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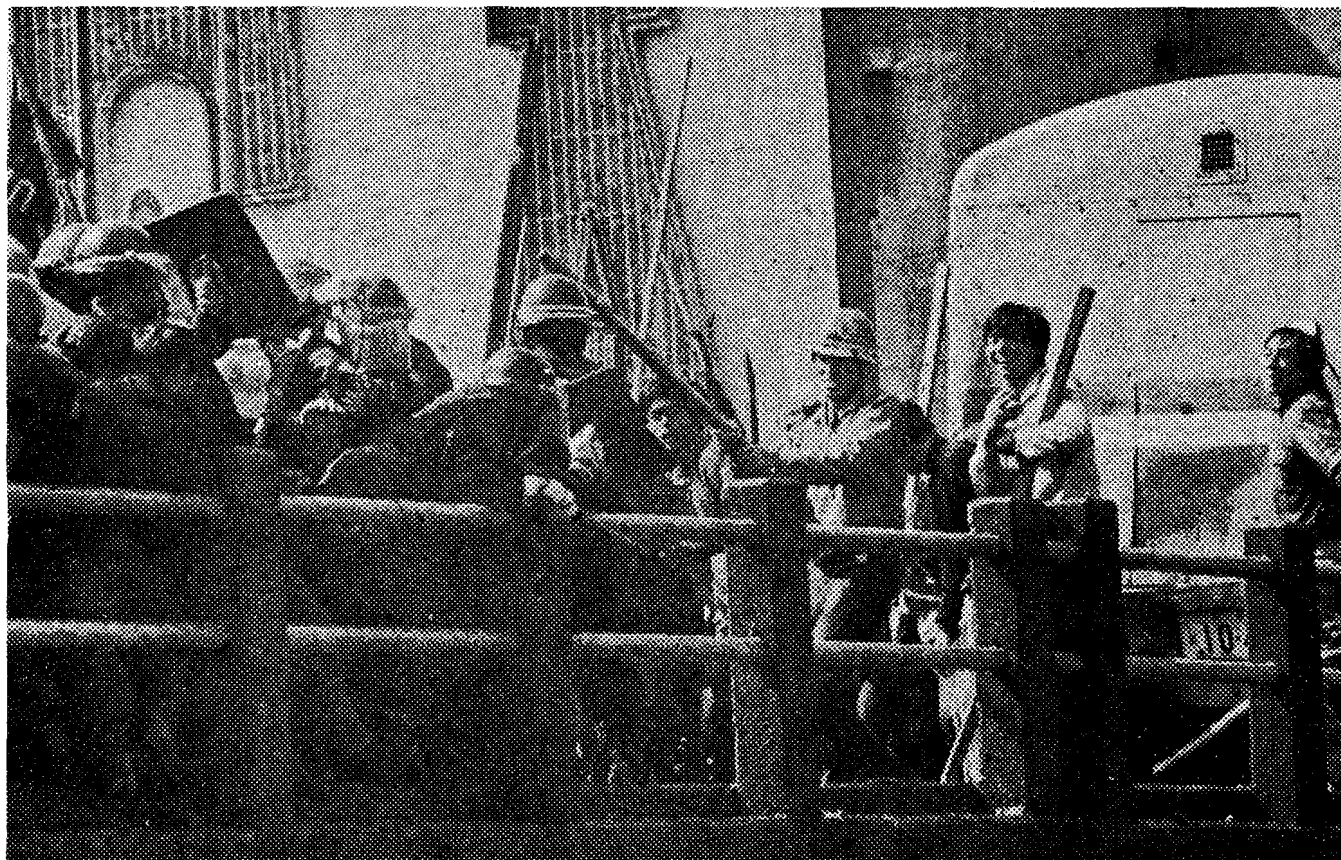
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**Behind the Student Protests:**

# Tokyo Escalates Role in Backing Vietnam War



JAPANESE students clash with police on bridge leading to International airport in Tokyo October 8. They were protesting trip

of prime minister aimed at escalating role of Japan in Vietnam war. [See more pictures inside and article on page 888.]

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WORLD OUTLOOK specializes in weekly political analysis and interpretation of events for labor, socialist, colonial independence and Negro freedom publications. Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of WORLD OUTLOOK. Unsigned material expresses, insofar as editorial opinion may appear, the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism. To subscribe for 26 issues send \$7.50 or £2/15s. or 37.50 francs to: Reba Hansen, Business Manager, P. O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station,

HUGO BLANCO THANKS THOSE WHOSE EFFORTS SAVED HIS LIFE

[The following letter to the Fourth International, asking it to thank all the organizations and individuals who campaigned to save Hugo Blanco from being executed and to secure his release, has been translated by World Outlook. Hugo Blanco overlooked putting down the date of his letter but it was immediately after the Supreme Military Court decided, on October 12, to spare the Peruvian peasant leader's life. However, they upheld the sentence condemning him to twenty-five years in prison.

[Although all the available legal channels to appeal the savage sentence have been exhausted, the campaign to secure his release through a presidential amnesty is continuing.

[His friends and comrades in Peru report that the conditions in El Frontón remain dangerous for Hugo Blanco and that the daily conditions of life are onerous, necessitating his devoting long hours to work for the small amount of money required to buy his food. He also has a family, including two children, in dire straits.

[Following the English translation of the letter, the Spanish text is provided for the benefit of those who may wish to refer to the original.]

\* \* \*

El Frontón  
October, 1967

Comrades of the Fourth International:

I am asking you to express my gratitude to all the organizations and individuals who, through their struggle, succeeded in saving me from being assassinated.

The worldwide campaign against a death sentence triumphed, demonstrating once again the power of revolutionary internationalism and human solidarity. I am sure that this power will continue to increase, supporting all the victims of the repression in Peru.

This same power is shaking the world with its solidarity with the Vietnamese people and will increase its support to suffering Bolivia. The blood of our great martyr, the giant Che Guevara, with its universal meaning, will inspire the entire world until victory is won.

Hugo Blanco G.

\* \* \*

El Frontón,  
octubre de 1967.

Camaradas de la IVa Internacional:

Pido a ustedes que extiendan mi reconocimiento a todas las organizaciones y personas que con su lucha han logrado impedir que se me asesine.

La campaña mundial en contra de la Pena de Muerte, ha triunfado, y ha demostrado una vez más la fuerza del internacionalismo revolucionario y de la solidaridad humana. Estoy seguro de que esas fuerzas irán en aumento apoyando a todas las víctimas de la represión en el Perú.

Esas mismas fuerzas están estremeciendo al mundo con su solidaridad con el pueblo vietnamita y aumentarán su apoyo a la doliente Bolivia. La sangre universal de nuestro gran mártir, del gigantesco Che Guevara, se erguirá del mundo entero hasta triunfar.

Hugo Blanco G.

STRIKE APPROVED BY GOD

"If the escalation in Vietnam continues, the ministers of the American Council of Protestant Churches are in favor of unleashing a general strike.

"In short, unable to obtain a truce approved by God, you resort to a strike approved by God.

"It is not surprising to see the divine inventor of a week of work and a day of rest utilizing the classical weapon of the workers. Already in former days, in the time of the jacqueries

[peasant revolts], he resorted to closing the churches and proscribing religious practices in the case of certain proud or obstinate princes. This was called excommunication and did not lack in efficacy.

"Once there was someone with a head that was even more political and harder than President Johnson's. He was finally obliged, walking barefoot in the snow, to go to Canossa." -- Robert Escarpit in the October 29 Le Monde.

## MEXICAN STUDENTS SAY FAREWELL TO CHE

Mexico City

Revolutionary students at the National University of Mexico paid homage October 19 to the revolutionary socialist hero, Che Guevara, who fell in battle in Bolivia.

More than 1,500 students met in the auditorium of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters. The leaders of all the different revolutionary groups were on the platform (with the notable exception of the Communist Youth, the organization of the Mexican Communist party).

Behind the presidium, an enormous banner stretched across the stage, bearing the portrait of Che, a Cuban flag, and black crepe.

After an opening speech in which the main events in the life of the unforgettable and valiant revolutionist were recounted, two groups of students sang songs and recited poems related to the world revolutionary struggle for which Che died. Various poems were recited about the death of Guevara.

The songs ranged from ballads of the Argentine gauchos to the fighting song of the American blacks, "We shall overcome"; songs of the Peruvian Incas; and the famous Cuban song "Guantanamora," to which a student added some verses about Che Guevara's death.

Afterward, at a meeting on the

main esplanade of the university, the huge portrait of Che was raised and the flag was lowered to half mast.

The speakers dwelt on the principles and teachings of Che and all of them concluded with the words, "Che is the example."

The various spokesmen of the student groups stressed repeatedly that it should not be thought for one moment that Che's death signified the end of Che and his political position.

On the contrary, his blood provided the revolutionary youth of Latin America and, in fact, the entire world with supreme proof of the urgency of the situation faced by all of humanity in view of the fact that "its main enemy," U.S. imperialism, can in a moment of madness bring on a nuclear catastrophe.

Che was pictured as the most complete and outstanding revolutionary fighter yet produced by the people of Latin America.

The meeting sent greetings to the demonstrators in the United States scheduled to go to Washington October 21 to protest in front of the Pentagon against the criminal war in Vietnam.

During the evening vigil, a recording was played of Fidel reading the farewell letter sent to him by Che.

## REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH IN PARIS MOURN CHE GUEVARA

Some 1,600 revolutionists, mostly youth, packed a large meeting hall at the Mutualité in Paris October 19 to mourn the death of the great revolutionary leader Ernest "Che" Guevara.

The meeting was organized by the French revolutionary youth organization Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire [JCR -- Revolutionary Communist Youth]. The meeting was originally planned in honor of the Cuban revolution and the first conference of the Organization of Latin-American Solidarity. But when the reports about the death of Che Guevara were confirmed, the organizers changed the main theme of the meeting to an evaluation of Che's contribution to the world revolution.

The meeting was chaired by one of the JCR leaders, Henri Weber. The main speakers were Alain Krivine, the political secretary of the JCR; Jeannette Abel,

a member of the JCR who lived in Cuba for some time; the well-known French literary critic, Maurice Nadeau, who visited Cuba at the time of the July 26, 1967, celebrations and the OIAS conference; and the Belgian revolutionary socialist, Ernest Mandel, who also visited Cuba last summer.

Well-known authors and painters were at the meeting, including the Cuban painter Wilfredo Lam; the French writers, Michel Leiris and Dionys Moscolo; the editor of the Uruguayan weekly Marcha, to whom Che Guevara sent his famous article, "On Socialism and Man"; and many others.

The meeting opened with the funeral song for the victims of the 1905 Russian revolution, which the revolutionary movement in Europe has used ever since to honor its martyrs. The audience stood while the hymn was played.

Henri Weber briefly explained the

purpose of the meeting. Then Alain Krivine took the floor to summarize the importance of the Cuban revolution today, especially its equalitarianism, its struggle against bureaucracy and its internationalism.

