how such a formulation granting a "progressive" role to the British troops could appear in what was obviously intended to be a major political statement, a major polemic against the Official IRA's main rival for leadership of the Irish national struggle.

It is possible, of course, that the British government may be forced by political considerations to use its troops to defend the nationalist population at certain times. It may be forced also to apply considerable material force to restrain the Unionists; there are many examples of this going back for more than a century. It can be useful and at times even essential to demand that British troops act to halt pogroms, since the London government is responsible legally and morally for the safety of the Catholic population in Northern Ireland and since it allegedly sent its armed forces into the area to defend the minority. Such demands may be the only way of preventing murderous terror against helpless communities. They can also serve, if formulated carefully, to help expose the real role of the British armed forces in the North. Thus, they can be perfectly complementary to the principled demand for

immediate withdrawal of British troops, which focuses attention on the fact that the essential purpose of these forces is to repress the nationalist population.

But describing the role of the British troops at any given time as "progressive" seems to imply the existence of a much deeper contradiction. It seems to assume that—as long as there are no "provocations"—the British government can be forced to eliminate or undermine the system of communal divisions in Northern Ireland. This would mean that the oppressor power itself could be forced, by its own contradictions, to carry out what would in effect be a social revolution.

Although such a development has been repeatedly projected in all sorts of situations and countries by Stalinists and other reformists, there has been no example of it in modern times. In fact, this argument is unpleasantly reminiscent of the dogmatic claims of the super-Stalinist grouplet, the Irish Communist Organisation (ICO) that the British troops are accomplishing "democratic tasks" in Northern Ireland. The one positive contribution of this pompous circle of "proletarian" theoreticians is that, in using a scholastic method to try to build a consistent dogma out of the rationalizations of Soviet bureaucracy at its height, they have drawn the conclusions of the various Stalinist formulas with a merciless logic to their ultimate absurdity.

"Stages" in the Irish Revolution?

This concept of oppressive forces carrying out "progressive" tasks is derived from the "stages" theory that was followed by the Mensheviks in Russia and revived by the Stalinist bureaucracy when it usurped power in the Soviet Union. It was the rationale of the partial counterrevolution that occurred in Russia, the equivalent in that context of Free Statism.

A stages theory was expressed very clearly in the article "Sectarianism and the Provisionals" in the June *United Irishman*:

"We are now on the brink of the precipice. Overwhelmed by ECC on one side, violence and death face us on the other. At all costs civil war between Irish workers must be avoided and the course of political activity returned to the democratic struggle for civil rights.

"What we need to be constantly reminding ourselves is that the national liberation phase proper of the fight in Ireland has not yet been reached. More emphatically a socialist victory is clearly not round the immediate corner. Whatever else the EEC referendum signifies, we must accept that we have a long way to go before we convince the Irish people of the necessity and desirability of the socialist system. But what we can do, and what must be done, if all the suffering endured by the Irish people—Catholic and Protestant—over the last two years is not to be for nothing, is to ensure that steps are taken forward to winning genuine democracy both North and South."

It is clear that the main tasks in both parts of Ireland are now defensive ones. That is, since a downturn has occurred in the struggle it is obvious that the most pressing problem is to defeat the threat of repression, to prevent the militant organizations from being isolated and destroyed. But there is no clear separation between democratic tasks and revolutionary or socialist ones.

It was out of the defense of the victims of the British repression in 1916 that the political foundations were laid for the revolutionary war of 1919-21. The Red Guard that seized power in Russia was built as a defense force against advancing counterrevolution. The fight against the Batista dictatorship brought the Castro regime to power. To defend itself against a reactionary coup it was forced to resort to expropriations that destroyed capitalism in the country.

The Fidelistas were unusually lucky. They did not come up against the full force of imperialism until after they had taken power. Other movements that have tried to confine themselves to democratic demands, such as the Vietnamese and Chinese Communist parties, found themselves forced in spite of their dogmas to introduce socialist measures in order to mobilize the kind of popular support needed to defeat counterrevolutionary repression.

Even in Eastern Europe, where the Soviet occupation forces and the local Communist parties repressed spontaneous revolutionary movements by the workers and forced the restoration of the private enterprise systems that had been destroyed by the war, it quickly

proved necessary for the Stalinist organizations and power centers to bureaucratically abolish the capitalist system. Otherwise, it was clear, counterrevolutionary regimes would have arisen to threaten the freedom of operation of the Communist parties and the security of the Soviet Union.

All of these cases show in different ways that in countries dominated by imperialism battles for democratic rights, if they are fought consistently and if the leadership is loyal to the movement, pass uninterruptedly into struggles for national liberation and socialism: Not only is there no strict separation between these different phases of the liberation struggle, but at any point it may prove necessary to resort to socialist demands or measures in order to forward the democratic struggle itself. A pedantic division into distinct stages distorts reality and paralyzes political struggle.

In Ireland in particular, it is clear that the struggle for democracy is essentially a national struggle, since it is the power and influence of imperialism that maintains the undemocratic structures and it is essentially the nationalist people who are being denied their democratic rights.

The people cannot be mobilized on the basis of abstract national demands any more than the workers could be led to overthrow capitalism by abstract socialist slogans. But the fight for democratic rights in the North as it gains momentum tends automatically to revive the Irish national revolution in a new and higher form. Four years of struggle have shown that this is the inevitable dynamic.

During the nineteenth century, as the capitalists took over power from the old feudal rulers, there was what could be called a democratic stage. The rising capitalist classes found parliamentary democracy the most effective means for settling their internal differences and for controlling society. When capitalism passed into its reactionary phase, when the modern imperialist system came into full flower, the general tendency was reversed. Democracy was increasingly threatened even in its old centers. In every crisis, the ruling classes tended to resort to generalized repression. The bureaucratic, conservative tendencies in the workers' movement—at first the Social Democrats—refused to recognize that the democratic era was over.

As a result, they denounced the Bolsheviks as adventurers and provocateurs for trying to carry out a socialist revolution in the Russian empire. That is, they adopted a counterrevolutionary position.

Reforms and Revolution

When the Stalinist bureaucracy rose to power in the Soviet Union, it also adopted the stages theory to justify its conservative outlook. The reason for this was that the concept meant that capitalism had not yet exhausted its progressive role and that therefore the main task of socialists was to work for reforms. On the basis of such a theory, for instance, it is possible to claim that the British troops can serve a "progressive" function in Northern Ireland.

The revolutionists who fought the Stalinist bureaucracy replied that since capitalism had outlived its progressive role, every crisis would tend to pose the question of socialism, regardless of the political consciousness of the masses. The political maturity of the people was one side of the problem. But the other side was the objective fact that capitalism could not solve their problems. In this context, demands for reforms helped to expose the reactionary character of the bourgeois system and, if achievable, to give the masses the necessary confidence in their power to take their destinies into their own hands.

The continuers of the Russian revolutionary tradition argued that unless a socialist alternative was presented in periods of crisis, an alternative arising from the concrete needs of the people, all the suffering and sacrifice of their struggles would be in vain. Political consciousness would not be advanced, and confusion and demoralization would result. This was what happened in Spain in 1936-39, in France and Italy in 1946, and in Greece in April 1965.

Some of the Official republican leaders seem to think that the main failure of the Stalinists in Greece in 1965 was that they did not build a military force to resist the threatened rightist coup. But in Italy and France, the Stalinists had control of the popular militia. Following their stages theory, they disarmed it. In some countries, such as Colombia and Guatemala,

the Stalinists have even formed guerilla units without essentially abandoning their reformist perspective. Their failure is really a political one. The military default flows from it—just as a military default would follow from trying to observe the stages theory in Northern Ireland.

But how could the Official republicans, whose best leaders and militants justly despise the Stalinist hacks of the Communist party of Ireland and the acolytes of the ICO, propagate a stages theory? Of course, they have not consistently advocated this theory or drawn its full implications. Nonetheless, it seems that this general outlook colors their view of the struggle in Ireland. Not only has it prevented them from seizing opportunities for deepening the struggle but now, judging from the June *United Irishman*, it threatens to turn the confirmation of their polemic against elitist armed actions into a millstone around their necks.

The immediate results for the Official republican movement of the kind of line taken in the June issue of the *United Irishman* depend on the turn of events. It is possible that democratic demands divorced from any real perspective of national and socialist struggle will appeal to broader circles of leftward-moving but still reformist-minded youth and Labour party supporters. But if this line is followed to its conclusions, whatever the immediate gains, it will irreparably compromise the Officials in the eyes of nationalist militants and destroy the organization as a revolutionary pole. It is absolutely certain that the "revolutionary party of the Irish people" that Seán Garland called for in his Bodinstown speech cannot be built in this way.

The essential reason for the influence of the stages theory—the problem of the Protestant working class—must be gone into more deeply. The Official republicans' view of this obstacle and how to overcome it is distorted by two factors: (1) scientifically false and outmoded concepts transmitted by the republican tradition; (2) the romanticized and oversimplified view of class struggle typical of new radicals and old reformists, i.e., workerism.

It is quite likely that reformists are consciously manipulating these weaknesses in the views of the Official republicans, just as other conservative

elements appear to have manipulated the ideological weaknesses of the Provisionals. But workerism in particular is shared by almost all radical groups in Ireland, to some degree, even where there can be no question of any influ-

ence from the traditional reformist tendencies. This failing, as shown in the activity of the Officials, deserves especially careful consideration, since they have been the dominant tendency on the left. □

on a daily basis.

Every ruling class will resort to violence. In "peaceful" times, if the left steps out of the bounds of the system, it will inevitably be dealt with forcibly. If a small movement arises, it will soon face open terror, as we have seen with Benno Ohnesorg, Rudi Dutschke, the breaking up of demonstrations, the attacking of pickets that was done in last year's chemical and metal strikes. No ruling class retires voluntarily. If it is threatened, it will ruthlessly bring to bear all its available resources. Whoever denies this, denies all historical experience, from the Paris Commune through the rise of fascism to the war in Vietnam.

