

IT WASN'T 'ONLY RED PAINT'



IT WAS BLOOD. Scotland Yard, to smear antiwar march, claimed it was paint. Now they admit it was blood. See page 1,066.

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SCOTLAND YARD ADMITS IT REALLY WAS BLOOD

The massive demonstration of 100,000 persons against the Vietnam war held in London October 27 was preceded by a two-month campaign initiated by the London Times and Scotland Yard to "prove" that the whole thing was a "plot" to provoke violence and precipitate an English version of the French May revolt.

The march was far larger than the press had predicted. It was also peaceful, as its organizers had predicted in denouncing the witch-hunting engaged in by the press and prominent figures of the Wilson government. A small group did seek to create some incidents, and the press sought to play these up big.

One picture of a policeman being kicked in the head by a young man appeared on the front pages of several newspapers that did not bother to print any pictures of the mass march.

The other famous picture of October 27 is the one reproduced on our cover this week. It was released by Press Association Photos the day of the demonstration. The original caption described the man as a casualty "with blood streaming down his face." But this would contradict the carefully tailored image promoted by the Wilson government of "terrorists" whose riotous schemes were foiled by the good-humored restraint of the London police.

In order to undercut the impact of the embarrassing photograph, Scotland Yard coolly released a story to the press that the man had covered himself with red paint to provoke a riot. This was picked up and given wide publicity by the London papers.

The Sun, for example, which was far from the worst in its predemonstration coverage, ran the picture on its front page October 28 under the headline: "It's Only Red Paint." The accompanying story read:

"The incident shown below was not violent at all, despite appearances. But it was more sinister.

"It is unfortunate but true that people do lose their tempers in crowds. But this was a calculated attempt to stir up trouble. The man splashed red paint on his face and tried to suggest that police had beaten him up.

"They escorted him out of the square, and let him go. He is not being charged.

"The police came out of the incident with great credit. The man, whoever he is, did not. It was an ugly smear, but it failed."

The next day the man in the picture walked into the office of the Sun and showed them the cuts on his face and head where he had been clubbed by the police.

But the master sleuths at Scotland Yard said nothing. They had succeeded in turning a beating by the police into a "provocation" by an antiwar demonstrator, and were determined to let the lie percolate as long as possible.

On November 13 Scotland Yard officials announced with straight faces that they had carried out an investigation and discovered that the story, after all, was a hoax. It really was blood.

FIRING SQUADS CONTINUE TO OPERATE IN IRAN

Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi has instituted a new series of jailings and executions aimed at terrorizing the student movement in Iran. The Committee for the Defense of Iranian Political Prisoners, headed by Jean-Paul Sartre, issued a statement that appeared in the November 10-11 Paris daily Le Monde reporting news from Teheran of "numerous tortures, summary executions, sentences of prison and of death meted out to professors, students, and other Iranian citizens."

Forty people were arrested for alleged political activities and sentenced to long terms in prison by military tribunals. Some were sentenced to life in prison. Eight were sentenced to death:

Hassan Zarifi, Bijan Jazani, Abbas Sorki, Majeed Ashad, Zarar Zahedian, Mohammad Chupanzadeh, Mashouf Kalantari, and Kia Nejad. A petition circulated on their behalf at a student conference at Columbia University in New York November 7-9, before the sentence was handed down, said the majority are former members of the Confederation of Iranian Students.

The defense committee statement continued:

"In another connection, students and members of Muslim religious orders have been arrested for having distributed leaflets hostile to the government. They have been savagely tortured by the mem-

bers of the Savak (Iranian secret police), and have spent long months in prison before their trials were held in the greatest secrecy. According to another report, 150 students were arrested for protesting, along with their professors, the outrageous entry of local universities by the police."

The office of the Confederation of Iranian Students in Frankfurt announced November 15 that seventeen students and teachers at the University of Teheran would soon be tried before a military tribunal in the Iranian capital. The news has been kept secret by the Iranian authorities, according to the communiqué, but it is known that the trial will soon be held in secret session and that eight of the accused face possible death sentences.

The Confederation of Iranian Students pointed out that under articles 10, 76, and 79 of the Iranian constitution all political trials must be public, in a civil court, with the right of trial by jury.