Jeannette Abel outlined the social, economic and political conditions in Latin America forming the background to the OLAS conference and analyzed the revolutionary perspectives on that continent.

Maurice Nadeau told about his recent trip to Cuba and what he learned about the Cuban attitude towards revolutionary modern art. His speech, like all the others, received heavy applause.

Ernest Mandel analyzed the deci-

sions of the OLAS conference, placing them in the framework of the crisis of Stalinism and the worldwide struggle to build a new revolutionary leadership. He devoted most of his speech to recollections of a long interview which Che Guevara had granted him; and he stressed the stature of the great revolutionist in the development of both the theory and practice of revolutionary Marxism.

"To honor the memory of Che Guevara," he concluded, "we should not weep nor mourn for our dead comrade and brother. Che would have wanted us to do but one thing: to continue his struggle, on all fronts, until the final victory is won."

The meeting ended with the crowd singing the "Internationale."

#### STAN NEWENS' TRIBUTE TO CHE GUEVARA

[The speech below is the full text of the tribute paid to Che Guevara by Stan Newens, a member of parliament for Epping, at a meeting in London October 24 sponsored by the New Left Review, the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation and the Movement for Colonial Freedom.

[The memorial meeting was chaired by Pat Jordan and the other speakers were Robin Blackburn of New Left Review and Ken Coates of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation.

[Santiago Diaz, a representative of the Cuban embassy was on the platform but did not speak. When he was introduced, the audience of almost 600 people, many from the colonial world, gave him an ovation that lasted ten minutes.]

\* \* \*

One hundred and twenty years ago Karl Marx and Frederick Engels declared in the Communist Manifesto:

"A spectre is haunting Europe -- the spectre of Communism."

Today that same spectre -- the spectre of social revolution -- may not haunt Europe but it haunts the world. Above all it haunts the underdeveloped areas of the world in Southeast Asia and Latin America.

Everywhere in these poverty-stricken lands -- from the paddy fields of Vietnam to the Andean mountains, there is a spirit of unrest, of protest, of rebellion abroad.

That spirit openly challenges the age-old acceptance of misery, starvation,

suffering and death which have always been the lot of the majority of the population of Latin America and India. And Che Guevara, whose death we meet here this evening to commemorate, was the incarnation of that spirit -- that spirit of revolt.

As British socialists, as opponents of colonialism, as international socialists, who are implacably opposed to the poverty and suffering of the world's peoples, it is therefore fitting that we should meet this evening to commemorate a man whose whole life was dedicated to the same struggle which we have pledged ourselves to wage.

Latin America, where he spent his life, is a vast continent. It is a huge expanse of land with enormous variations of climate and geography. Throughout, however, it is characterised by the prevalence of poverty.

The majority of the people are, of course, peasants -- sharecroppers, semi-serfs and rural labourers -- but desperately poor. Those who work in the towns are familiar with a situation not much better: appalling housing, vile conditions of work and social degradation.

And the contrast with the wealthy minority is enormous.

I remember seeing a TV programme several years ago in which the well-known TV journalist Alan Whicker was reporting on a tour of South America.

The viewers were first of all shown the beautiful buildings and squares of the city of Lima in Peru. Elegantly dressed young women and smart young men

strolled casually by.

And then the scene shifted to the railway station and the camera focused on a shabbily clad peasant woman with a broad-brimmed hat and a large bundle on her back, alighting from the train.

Alan Whicker explained that she was merely one of many who were continually arriving from the countryside in search of something better.

The scene then changed once more to the city refuse dump. "This is where many of the new arrivals finish up," Alan Whicker commented as viewers saw human beings amidst the refuse. Just then a city refuse van drove into view and tipped its load. A crowd of half naked children and adults rushed to rummage in the garbage in search of something of value for use.

"Incredible as it is," said Alan Whicker, "people actually live here. And what is more they even survive."

I may not have remembered every word correctly but the gist of the programme is accurate. It illustrated in a graphic way the depths of degradation to which our fellow human beings are subjected in Latin America and it demonstrated the enormous gulf between rich and poor.

In Latin America, the problem is accentuated by the population explosion. Here the birth rate is the highest in the world and every year there are many new mouths to provide for.

This area of the world might well be regarded as the traditional home of the military dictatorship and the military coup d'état. However, whatever the coup, the same minority of the land-owning and commercial classes has normally retained its privileges.

Outside of a very small part of the area, western democracy, as we know it, is quite unknown. There is in fact no democratic tradition.

And therefore, as in Tsarist Russia before 1917, as in imperial China, as in pre-1789 France and even in seventeenth-century Britain, seriously to embrace the cause of social change is to embrace the revolutionary method. Change by peaceful, democratic processes is normally impossible.

Furthermore, those who would achieve social revolution in Latin America face an additional obstacle, the like of which no past generation of revolutionaries ever faced -- at least, not to the same degree. They face the might of American reactionary involvement.

Those who believe in the democratic method would do well to study the case of Guyana or British Guiana, as it was formerly known. There -- when it appeared likely that the left-wing party of Cheddi Jagan would consolidate itself in power -- through the CIA involvement, the longest general strike in history was financed to help install in power a government more to the liking of the United States administration.

Not that one needs to go to Latin America to learn about the totally undemocratic methods of the CIA. The restoration of the Shah of Persia and some of the past events in Vietnam itself are equally striking examples and there are many others.

The American administration is in fact the defender of the status quo. Colonialism as such may virtually have ended but it has been succeeded by a new phase of the same system which may well be described as neocolonialism.

The colonial powers may be prepared to withdraw troops where a pro-Western or subservient national government can be installed. But the powers are prepared to use force to prevent a more independent government from achieving power.

This is of course the basis of the story of Vietnam. As a member of the British Labour movement and a member of the Parliamentary Labour party I should like to say how strongly I deplore the support given to the present U.S. administration and its policy in Vietnam and elsewhere by our Labour government.

The British government should recognise that the world struggle today is basically between the haves and the have-nots. It should support the latter and not gang up with the reactionary United States administration against the social revolution which is sweeping the undeveloped areas of the world.

We must, however, recognise that at the present time the revolutionaries of Latin America have to contend not only with their own reactionaries but with America as well.

The Cuban Revolution was a great triumph in the struggle and stands out like a beacon to inspire all those who seek to end oppression and exploitation in their homelands.

What manner of man are we talking of tonight who, after going through that experience and achieving high honour and office in one land, was prepared to go off to carry on his work elsewhere, far away -- eventually to die isolated and cut off from his friends!

This is not the occasion for me to pronounce on the correctness of Che Guevara's tactics. It is not for me to consider the validity of the policy of creating a foco -- an insurrectionary centre. I am not prepared to argue this evening whether the main battle is in the countryside or among the urban proletariat.

Here in this hall, there are many of us who would have differences on tactics. I never met Che Guevara and it is very likely that I should have disagreed with some of his views.

This is, however, of no importance to our present purpose. Che Guevara fought a heroic and valiant struggle and in essence all of us in this room this evening are on the same side as he was.

Che Guevara may now have gone and we mourn his departure. But let us remember that there have been many other foci starts -- in Argentina, in Paraguay, in Santo Domingo, in Ecuador, in Venezuela and Peru. Many others have been vanquished; many others killed and eliminated from the scene.

But of this we can be sure: others will arise. The revolutionary spirit will be kindled anew and will become incarnate in the actions of others still to come. To them, the example of the heroism and self-sacrifice of Che Guevara will be an inspiration and a guiding force.

### LONDON DEMONSTRATORS BESIEGE THE AMERICAN EMBASSY

By Ernest Tate

London

Thousands of persons marched through the streets of the fashionable West End October 22 to register their opposition to American aggression in Vietnam. It was one of the largest and most militant demonstrations to hit Britain since the beginning of the escalation.

More than forty policemen were injured -- one suffered a broken leg and several were carried away unconscious -- in a pitched battle that raged several hours in front of the American embassy in Grosvenor Square.

The demonstration, which the police said they estimated to be around 7,000 but which appeared to be closer to 10,000, was called and organized by the October 22 Ad Hoc Committee in response to the appeal sent out last summer by the National Mobilization Committee in the United States. The committee appealed for international solidarity demonstrations to coincide with the Washington action.

For the people of Latin America, of Southeast Asia and, in due course, of Africa, will rise up. Whatever faults there are in mankind, the refusal to accept permanent poverty and degradation can never be finally extinguished.

As the chairman of the Movement for Colonial Freedom, with its long record of struggle against colonialism under the chairmanship of Fenner Brockway, whom I have had the honour to succeed, I am therefore proud to pay this tribute to Che Guevara here in London this evening.

In reflecting on the setback which this death represents in the struggle for human progress, we must ever be mindful of the fact that history does not advance up a steady incline but goes forward in a series of waves. It is our task to ensure that the crest of each successive wave will be higher than the one before.

Therefore as socialists in Britain, as international socialists, we must seek to ensure that the British Labour movement will play its full part on the side of the major part of the world population to whom Che Guevara devoted his life.

We must not be turned aside from the objectives which we have before us whatever the setbacks -- the objectives of socialism, peace and international human brotherhood.

The Ad Hoc Committee is a coalition of groups and political tendencies that includes Maoists, Trotskyists and Labour party constituencies of the British left. It is headed up by the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign as the main organizing force.

Every radical tendency except one was represented in the march.\* Communist party branches were out, as were branches of the Young Communist League with their banners. There was high representation of people from the colonial world.

Everyone was free to carry whatever slogan he wished.

The demonstration started in Tra-

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\*The exception was the Socialist Labour League which boycotted the demonstration. This ultraleft grouping claims to be Trotskyist but has an abysmal record when it comes to defending the colonial revolution.

falgar Square and first marched along the Strand to the Australian embassy where a deputation of Australians handed in a protest petition. It proceeded along the Embankment to Whitehall.

Unlike most antiwar demonstrations that usually march three or four abreast, and are stretched out, in conformity with police requests, this one very quickly built up to a solid mass of people, filling the entire street and stopping all traffic.

The throng chanted, "Hands off Vietnam," accompanying the chant with rhythmic handclapping and slapping the backs of placards. Some shouted, "Che Guevara," and many posters bore his name. A popular cry was in the traditional style of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, "American troops in Vietnam, Out!"

The march was organized around the slogan of "U.S. Get Out of Vietnam Now! -- Protest the Labour Government's Complicity in U.S. Aggression!"

By the time the march reached Downing Street in Whitehall, the residence of the prime minister, the police had lost control. Fights broke out and firecrackers were thrown at the police. Attempts were made by the demonstrators to break through the police lines protecting the entrance to Harold Wilson's residence.

Onward the march surged. Around Trafalgar Square and Lower Regents Street, police who tried to channel the marchers into a narrower column, found themselves isolated and swamped.