Whenever circumstances permit, the police or the military will be used against rising popular movements—we have only to look at Greece, Turkey, Iran, Latin America, the moves of the U.S. government against the Black movement, and the policy of British imperialism in Northern Ireland. On this point we have no quarrel with the RAF.

For Marxists, forms of armed struggle are tactical questions, and this is true also of that specific form, individual terrorism. We make no secret of the fact that in our view very specific conditions must exist to justify its use, while for the anarchists it is the usual form of action regardless of circumstances.

The difference of principle lies elsewhere. Mass support is crucial for armed struggle. That is, the ruling class must be at the end of its rope and the masses must recognize the necessity of armed struggle. Ultimately, this can mean only one thing: civil war.

An "armed struggle" carried out by individuals or small groups divorced from concrete conditions and from the consciousness of the laboring masses not only condemns the masses to the role of passive onlookers, not only more or less inevitably transforms those who wanted to be "fish in water" into "fish in the net" of the repressive apparatus, but also—even if unconsciously—expresses contempt for the masses, who are viewed independently of their position and consciousness. Those who engage in such "armed struggle" show that they no longer have any use for Marx's assertion that "the emancipation of the working class must be the act of the workers themselves." □

Politics of 'Red Army Faction'

Bombs or Class Struggle in Germany?

[Ulrike Meinhof, considered to be one of the leaders of the Rote Armee Fraktion (RAF—Red Army Faction), was captured by West German police in Hanover on June 16. Andreas Baader, the other major leader of the so-called Baader-Meinhof group, had been arrested in Frankfurt June 1 after a gun battle with police.

[The apparent destruction of the group, which has claimed credit for a large number of bombings in Germany, precipitated wide discussion in the German press, and the validity of the RAF's strategy is being debated throughout the German radical movement.

[We have translated below the first section of a three-page article entitled "Armed Struggle and Class Struggle" that appeared in the June issue of *Was Tun*, the monthly newspaper of the Revolutionär-Kommunistischen Jugend (Revolutionary Communist Youth), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International.]

* * *

The socialist revolution in the capitalist metropolises will not be the product of armed action by a small minority, but will grow out of great mass struggles—strikes, in the course of which the workers occupy the factories, form strike committees on a local, regional, and national scale, take the means of production into their own hands, and through their control of production eliminate capitalist exploitation. Through this they will create their own organs of self-defense against the armed resistance of the bourgeoisie.

The amount of violence that accompanies the revolutionary process will depend on the behavior of the bourgeoisie, which has never yet willingly yielded its rule of profit.

In the industrial metropolis, our "weapons" as revolutionists consist of our revolutionary program, which is grounded in the scientific Marxist analysis of class society; our ability to build cadres on the basis of this program; the possibility, as the workers' struggle develops, of these cadres rooting the program in the proletariat and linking up with the majority of the working class.

We therefore maintain that in an advanced industrial country with a democratic parliamentary regime and where the workers' movement is legal, revolutionary violence must have a defensive and not an offensive appearance. That is, it must consist of the self-defense of the workers' and socialist movement against the armed gangs of capital. The task of the left is not to organize senseless armed commando action, but to mobilize the working masses. The core of our principled difference with the RAF is that we consider these "weapons" of ours to be far more effective than any bombs and submachine guns.

We will not at all dwell on the "arguments" of the bourgeois propaganda apparatuses. The unbounded hypocrisy of anyone who, in the face of Vietnam, wants to make the RAF the touchstone of the question of violence speaks for itself. This international bourgeoisie—whose German representative pretends to be fighting "terror and violence" by hunting down the RAF—threatens to bomb Vietnam into dust, organizes wars with millions of victims, cynically justifies genocide, and provides financial and military guarantees to the United States, a task in which the West German republic plays no small role.

The profit economy of this same bourgeoisie has destroyed whole generations of workers, and in the factories continues to destroy workers

Annual Convention Held in Berkeley

Iranian Students to Aid Political Prisoners

By Javad Sadeeg

The Iranian Students Association in the United States held its twentieth annual convention in Berkeley, California, June 17-24.

The first two days were devoted to a discussion of defense of the growing number of political prisoners in Iran. The remaining time was taken up by reports from the leadership on the work of the past year and the formulation of policies for the coming year.

Four hundred students, seventy-five of whom were elected delegates, attended. The Confederation of Iranian Students, to which the organization in the United States belongs, sent two representatives from Europe. They reported on the activities of the Confederation in exposing the shah's military dictatorship.

The Confederation of Iranian Students is the only open organization of Iranians in opposition to the shah's regime and his imperialist benefactors. Three years ago the shah declared the Confederation illegal. Taking part in its activities can bring a prison term ranging from three to ten years. This, however, has not succeeded in discouraging Iranian students from coming around the organization, as the large number in attendance showed.

The Iranian Students Association in the United States is now focusing more attention on the need to defend Iranian political prisoners. During the past year, some demonstrations around this issue were organized, and some local chapters have moved toward building broad-based committees. This represents a shift from the attitudes of two years ago, when an ultraleftist tendency to neglect the need for defense prevailed.

The convention noted the increasing complicity of the so-called democratic countries in stifling opposition to the shah's dictatorial regime. Many Iranian student activists are facing deportation from Europe and the United States. The gathering resolved to initiate a defense campaign on behalf of these students.

The convention heard a report from the Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie. Zahraie is an Iranian student leader at the University of Washington in Seattle. Immigration author-



SHAH: Gets a little help from "democratic" governments in jailing opposition.

ities want to deport him for his opposition to the military regime in Iran and for his antiwar activities. (See *Intercontinental Press*, April 10, 1972, p. 380.) The report, which was very well received, outlined the steps taken by the committee to rally the entire university community to Zahraie's defense. Considerable radio and TV coverage was obtained.

Another matter that was discussed was the charter of the Confederation of Iranian Students. This charter defines the confederation as a broad-based, open organization that forms an integral part of the democratic and anti-imperialist movement of the Iranian people. It states that the confederation cannot take positions along class and ideological lines, but calls for an open atmosphere where research and discussion can be carried

out on the general problems relating to the democratic and anti-imperialist movement of the Iranian people and the national liberation movements of the world. Some students believe that the confederation should provide a class analysis of imperialism and call for the overthrow of imperialism in Iran, while others believe that it should call for the overturn of property relations in favor of the workers and peasants.

During the coming year, attention will also be devoted to the threat to the Arab revolution posed by the shah's regime, which is constantly arming itself and militarily occupying and dominating Arab territories.

As a sign of international solidarity, a number of invitations to address the convention were offered. A panel of Arab students discussed the present state of the Palestinian resistance movement. Representatives of the Organization of Arab Students, the Ethiopian Students Association, the Young Socialist Alliance, and other organizations read messages of solidarity. A similar message from Angela Davis was read. John Thorne, a well-known civil libertarian lawyer who traveled to Iran last year to investigate the conditions of the political prisoners, spoke in support of the defense efforts of the Iranian students. And one evening was devoted to Vietnam, during which a film depicting the liberation struggle was shown. □

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The Violence of Those at the Top

[The following is the sixth installment of a lengthy feature on repression in Argentina that appeared in the April 25 issue of the Buenos Aires newspaper *Nuevo Hombre*. Its publisher, Dr. Silvio Frondizi, was ar-

rested as a result of the publication of this issue, but was subsequently released. The newspaper has been banned. Translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Repression Directed Against Intellectuals

Students

The regime has not hesitated to turn loose its violence on the students. In December of last year, 168 students were arrested in the Buenos Aires School of Philosophy and Letters and tried before the Supreme Criminal Court. Six students were suspended from the Law School for arguing with a dean and tried for alleged crimes. Seven students in the Exact Sciences were tried in the Supreme Criminal Court. A little later, engineering student Daniel Wiener was seized for having thrown—according to what one official claimed—a Molotov cocktail into a demonstration.

Jorge Sivak, the defense lawyer in all of these cases, described for *Nuevo Hombre* the new characteristics of the repression of the student movement. The following is the evidence he presented:

"The methods used against the students have varied considerably. Today they consist of exemplary measures intended to paralyze any attempt at mobilization. No longer is one faced with the threat of a police edict, which at most brings thirty days in jail. The present approach involves months or years in prison. In addition, the Supreme Criminal Court functions as a supertribunal of conduct whose jurisdiction overlaps with that of the deans and that rules on norms of discipline that the deans in each department feel the students must observe. In other words, it serves as a kind of life jacket for order within the university.

"The case of Daniel Wiener is typical of the present situation. He was arrested in October 1971. The charge

—throwing a Molotov cocktail—is based on the testimony of an official from the Security Superintendency and two witnesses who contradicted both each other and the police. According to the story put together by the repressors, two 'boys' who were watching the demonstration go by were suddenly taken by a fit of 'virility' and decided to chase the person who had thrown the bomb. They pursued him for two blocks before a police patrol stopped them. Then the two boys told the police that the person running ahead of them was an 'arsonist.' Wiener was arrested and tried for arson and intimidating the public.

"During the trial, the police witness said he questioned these 'boys' for about five minutes. Then he began to chase Wiener and caught up with him two blocks away. Meanwhile, the statement of the two allegedly 'civilian' witnesses contradicts this since they claim that the distance between the police and the defendant amounted to only a few meters, so that when the police gave an order to halt, Wiener stopped walking.

"The two witnesses could not agree on when the device was thrown. One said that it was thrown out of a group of people. In contrast, the other maintained that it was thrown by an individual who was standing alone. One of the alleged 'boys' also says that he never spoke with Wiener and yet at the police station he said he recognized him by his voice.