The seventeen prisoners have been held in secret for six months. Some, the communiqué said, have been subjected to "inhuman tortures," lasting on some occasions for as much as sixty consecutive hours. Even the members of the prisoners'

families remain ignorant of the charges that will be placed against the accused.

The Shah's regime has intensified the repression against all political opponents in recent months, especially the students, but has gone to great pains to avoid any publicity. A similar series of trials in 1965 provoked a worldwide reaction which the Shah does not wish to repeat.

Nevertheless, the Confederation of Iranian Students testified that dozens of people have been sent to the firing squad since the beginning of 1966. They pointed to a small announcement in the Teheran press September 22 that a number of people were arrested in Iranian Kurdistan, tried by military tribunals, and shot. They cited six peasants who died thus: Abdolmajid Aminizadeh, executed at Saghez; Hassan Ahmadi, killed at Mahabad; and Ali Jouroch, Ghader Chal, Hossein Chal Kouk, and Soltan, all shot at Khaneh.

In launching an appeal for international solidarity, the Confederation of Iranian Students made public a list of 123 students of the universities of Teheran, Mechhed, and Chiraz, who have been expelled from their schools and drafted into the army for "disciplinary military service."

INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN SAVES LIFE OF PANAGHOULIS

Under the pressure of a worldwide clemency campaign, the colonels running Greece announced November 21 that they had suspended the death sentence against Alexandros Panagoulis, who attempted to assassinate the junta's chief figure, George Papadopoulos on August 13. He had been sentenced November 18 to death before a firing squad.

Among the prominent figures who appealed for Panagoulis' life were Pope Paul; UN secretary general U Thant; André Malraux, the French minister of culture; Irene White, chairman of the British Labour party; and Giovanni Leone, chairman of the Italian Council of Ministers.

Demonstrations were staged in various cities in Great Britain, France, West Germany, Belgium, and the Netherlands. In addition, there were strong demonstrations in a number of cities in Italy, accompanied by a nationwide five-minute work stoppage by the trade unions.

The campaign to save the opponent of the dictatorial regime, which mounted sharply in the last few days when it seemed likely that he would be shot at any moment, was spurred by gross irregularities in his trial and sentencing.

His trial was preceded by a noisy government campaign to expand the attempted assassination into a vast plot against the state. Despite repeated statements by Panagoulis that he acted alone, a wide range of personalities, including a prominent Cypriot political figure, were accused of being implicated. In an attempt to substantiate these charges, fifteen persons were indicted on charges of having conspired with Panagoulis, of whom seven were sentenced to prison terms, four were given suspended sentences, and four acquitted.

On the first day of his trial, Panagoulis was sentenced to two years in prison for telling the prosecutor, "You lie. The indictment is full of lies, and I never signed the deposition you attribute to me."

Panagoulis told the court that he had been brutally tortured by the police, who had kept him in handcuffs for twenty-four days, beat him, stomped on one of his hands, and cut a tendon.

The violations of legal norms at this trial were summed up by Denis Langlois, an observer sent by the Fédération Internationale des Droits de l'Homme [In-

ternational Human Rights Federation] in the November 15 issue of Le Monde:

(1) Most of the seats in the courtroom were occupied by policemen to prevent the trial from being really public in character. Only one relative of each of the defendants was permitted to attend the sessions.

(2) The defendants' lawyers, almost all politically right wing and in some cases court-appointed, were called together by the police several times and threatened after they denounced the conditions under which the trial was proceeding.

(3) The charges were based on con-

fessions extorted from the defendants by torture and on testimony of policemen who, on the pretext of professional secrecy, refused to give any evidence for their allegations.

(4) The principal defendant, Alexandros Panaghoulis, was prevented from presenting his defense under proper conditions.

Panaghoulis conducted himself in the most courageous way. He took full responsibility for his attempt to assassinate Papadopoulos, using his trial as a forum to denounce the dictatorship. He quickly became a symbol of the struggle against the police state in Greece.