By the time Oxford Street was reached, the police had abandoned the march, sending the bulk of their forces to Grosvenor Square to await the coming struggle in front of the American embassy. So heavy was the crowd that many onlookers were caught up by the general enthusiasm and joined in. All traffic was immobilized.

More than 500 police, some of them mounted, confronted the marchers when they reached Grosvenor Square. There was a temporary halt and some confusion as many wondered what to do next.

Instinctively the crowd concentrated at one point in the police line. A tremendous heave and a small breakthrough occurred.

Several young people were arrested, but fights developed to rescue them.

Quickly the mass of the demonstrators surged through onto the park that faces the embassy. Both foot and mounted police retreated out of the park, falling back to the steps where they hoped to pro-

tect the embassy from the onslaught. Only a small hedge of bushes separated them from the crowd.

The bushes were soon trampled to the ground as the crowd grappled with the police. Missiles were thrown by the demonstrators and some of the police fell. Clumps of earth and rocks taken from the landscaped lawn hurtled toward the embassy. Windows were shattered. People climbed on top of cars parked along the street to jeer the police and car tops caved from the weight.

Police on horseback continually charged the demonstrators. They regrouped after the charge and moved forward again. At one point the crowd pressed to within yards of the building only to be pushed back by ranks of police, advancing arms linked.

For a time, the demonstrators had control of the square. As one veteran militant put it, it was the first time in decades that the police had been defeated in an antiwar demonstration.

Park benches were dismantled and used as weapons. Banners and placards were torn apart and used similarly. The battle went on until dusk.

A number of demonstrators fell under the blows of the police as they counterattacked. Twelve were taken to the hospital, several with blood running down their faces.

The mood of solidarity was such that when a demonstrator was unfortunate enough to fall into the clutches of the police, he was in many instances rescued by the crowd. Fights broke out around police wagons as attempts were made to free those who had been arrested and placed inside. Often single policemen were isolated and surrounded. A police dog and its handler were badly mauled. Helmets flew in all directions.

Police reinforcements began to arrive and the demonstrators started to draw back. Finally a breach was opened in the ranks of the crowd and mounted police again entered the square to harass the demonstrators from the rear.

Slowly the crowd retreated. Police on foot entered the park and began to clear it. Others searched for their helmets. Finally the main body of the remaining crowd was forced out of the square altogether.

The night's activity ended when a group of some 300 demonstrators returned to busy Oxford Street where they staged a sitdown. It was here that the bulk of the arrests took place.

It has been argued that clear, militant slogans inevitably repel most people and cannot rally big forces. This demonstration showed how mistaken this view is.

During the weekend, other peace groups, including the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, the Committee of 100 and the British Council for Peace in Vietnam, which is influenced by the Communist party, held activities. But the results

could not compare with those of the demonstration that ended up at the American embassy.

Organizers of this demonstration say that they are going to redouble their efforts to bring all the groups together in one united protest action against the war being waged by the U.S. in Vietnam. The new mood of enthusiasm would suggest that they will be successful in this aim.

### SWISS DEMONSTRATORS TELL U.S. TO GET OUT OF VIETNAM

#### Zurich

A meeting packed to capacity with some 800 persons, mostly youth, passed a resounding declaration of solidarity with the antiwar forces in the U.S. and the National Liberation Front October 21.

The mass meeting climaxed a day of protest actions against the war in Vietnam. Under the sponsorship of the "Progressive Students" of Zurich, groups of young activists circulated through the city with loudspeakers, banners and leaflets. They held ad hoc "teach ins" to inform the people about International Vietnam Day and the demand to withdraw the U.S. forces from Vietnam.

In Lausanne during the preceding week, six to eight hundred young people demonstrated their opposition to the American aggression in Vietnam. They staged a successful march that wound up with a meeting, both of them featuring advanced slogans demanding the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

Besides this, the "Centrale Sanitaire Suisse," a left-wing medical solidarity organization formed during the Spanish Civil War, is touring the country with an X-ray truck. This is to be sent to North Vietnam in response to a special appeal from the North Vietnamese Red Cross. The aim of the tour is to collect money to buy the truck for this purpose and to show the population documentary evidence of the atrocities being committed by the U.S. forces in Vietnam.

In 1964 public opinion in Switzerland was generally "more American than the Americans." It has shifted in the last two years to an anti-Johnson position; and thousands began demonstrating in favor of ending the war in Vietnam through negotiations.

Now, for the first time, in Lausanne and Zurich, sizeable forces of the left, outside the tiny, splintered pro-Maoist sects, have come out openly to raise the banner of solidarity with the National Liberation Front.

### OTTAWA'S BIGGEST ANTIWAR DEMONSTRATION

#### Ottawa

In spite of rain and cold weather, more than 400 people marched through downtown Ottawa October 21 to protest the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the role of the Canadian government in supporting it. From 800 to 1,000 people gathered on Parliament Hill to hear the speeches. This was by far the largest local antiwar demonstration Ottawa has ever seen.

The mobilization, which was sponsored by the Ottawa Committee to End the War in Vietnam captured Canada-wide attention from the beginning when it challenged a government decision to ban loudspeaking equipment from Parliament Hill.

The committee lodged an appeal with the prime minister and then decided to carry out their plans even if the ban were upheld.

The leader of the New Democratic party (Canada's labour party), T.C. Douglas, agreed to speak at the rally with or without authorized loudspeakers.

In face of the firm position taken by the Ottawa committee and the scheduled speakers, as well as the large number of people who showed up, the government backed down and allowed the rally to proceed unhindered.



"WHEN IS THE NEXT ONE SCHEDULED?"

The import of the October 21 demonstrations around the world is still being assessed in the various capitals, for they appear to represent something new -- a sign of a most significant advance in the struggle against imperialism.

The most extraordinary feature of the actions was the success achieved in coordinating them on a worldwide scale. The atmosphere came close to that of May Day, the international holiday of the working class, except that it was far more militant in most cities than May Day celebrations have been since they became an established tradition.

The October 21 demonstrations were remarkably uniform in the slogans advanced, a strong tendency being to center them around the demand, "Withdraw the U.S. Troops Now!"

Most notable of all was the fact that the demonstrations were organized despite the lack of support from the official labor organizations, the biggest exception to this being Japan, where Sohyo [General Council of Trade Unions] threw its weight behind the antiwar action. October 21 can thus be regarded as a mere harbinger of what is to come when the working class begins to move in a cohesive way on this front.

The roster of cities that witnessed marches, rallies and meetings was most impressive, especially in the other industrially advanced capitalist countries. Aside from the demonstrations in the U.S., the list included London, Paris, Dublin, Stockholm, Oslo, Amsterdam, Frankfurt, West Berlin, Munich, Hamburg, Stuttgart, Zurich, Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, and many others. In Japan, 367 localities, including Tokyo, saw action.

The demonstrations ranged in size from the eleven individuals who staged a silent demonstration October 21 before the U.S. consulate general in Hong Kong to the estimated 1,500,000 persons who poured into the streets in Japan.

In some cities, the demonstrations became the center of public attention to

such a degree as to dominate normal activities. For instance, in Amsterdam, the authorities, evidently deciding that a discreet bending to the pressure was advisable, banned all motor traffic in the center of the city in order to clear the way for the marchers. About 15,000 participated in the parade, shouting: "Johnson murderer!"

In Oslo 500 students demonstrated. They broke a window in the American embassy. Others painted the letters "USA" throughout the city, with the "S" shaped like a swastika.

Paris had the biggest demonstration in Europe. Police gave out the figure of 30,000 participants, but seasoned observers reported that the figure was at least double this.

Another impressive feature of the demonstrations was the unity displayed in action. With but few exceptions, the whole gamut of political views, from bourgeois liberal to the ultralefts, participated in the marches.

A typical example was the parade around the U.S. embassy in Tokyo. The police figure for the number involved was 3,000. (The same sources estimated 60,000 in the general demonstration in Tokyo.) The 3,000 represented about forty organizations, which sponsored the action at the U.S. embassy through a joint working committee. In addition to this, students from eleven universities sent delegations.

The huge international success served to inspire opponents of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. In a number of countries, the first thought of key organizers in the various actions was "When is the next one scheduled?"

And in striking contrast to the universal hatred and revulsion felt for the Johnson administration, the question was directed with a new feeling of solidarity and elation to the organizations inside the United States that staged the giant demonstration in Washington and which had appealed for supporting actions on an international scale on the same day.

JAPANESE RAILWAY UNION OBJECTS TO HANDLING U.S. WAR SUPPLIES

The 280,000-member Japanese National Railway Workers Union announced October 19 that it would begin work-to-rule tactics, effective the next day, in fifteen areas across the country where U.S. air force bases are located.

The aim is to alert the public to

the mounting danger in these areas where munitions, aviation gasoline, rocket shells and napalm bombs are handled.

The Tokyo regional chapter of the union announced an immediate three-day slowdown struggle against a projected increase in U.S. air-forces tank trains.

THAT COUNTERDEMONSTRATION IN NEW YORK

A good example of the capacity of the capitalist press to lie with a coolness that would have won the approval of Dr. Joseph Paul Goebbels, Hitler's Minister of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment, was provided by the Associated Press immediately following the October 21 demonstration in Washington, the biggest yet seen in the U.S. capital.

To believe the Associated Press, the biggest and most impressive demonstration was staged the next day -- in New York. And it was not an antiwar demonstration but a demonstration that aimed at offsetting the action in Washington!

According to the Associated Press, "More than 100,000 persons in the New York metropolitan area demonstrated peacefully in support of GIs in Vietnam Sunday [October 22] at a two-day vigil and a spate of parades. At least another 100,000 watched."

This counterdemonstration was sponsored by the "National Committee for Responsible Patriotism," according to the Associated Press; and the activities included an appeal over radio and television to motorists to keep their headlights burning as a show of support.

The newscasts on television hardly bore out the claims of the Associated Press, although the television stations did their utmost to collaborate in building up the counterdemonstration, giving it even more coverage than was granted to the huge demonstration in Washington.

The "masses" shown on TV boiled down to a group of children of Boy Scout age, dressed in uniforms like those worn in the Continental army under the command

of George Washington. They played such patriotic airs on their fifes as "Yankee Doodle Dandy."

The "crowd" appeared to consist mostly of fond parents.

The performance was supervised by aged members of the super patriotic American Legion.

The main speaker was the head of the National Committee for Responsible Patriotism and his audience appeared to consist of nothing but television cameras.

It was not without interest that he prefaced his remarks by stressing that this counterdemonstration was not in favor of the war in Vietnam, all that was intended was to show "support for our boys" and to oppose the "subversives" who were allegedly behind the affair in Washington.

The Associated Press made much of the automobiles that traveled with their headlights burning. On television, however, the cameramen were evidently hard pressed to find even a single string of cars that would give the impression of a massive turning on of switches.

The brief shots of this gave convincing evidence of the number of motorists driving with the lights off, and therefore presumably displaying opposition to the war in Vietnam.