"The student was sentenced to two and a half years in prison. The sentence was based on article 60 of Law 19.053, which instituted the system of 'healthy criticism.' This is used by the Supreme Criminal Court as a

catchall for suspicion whereby it can find people guilty or innocent as it pleases, without the need for proofs. Besides, we have heard about the 'pride the judges take in the fact that there are still young Argentinians who will serve as police witnesses.'

"As for the 168 philosophy students, they were held in preventive detention for illegal deprivation of freedom and for encroaching on a basic regulation. None of those who suffered from the 'crime' could identify who among those seized was responsible. The incomplete proof the law requires in order to sentence someone to preventive detention was held to have been provided, in spite of the fact that there was not enough evidence to charge even one of the students with the alleged crimes.

"In September last year, Viviana Rubinstein, a teacher in Exact Sciences, was arrested by the Federal Security Superintendency. Her colleagues, concerned over her disappearance, occupied the school's bookstore in order to print up a leaflet on the matter. The academic secretary of this department, Licentiate Cantilo, did not hesitate to turn over to the repressive bodies the names of seven of them. They were then put on trial in the Supreme Criminal Court. They were charged with encroachment and illegal deprivation of freedom."

Journalists

On March 21, Ignacio Iconikoff, a journalist for the agency Interpress, was arrested in Buenos Aires. For ten days he was severely tortured, as he has indicated to the court in detail. In a letter to his journalism colleagues on April 14, he gives an indication of the kind of pressures the system brings to bear on journalists:

"During the first stage of the so-called Argentine Revolution under Onganía, in our union alone we have suffered the murder of our dear compañero Emilo Jáuregui, and the more camouflaged murder of Juan García Elorrio, who will always be remembered. Others paid for their contribution to the struggles of the people with prison sentences.

"During the eight months of the second stage under Levingston, a newsman from Catamarca—Roberto Candelario Rodríguez, arrested in November 1970—paid for his insistence on his professional rights with six

months in a military prison. Already during the third, with Lanusse's Great Agreement, it was intervention of the neighbors of the union's lawyer, Roberto Jorge Quieto, last July 8 that saved his life, although he is still a prisoner at Rawson. We also saw the police barriers set up around the home of Eduardo Jozami—general secretary of the press union until the dictatorship intervened it and then handed it over to the participationist clique—without any official explanation ever being given for such persecution and without any response being made to the request for habeas corpus. We also all remember the recent imprisonment of Pepe Lamarca.

"What is happening to our union is part of the general offensive of the dictatorship against the people. We have more than 700 political prisoners and several hundred of us have been subjected to electric prods and other forms of torture. The editors, reporters, and photographers who were treated to beatings, gas, and the loss of their work materials were also being given a taste of how the demands of the workers and the people are being repressed."

Freedom of the Press?

On the same day, Friday, April 14, the Association of Buenos Aires Journalists reported on the condition of other persons under arrest. Compañera Casiana Ahumada, for example, who has been imprisoned since September 1971,¹ is accused of the alleged "crime" of putting out a magazine—*Cristianismo y Revolución*—which was being freely circulated and sold in all the newsstands. Jorge Capodistrias, a contributor to the magazine *Gente*, was arrested for no reason at all. Brought before the Supreme Criminal Court, he was released within a week without any explanation ever being given. Andrés Alsina Bea, editor of the daily *La Opinión*, disappeared for several days. Later it was learned that he had endured tortures for six days.

The forms the system uses to silence journalists do not end with blatant, naked repression. Other, seemingly more subtle, methods are used to intimidate publishers and press workers.

1. Ahumada was given a fifteen-month suspended sentence, according to an Associated Press dispatch June 12. — IP

The Publishing Center, for example, within a period of a few months, suffered three attacks that destroyed part of its equipment. In addition, its entire "Siglomundo" collection (some sixty titles) was seized, in spite of the fact that only one part had been held to be in violation of Law 17.401. Nor was it allowed to fall back on the collection in order to deal with the economic crisis it was facing.

Miguel Schapiro, the owner of a publishing house, was arrested in March and charged with "inciting to violence" and "defending crime." The publication of the book *Actas Tupamaras* [Tupamaro Papers] was at the root of it all. Prosecutor Smart of the Supreme Criminal Court has asked for a year in jail for Schapiro. Action was also taken against the publication *América Latina*, put out by Edgardo Horacio Greco, by two high officials of the federal police. The general inspectors Florentino Alberro and Alfredo Castro felt they had been wronged by the article entitled "Murder and Torture Brigades in Argentina." Therefore, they asked for four years in prison for Greco and the payment of 2,000,000 pesos in "moral reparations." Greco's answer to the complaint in court is illustrative:

"What jumps out at me is the fact that it is not the institution of the police as such that is bringing the complaint but two high officials of that institution which can only serve as further evidence that the torture, kidnapping, and murder of prisoners—both common and political—in police headquarters has become a sad reality in our country."

Teachers

On November 30, Norman Nubia Morello, a rural teacher in Goya and an activist in the Rural Movement of Argentine Catholic Action, was arrested by persons belonging to the military. Her family was able to locate her only one month later. During this period of time, she was savagely tortured in Rosario. There is not now and never has been a trial in her case.² Her comrade, Leonor Vargas, a teacher in Goya, states that "she was extremely concerned about the

2. Morello was released on May 15 after more than five months in military prisons. Her release was brought about in part by the pressure of Roman Catholic bishops on the Lanusse regime. — IP

whole education of the peasant child and that her colleagues be aware of how great their responsibility was. I can't understand why they arrested her."

Roque Bellomo, a defense lawyer and member of the national committee of the Christian Democratic party, explained the main incidents of her case in his discussion with *Nuevo Hombre*.

N. H. "What can you tell us about the Norma Morello 'case'?"

Bellomo. "She was active in the Rural Movement of Catholic Action and was involved in the struggle to liberate Latin America as a whole. This involvement led her to travel to Guatemala and El Salvador, as well as to become, in a sense, the right arm of the bishop of Goya, Monsignor Devoto. When they took her on November 30, she was carrying out her teaching duties in a school near Goya. The 'subversive' literature they found included *El Hombre Mediocre* [The Mediocre Man] by José Ingenieros. . . . We knew each other from letters, but I also saw her a week ago, for two minutes. She is a girl who looks fragile, and she is very small; but she is completely convinced of the role she has to play. And today she is full of optimism. . . . She has again begun to live. She was tortured for sixteen days with the electric prod; she was horribly tortured. She was held incommunicado, and was threatened with rape by twenty-five people; fortunately, they did not do it. But they did beat her, and weakened her to such a point that she almost died—she was forced to go for days without either food or drink and they would bring her cold beverages to look at."

N. H. "Why did all this happen to someone like her, doctor?"

Bellomo. "No one knows. Until today there has still been no trial, no judge, no proceedings, no concrete charge. She is completely at the mercy of the executive branch, and is subjected to an extremely harsh regulation on visitors—she is allowed two a month—and to see her, authorization from the Second Army Corps is required. . . . The questioning she has undergone reveals an absurd lack of proportion. They were asking her—while all the time torturing her—if Devoto and Father Ramondetti were Communists and if she had any connections with the third world [a movement of radical priests in Argentina]."

N. H. "In view of the fact that they

have not put her on trial, what role do you play as her lawyer?"

Bellomo. "I have two roles. The first is juridicial, that of putting in a request in Buenos Aires for habeas corpus. I presented it on December 13, and recently, on the 22nd [of December], I was notified that she was in Rosario, but I was not told in what part of the city. After two or three hints, it came out that she was in the hands of the executive, but it was not indicated where.

"The second role is a political one. It is to see to it that the case takes on a permanent public dimension in order to safeguard her life. News conferences, repeated denunciations, and so on, are intended to make noise. The reason is that if things are kept quiet, the imprisoned comrade can be killed. They punished Norma so much that she completely lost consciousness. A military doctor took care of her for six days to bring her back into shape. Shortly after that, her sister saw her, on December 31 — one month after she had disappeared. A limited case of solitary confinement."

N.H. "How does this case fit into the general framework of the so-called Gran Acuerdo Nacional [Great National Agreement]?"

Bellomo. "As a contradiction, obviously. Just one more contradiction of the GAN. It promises constitutional government for the country, but it refuses to allow this by instead institutionalizing chaos. This chaos is reflected in the repressive laws that themselves actually help to foster the chaos. And no one knows what they're up to. . . . Or, rather, the fascist elements know. This is not like Italian fascism, but it is a neofascism that gives itself over to a kind of sectarian activity tending to give rise to a totalitarianism based on the thinking of an oligarchical grouping—there is no such thing as people's fascism. . . . It is clear that today these fascists are disguising themselves as democrats. Mor Roig [minister of the interior], for example, is one of them. They believe that it is subversion that compels them to resort to repression, and in order to maintain the status quo they use it no matter how great the cost. For them, anything in support of change is subversive. Therefore, they believe that in this country we are all subversives — all those who have taken part in struggles in Córdoba, Rosario, Catamarca, Mendoza.

. . . For the ruling elite—whom no one appointed—the big trauma is subversion. And so they try to eliminate it by creating a barracks-state. Their single concern is to impose 'order' through repression; they don't even see that there is hunger, unemployment, poverty. . . ."

N.H. "In your judgment, doctor, does this case show that the dictatorship clearly recognizes who its enemy is?"

Bellomo. "Definitely. On the one hand, for them it is a matter of terrorism being counterposed to their own 'order.' Terrorism is the only form of opposition that they see or want to have seen. But I do not know if everyone who takes up arms is a terrorist. They have arms, for instance, but they use them against the people. On the other hand, it is telling to see the political mileage they are attempting to get, for example, out of the Sallustro case. Sallustro was missing for twenty days and they stirred up a national scandal out of it, with a big publicity push and lots of fanfare. . . . But Norma Morello was missing for thirty days and she did not even make the front page of one daily newspaper; as always happens, they did everything possible to silence any voices raised in protest.