10,000 MEXICAN STUDENTS STAGE OFF-CAMPUS RALLY

Ten thousand Mexican students massed in front of the Polytechnic Institute in Mexico City on November 18 for their first off-campus demonstration since the massacre of the Plaza de las Tres Culturas on October 2. The purpose of the demonstration was to protest the murder of a nineteen-year-old medical student gunned down by a policeman while writing antigovernment slogans on a wall in the Mexican capital.

The thousands of students gathered in front of the Polytechnic Institute voted to expand their protest into a mass demonstration in the center of Mexico City on the following weekend.

The government has made some conciliatory moves. While those guilty of the mass murder of the Plaza de las Tres Culturas continue to enjoy impunity, at least the policeman responsible for this latest killing of a student has been remanded to trial.

However, the witch-hunt against all opponents of the Díaz Ordaz regime appeared to be continuing. Arrested November 21 was the writer José Revueltas Sánchez, an avowed antagonist of the present government. He was charged with incitement to rebellion, murder, conspiracy, sedition, and concealment and theft of weapons.

3,000 LISBON STUDENTS IN DEMONSTRATION

Three thousand University of Lisbon students demonstrated November 21 outside the half-empty hall where Portuguese government and university officials, along with their foreign diplomatic guests, were celebrating the opening of the academic year.

The Association of Lisbon Students had decided to boycott these ceremonies the previous day when one of their representatives was banned from speaking.

The order was handed down by the

rector of the university, Professor José Sarmiento, and the minister of education, José Armando Saraiva, both of whom declared that the university was becoming a "center of latent agitation."

During the demonstration outside the much reduced official festivities, several students spoke to the crowd, proclaiming their university "free, democratic, critical, and open to the entire country." Among the slogans demonstrators carried were "A University for the Nation," "We Don't Want a Divided University."

STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS BANNED IN LEBANON

On November 15, after violent student demonstrations in Tripoli and Beirut the previous day, the Lebanese Council of Ministers banned all further demonstrations and declared that the ban would be

enforced with the aid of the army. Half of the schools in Beirut were reported on strike. The cause of the disorders was said to be a conflict between right-wing and left-wing student groups.

CZECHOSLOVAK STUDENTS APPEAL FOR INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

[The following is the full text of an appeal issued by the representatives of the Czechoslovak students on the eve of the massive sit-in strikes in defense of socialist democracy November 17-21. More than 100,000 students participated in the strikes called by the November 17 Action Committee.]

[The most significant aspect of the struggle was the widespread support it received from the working class. Hundreds of thousands of crowns were raised for the student strike fund in factory collections (7.2 crowns = US\$1). Dairy workers contributed hundreds of bottles of milk, hospitals donated soup, bakery workers delivered free bread to the high schools and universities. Michel Tatu reported in the November 22 issue of the Paris daily Le Monde that Prague railway workers threatened to go out on strike if the government moved against the students. The government and the party Presidium issued a statement November 20 urging workers not to support the student strike, but the request seemed to have little effect and the government refrained from using police against the student strikers.]

[The Czech students sent a copy of their appeal to the left-Communist paper Rouge published in Paris. The translation is by Intercontinental Press.]

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To the German, Austrian, Rumanian, Yugoslav, French, and English students.

Dear Comrades:

In the tragic situation created by the treacherous military intervention of the five Warsaw Pact countries in Czechoslovakia, which is becoming ever more grievous for our people, we call on you to demonstrate your solidarity with the Czechoslovak student movement.

We do not want to exaggerate the role of students in our political struggle. We firmly believe that only the Czechoslovak people, led by the workers and supported by the international workers and revolutionary movement, can free itself from the yoke that oppresses it. But we are also convinced that students, in close alliance with the workers, have not only the right but the duty to struggle against the pernicious effects of the policy of concessions practiced by our present leaders.

Against the continual interference of the Soviet leaders in the internal affairs of our people, we are organizing nonviolent forms of political struggle --

mass meetings in the university, street demonstrations, general assemblies of students, student strikes, sit-ins, etc. We are organizing this struggle against the measures which remove the last traces of freedom of speech and assembly from our political life.

We are organizing this struggle against the activation of the quasi-fascist elements which have developed in the Communist party and are being tolerated by it, elements which, in the closest collaboration with the military and civilian representatives of the Soviet power elite, are calling for the massacre of the authentically socialist progressive forces, crushing the people by terror.