In the final paragraph of its dispatch on the counterdemonstration, the AP inadvertently gave the show away: "On the busy Long Island Expressway, 20 to 25 per cent of the cars had headlights on. In Philadelphia, one in 20 cars was reported driving with lights on."

NEW ANTIWAR TACTICS REPORTED IN EUROPE

In a special dispatch from Paris, published in the New York Times of October 29, John L. Hess reports that he was told by a spokesman for groups in Europe that have been helping American soldiers to desert that a new policy has been adopted. "They are now urging servicemen to stay in the Army to spread propaganda against the war in Vietnam."

"The spokesman, who calls himself Mr. Cook but does not pretend that that is his real name," continues Hess, "said in a telephone interview that the new tactic had been imported from the United States by American servicemen, who called it 'RITA' and 'AITA,' for 'Resist Inside the Army' and 'Act Inside the Army.'"

According to the same source, the GIs have brought antiwar literature from the United States. "Sympathetic groups in Europe have reproduced some for distribution. They put leaflets on windshields of servicemen's cars, Mr. Cook said, hand them out at gates of bases or even enter quarters to distribute them. Girls pass them along at service clubs, he said."

Cook told the Times correspondent that a success had been achieved October 21 by members of the German Socialist Student Union in Frankfurt, coinciding with worldwide demonstrations against the war in Vietnam.

"According to Mr. Cook, students

penetrated servicemen's quarters the night before and distributed leaflets inviting the Americans to meet them at the post exchange in the afternoon to discuss the war. The PX was thereupon ringed with

barriers and a cordon of West German police, he said, but hundreds of servicemen came out of curiosity and talked with English-speaking students across the barrier."

### NORTH VIETNAM'S "WAR" INDUSTRY

[The ingenuity of the Vietnamese people in turning to advantage even the most improbable "resources" in their struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggression is strikingly shown in a report sent by Agence France-Presse from Hanoi October 7. The account, which tells how a kind of "war" industry is being created in North Vietnam, is as follows.]

\* \* \*

The air war over North Vietnam has given rise to an entire industry in which North Vietnamese artisans produce useful objects from the scraps of downed U.S. planes and spent rockets and shells.

Combs, letter-openers and ash-trays are already in production, based on metal from the downed planes, to such a degree that it is nearing the export stage, but the North Vietnamese application of the axiom that "nothing is lost" doesn't stop there.

Parachute-shrouds from flares dropped by the American planes are turned into hammocks for children. The Plexi-glass cockpits of downed planes are turned into two-man water-scoops for use in the rice paddies. Parachutes go into pillow-slips, bedspreads, camouflage covers and scarves.

Each of the supplementary fuel-tanks jettisoned by American pilots can make, when cut in half, two small boats capable of carrying a man, his weapons

and his equipment. Bomb-casings, napalm cannisters and the girders from wings and tails are turned into shovels and picks. Containers from ball-bearing bombs are made into plates, saucepans, bowls, surgical instruments, sterilization trays, and splints for broken limbs.

The North Vietnamese make tankards, flutes and one-stringed musical instruments from flare and rocket tubes.

Mudguards and chain-guards for bicycles come from small pieces of wing.

Agriculture also profits, since bomb fragments can be forged into ploughshares. The fragments, ranging in weight from a few hundred grams to many pounds are gathered in the fields by farm workers and children on their way to school.

The story is told of one lone bridge in the Ky Anh district, 340 kilometers south of Hanoi, which was so heavily bombed that the surroundings produced thirty tons of bomb fragments.

A forge run by the neighboring farm cooperative used them to turn out 60,000 ploughshares, furnishing them not only to farmers in the Ky Anh district but in two neighboring districts as well.

Perhaps the most unexpected use to which the North Vietnamese put the metal from downed planes is the manufacture of the medals used to decorate North Vietnamese soldiers and militiamen.

### "IT'S A DIFFICULT THING TO SAY"

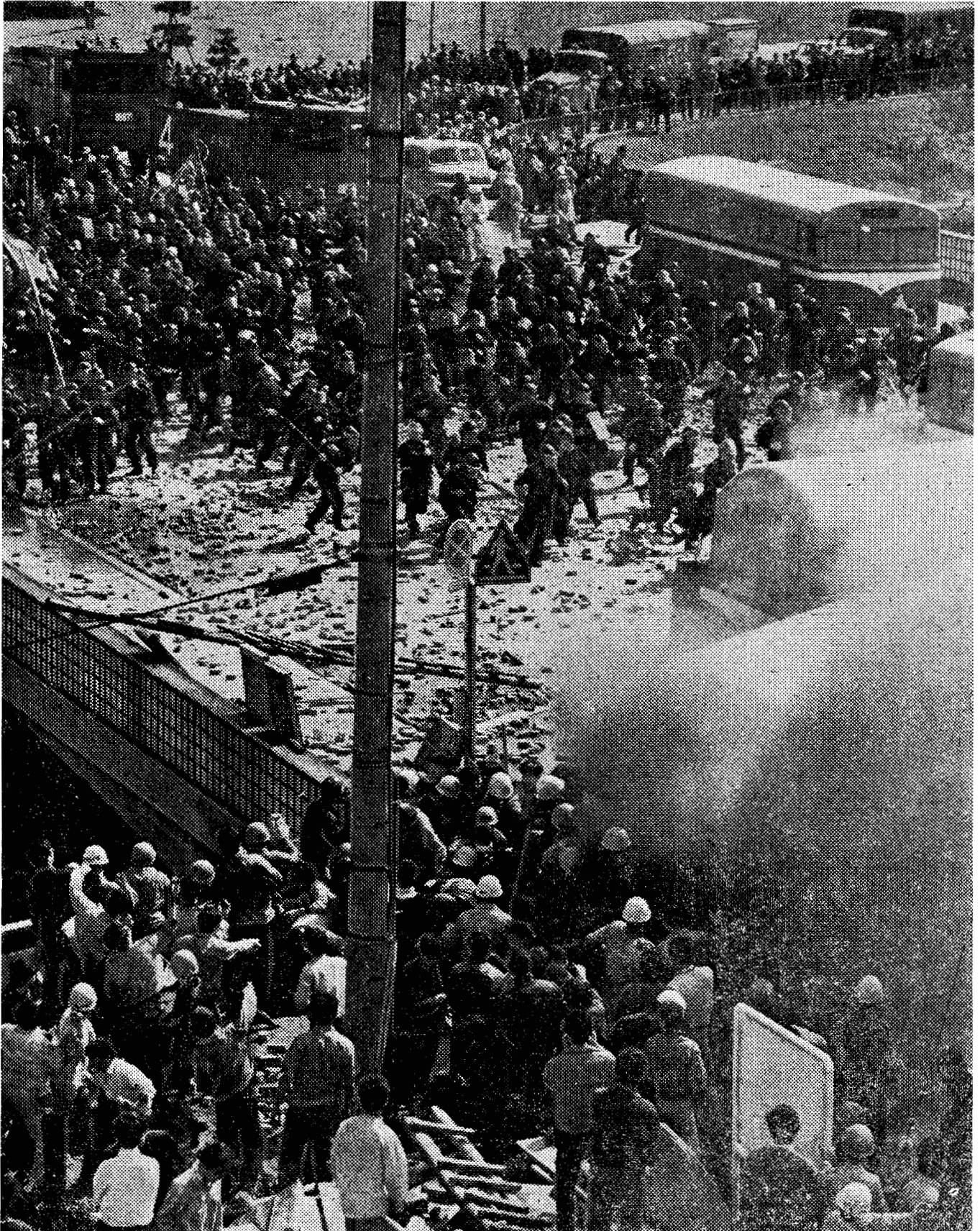
Are the U.S. troops who carry out orders to risk their lives to bomb North Vietnam immune to normal human feelings? The question received a tentative answer in the case of Lt. Commander John Sydney McCain 3d, the youngest careerist in a family of professional military men.

Listed as "missing in action," McCain was reportedly shot down in an air raid. Because of his lineage, front-page articles were devoted to him. Among the stories was his reaction to what happened to the *Forrestal*, his mother ship, when an accidental explosion occurred.

"It's a difficult thing to say," he told his friends the next day, accord-

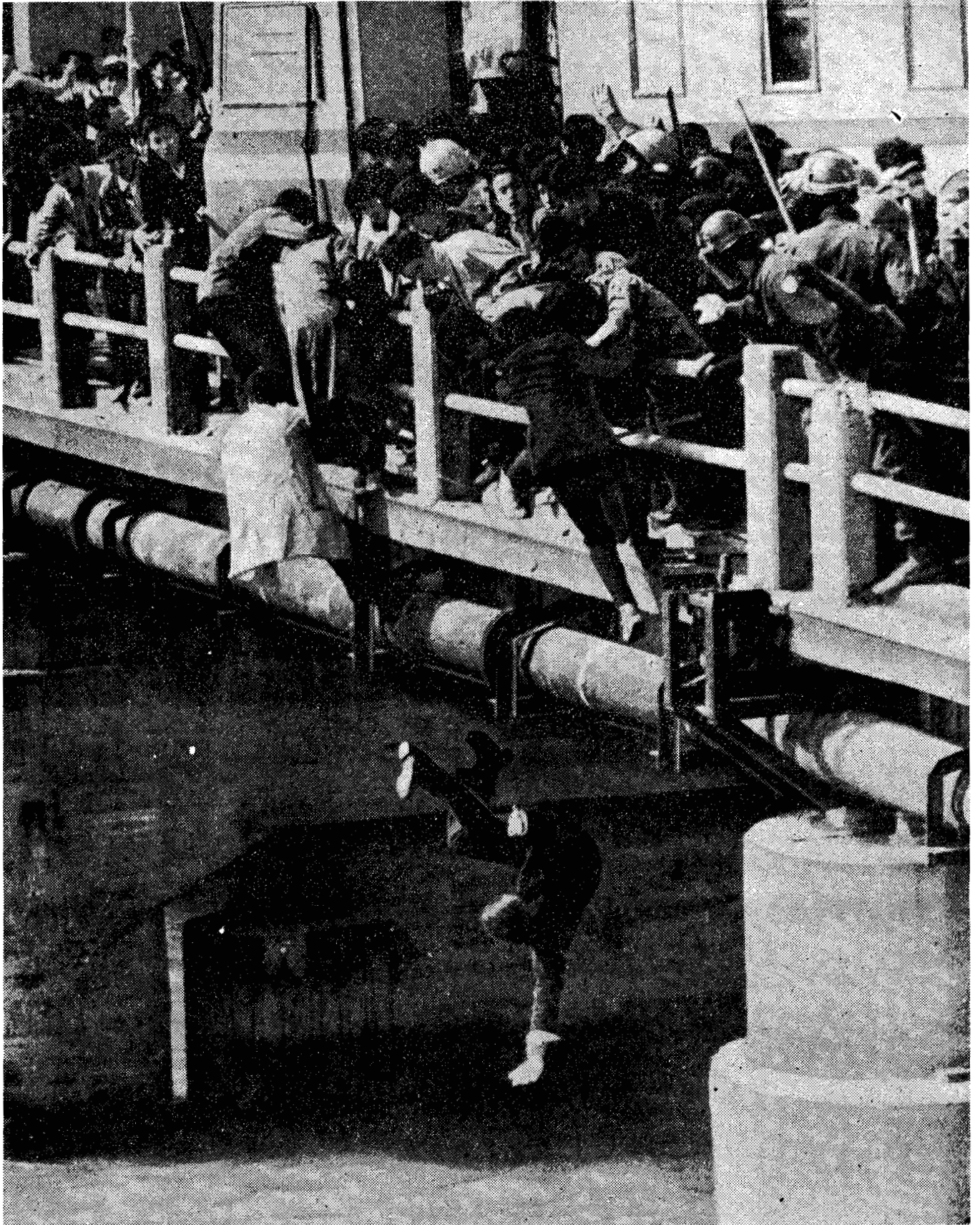
ing to the *New York Times*. "But now that I've seen what the bombs and the napalm did to the people on our ship, I'm not so sure that I want to drop any more of that stuff on North Vietnam."