"Just as in the case of Norma Morello, Carlos Mosquera, a teacher in the School of Exact Sciences, was kidnapped by a commando of the repressive forces on Monday, April 10, at 8 p.m. Without giving any identification or producing any warrant, they broke into his home. After going through the whole house and all his personal effects, they seized the bibliography he was using to prepare his doctoral thesis and a typewriter belonging to his father. It is obvious that the weapons of 'war' and the 'subversive propaganda' that they were looking for did not exist.

"Two days later, the police admitted that Mosquera was in their custody. It was also learned that he received medical treatment as a result of the 'treatment' he had been systematically forced to undergo. His lawyers maintain that the accusations made by the police are contradictory and that they vary from one day to the next. On Tuesday the 18th, he was taken to the capital and placed before the Supreme Criminal Court. The mobilization of teachers and students in his defense brought about new arrests. In fact, in the occupation of the School of Science on Thursday, April 13, several of his colleagues were wounded."

[To be continued.]

Entire Argentine Town Joined Uprising

Virtually the entire population of Malargue, a town of 15,000 inhabitants in the south of Mendoza, rose up in revolt against the economic policies of the Argentine government at the beginning of July, according to an Associated Press dispatch in the July 4 issue of the New York Spanish-language newspaper *El Diario-La Prensa*. Groups of inhabitants took over the municipal government of offices and the radio station, and "in reality took control of the town."

"The bulk of the population supported this virtual uprising," reported AP, "by taking to the streets in support of the protest and joining in the task of blocking entrances to the town with vehicles. The entire operation unfolded during freezing temperatures of 12 degrees Centigrade below zero." The mayor resigned in solidarity with the insurgency.

The occupied radio station broadcast military marches and statements such as the following: "The people of Malargue, tired of so many promises, and in order to prevent them from being put off any longer, have taken charge of local government." □

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'A Floating Concentration Camp'

'Suspects' Held on Argentine Prison Ship

The Argentine dictatorship has "renovated" a ship and turned it into a prison. "A floating concentration camp," a lawyer for political prisoners, Vicente Zito Lema, called it.

The ship *Granaderos* is anchored in the port of Buenos Aires. On June 14, according to the June 20 issue of the Buenos Aires weekly *Primera Plana*, around thirty political prisoners were secretly transferred to the ship from Villa Devoto Prison. Neither their lawyers nor their families were informed of the move. Among those transferred, most of whom were women, are the following: Clemencia Ruiz, Margarita I. de Vallejos, Laura Sirkin, Francisca S. de Martínez, Adela Jorge, Irma Andreu de Betancour, Elena Codan, Elda Francicetti de Colautti, Lucía Cílica de Carabelos, Lucrecia Cuesta de Beristain, Ana María Villareal de Santucho, Lillana Delfino de Ortolani, Osvaldo Sigfrido Debenedetti, José Luis Da Silva Parreira, Juan Lacovich, José Luis Durdos, Armando Jaime, Natalio David Helul, and Ignacio Martínez.

Conditions on this ship are subhuman, Zito Lema told *Primera Plana*. "Just look at the fact that there are four women to a cell that is two meters square. There is almost no ventilation because the portholes have been barred up." The prisoners must remain in these cramped quarters twenty-three hours every day. The other hour is for recreation, which is confined to an area 2.7 by 3 meters. Only one visit per week is allowed.

An Associated Press dispatch from Buenos Aires June 27 reported that "Prisoners on a maximum security prison ship here protested yesterday that they were being kept in steel cages and treated inhumanely." Lawyers for forty-five inmates described conditions on the unnamed ship at a news conference. From their description, it would appear to be the *Granaderos*.

"Among those imprisoned on the ship," the dispatch stated, "are suspects in the kidnap-killing of Italian industrialist Oberdan Sallustro last April and the assassination of ex-President Pedro Aramburu in May, 1970." □

Secret Documents Leaked to Press

ITT Urged Nixon to Help Oust Allende

By David Thorstad

Another installment in the still uncompleted saga of the International Telephone & Telegraph Corporation's efforts to overthrow the Allende regime has seen the light. While admittedly juicy, it is only a fragment of a story that will not be entirely clear until other installments—still languishing in various files—are uncovered and their authors' memories are refreshed.

The latest revelation was made by an unnamed member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Congress. This person turned over to the *New York Times* (July 3) a long letter and "action" memorandum from William Merriam, ITT's

vice president in charge of Washington relations, last October to Peter Peterson, then assistant to President Nixon for international economic affairs and currently secretary of commerce. The ITT official proposed an eighteen-point plan designed to insure that Allende "does not get through the crucial next six months."

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is chaired by J.W. Fulbright. Following the disclosure of secret ITT documents last March by columnist Jack Anderson, Fulbright announced with some fanfare that his committee planned to hold hearings into the activities of the giant conglomerate. On June 27, however, at a moment

when public concern over the cloak-and-dagger operations of the corporation had subsided, the committee decided, in effect, to shelve these hearings. It did so after examining still secret ITT documents amounting to several hundred pages that, according to the *Times*, "exceeded considerably what Mr. Anderson was able to obtain." It was in response to this decision that the committee member leaked the letter and memorandum to the *Times*.

The letter was dated October 1, 1971, just two days after Allende placed under provisional state administration the Chilean Telephone Company, in which ITT holds a seventy percent interest. "The Chile situation warrants high priority by the entire Administration," Merriam said in his letter to Peterson, adding that "everything should be done quietly but effectively to see that Allende does not get through the crucial next six months."

Two weeks before the letter was sent, ITT president Harold Geneen had lunched with Peterson, at which time they discussed the "Chile situation." Merriam evoked this tête-à-tête in his letter to Peterson, whom he addressed as "Dear Pete": "When Mr. Geneen lunched with you a few weeks ago, he stated he feared ITT's seventy percent owned Chilean Telephone Company (Chiltelco) would soon be expropriated. This has now happened!" He went on in his memorandum to propose his eighteen-point plan for an "economic squeeze" on Chile through a denial of international credit, a ban on imports of copper and other Chilean products and on vital exports to Chile. The aim would be to foment sufficient "economic chaos" to convince the armed forces to "step in and restore order."

Among the eighteen points were the following:

- "Continue loan restrictions in the international banks as those the Export-Import Bank has already exhibited" and "quietly have large U. S. private banks do the same."

- "Delay buying from Chile over the next six months. Use U. S. copper stockpile instead of buying from Chile" and "bring about a scarcity of U. S. dollars in Chile."

- "Discuss with the CIA how it can assist in the six-month squeeze."

- "Get to reliable sources within the Chilean military. Delay fuel delivery

to navy and gasoline to the air force."

● "Help disrupt" Chile's hosting of the May 1972 United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

● "The United States should consult with other governments whose nationals are suffering from the Chilean Marxists. This would include countries to which Chile owes money."

In his memorandum, Merriam also noted that "there is a beginning of concern on the part of the military." The armed forces, he said, "see the Chile scene slowly crumbling and realize that, before economic chaos takes place, the armed forces will have to step in and restore order." There were also, he said, "signs of anxiety" in the Chilean Navy.

In addition to the military, Merriam listed other forces of potential value in an anti-Allende campaign as being "the judiciary, civil service, crippled news media [and a] fragment of the legislative branch," and noted that "during the crucial period, these forces must be utilized to every advantage against Allende's continued success."

Just how far the Nixon administration went to cooperate with ITT's plotting is not yet known. Those directly associated with the plotting would, of course, be most qualified to shed light on the matter, but they all seem to be afflicted with loss of memory. Peterson, for example, while he admits that his meeting with Geneen came at a time when the Nixon administration was engaged in formulating a policy on how to deal with expropriations of U.S. imperialist holdings abroad, claims he does not remember ever having read Merriam's memorandum. He apparently wanted the *Times* to believe that it was news to him and that even the uproar surrounding the Anderson revelations last March had not been enough to refresh his memory.

Certain facts nevertheless stand out, which, in light of the new ITT revelations, hardly seem coincidental.

● On October 13, not even two weeks later, Secretary of State William Rogers accused Chile of a "serious departure from accepted standards of international law" and threatened to invoke the Hickenlooper Amendment, which requires an immediate cutoff in aid, loans, and credits to countries that expropriate American-owned property without compensation on terms acceptable to the imperialists.

● On November 30, two White

House aides, Herbert Klein and Robert Finch, following a two-week tour of Latin American countries—but not Chile—made an unusual public statement about their "feelings" that the Allende regime "won't last long."

● In December, the Chilean opposition parties launched a campaign against the Allende regime, the first big salvo being the so-called March of the Empty Pots on December 2. The first week of December, three U.S.-owned copper companies, whose properties had been nationalized the previous July, filed briefs appealing the government's action. On December 22, the opposition-dominated parliament adopted a constitutional amendment limiting nationalizations by requiring that a law be passed for each new take-over. Impeachment proceed-

ings were initiated against Minister of the Interior José Tohá and Minister of the Economy Pedro Vuskovic.

● In January, barely three months after the ITT memorandum and meeting with Peterson, Nixon announced a new policy toward countries nationalizing U.S.-owned industry. From that point on, he said, the United States would suspend all aid agreements with any country that did not take "reasonable steps" to insure rapid and "just" payment of compensation to U.S. owners whose holdings are nationalized. Since then, the United States has used its votes in both the Export-Import Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank to block credits to Chile.

Obviously, only the tip of this iceberg is showing. □

Deputies Vote to Impeach Interior Minister

Allende's Talks With Opposition Collapse

After more than two weeks, secret discussions between Salvador Allende's Popular Unity government and the opposition Christian Democrats were called off by the latter on June 29. The failure of this attempt at accommodation with the centrist opposition—which the recent cabinet shift was in part designed to facilitate—would appear to place Allende back in the same awkward position he has been in for several months.