And lastly we are organizing this struggle to combat the disillusionment of our people and the partial resignation deriving from it. We see this struggle as a struggle for freedom of political thought for students and as a struggle for worker-student unity.

The students in Prague and the other cities have already planned their assemblies and mass meetings (often to be accompanied by student strikes or sit-ins). They have also elected representatives to the action committees which are considering a general strike of Czechoslovak students (the problems of when to begin the strike and what duration is to be set for it are now under discussion).

The students in these cities have formed their action committees (like ours, for example, which represents the schools of higher education in Prague). They have established contact with the workers in several plants in Prague. They have coordinated the student movement throughout the republic, including Slovakia.

Next Sunday, November 17, we will celebrate International Student Day. This is the anniversary of the tragic death of the Prague student Jan Opletal, who died in the struggle against the Nazi invaders twenty-nine years ago. But today this is also an occasion to remember those who died in the revolutionary upsurge following August 20.

We call on you, dear comrades, to demonstrate your solidarity with the Czechoslovak people and their struggle for socialism, with the Czechoslovak students, and with all of the youth of our country. We believe International Student Day offers you an opportune date to do so.

Fraternally,

The November 17 Action Committee
Prague

ULBRICHT FREES STUDENTS WHO PROTESTED CZECH INVASION

Six East German youths who were sentenced to terms of up to twenty-seven months in prison in October have reportedly been freed on probation. The German Democratic Republic's news agency claimed November 14 that the six "regretted their crimes."

There were worldwide protests when the youths were jailed for the "crime" of distributing leaflets in East Berlin and other East German cities bearing the slogan "Long Live Czechoslovakia!" Reports at the time said more than 100 young people were being held, and it is not known whether or not they have been released.

Seven were known to have been tried and sentenced, including children of high-ranking Communist party officials.

The six who have been given probation are:

Frank Havemann, 19, son of Professor Robert Havemann, the physicist who was expelled from the CP four years ago for criticizing the Ulbricht regime; Thomas Brasch, son of the country's deputy minister of cultural affairs; Rosita Hunziger, 18, daughter of a sculptress; Sandra Weigl, the niece of Bertolt Brecht; Erika-Dorothea Berthold, daughter of Professor Lothar Berthold, director of the Institute for Marxism-Leninism of East Berlin; and Hans-Juergen Uzkoreit.

There was no mention of the seventh prisoner, Florian Havemann, Frank's 16-year-old brother, who, as a minor, was sentenced to be sent to a disciplinary school.

MEXICAN CP REAFFIRMS OPPOSITION TO CZECH INVASION

Mexico City

At ceremonies held November 10 to commemorate the Russian revolution, the PCM [Partido Comunista Mexicano -- Mexican Communist party] and the Juventud Comunista Mexicana [Mexican Communist Youth] reaffirmed their differences with the Communist party of the Soviet Union over the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The position taken by Arnaldo Martínez Verdugo, the secretary of the PCM, at the time of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in August was ratified in a public declaration at the meeting.

As in other Communist parties, this position was opposed by the ultra-Stalinist wing.

In September, Jardón Arzate of the PCM's organ Voz de México, together with Raquel Tibol and other like-minded Stalinists, published a statement in several daily Mexico City papers justifying the Soviet action and calling the comparison between the Soviet bureaucracy's invasion of Czechoslovakia and U.S. imperialism's intervention in Vietnam demagogic. Thus this wing openly expressed its difference with the official policy adopted by the Central Committee of the PCM.

However, the expression of independence by the PCM, which has traditionally responded in the most servile way to the Soviet bureaucracy, was not very clear. Its defense of its position was very strange, centering on the "credit" or "discredit" the invasion entailed for the Communist movement. It had nothing in common with the revolutionary Marxist position of unconditional defense of the right of nations to self-determination.

Nonetheless, the mere fact that the PCM broke with its old habit of complete servility toward the Soviet bureaucracy is significant. What it reflects is the concern of the PCM leaders over their image in relation to the student movement.