Perhaps it was only a temporary flickering of his conscience, for he very shortly resumed flying his Skyhawk in new raids. But if a person so thoroughly indoctrinated in the U.S. military tradition was finally able to experience a twinge of revulsion when he saw his own buddies accidentally suffering from the fearsome effects of napalm, it can be imagined what the emotions are of the GIs who are conscripted against their will and sent into the dirty war in Vietnam.



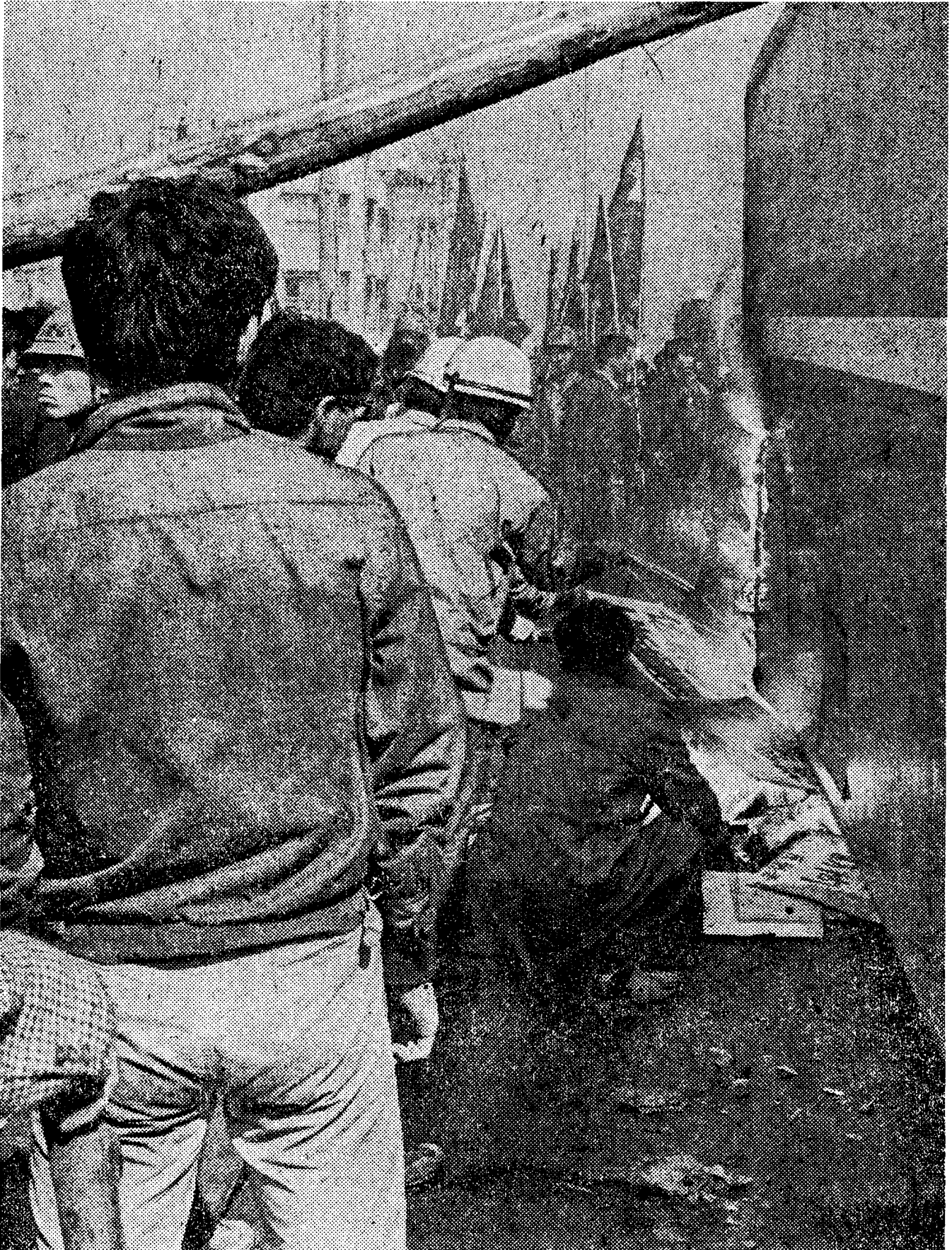
HELMET-WEARING Japanese students clash with police in pitched battle on bridge to International airport in Tokyo. Police

parked armored cars to bar demonstrators from entrances. Students burned some of the cars, used others to crash the lines.



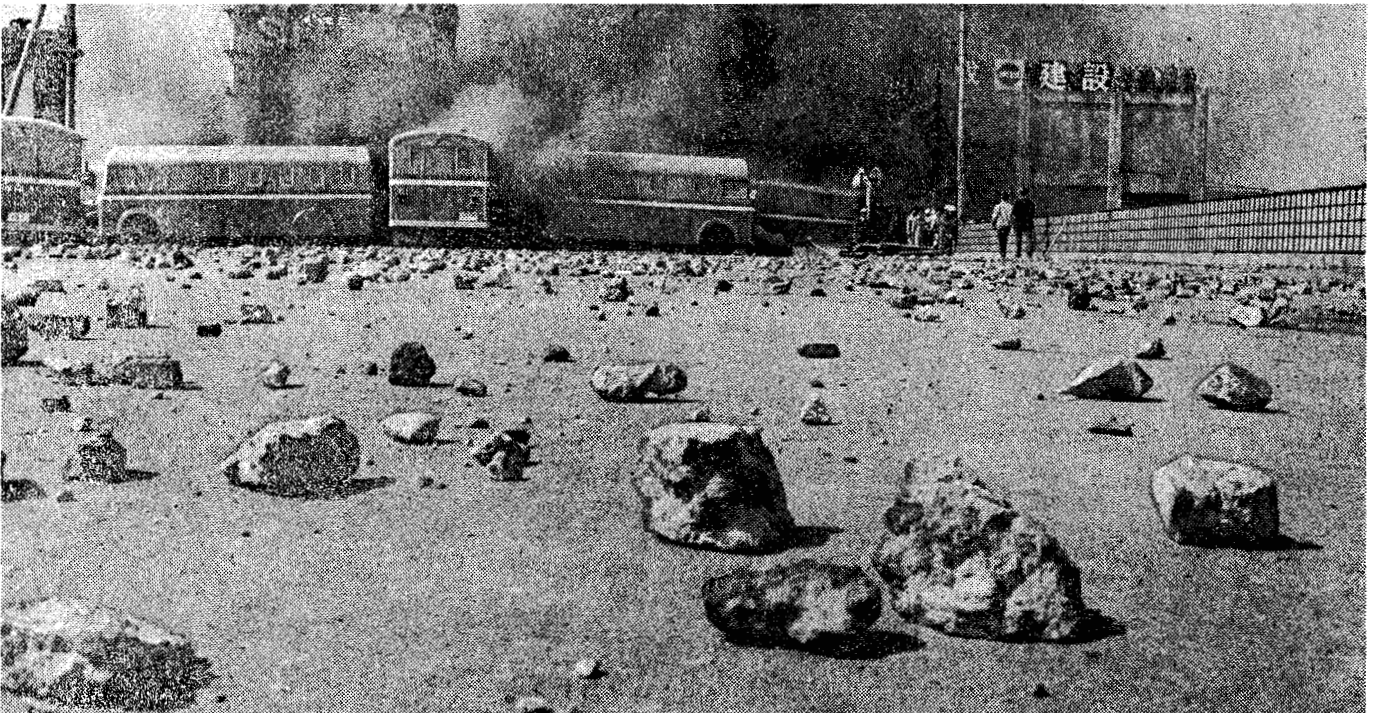
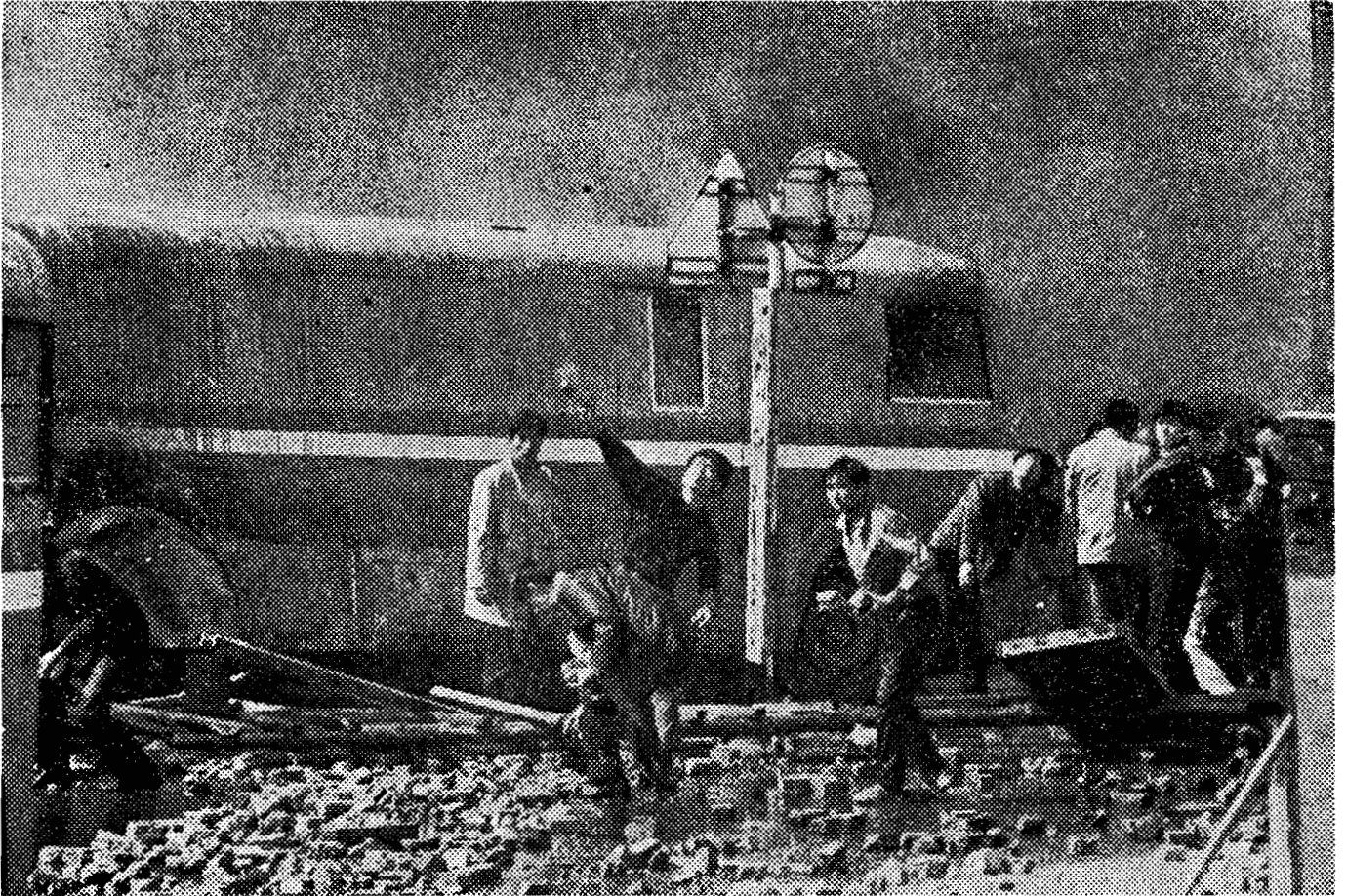
POLICE used water cannon to blow students off bridge into river. Others were top-pled over railings in hand-to-hand combat.