The discussions were suspended following the government's announcement that it was nationalizing the South American Bank.

According to an Agence France-Presse dispatch from Santiago, the discussions hinged on the matter of placing limits on state intervention into the private sector of the economy. The Christian Democrats were said to have made a series of demands that Popular Unity would have to meet as the "price" for the Christian Democracy's "systematic" opposition becoming "constructive."

These demands included the following: that any expropriation or state take-over require the prior passing of a law; the creation of a fourth sector of the economy (in addition to the present mixed, private, and state-owned sectors) in which stocks pur-

chased by the government after October 14, 1972, would be turned over to the workers by the state; of the ninety-one privately owned industries scheduled for state take-over, only fifteen—gas and electricity, in particular—would be affected; that the paper industry remain outside of state control; and that state "interventions" (appointment of an administrator or "interventor" when a company is found to violate a law or is hit by a serious labor conflict) be limited to only six months.

According to an Associated Press dispatch from Santiago June 30, the breakdown in the negotiations occurred when the Christian Democrats refused to agree to include the country's major producer of newsprint in the list of those to be put under state control and to go along with the take-over of four main banks.

On July 6, the Senate voted to override Allende's vetoes of thirty-three of the 145 sections of the proposed constitutional reform, which requires, among other things, the adoption of a law for each new state take-over of companies. Since the parliament is controlled by the opposition, such a constitutional change would place a sharp limitation on Allende's ability to carry out a key part of the Pop-

ular Unity program. The Chamber of Deputies is also expected to override the vetoes.

Also on July 6, the Chamber of Deputies voted to impeach Minister of the Interior Hernán del Canto. Among the charges against him, which were brought by the right-wing Nationalist party and supported by the Christian Democrats, is the "deliberate failure to enforce public order statutes in the face of illegal occupations" and the failure to protect "personal rights." The vote forced the

automatic suspension of the minister from the cabinet. Allende named Foreign Minister Clodomiro Almeyda as acting minister of the interior.

Following the vote, del Canto called it "a political accusation against the government of the people." *New York Times* correspondent Juan de Onís reported July 7 that "Government spokesmen said that the Opposition was trying to prepare public opinion for impeachment proceedings against the President himself." □

One Lie Leads to Another

Allon Regrets Mentioning Victims of Attack

"In the course of one of the indispensable actions carried out last week [June 21 and 23] against the terrorists in South Lebanon, specifically in an action against terrorist bases north of the small Druze town of Hasbaya, on account of a hitch which was beyond the control of the flight crew, a number of bombs fell on the town itself, causing losses among the civilian population."

Thus the official English translation of some remarks delivered June 25 to the Israeli parliament by vice president and acting prime minister Yigal Allon. We must admire the delicacy, the precision of the language. Bombs "fell." Did somebody drop them? There were "losses among the civilian population." Did anybody get killed? A tragic error, Allon called it. His sorrow was tempered by that famous Israeli "realism": "In the course of a battle, such accidents are inevitable."

But perhaps even more fascinating than Allon's admission that his government did something it should regret was the ensuing domestic political reaction. Supporters of Defense Minister Moshe Dayan took the offensive against Allon. They expressed "bitterness" about the admission be-

cause it came during the United Nations Security Council debate on the Israeli attacks on Lebanon.

Ma'ariv, the largest Israeli daily newspaper, published a violent attack on Allon, accusing him of having "stabbed Israel in the back while the Israeli ambassador was leading a just and reasonable fight in the Security Council against Arab hatred and falsification." (One of the "falsifications" was that Israeli bombs had killed innocent civilians during the attacks.)

Three right-wing parliamentary formations including Gahal, which is led by Menachim Beigin, the man who organized the Deir Yassin massacre, demanded an urgent parliamentary debate on Allon's little indiscretion.

"No criticism was voiced about the actual bombing error, only about Mr. Allon's public admission of it," wrote Peter Grose in the June 28 *New York Times*.

Allon, Dayan's rival as Prime Minister Golda Meir's eventual successor, quickly saw the lay of the land and backtracked. The June 28 *Le Monde* reported, "Circles close to Allon said the statement was not a slip of the tongue, but was aimed at assuaging Western public opinion, especially in the United States. It was a question of showing that Israel remained true to the principle of not attacking civilian targets in Lebanon or elsewhere."

But not everybody was convinced. Loren Jenkins, for example, pointed out in the July 10 *Newsweek*: "Evi-

dence at the scene of these two attacks leaves Allon's explanation in doubt. In Hasbaya, a community of 6,000 people, the Israelis made two separate bomb runs on the outskirts of the village, presumably areas where the fedayeen were thought to be encamped, then swung back over the center of town to drop from six to eight bombs on the shopping district. . . . 'If it were one bomb, or even two, you might call it a pilot's error,' Lt. Mohammed Khalil of the Lebanese Army said to me as we surveyed the damage in Hasbaya last week. 'But seven or eight bombs — that is a deliberate attack designed to terrorize the population.'"

Meir did not have to comment on the whole affair. She was out of the country — attending the conference of the "Socialist International." □

Kanafani Killed in Beirut

Ghassan Kanafani, novelist and editor of *al-Hadaf*, weekly newspaper of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, was murdered in Beirut June 8. The fedayeen leader was killed when a plastic bomb attached to the starter of his car exploded. Also killed in the blast was Kanafani's seventeen-year-old niece, Lamis Najim. The killers have not been found.

The Front released an official statement calling the assassination an attack on the whole Palestinian movement and saying the imperialist-Zionist camp was responsible.

Peru, Cuba to Resume Ties

Peruvian President Juan Velasco Alvarado announced July 5 that Peru would reestablish diplomatic relations with Cuba by the end of the month. Peru withdrew diplomatic recognition of Cuba in 1964, when at the behest of the U.S. government all members of the Organization of American States (OAS) except Mexico broke relations with the Castro government.

At the June meeting of the OAS in Washington, the Velasco regime formally proposed lifting all diplomatic and other sanctions against Cuba. The resolution was defeated thirteen votes to seven, with three abstentions. □

Summer Schedule

This is a reminder that we will soon switch to our summer schedule. There will be no issues published in August.

We will resume our weekly schedule in September.

Why Micombero Massacres the Hutus

[The following interview with a Burundian student in Belgium is translated from the June 15 issue of *La Gauche*, weekly newspaper of the Ligue Révolutionnaire des Travailleurs (Revolutionary Workers League), Belgian section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

Question. At the root of the present conflict stands Burundi's colonial heritage. What was the policy of the old colonial power, Belgium, in regard to the ethnic division of the population? What conditions prevailed in the country when independence was achieved?

Answer. The colonial power used an ethnic minority to exploit the country. Political power and all educational, economic, and social benefits were enjoyed exclusively by this minority. While the colonial power gave its ally various incentives to maintain the existing situation, the latter overburdened the Hutus with exploitation and humiliation.

Q. When the massacres began, the regime's official radio presented them as the work of a reactionary monarchist group composed of agents of imperialism. Is there any truth to this contention?

A. The press agencies' reports tally with testimony of witnesses. On April 29, 1972, Tutsi monarchists tried to reinstate King Ntare V in Kitega, while on May 1, in the south, a Hutu uprising broke out. According to witnesses, this uprising cost the lives of about 5,000 persons, both Hutu and Tutsi; according to Radio Bujumbura, more than 50,000 were killed.

I think that for the moment that is what must be remembered out of all the typically hollow language of the antinational regime in Burundi.

Q. The first ones massacred seem to have been the Hutu ministers in Micombero's government. On what social forces does this regime rest? What is its character?

A. Micombero's regime rests essentially on a nepotistic caste of officers that makes up the Military Council and makes all decisions. The government, composed of both civilians and military men, is only an executive organ for effecting technical tasks that the army is still incapable of carrying out. All posts are filled by Micombero's, or the Military Council's, nominees: ministers, governors, local secretaries, communal administrators, functionaries in the agricultural sector, diplomatic representatives, and the leaders of the JRR [Jeunesse Révolutionnaire Rwagasore — Rwagasore Revolutionary Youth], the UTB [Union des Travailleurs Barundis — Burundi Workers' Union], and the UFB [Union des Femmes Barundis — Burundi Women's Union].

The whole structure functions under the "mythology" of ethnic solidarity, which occasionally has to be bolstered by a regionalist ideology. During periods of serious crisis, the Military Council may intervene on the governmental and provincial level by direct administration. That was the case in 1965 during the repression of the Hutus, in 1966 when the monarchy was overthrown, and in 1969 when twenty-three Hutus were executed.

The summary execution of the three Hutu ministers [during the latest repression] fits in with the systematic implementation of the Simbaniye plan. [Artemon Simbaniye, minister delegate to the presidency, a member of the council of ministers.]

Q. Simbaniye's execution plan seems to have been created in 1962 and to have aimed at partial extermination of the Hutus so as to institute an "apartheid" regime in Burundi. What is this plan, and do the present massacres represent its implementation?

A. The plan was not drawn up by Artemon Simbaniye. In its broadest outlines it was formulated in 1962 by the extremist Muhirwa group. The 1965 repression fit in with the norms of this diabolical plan. In 1968, when the plan was discovered, Simbaniye

and Shibura [Major Albert Shibura, minister of the interior] simply adapted it to the prevailing circumstances. The plan called for the extermination of 100,000 Hutus in 1968.

Now, when one looks at the way the army, the administration, and the JRR have set about to suppress the Hutus systematically and methodically, from ministers on down through schoolchildren and peasants, and when one looks at the cynicism with which contradictory news reports are sent out to confuse public opinion, one can truly conclude that implementation of the Simbaniye plan has moved into the final phase.