On August 27, six days after the Soviet invasion, the students staged their largest demonstration to date in Mexico City with more than 500,000 persons participating. The front line of the march bore a great banner with the slogan: "The Students of Mexico Demand the Withdrawal of Yankee Troops from Vietnam and Soviet Troops from Czechoslovakia."

The PCM could not oppose such sentiments without risking still greater isolation from the revolutionary forces.

NEW PROBLEM IN GOLF

The London Evening News recently carried the following intriguing item on a happening in golf: "Members of the

Folkestone Sports Centre Golf Club are worried about the theft of red marker flags at the various holes."

RALPH SCHOENMAN REPORTS ON VISIT TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA

[The following excerpts are from a report given by Ralph Schoenman, general secretary of the International War Crimes Tribunal, to the Militant Labor Forum in New York November 15, after a fact-finding visit to Czechoslovakia. Schoenman spent a week in the occupied country. The text has been transcribed from a tape recording and has not been edited by the speaker.]

* * *

It has to be borne in mind that for fifteen years in Czechoslovakia there has been the most massive secret police repression; the bureaucratization of every facet of life, thought, social existence, national planning, politics. Everything that concerned the life of the people was subject to this considerable repression. The club of ex-political prisoners who have been rehabilitated numbers 80,000. Tens of thousands died of injuries through imprisonment, and tens of additional thousands were executed.

The effects of this repression cannot be calculated solely in terms of the number of victims, because these victims include not only real political opponents but loyal Communists....

Now, in the first stages of opposition to this, the opposition centered in economists, writers and philosophers who began to reflect the tremendous disaffection in the mass. Despite the fact that the mass of people in Czechoslovakia were, without dispute, passive and demoralized, even cynical and apolitical, as de-Stalinization began to develop in other countries of Eastern Europe, the intelligentsia began to press in various ways.

The second center of opposition to the Novotny bureaucracy was in the Central Committee amongst what could be called apparatusniks, who I think could be best said to correspond to Social Democrats in a capitalist country. They wanted to find some way of reducing the tension between the mass of the people and the bureaucracy itself. They wanted to reform the bureaucracy in a certain mild manner, so as to give it a greater resilience, a greater rationality, and a greater capacity to rule. Both groups were very cautious about popular participation, at first.

But the intellectuals and writers saw that the logic of their position led them to seek some kind of popular base, because for their efforts at rationalization they found no way out but to deepen a struggle for democratization in the party itself. Some of these writers would not have gone beyond demands for liberalization in the sense of greater intellec-



RALPH SCHOENMAN

tual freedom, but many were moving beyond this -- moving and groping towards a structural theory of bureaucracy, a means through which they could turn to the workers....

The bureaucracy thought it could contain, maneuver, the reformists in their midst. But the bureaucracy knew perfectly well that a mass political life was something that they could not contain. And the Fourteenth Congress of the Czech party [scheduled to be held September 9] was something for which the intellectuals and writers, who had established links with the workers, had prepared with care. They regarded that Fourteenth Congress as the last battle in a very complex and drawn-out struggle.

It's interesting to note the energy that was shown by the workers once the Russians and the other Stalinist countries began to apply pressure on the Czechs. Workers spontaneously offered to work for nothing on Saturdays and Sundays to contribute to a national fund. This sprung up in every major center throughout Czechoslovakia. Tens of thousands of people who were formerly cynical seekers after commodities, be-

gan to offer gold and money from small hoardings to help the national economy. It became a virtual movement....

The liberation that Czech workers experienced, that the mass of the Czech population experienced, with the thought that their socialism, their Communism, could be subject to their own control, was astonishing.

I want to read you some notes that I made in discussion with some of the people who were most intimately involved in the Czech democratization, amongst them one of the convokers of the Fourteenth Congress. I won't mention names, and I will compound, in fact, the views of several people into one, but I think it gives a very vivid sense of their view of the situation: their assessment today of their own mistakes, and their feeling of what prospects lie before them.

"Dubček is a very weak man. Cernik is a very devious one. These are people who were thrown up by circumstances, but they are not good leaders or political forces. They refused to remove the bureaucratic ministries. They really agreed to all the Russian demands. They have refused the workers presence on councils. They refuse the workers direction. They are still sending consumer goods to the Soviet Union. They are still churning out machine goods.