But a number of police also ended up in the river. Some jumped to avoid cars driven by students; some were thrown in.



JAPANESE students, demonstrating against deeper involvement of Japan in war in Vietnam, set fire to armored cars which

they captured from police in struggle to block Prime Minister Sato from starting on scheduled "goodwill" trip to Saigon.



TOP: Japanese students hurl rocks at police in militant antiwar demonstration in Tokyo. Coeds helped gather the ammunition.

BOTTOM: Scene of battle after students retreated under barrage of tear gas. The antiwar action created national sensation.

ANGRY PROTEST IN JAPAN OVER ESCALATION OF JAPANESE ROLE IN VIETNAM

The militant demonstration in Tokyo October 8 against Prime Minister Eisaku Sato's departure on a junket that included a visit to Saigon had big repercussions in Japan where it is considered to be the most important event of its kind since the massive student demonstrations in 1960 that successfully blocked the projected "goodwill" trip of President Eisenhower to Japan.

The demonstration itself did not involve large numbers -- some 2,400 Zengakuren students and 600 unionists on one side and 2,300 riot police on the other -- but it was highly dramatic and caught the attention of the entire country as well as winning headlines throughout the world.

For the number involved, casualties were unusually high. According to the Tokyo fire department, 250 were injured, including 151 police (10 seriously), 75 students (2 seriously), 8 bystanders (1 seriously) and 16 whose status was unknown.

One student, Hiroaki Yamazaki, a student of Kyoto University, was killed when, according to police, he was accidentally run over by an armored police car seized by the students. Demonstrators, however, reported seeing him being beaten by the police.

Sato's trip was the second within weeks. On the first trip, at the end of September, he visited Rangoon, Kuala Lumpur, Singapore, Bangkok and Ventiane. He did not land in South Vietnam, limiting himself merely to flying over it. The trip was obviously part of a plan to escalate Japanese participation in the Vietnamese conflict.

In mid-November Sato is planning a third trip, this time to Washington and no doubt he will do what he can there to give Johnson a badly needed political assist, probably making some gesture of solidarity with the American president's war aims in Vietnam.

That the Japanese government is moving step by step toward still more active participation in the war in Vietnam is very well understood among Washington's other satellite powers. Thus the London Times explained editorially October 10:

"In setting off on a tour in an area of understandable Japanese interest Mr Sato has made it plain that his purpose is a closer affiliation with the American position in Vietnam. He goes to Australia, New Zealand, and the Philippines -- all countries closely associ-

ated with the Americans in Vietnam -- and ends with a stay in Saigon.

"All the pressures upon him will be for some closer form of alignment with the American Vietnam policy, at least in the form of aid for South Vietnam. That something of the kind was envisaged has been plain for some time in Government statements in Tokyo.

"On this point Japanese public opinion may not be so quiescent. Feeling about Vietnam has always been strongly against the American action, not least because circumstances could arise in which Japan was herself involved by a widening of the war."

During the trip itself, Sato's actions indicated the drift of things. For instance, in Canberra on October 12, he supported Johnson's policy of continuing to bomb North Vietnam. "At present," he told the press, "there are opinions in some circles that the U.S. should suspend its bombing of North Vietnam; but the U.S. refuses, on grounds that suspension of the North Vietnam bombing alone will not bring about peace. The U.S. probably cannot suspend its bombing unless the north guarantees to take steps equal to suspension of the bombing. We cannot one-sidedly criticize only the U.S." [Asahi Evening News, October 13.]

An unnamed Japanese government spokesman announced October 18 that Sato planned to make a "peace proposal" during his visit to Saigon. His trip had to be cut short, however, due to the death of former Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida and so Sato said little in Saigon. He returned to Tokyo October 21.

Perhaps Sato decided, in light of the repercussions in Japan, that it was best not to say too much in Saigon and he found Yoshida's death a convenient excuse for cutting his trip short. The Asahi Evening News observed editorially October 23 that "In connection with the Vietnam problem, he apparently was unable to find a 'prescription' to take in his briefcase when he visits the United States."

The same paper added that a number of facts associated with his trip "are generally interpreted as meaning that Japan, although indirectly, is giving unilateral support to the Vietnam policy of the United States." And it asked, "Isn't Japan's diplomacy now at the crossroad of a major turning point?"

The American diplomats in Tokyo sought to make the most of Sato's landing in Saigon although he was there not



much longer than was required to refuel his plane. Robert Trumbull, in a special dispatch from Tokyo published in the October 29 New York Times, said: "Mr. Sato's four-hour stopover in Saigon...is thought to have given him a keener perception of the urgencies of the situation in Vietnam."

Trumbull reported that "analysts" in the Japanese government and in foreign embassies in Tokyo consider that "the most important immediate result" of Sato's trip "may prove to be the new projection of Japan into the affairs of the region."

"From the United States point of view, as stated by American officials here," Trumbull added, "an especially satisfying aspect of Mr. Sato's trips has been to align Japan more firmly on the side of Washington in Vietnam and against Communist designs generally in the developing states of Southeast Asia."

It is thus clear that the Japanese students who organized the October 8 demonstration had correctly deduced the political significance of Sato's projected trip to Saigon.

Their protest action was organized by the Sampa Rengo [Three Faction Alliance]. This is composed of the Kakukyodo [Japan Revolutionary Communist League], the Shagekudo [Japan Socialist Student League] and the Shaseido [Japan Socialist Youth League].

The Sampa Rengo is a minority in the Zengakuren [National Federation of Students Self-government Associations] opposed to the policies of the Japan Communist party and considered to be within the orbit of the Japan Socialist party. The Japan Communist party controls about seventy or eighty percent of the membership of the Zengakuren.

No doubt it was due to the opposition of the Japan Communist party that the majority of the Zengakuren did not support the protest action and only a small minority were involved.

Preparations for the demonstration appear to have been begun about a month before Sato's departure. These included buying crash helmets and sturdy staves (two by twos). About 1,000 of the participants came from other cities. Upon assembling, detachments scoured the area for stones and broke up paving blocks to add to the supply. The some 400 girls participating in the demonstration helped in this, doing their best to keep the male students supplied with missiles as they were thrown at the police.

The police barricaded the bridges leading to the island airport, utilizing

armored cars for this purpose.

The students moved forward, chanting, "Sato don't go" and "We are opposed to Sato's visit to South Vietnam."

Seeking to break through the police cordons, some of them climbed on top of the armored cars.

The police opened up with high-pressure water tank trucks, blowing students off the tops of the armored cars and knocking a number into the muddy river.

Throwing stones, the students charged the water cannon, captured one of them and turned its nozzles on the police.

They also captured some of the armored cars. They did this by smashing the windshields with hammers and climbing inside. Starting up the motors, they used the cars as battering rams against the police lines and many police had to jump into the river to avoid being run down.

In other instances, students and police fought in hand-to-hand conflict, some of them ending up by being pushed over the sides of the bridges.

Students punctured the gas tanks of seven of the cars and set them on fire, making spectacular columns of smoke.

Eventually the students ran out of rocks and the police, using tear gas, were able to push them back.

Sato, protected by a number of police cars, managed to make it to his plane but other passengers were held up for many hours before the bridges were finally cleared.

The one tragic incident was the death of eighteen-year-old Hiroaki Yamazaki. He had gone to Tokyo without the knowledge of his parents.

"I never thought my son was a radical," said his father, a sawmill worker.

Hiroaki had graduated from Osaka Prefectural Otemae High School last March. He was always at the top of his class. Last year he participated with other classmates in putting on an antiwar masquerade.

The police claimed that 647 policemen had been injured. But this figure was discounted by other sources. A total of fifty-eight students and unionists were arrested.

The press deplored the demonstration, particularly the violence. They, of course, blamed it on the students, al-

though Tensei Jingo, writing in the Asahi Shimbun thought that the Prime Minister ought to "postpone" his trips abroad until he has learned to "understand and handle the youth of his own country."

Most of the commentators thought the students were "disgraceful." Some sought to find the reasons for their attitude in social conditions; others in inadequacies or errors in the educational system; "subversion" was widely suggested as being at the bottom of the demonstration and demands were made on the authorities to begin acting tough.

A cabinet meeting was called and Education Minister Toshihiro Kennoki outlined plans to take up the question at a series of meetings involving the heads of state, private and public universities. He said that the conduct of the students went beyond the scope of the student movement but that the Education Ministry "fully realizes its responsibility." He added that the universities needed to take "suitable countermeasures."

At a meeting of the House of Representatives Education Committee he told the legislators, in response to questioning, that legal steps would be necessary concerning the management of universities and colleges.

The Japan Communist party, as reported in the October 14 Japan Times, denounced the demonstration as a clash between "the reactionary forces" and "ultra-leftist counterrevolutionary elements." The party officials expressed fear that "the U.S.-Japan reactionary force" might utilize the conflict as a pretext to perpetuate repression of democratic rights.