Q. In the explanations broadcast by "Voice of the Revolution" [the government radio station], progressive-sounding appeals are mixed in with accusations against the Mulélist Simbas; in his radio speech Micombero assailed the collusion, rather unusual, of the Chinese ambassador and Belgian elements. What do you think of the anti-imperialist phraseology in which Micombero's speeches are steeped?

A. His concern about attracting Western aid, which he needs in order to perpetrate the anti-Hutu genocide, impelled him to raise the spectres both of the Mulélist threat and of the People's Republic of China. As for the "Belgian elements," he wanted to amalgamate the monarchist opposition with the Belgian government. Micombero well knows how the imperialists prefer a lackey who is adept at disguising things. He is not at all ignorant of the power of progressive rhetoric. That is why he uses progressive terminology in the fight against progress.

Q. The October 1965 events, which are recalled by the present situation, allowed Micombero to place himself in power; then he undertook systematically to eliminate the Hutus. Tell us what happened in 1965.

A. Contrary to the claims of the Tutsi government and all its political organs, the JRR and the UNEBA [Union nationale des étudiants burundis — Burundi National Students' Union], in 1965 power was not held by the Hutu bureaucracy, but was divided between the feudalists and the Tutsi bureaucracy, which acted in the

name of royal absolutism.

The assassination of Prime Minister [Pierre] Ngendandumwe on January 15, 1965, was part of a whole series of political murders of Hutu personalities in which the first victims were the Hutu leaders massacred in Kamenga because they opposed the traditional Tutsi bureaucracy's holding of predominant power and demanded a democracy and a republic. All the perpetrators of these murders enjoyed complete immunity from justice.

The 1965 legislative elections resulted in a parliament with a Hutu majority—this marked the first accession of Hutus to power. But the court and the Tutsi bureaucracy could not tolerate this. The political spearheads of reaction, especially the UNEBA and the JRR, launched a diatribe against a parliament that, they claimed, had resulted from elections held in an atmosphere of ethnic hatred—"a parliament with a Hutu, and therefore a tribalist, majority."

The king [Mwambutsa IV], who before the elections had made sure of his control over the army, the police, and the courts, was visibly frightened by the democratic offensive. To the speech of the director general to the prime minister, Gervais Nyangoma, who advocates the principle of popular sovereignty and the establishment of a true republic, King Mwambutsa was to respond with extreme violence. He violated the constitution and established himself as an absolute monarch by refusing to summon the parliament.

The representatives of the Tutsi bureaucracy, uneasy about the Hutus' democratic thrust, pretended to attack royal absolutism and the court. The Hutu and Tutsi bureaucrats agreed among themselves to overthrow the monarchy. But the Hutus fell into a trap.

Tutsi officers refused to participate in the plot, which involved initiating mutinies in the Bujumbura barracks and in the royal palace, and the king was forewarned. He opened fire on the rebels and then, with the aid of the SUCRAF Society, crossed the border to the Congo. The Hutu officers died under the twofold fire of the white mercenaries defending the royal palace and the troops commanded by Micombero, who had opportunely reversed his position. Although previously the Tutsis in power, even the

UNEBA, had claimed that there was no conflict between Hutu and Tutsi, the repression took on the aspect of genocide against the Hutus—justified, according to the regime, by the "fact" that the plot was aimed not only at overthrowing the royal institutions, but also at killing all the Tutsis.

Q. Just after the proceedings of the N'Sele conference, Mobutu declared



MICHEL MICOMBERO

that his troops had supported Micombero. What exactly did they do?

A. The two regimes are of the same character. They seek to bolster one another because neither has sufficient support among its own people.

Q. The Belgian press has raised the question of cooperation between Belgium and Burundi in regard to the ethnocide against the Hutus. What do you think of this?

A. If the radio and the press had faithfully discharged their function of objectively informing Belgian public opinion from the beginning of the events, there is no doubt that the Belgian people would have opposed this cooperation, which served to finance a genocide.

Q. The Belgian minister of foreign

affairs, Mr. [Pierre] Harmel, after stating that it was not the business of a foreign government to pass judgment on Burundi, declared from the podium of the Chamber of Deputies that he would do everything in his power to see that the programs for international cooperation could be validly continued. What will be the effect of this attitude, inspired by our "democratic" and "humanist" vision?

A. Mr. Harmel must know quite well that not only is it within the province of the Belgian government to pass judgment on what is going on in Burundi, but also that he has a moral duty to put an end to the genocide there, which could not have been carried out without this aid provided to the regime.

Mr. Harmel is certainly quite well aware that the genocide cannot be stopped without some outside interference, on the one hand because genocide is the aim of the Simbaniye plan, and on the other because this monstrous policy was made possible precisely by this international aid—of which the Belgian contribution was the most important—to the murderers.

What does Mr. Harmel have to say? He asks that the regime see to it that between now and the end of June the situation is normalized. Then the cooperative accords between Harmel and Simbaniye, his Burundian counterpart, would be reviewed from a new viewpoint. There is no need to comment on this cruel indifference toward the extermination of a population.

Q. In face of the silence of all the African states (with the exception of neighboring Rwanda), in face of the total passivity of the Organization of African Unity, what can the people of Burundi still hope for?

A. The Hutu people expect nothing from antidemocratic regimes rejected by their own peoples. The Hutu people of Burundi basically count on their own struggle for national liberation. They are convinced that the oppressed and muzzled social layers of Africa will not remain indifferent to genocide.

And a High Time Was Had by All

Police in Medan, Sumatra, recently disposed of 100 kilograms of marijuana by burning it in a public square.

REVIEWS

Massive Bibliography of Trotsky's Works

[The following review is republished from the July-August issue of the *International Socialist Review*, the monthly theoretical magazine of the American Trotskyist movement.]

* * *

Leon Trotsky: A Bibliography by Louis Sinclair. Hoover Institution Press, Stanford, Cal. 1,089 pp. \$35. 1972.

Isaac Deutscher wrote a full-scale record of Trotsky's life in three volumes that set a lofty biographical standard. Now Louis Sinclair has compiled a catalogue of all Trotsky's known published materials that deserves to stand beside Deutscher's trilogy on the shelves of every large library and serious student of his career.

Sinclair's task was beset by difficulties. First there is the tremendous volume and variety of Trotsky's literary output over four decades. He was the most prolific writer of all the outstanding figures of the Marxist movement. Then part of this material was dispersed or destroyed during the Second World War. Many documents connected with his activities from 1917 to 1928 are locked in the files of the Soviet Government, the Russian Communist Party, the Red Army, and the defunct Communist International.

Some 20,000 items are stored in the closed section of the Trotsky archives at Harvard not to be opened to the public until 1980. In addition, many untraced and unpublished items remain in the private papers of his correspondents in different countries.

Sinclair had to make his way through this obstacle course, tracking down the existence and publication places of the books, pamphlets, articles, speeches, letters, and other Trotsky materials that have been translated into various languages. The result of his tireless and persistent detective work is this bibliography of over a thousand pages.

Though it does not claim to be ex-

haustive, this compilation is by far the most comprehensive, conscientious, and reliable that will be available for years to come. Sinclair's achievement is the more remarkable since, for all the assistance he received from other people and librarians, it was the enterprise of a single individual, carried to completion apparently without subsidy or aid from any academic institution or foundation.

The Trotsky bibliography is in three parts. Part I lists all the known and verified works of the author, in chronological order of publication. The first entry, three issues of *Nashe Delo* (Our Cause), dates from 1897. This was a sheet issued by the South Russian Workers' Union that Trotsky was instrumental in organizing when he was eighteen years old. He edited, wrote, produced, and supervised the distribution of this clandestine publication which led to his first prison sentence.

The thousands of annotated entries that follow extend to August 1970. Each item is coded according to the date of appearance. The title, translated from Russian into English, as well as the place of publication and reprinting are given. Its translation into other languages is noted.

Part II lists Trotsky's books written in cyrillic script (the Russian original). This has a concordance to all the published Russian works, listed in alphabetical order, with indications as to their contents, following the subdivisions of the original texts. Then those books that have appeared in other languages are catalogued. Trotsky's writings have been translated into at least thirty-eight languages. This section also contains a concordance.

The next section itemizes the periodicals and papers in the Russian language that carried any of his writings. These include *Pravda*, *Izvestia*, and the *Bulletin of the Opposition* published during his last exile from 1929 to 1940. This is accompanied by a catalogue of the hundreds of periodicals in other languages that published

one or more of his works or statements.

Next is an inventory of the internal bulletins of sections of the Fourth International and related organizations, with the date of issuance and indications of their contents. Last is a concordance to the Houghton Library Archives at Harvard, one of the most important repositories of original documents on Soviet history existing outside the USSR.

Part III opens with a list of the numerous pseudonyms Trotsky adopted from the beginning to the close of his turbulent revolutionary lifetime. This is followed by the 1925 prospectus of the materials in the *Collected Works* issued in the Soviet Union. Then come listed translations of his writings in two score languages from Arabic to Yiddish (twenty-one in Chinese). There is an index that enables a researcher to find out what Trotsky had to say on a diversity of subjects from year to year. They range from A to Z, in this case, from the Agrarian Question to the Youth and Zimmerwald.

The bibliography ends with an extensive roundup of secondary sources in Russian and other languages that contain excerpts from Trotsky's works.

The scope of Trotsky's literary production made heavy demands on the industry of the compiler. Trotsky submitted to critical analysis most of the noteworthy developments and controversial issues in the political life of the first part of the twentieth century from the 1905 revolution to the outbreak of the Second World War. The totality is a treasure trove of Marxist thought.