"They speak of the economic reform and democratization, but that is just for popular consumption. They have capitulated. They've given way on the grounds of structure."

"The Russians have been clever. They've pushed out writers, intellectuals, people who had resisted them. Svoboda says, 'The Russians will get you! And I can't do very much about it.' And in fact they are not very unhappy to have writers, worker militants, intellectuals, flee the country.

"The basic Soviet aim was to destroy the Committee of Prague."

The Committee of Prague was not a formally constituted group. The Committee of Prague was a coalescence of a variety of people who felt that they were engaged in what they call a revolutionary struggle in Czechoslovakia. They describe what they were after:

"The Committee of Prague had leading workers and intellectuals. Cernik and Svoboda, Dubček and Husak, were especially anxious to see them go, because they were the nerve and the kernel of resistance to the bureaucrats. The left is really the target. The Russians are not so unhappy about this leadership.

"People will resist for a long time, but at the moment they lack leaders who understand a concrete program. Spaček is very good, but he won't last."

Spaček is a member of the Central Committee.

"Spaček was supposed to be the first secretary of the Czech party, but the Russians aim at his elimination. They refused to let him go to Moscow on the Moscow mission (not the diktat of Moscow, but a more recent one). They want him out. They want him back in Brno.

"Dubček, Cernik, Husak, Svoboda, Smrkovský -- they're all apparatchniks. Smrkovský is a little better, but he has no ideas of his own and is dependent on a brain trust of reformers and intellectuals, writers, on whom he drew very heavily. These writers, these economists, these worker militants had organized the Fourteenth Congress of the party, and many of them have had to leave.

"The Russians understood this and they are getting rid of the actual leadership of the party, the builders of the real democratization and of the new society. There is no possibility now to write. Workers lack leaders.

"This was why the censorship of the press was so crucial for us, because the people lack information, and when we'd done in the censorship of the press we could communicate, we could mobilize.

"Cernik and Svoboda and Dubček essentially are happy. Cernik and Husak fought us from the start. They fought the workers councils. They fought against the removal of ministries. Husak is against the freedom of the press. Husak was in jail for eight years and hates Novotny, but no more than that. He has no sense of the people; he remains a sectarian bureaucrat.

"These men will only speak of democratization, but they will never oppose the Russians. They are satisfied with these conditions. Dubček is an honest man and is a little less like his colleagues, but he lacks all theoretical grasp. He comes from the apparatus; he is a man of it, lacks ideas and cannot and will not fight for a new society. He opposes the Russians as foreigners, but he can bring no new ideas.

"The whole development since April was a battle of ideas struggling for expression: an enormous pressure from below. The Russians feared the Fourteenth Congress above all. We had well prepared the Fourteenth Congress, new voices, workers. We would have had the best people in our party."

He specifies some names.

"Our group was not organized, but we were fighting as emerging individuals throughout the country. It's the result of a profound and long struggle in the party against Novotny and his methods. These are people who have thought deeply, who have been groping, who not only want the removal of leaders of the party, but who want new methods, new framework, new ideas, new theory, new structure.

"We had to and wanted to win the people to these ideas through the freedom of the press, through the freedom of speech. The men of the apparatus feared us. They opposed men only: Novotny. Dubček, Cernik, Svoboda, were and are and will remain men of the apparatus. They did not want what we wanted.

"We had fought the apparatchniks so hard that we finally came to the point that we were bold enough to bring our case explicitly to the people, to the workers in factory after factory. This evoked an enormous explosion of popular energy.

"Dubček, who is sensitive to popular pressure, was pushed and responded. Bilak and Indra were terrified. Actually they are the same as Dubček in origin and function, but Dubček is capable of moving with pressure, with popular mood. But he feared it and did not grasp its direction.

"We had a vision of a new socialism, with people involved. They feared this. The people were responding fantastically. Dubček always moved only from pressure. He had to be dragged every step. The leaders of the writers were constantly pressing him and he was resisting.

"Any move was the result of the work, the struggle, of a nascent group of revolutionaries. If there were any antisocialist clubs, there was no popular response to them. Communist writers, Communist workers and journalists at the heart of the people led them and enthused them.