The Japan Socialist party blamed the government for the violence, stating that it had "trampled upon the wishes of the people who opposed Sato's visit to Saigon." But the party officialdom also criticized the students, stating that it was "regrettable that some Zengakuren students had acted in a manner contrary to what the party had in mind."

The Central Committee even went so far as to say that the party had failed to properly guide the student movement and that it had decided to improve this aspect of party activities.

The Peking People's Daily praised the students, stating, according to a broadcast monitored in Hong Kong: "They feared no armored cars, no truncheons, no bullets, no fascist wolves and bravely stood in the forefront against U.S. imperialism. It is the pride of the Japanese people to possess such heroic revolutionary young people. In them lies the hope of the Japanese nation."

The People's Daily also said that Sato's visit to Saigon was intended to further involve Japan in the Vietnam war and that "This is against the national interest of Japan, and absolutely intolerable to the Japanese people."

The full text of the statement by the People's Daily was not reported. Thus it remained unclear whether the Maoist newspaper mentioned the perspective of a socialist revolution in Japan or confined itself to talking about the "national interest" of Japanese imperialism.

The Liberal-Democratic party, which is the party in power, decided October 11 to set up subcommittees in its special security committee and education division to "probe" the demonstration at the airport.

"The subcommittees are expected to reach a conclusion before Prime Minister Eisaku Sato visits the United States in mid-November," reported the October 13 Japan Times.

The Liberal-Democrats declared that the police should have treated the demonstrators "not as students but as professional rioters." The antisubversives law should have been invoked and the universities should begin remedying the present situation on the campuses "which seems to be contributing in part to the formation of radical student organizations."

Mitsuo Setoyama, deputy secretary general of the Liberal-Democratic party, insisted that the demonstration should be dealt with as "action aimed at violent revolution." He added that members of the party's special committee on public security were calling for "strong measures" against such demonstrations.

An attempt at a witch-hunt was soon underway. On October 12, the Public Safety Department of the Metropolitan Police Board asked the Tokyo District Court for a warrant for the arrest of Katsuyuki Akiyama, twenty-six-year-old chairman of the Sampa Rengo. The police told the press that Akiyama and his fellow leaders had gone underground.

The basis for the warrant, according to the police, was that no permit had been obtained for the demonstration and that this violated the Metropolitan Public Safety Ordinance. Akiyama was also charged with obstruction of police duty and assault and battery.

On October 16, for the first time in the postwar history of Japan, three raids were conducted by some 600 police at 3 a.m. on the campuses of Hosei, Waseda and Chuo universities.

In hope of proving "premeditation in the commandeering and burning of police vehicles," the raiders seized 1,600 items.

The predawn hours were chosen for the raids, according to the police, "to avoid student resistance."

In addition the police raided the headquarters of the Revolutionary Communist League and the Communist League, alleging that they had "incited" the students.

The police said that they were looking for "documents" and that they had run across evidence that only the evening before, the students had burned documents evidently in anticipation of the raids. The police included in the material they seized such bits of "evidence" as pieces of lumber which had allegedly been brandished at the police in the Tokyo demonstration.

Meanwhile the death of Hiroaki Yamazaki had served to heighten the feelings of the students. Preliminary rallies in his memory were staged in a number of cities.

A memorial meeting was held October 17 in Tokyo. About 5,000 people attended. They heard eulogies by Yoshiaki Yamazaki, the father of the dead student, and others. Shunsuke Tsurumi, professor of Doshisha University, Kyoto, delivered an address and messages were read from

student and leftist organizations in Britain and West Germany.

After the meeting, more than 3,000 of the participants staged a march to the Tokyo station. The police posted more than 2,000 men along the route but no disturbances were reported.

At the beginning of the march, Katsuyuki Akiyama joined the front ranks. The police were waiting, however, as announcements had been made that he would lead the demonstration. They arrested him as soon as he began speaking.

Akiyama refused to answer any questions put to him by the police, according to the October 19 Japan Times. On October 21 he was dragged handcuffed into court and fined 50,000 yen [about US\$138] on the charge of having led a violent demonstration a year ago, October 20, 1966, near Tokyo's Hibiya Park. Akiyama shouted protests at the judge.

A codefendant, Hisao Akutsu, twenty-two, a Tokyo University student was fined 30,000 yen [about US\$83].

It may be weeks before the court's decision on the other charges will be made known.

The Sampa Rengo is planning another demonstration when Prime Minister Eisaku Sato leaves for the United States. His departure has been scheduled for November 12.

#### SOCIAL DEMOCRATS SUFFER REBUFF IN BREMEN VOTE

By Gisela Mandel

The elections held in Bremen, the smallest state [Bundesland] in Western Germany, at the beginning of October, confirmed the trend already apparent in the previous state elections in Berlin, Rheinland-Pfalz and Schleswig-Holstein.

The fourth such election since the establishment of the "grand" coalition between the Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands [SPD -- the Social Democratic party] and the Christlich Demokratische Union [CDU -- Christian Democratic Union], it registered even clearer than in the Schleswig-Holstein elections the general dissatisfaction of the SPD voters with the coalition.

The Social Democrats, who had held an absolute majority in Bremen for twelve years and had run the federal government there for twenty-two years, lost their majority. Although they retained fifty of the 100 seats in the state government [Bürgerschaftssitze], remaining the strong-

est party, they lost 8.7 percent of the votes they won in 1963. One out of six SPD voters turned against the party this time.

In all four elections this year, the SPD has lost heavily, generally in the party strongholds. The CDU gained in all four elections, although only by 0.6 percent in Bremen.

In each instance, the reactionary, semifascist Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands [NPD -- National Democratic Party of Germany] made heavy gains, crossing the 5 percent hurdle. In Bremen, the NPD won 8.8 percent in comparison with 2.7 percent in 1963 even though the leadership had just staged a faction fight in public.

But also the Stalinist-influenced Deutsche Friedensunion [DFU -- German Peace Union], running an old Communist for office in Bremen who publicly pro-

claimed that he was still a Communist, got 4.2 percent of the vote, thus edging toward the 5 percent border line. This was accomplished despite unusual difficulties, the party being barred from television, radio, etc.

One thing at least seems clear -- people in West Germany, especially those who have traditionally voted the SPD ticket, don't want a one-party system; they insist on having an opposition party.

The SPD is starting to reap the fruits of its "grand" coalition, its responsibility for the rise in prices and reduction in wages in West Germany, its responsibility for the armaments budget, the preparation of "emergency" laws and the setting aside of democratic and union rights, its gambling on strengthening the party through government subsidies and

"majority elections" [Mehreitswahl], its support of nonrecognition of the German Democratic Republic and the Oder-Neisse border.

The voters are turning toward parties of both the right and the left even though they have nothing to offer, lacking as they do even a domestic political program. Another sign of the dissatisfaction is the growing abstention to be observed.

All indications point to the gains that a new revolutionary-socialist party could make in this situation.

If the current trend continues, it is clear that the CDU and the NPD will gain in the next general elections at the expense of the SPD.

#### BERTRAND RUSSELL APPEALS FOR CONTINUED SOLIDARITY WITH VIETNAM

[The following statement by Bertrand Russell was read at demonstrations in London October 21.]

\* \* \*

It is fitting that demonstrations take place today in many parts of the world. Those who demonstrate in Washington and in London, in Norway and in New Zealand, do so in order to confront a single foe, just as the guerrillas in South America and the partisans of Vietnam oppose the same cruel power. A worldwide pattern of aggression requires international resistance.

It is a hopeful sign that after more than two decades of American intervention in the affairs of small nations, humanity has begun to take note.

Whole peoples have been crippled by American power. The recent fascist coup in Greece struck a decayed nation, which had never recovered from the counterrevolution effected through the Truman Doctrine.

The murderous hand of the CIA has been ubiquitous. How efficiently it disposed of Mossadegh, Arbenz and Sukarno.

The motto of the American Marines is "Semper Paratus"; and they were ready to land in the Lebanon in 1958, in Santo Domingo in 1965, etc. America rarely hesitates to commit aggression against a people attempting to shape its own destiny.

Her power has seemed irresistible to most small peoples; but the heroes of Vietnam have destroyed this myth by their

endurance. Moreover, their struggle has awakened humanity. We should now recognize that, through unity, the peoples of the world can withstand and erode the might of the Pentagon.

Our duty in the West is to arouse massive opposition to America's wanton infliction of torment and suffering upon the population of Vietnam.

It is our indifference which has permitted American war crimes to reach unimaginable proportions. Napalm was not used for the first time in Vietnam. Civilian centres were incinerated at Hiroshima and Nagasaki long before we had heard of Hanoi and Haiphong. The term "escalation" applies not only to Vietnam; it is a worldwide campaign of terror and torture which has escalated and intensified for twenty years.

We were apathetic. We erected no serious barriers to stop aggression and to forestall genocide. We looked complacently to the United Nations and its Charter as the guardians of liberty and justice, without noticing that American domination had rendered such institutions hopelessly ineffective.

It has become necessary for private citizens to expose America's crimes and to judge them. This has been the task of the International War Crimes Tribunal, which provided massive evidence of the systematic destruction of civilian targets, including hospitals, schools and churches. In eight of North Vietnam's twelve provinces, our investigators verified this destruction. The world must be made to see this evidence. Humanity must be mobilised to stop this criminal policy

of extermination.

Our debt to Vietnam is enormous. How can we counterbalance the seventy million dollars which America spends every day to enact her crimes? We should not hesitate to proclaim our solidarity with the partisans of Vietnam. We must enlist millions of men and women to our cause. Each of us should accept this responsibility.

Today's activities are no more than a beginning. So long as a single bomb falls on Vietnam, we cannot be silent. So long as a single American soldier remains in Vietnam, our obligation remains. It is in this spirit that our work should continue around the world.

It is only by this dedication that we shall know success in the end.

#### DOWSON ANNOUNCES SUPPORT OF LAST-MINUTE NDP CANDIDATE

Nova Scotia

In a last-minute surprise move, the New Democratic party [NDP] announced October 23 that it would run Elwood Smith for the House of Commons from Colchester-Hants riding. Ross Dowson, candidate of the League for Socialist Action [LSA], who had filed formally only a few hours before, at once withdrew and asked all his supporters to work for the election of Elwood Smith.

The NDP leaders had made a deal with the Tories not to contest the new Progressive Conservative party leader, Robert Stanfield, in the by-election.

When the federal and Nova Scotia provincial leaders of the party upheld this back-room deal, the League for Socialist Action decided to run its executive secretary, Ross Dowson, against the Tory candidate in order to provide the voters with a real choice.

The LSA action attracted national attention in Canada and won favorable comment in many circles, but particularly among the members of the NDP, which constitutes the Canadian version of a labour party.

For instance, Ken Novakowski, president of the federal New Democratic Youth, wired Dowson October 13, "Since NDP's default, despite even your prodding, we endorse you critically as labour alternative to Stanfield." The wire was signed

by other leading Alberta NDYers.