The government and parties of the Stalinist school from Moscow to Peking deliberately suppress important documents of their movement, falsify their history, retroactively reduce the most prominent personalities to non-persons. Genuine Marxism disdains such dishonorable and dishonest methods that choke and poison the wellsprings of knowledge. Trotsky believed that the truth in itself was revolutionary and falsehoods injured the cause of socialism.

He sought to preserve intact the mass of his writings in order to maintain the continuity of thought and action in the Marxist tradition. As a leading participant in the most momen-

tous events of his time, he incurred powerful enemies from the czarist authorities to the fascist hangmen and the heads of other capitalist regimes. He had venomous opponents who unscrupulously distorted his views and misrepresented his deeds. The Stalinist apparatus made him the target of the most vicious worldwide slander campaign in modern times that centered around the Moscow Trial frame-ups and culminated in his assassination.

By taking precautions to ensure that his words were accurately recorded and his activities faithfully reported, he and his associates were better able

to refute the false accusers and defamers by referring to the documented facts about his opinions and activities.

Sinclair has gathered all those references into a single big volume and carefully checked the sources. Thus the vast and valuable heritage of Trotsky's ideas is made much more accessible and the present generation can verify precisely where he stood on the vital issues of the class struggle. All future students of Trotsky's life and work will be indebted to Sinclair's encyclopedic labors.

— George Novack

Three Pamphlets on the Youth Revolt

The Revolutionary Student Movement — Theory and Practice by Ernest Mandel. 46 pp. \$0.85, £0.36. 1971.
A Strategy for Revolutionary Youth. 29 pp. \$0.50, £0.20. 1972.

The High School Revolt by Steve Chainey. 23 pp. \$0.35, £0.15. 1972.
All Pathfinder Press, New York, N.Y.

The U.S. Supreme Court recently ruled that Ernest Mandel, Marxist scholar and one of the leaders of the Fourth International, cannot enter the United States. The court's decision backed up the decree of Nixon's former attorney general, John Mitchell. One of the reasons for this blatant disregard of the first amendment to the U.S. constitution may be gathered by reading *The Revolutionary Student Movement—Theory and Practice*.

In 1968 Mandel spoke at thirty-three universities in the United States and Canada. Widely considered the high point of the tour was his address to the "International Assembly of Revolutionary Student Movements," held at New York University in September 1968. The session at which Mandel spoke was attended by more than 600 students. The text of his speech and selections from the question-and-answer period comprise the first two sections of this pamphlet.

The speech deals with issues that remain crucial for the student movement—the relation between theory and practice, the role of students and the university system in neocapitalist society, the need for a Leninist combat

party, the futility of "spontaneous" activism.

The points discussed in the question period include the class nature of the Soviet Union, the Chinese cultural revolution, and the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Also included in the pamphlet is Mandel's address to the Science and Welfare Seminar at Rijks University in the Netherlands in 1970.

A Revolutionary Strategy for Youth is a document drafted in 1969 and presented to the world congress of the Fourth International to begin a dis-

cussion in the International Trotskyist movement on the new world radicalization of youth. Written soon after the student revolts in France, Yugoslavia, and Mexico, it attempts to draw an initial balance-sheet of those struggles, analyze their roots and tendencies, and project a strategy to guide revolutionary Marxists in their work in the student movement. Extensively discussed in the document is the concept of the "Red University," the slogan first raised by leftist Yugoslav students during their June 1968 struggle to transform the character of the Titoist educational system.

Expanding on this notion, and extending it to the advanced capitalist countries, the document projects "a program of democratic and transitional demands" for university and high-school struggles in the West.

The radicalization of high-school students has been less carefully analyzed than the university struggle. At the Eleventh National Convention of the U.S. Young Socialist Alliance, held at the end of 1971, an extensive discussion of this aspect of U.S. politics took place. *The High School Revolt*, by Steve Chainey, is based on his report to the YSA convention. It contains valuable statistics on the composition and weight of high-school students in the United States, and examines the relations between the high-school revolt and the general movement for social change. □

Trotsky's 'History' Popular in Chile

[The following article appeared in the June 21 issue of the progovernment Chilean weekly *Mayoría* under the title "A Best-Seller by Trotsky." There was an accompanying photograph of Trotsky identifying him as a "Chilean best-seller." Translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The publication of the first edition of Leon Trotsky's two-volume, 1,300-page work *History of the Russian Revolution* was an unprecedented success. It was published by Quimantú in its series Classics of Social Thought.

The first edition of 8,000 was com-

pletely sold out within four days. The edition did not even reach bookstores in the provinces because readers in the capital exhausted the supply within ninety-six hours. This is the first time that anything like this has happened in Latin America. The eagerness in our country for all the classics of revolutionary thought can clearly be seen in the way books on socialism and Marxism rapidly run out of stock.

In view of the unusual success of the first edition of Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution*, a second edition of 15,000 copies is now in preparation. And even before these copies have become available, nearly half have already been sold. □

Pablo Drops the Label of Trotskyism

[At a conference held May 20-22, the International Revolutionary Marxist Tendency—the group headed by Michel Pablo—decided to clarify its attitude toward Trotskyism and the Fourth International. This was done in the form of a resolution published in the May 26 issue of *l'internationale*.

[The group left the Fourth International in 1965 although it still proclaimed loyalty to the worldwide organization founded by Trotsky. Pablo himself had served as secretary of the Fourth International for some years. In the early fifties, his views began to shift. He speculated, for instance, that the period of degenerated or deformed workers states might last for several centuries. This, together with bad organizational practices, played a key role in a factional struggle that led to a long-lasting split in the world Trotskyist movement.

[Following the split, Pablo retreated on the ideological level. Nevertheless, he (along with Gerry Healy of the Socialist Labour League in Britain) sought to prevent the movement from reuniting. His opposition was eventually overwhelmed by the forces favoring it, and the reunification took place on a principled basis in 1963.

[The document below shows that Pablo has traveled a considerable distance down the road to which the logic of some of his theories of the early fifties pointed. This is particularly noticeable in his negative position today on the task of building a Leninist party. Taken in the context of other statements in the resolution, the implication is that Pablo now believes that seeds of bureaucratic degeneration are lodged in parties organized along Leninist lines.

[Likewise to be observed is his shift away from the Trotskyist position that bureaucratization of workers states will not be a great danger after the industrially advanced countries go socialist. In face of the enormous productive capacity of socialism in countries like the United States, Germany, and Japan, bureaucratism will lack an economic base on which to flourish in contrast to countries like the Soviet Union and China where bureaucratization resulted from national poverty, scarcities, and a heritage of backwardness compounded by imperialist pressures.

[Instead of holding to this dialectical materialist view, Pablo now places hope in "self-management" as an organizational device to safeguard the workers under socialism from delegating undue powers to bodies representing their interests. "Self-management," however, is but one facet of proletarian democracy and not a panacea.

[The translation of the resolution is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

For reasons of a political, conjunctural nature, and at the same time of fundamental theoretical importance, we have been led to abandon the reference to the "Fourth

International" that has appeared up to now in the name of our International Organization.

Various formations lay claim to the "Fourth International" at present, but their ideas, their practices, and their way, in general, of representing the living revolutionary Marxism of our epoch do not correspond, in our opinion, with what was for a whole period the genuine ideological capital and genuine methodology of the historic movement created by Leon Trotsky.

Some of these same formations are gravely discrediting this ideological capital and this tradition. We do not want to participate any longer in the slightest way in maintaining the confusion which the ambiguous reference to "Trotskyism" and the "Fourth International" of today is creating among the new generations of revolutionists.

But reasons of a more fundamental nature have brought us to define ourselves, including in our formal name, in a clearer and more consistent way with regard to our convictions concerning the content of the socialism for which we are fighting and the means to employ to get there.

As is perfectly explained once again in the documents passed by the International Conference which we just held, we are fighting for a socialism based on self-management—the democratic organization of the administration of society, in all fields and at all levels—exercised directly by the producers and citizens of that society. Taking to the end the conclusions to be drawn from the experience of constructing socialism in the bureaucratized Workers States, and extremely attentive to the needs and aspirations of the new generations of workers, women, youth, the ethnic minorities in the advanced capitalist countries, the Workers States, and the "underdeveloped countries," as registered in their current multiform struggles, we have been led to reconsider a number of ideas and practices belonging to the past of the workers movement, including its revolutionary Marxist traditions.

In restating the content of the socialism for which we are fighting, we have likewise been led to redefine the role of Political Parties, of Unions, and, in a general way, all forms of delegating the power of the working class and the workers.

To us, Parties and Unions, absolutely necessary for a whole historic transitional period from capitalism to completed international socialism, must have the primary aim of helping the proletariat and the workers to assume for themselves management of their struggles for their own power, as well as the society resulting from that conquest. We are thus resolutely against any "model" in revolutionary strategy and socialism that systematically favors, explicitly or implicitly, the delegation of the power of the proletariat and the workers to institutions (State, Parties, Unions) which claim to be theirs, and

which in this way inexorably and imperceptibly start down the road of bureaucratization.

Within the bounds of this general conception, we likewise define the essential aim of the absolutely indispensable international and national organization of the revolutionary Marxists as being that of aiding—more consciously, systematically, and efficaciously than the other political formations claiming to be for the workers movement and socialism—the workers and toilers to begin at once to engage themselves in preparing ideologically and practically for their own power.

It is our profound conviction that in acting in this way, those who claim to be revolutionary Marxists would demonstrate—not before their own subjective judgment, but before that of History—that they genuinely merited this title in comparison with other currents and formations representing different layers and moments of consciousness of the proletariat and the workers in the common struggle for the Socialist Revolution. From this point of view, for us, coming from diverse ideological outlooks, and not exclusively from the "Fourth International" and "Trotskyism," it is not a matter of creating a new international formation, "closed" ideologically and particularly organizationally. That is to say, a formation that declares that its program is virtually complete, and its or-

ganizational framework is the one in which must necessarily take place the regroupment of the new revolutionary forces emerging from the multiform revolutionary process on a world scale.

We consider both the program and the framework as remaining "open," that is to say susceptible to becoming enriched and to being transformed through collective rapport with ceaseless revolutionary experience and the subjective contribution of new revolutionary forces. From this point of view likewise, we consider that the supreme frame of reference must be that of revolutionary Marxism in general, and not that of precise moments of its historic development which personalizes and limits the gnoseological, and particularly methodological, range of this frame of reference.

Remaining faithful to the ideological capital and to the method of Marx, Rosa, Lenin, and Trotsky must signify above all showing oneself capable of developing in a critical and creative manner the revolutionary Marxism of our epoch, and facilitating to the maximum the mobilization, coordination, and structuring on an international and national level of the real militant forces for the Socialist Revolution. This is the task to which we wish to dedicate ourselves in close communion with all the new revolutionary forces whose ideological development converges essentially with ours. □

International Jury to Oppose Czechoslovak Trials

[At a June 6 press conference in Paris, the "International Jury Against the New Prague Trials" released the following call, along with a preliminary list of signatories. The conference was chaired by the lawyer Gisèle Halimi, and was addressed by Robert Simon, Halimi, and Sibylle Plogstedt, one of the defendants in the March 1971 trial of nineteen "Trotskyists" in Prague. Jiri Pelikan, a well-known Czechoslovak communist dissident, is a supporter of the International Jury, although he was unable to attend the press conference.

[That same night, a public meeting chaired by Daniel Mayer, a member of the League for the Defense of the Rights of Man, was held at the Mutualité. The call was again read at the gathering, and the plans of the International Jury were discussed. This meeting launched the work of the jury, which will conduct, on a Europe-wide scale, activity in defense of Czechoslovak political prisoners. This will include holding meetings, publishing documents, and forming commissions to investigate particular cases, all building toward the holding of plenary sessions of the jury.

[We have translated the appeal from the June 10 issue of *Rouge*, weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

When the Warsaw Pact armies rolled into Prague at dawn on August 21, 1968, millions of people contested their advance with dumbfounded indignation. Today, more than three years after the invasion, several dozen, perhaps several hundred, persons have been imprisoned because they did not accede to this state of affairs. A number, it is difficult to say how many, have lost their jobs and are reduced to living by their own devices. They also did not accept the existing state of affairs. All are, or will be, threatened with being brought to trial because of their activities during or after the Prague spring. No faith can be put in Husak's claim that "there will be no prefabricated trials." Apart from the fact that reality itself has already demonstrated this (the trials of Petr Uhl, [Jan] Prchlik, [Vladimir] Skutina, [Jiri] Le-

derer, etc.), the logic of the intervention can only lead to repression. Lacking the power to convince people, the government is compelled to attack: "prefabricated," or simply "fabricated" trials will remain a necessity.

The current Czechoslovak government presents this as being necessary for the defense of socialism. But there is nothing more monstrous or more effective for discrediting socialism in the eyes of the masses in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere. Because we understand that socialism has nothing in common with this police conception, because we know that the intervention of an army—even if it goes by the name "Soviet"—against the entire Czechoslovak people did more *against* socialism in a few hours than all the years of anticommunist propaganda and "plots" it allegedly came to combat, we cannot grant Husak, Bilak, and Strougal the right to decide who is a partisan of socialism and who is a counterrevolutionary. The defense of socialism is the province of those who fight for it, not of those who cut its throat.

Today, this struggle involves the defense of imprisoned Czechoslovaks.

It is in fact impossible to be content with expressing isolated "disapproval," as though the intervention remained "isolated" and as though it were not followed by "normalization" and then by "consolidation." The same reasons that moved us to "disapprove," today force us to fight against the trials — the defense of socialism can tolerate no compromise, no ambiguity.

Therefore,

● Conscious of the serious threats weighing on the imprisoned Czechoslovaks, against whom the government is again using the police methods of the 1950s,

● Aware that the repression in Czechoslovakia gives socialism an image that can only inspire disgust,

The undersigned call for the constitution of an "International Jury" which, by collecting the greatest possible evidence, will bring to light the methods and objectives of the current repression in Czechoslovakia, will undertake to defend the accused, and will turn the accusations against the accusers.

Claude Aveline, France; *Robin Blackburn*, Great Britain; *Marguerite Bonnet*, France; *Claude Bourdet*, France; *Peter Bruckner*, West Germany; *Andreas Buro*, in the name of the Left Federation of West Germany; *Igor Cornelissen*, Netherlands; *Claude Courtot*, France; *Tamara Deutscher*, Great Britain; *Hans Magnus Enzensberger*, West Germany; *Roger Garaudy*, France; *C. Gavras*, France; *Wilfried Gottschald*, West Germany; *Daniel Guérin*, France; *Gisèle Halimi*, France; *Georges Haup*, France; *Edmond Jaguer*, France; *Simone Jaguer*, France; *Vladimir Jankelevich*, France; *André Jeanson*, France; *Serge Jonas*, France; *Yves Jouffa*, France; *Alain Krivine*, France; *Henri Lefebvre*, France; *Eric Losfeld*, France; *Jacques Madaule*, France; *Ernest Mandel*, Belgium; *Franz Marek*, Austria; *Dyonis Mascolo*, France; *Léo Matarasso*, France; *Matta*, France; *Daniel Mayer*, France; *Dr. Minkowski*, France; *Yves Montand*, France; *Claude Morgan*, France; *Maurice Nadeau*, France; *Pierre Naville*, France; *Valerio Ochetto*, Italy; *Theodore Pangalos*, Greece; *Jiri Pelikan*, Czechoslovakia; *Jean Picart Le Doux*, France; *Michel Piccoli*, France; *Petkoff*, Venezuela; *Sibylle Plogstedt*, West Germany; *Jean Pronteau*, France; *Michel Raptis*, France; *Madeleine Reberieux*,

France; *Michel Rocard*, France; *Laurant Schwartz*, France; *Jean Schuster*, France; *Jorge Semprun*, France; *Simone Signoret*, France; *Hans-Rudolph Sonntag*, West Germany; *A. G. v.d.*

Spek, Netherlands; *Mikis Theodorakis*, Greece; *Charles Tillon*, France; *Raymonde Tillon*, France; *Jean-Pierre Vernant*, France; *Vercours*, France; *Zaroubine*, United States. □

Tariq Ali Condemns Ban Imposed by Bhutto

[We reprint below a public statement released by Tariq Ali June 27, following the refusal of the Pakistani government to allow him to enter his own country. It is followed by a telegram sent to Mahmud Ali Kasuri, minister for law in the Pakistani government. Kasuri is known as an advocate of civil liberties and served as a member of the Bertrand Russell International War Crimes Tribunal, which investigated the U. S. government's war crimes in Vietnam.]

* * *

The decision to prevent me from entering Pakistan, despite the fact that I am a Pakistani citizen and hold a Pakistani passport, represents a gross violation of civil liberties which the present regime claims to defend in Pakistan. The fact that my expulsion was carried out by police officials who blatantly stated that they were simply carrying out orders issued by the military dictatorship of General Yahya Khan, clearly shows that in the art of repression, as in many other fields, the present government is simply continuing the policies of its predecessors. Yahya and the clique of generals who helped him rule Pakistan are no longer in power, but many of the laws with which they governed continue to remain in force today and are also applied from time to time as my expulsion clearly indicates.

I have been prevented from entering my country, but what are the charges against me? The main accusation levelled against me is that I unceasingly and relentlessly opposed the genocidal war waged by the Pakistan Army against the Bengali people. That I wrote articles in *The Red Mole* and numerous other publications, defending the right of the Bengali people to national self-determination and urging support for the struggle against the military dictatorship of Yahya Khan. To this and other related charges I plead "guilty" and am quite prepared to defend myself before the Pakistani workers, poor peasants and students, who alone have the right to judge my actions. But my expulsion cannot hide the fact that the *real* criminals are still free and have not even been brought to trial, leaving aside the question of their continued residence in Pakistan. These are the military and civil officers who unleashed the war against Bengal thinking that they could drown the Bengali na-

tional movement in blood and thereby save their own skins. Some of those whose crimes were too blatant even for the Pakistani ruling class, have been dismissed or forcibly retired. Others continue to hold office even today. And if Pakistan is not allowed to be contaminated by those who, like myself, supported the struggle of the Bengali people against Yahya's oppression and continue to support it even today against the repression of the Awami League, why is the Pakistani President in India talking with Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the very person who engineered the military defeat of the Pakistan army.

It is also stated that I am guilty of having written a book against Pakistan. It is true that I wrote a book directed against the Pakistani landlords and capitalists, but here again it is not the Pakistani masses who decide, as the book, *Pakistan: Military Rule or People's Power?*, is still banned and only recently permission was refused for it to be published in Pakistan. Once again I repeat: I stand by every word in the book which was written in the interests of the oppressed and toiling masses of Pakistan. Banning the book or its author will not prevent revolutionary ideas from being disseminated in the country as ideas are not great respecters of frontiers and policemen.

I demand that the Pakistan government immediately lift the ban imposed on me and enable me to return immediately to my country. If there are any charges against me then let them be brought out into the open so that I can defend myself before the people of Pakistan. My political views will not change. I have been and remain a revolutionary militant, a member of the Fourth Communist International and regardless of whether the ban is removed or not I will return to Pakistan one day.

* * *

To Mahmud Ali Kasuri:

Strongly protest decision taken by your government preventing me from entering Pakistan. Demand that ban is immediately lifted and charges, if any exist, are laid to enable me to return and defend myself before the people. Hope your past record defending civil liberties and work for Vietnam War Crimes Tribunal will aid you in reversing this repressive decision. □