On October 20, Chris Thurrott, federal vice-president of the NDY, and Kim Cameron, Nova Scotia representative on the NDY federal council, also endorsed the LSA campaign.

In a statement over radio station CKCL, Dowson expressed his satisfaction that the NDP had entered the contest, even if belatedly and in a somewhat shamefaced way.

He said that the LSA regretted that it had been compelled to go to such expense and effort but that it was proud that it had been of service in providing the Colchester-Hants electorate and the working people across the country with a confrontation between the new Tory leader and the NDP.

Dowson stated that he hoped that Smith would conduct a serious campaign on the major issues which he himself had brought up for consideration in the previous weeks of campaigning. He stressed in particular the advisability of a vigorous presentation of the official NDP position of opposing Canada's support of Washington's war on the Vietnamese people.

He also urged adoption of a policy aimed at converting the Dosco steel complex to public ownership. Dosco has threatened to close down its Sydney steel mill in Nova Scotia and toss 3,200 workers into the street.

#### CORRECTION

In Pierre Frank's article "On the Fiftieth Anniversary of the October Revolution" in the October 27 issue of World Outlook, there is an error in the sentence, "But these 'theses' say nothing about that particular aspect of the leadership of the party that Khrushchev revealed at the Twentieth Congress and that no one has controverted, that Stalin never

called a meeting of the Central Committee during the entire year." It should read: "But these 'theses' say nothing about that particular aspect of the leadership of the party that Khrushchev revealed at the Twentieth Congress and that no one has controverted, that Stalin never called a meeting of the Central Committee during the entire war."

PRESERVING THE GREAT MAN FOR POSTERITY

The White House Photographers Do Their Best for Art and History

In the 1968 U.S. Camera World Annual, Ollie Atkins, who, according to the editor, "knows more about White House photography than anyone else," poses a question of prime historical interest: "Why are no great photographs being made of Johnson?"

It is not because of any lack of trying. He is "the most photographed President of all time," being the first one to retain a personal staff photographer whose job is to photograph "everything he does." Moreover, Johnson himself is thoroughly aware of the importance of obtaining great photographs of himself and lots of them. "He gives me the impression," writes Atkins, "that he is purposely creating a niche for himself in history; that he wants unborn generations to read about him as one of the really great presidents. I have never seen anyone in political life who worried so much about looking good."

Yet Atkins can recall only two photographs which he would rate as even memorable. One was the picture Charles Gorry of Associated Press made of Johnson as he lifted up his pet beagle by the ears. "It was far from being artistic or truly great as a photograph but it will certainly be remembered." The other is the one called "old scarbelly" by the press corps, showing the President of the United States exhibiting the incision scar of his gall bladder operation. In Atkins' opinion this "is certainly not great photographically nor can I imagine that it is cherished by the President himself."

So why are no great photographs being made of Johnson? "Most photographers blame the restrictions imposed on them and the ban on candid pictures." Atkins does not disagree with this; in fact he thinks there is much truth in this view. However, he has reached a certain conclusion based on his years of experience in White House photography. "I would add to this that President Johnson just does not lend himself to great pictures."

That Johnson is "not a naturally photogenic personality" is not the chief difficulty. Photographers are unconcerned about the obvious absence of a "pretty boy" look. Despite the "well known human trait to desire a pleasant appearance," a "young smooth-skinned face" is least likely to register "intelligence, experience and decisiveness" -- the "truly manly qualities of leadership." Johnson ought, consequently, to have a certain advantage, so far as lenses, film, and the natural

interest of photographers in an at least moderately difficult subject is concerned. Still, nothing has been produced as yet comparable to such works of art as Franklin D. Roosevelt in an open touring car, cigarette holder poised at a jaunty angle; or the many snapshots of Eisenhower with his "rubber face" expression.

One of the troubles is that the "men in the photographic press corps have strong feelings about the President they cover." And unfortunately, among these men, Lyndon Baines Johnson is the "least liked of Presidents..." Aside from the inherent difficulty of getting an image suggesting that he might be an attractive, interesting, or at least presentable figure, Johnson has laid down a series of restrictions like nothing seen in the White House since before the days of candid photography.

"He thinks he photographs better from the left side of his face so all photographic situations are oriented to favor his left side. He will not permit photographs to be made while he is speaking...The explanation for this restriction on still cameras is that LBJ feels the cameramen will shoot pictures of him with his mouth open while he is scratching an ear or wiping the perspiration from his brow and these single shots will be used on the front pages to illustrate his pronouncements....No pictures from behind the President are permitted....There was a time when LBJ objected to pictures showing him wearing his glasses. During his campaigning for the Presidency he wore contact lenses but he never was comfortable with them and sometime after the election they suddenly disappeared and the regular glasses came back. Because he uses the glasses for reading -- reading speeches -- seldom are photographs even now made with the glasses as pictures are banned during the speeches."

These taboos, plus the bad lighting which Johnson imposes on the photographers, are extraordinarily frustrating. The corps of men covering the White House are not even allowed to try for such human interest shots as the great man chomping away at the dinner table. Worst of all, however, is the short advance notice to the working press that a "picture situation" is coming up.

Ollie Atkins offers a detailed description of "picture situations" at the White House that will no doubt long be referred to by historians and biographers when they set about the task of reconstructing for posterity the personality of the great man:

"Photographers must sit around the monotonous west lobby of the White House and be ready to grab their cameras and dash to the President's office on the call 'Photographers' which breaks the waiting-room silence with a statical yell over the intercom from the press office.

"When the call does come through there is a mad rush to grab cameras and dash across the lobby into a hallway in front of the press offices which leads to another hallway in front of the cabinet room then on further, to the right, to the President's office."

Ollie Atkins notes that one might assume all this "would appear to be quite natural and maybe orderly." Whoever assumes that is simply ignorant of procedures in the White House. At the end of the first hallway, passage to the forty or so photographers is barred by an electrically locking door. Whoever gets there first has priority in going through when it is unlocked. But the crowd of men may have to wait an hour before the door is opened. If they succeed in maintaining their positions during this wait, and if, after they get through, they are sufficiently limber-legged to still maintain their positions while speeding down the next hall, turning to the right, and arriving at Johnson's office, they will have a good chance to maintain their priority when the door to that office is opened. Thus, as Atkins puts it, "There is a smashing sprint in both halls." Between the hurdles, record time is made by the pack of competing photographers.

"Now at the door entering into the President's office the group of photographers is jammed. If one responds to a temptation to check a lens setting or brush lint off his shoulder he has probably yielded his position to a buddy photographer who was leaning on that elbow and he finds himself back one more in the crowd."

Here the vigil may last as long as ten minutes.

"Tension within the ranks grows as the time passes at the President's door. It is always opened from the inside and it is always a surprise. When the first line of light appears in the cracked doorway the crowd surges forward..." By common agreement, the man with the lights is pushed through first. But then "it is every man for himself and often when one's body happens to have the right angle he can slip in ahead of another fellow who by all ordinary rules of queues and traffic snarls should have gotten in ahead of you."

These are the preliminaries. The camera artists have finally made it into that holy of holies, Johnson's office.

"But another decision must be made immediately so each cranes his neck to see where the President is in his office. There are three possibilities and each one demands a different strategy.

"The worst possible situation is to have LBJ in the rocking chair."

In the scenario for this picture situation, the great man is seated, calm and relaxed, in his rocking chair before the fireplace, a homey picture of the American Way of Life. No rush; no bustle; no excitement; just plain folks taking things easy. He rocks away for the benefit of the photographers.

Unfortunately for them, there is only one spot in the office providing a suitable camera angle. There is room for only two cameramen in that spot. Still worse, the spot is behind the office door that has just been swung open. To get into position, it is necessary to shut the door. A situation calling for instant response! And there is an instant response.

The lucky two in front being propelled into Johnson's presence by the throng behind them "dash to the edge of the open door" and, getting behind it, "force it closed on the rest of the fellows coming into the office."

Atkins comments: "I have often wondered what the reaction of foreign visitors in the President's office is when this mad scramble takes place. The reason I do not know is that I'm too busy trying to get into the prime spot myself."

The rocking chair scene is the one repeated most often. Next in popularity is the "center of the room pose."

The problem for the photographers with this one is that none of them know in advance where the center will be "Actually, it is wherever the President decides to stand. So the front line of photographers moves back and forth about six feet in front of wherever the President decides to be standing."

Johnson next bids the key dignitaries and notables visiting him to step up to his side and asks the lesser ones to make like a surrounding crowd. "While he is organizing this the photographers engage in a shouting session with themselves in a vain effort to have the front line of their own ranks move back a bit so more of them can get the shot."

Finally there is the "desk shot." This always comes as a complete surprise, "for the President is seldom at his desk when the photographers enter the room." Everyone figures it will be a "center of the room" shot and begins calculating who will probably be selected among the dis-

tinguished visitors to stand beside Johnson and how he can cut down the group picture to the smallest possible number after he gets Johnson focused in the viewfinder of his camera.

"Suddenly as the President heads for his desk we break ranks and it is every man for himself again in a tight circle around the President's desk. The circle is so tight that seldom does the desk itself show in the picture."

The final restriction imposed by Johnson on the press photographers may be a blessing in disguise. They are generally not given time to waste film or to make up for any possible errors. "Sometimes these picture sessions are very brief -- ten seconds is the shortest I have ever clocked. Nearly all the still photographers now have motor drives on their cameras so many exposures can be made when the picture looks good and when we figure the time will be very limited. I have listened a few times when all the still and movie cameras were clicking away and it is astonishing how much noise the combination of cameras makes."

With all this motor-driven equipment, it does happen occasionally that the sessions are too long. So the men stop clicking their cameras, waiting for a new situation. "The press aide keeps a sharp eye on us though and when he feels we have had sufficient time, or more importantly, when the President is impatient, he says 'lights' in a loud voice. Immediately, Cleve clicks off the lights and we stop shooting.

"We turn to leave the office with some hesitation, though, for there is always the vain hope the President will present a new picture situation. It never happens and we slowly file out of the President's office and another scene of our President in action is on film."

In view of the handicaps, what are the perspectives for a great picture of Johnson? Ollie Atkins is pessimistic on this. It's not a question of personal attitude among the photographers but of working conditions. Whether the photographers or the entire press corps "love and admire the President personally will have little weight as his historical merit is judged by scholars of the future. However," says Atkins in conclusion, "unless the picture changes after the time of this writing there will be no truly great photographs of President Johnson to illustrate his place in history."

History, it seems, will have to make do with the picture situations already cooked up by Johnson. But -- who knows? -- perhaps the unborn generations will take a different view than Atkins and conclude that the President of the United States made even wiser decisions in this than in certain other fields. In choosing how best to reveal the inner man, the consensus of history may be that Johnson's intuition came close to infallibility. What could express better the spirit of his term and the greatness he achieved than the photographs of "old dog-lover" showing off his pet beagle or "old scabbelly" showing off his stitches?

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