"Yes, in March or April there could have been some danger for the party. By June it was the party which had the people. In July the party had such mass support, it was fantastic. By August we had such backing and such enthusiasm that the Fourteenth Congress would have represented for us a new stage, a qualitative departure, a profound transformation, a danger to all the conservatives and the apparatchniks. This is why the invasion happened. The people had confidence. They began to trust. They began to show enthusiasm.

"Never has a Communist party had such support as in those days! Never did the ideas of socialism have such hope and

passion and fervor, tears of joy and support as in those days! When was the last time a Communist party held a congress by dressing as workers and hiding from occupiers in a factory protected by the workers? The last time that happened was the last time a Communist party behaved like a workers party! The only danger was not for socialism but for the bureaucratic apparatus in East Germany, Hungary and Poland.

"Our struggle goes back to 1958, when some of us were elected to the Central Committee. We had a very long preparation and discussion. We fought at the Eleventh Party Congress. They had a majority everywhere in the Central Committee for Novotny. We fought for each man. It was impossible to say a word openly against Novotny. Two friends who opposed Novotny on a small issue disappeared. We had to be cautious, have extraordinary patience, go step by step.

"By the Twelfth Party Congress we had some good workers on the Central Committee. By 1962 we improved the staff in the Central Committee and could introduce new ideas on economic reform as a beginning. Novotny did not understand the implications. At first he favored our economic reforms mildly because of the mess. He did not grasp our political cause or its implications. It was a battle.

"By 1966 we had many. Novotny began to make one mistake after another. In 1967, August, he tried to crush the writers. In October at a meeting of the Central Committee he condemned the Slovaks as such. Then the student battles: Novotny tried to crush them. So step by step we prepared for December, for a majority in the Central Committee of people who, for different reasons, had opposed the rule of Novotny. We had prepared for ten years....

"1958 taught us that we could never implement our ideas with the old administrative plan and bureaucracy. This bureaucracy suppressed all initiative. In the 1961-62 economic stagnation and crisis we saw it was impossible to get consequential change with the old methods. We had to abolish them. We were compelled to new ideas of planning. And this is the most important of our proposals: a new method of macroeconomic planning.

"We had to link this with reordering of society, because without abolishing the policy of the old bureaucracy, without challenging their power and their methods, it was impossible to make any economic advance or to implement in any serious way, the reforms.

"So to abolish economic central planning, we began to turn to the market between state industries. This led old

theorists to say that we were seeking a return to capitalism. We say no. We do not go away from socialist ownership, we insist on it. They have more private ownership in the Soviet Union than we do. We on the contrary want all social ownership, but we want workers councils. They could not stand this. They could not stand the idea of it.

"This would break the power of the bureaucracy. They do not plan for people. They plan for themselves, for their bureaucratic goals. They favor only heavy industry, heavy metallurgy. We wanted consumers, we wanted people against bureaucracy and its goals. And then bureaucracy began to feel our threat.

"We had to join our plan to a popular role. When the bureaucracy would lose its planning power, when the market would reflect consumer and popular demands, the basis for the existence of the bureaucracy would disappear. We knew we needed a political life to correspond. What counted was that we were not a group of intellectuals, we were close to workers. They constantly told us they wanted political change. We were in touch in every factory in the country....

"Novotny began then to understand that this alliance with the workers in the factories and our opposition to the bureaucracy was fatal to him. But he was helpless to stop us because we had a base in the working class.

"In Hungary they had such economic reforms, but only from the top; they had no support from the workers. This is why we were a revolutionary movement. We started with economic ideas, but then we found we needed a political challenge and we had to carry this to the workers. We had a revolution. Dubcek had force because we had established links with the mass. They had given up all hope that it was possible to live another way. We told them there was a socialism without repression and bureaucratic power and privilege. And they began to believe -- with what energy! -- that we were a revolutionary movement....

"When we prepared the Fourteenth Congress we campaigned openly among the workers. We may have been mistaken. We had to rally the people. We were in our last and greatest battle. We wanted the Fourteenth Congress to bring this to permanent fruition.

"But we underestimated the force of the bureaucracy. We underestimated its ties outside the country. We underestimated the threat we represented to them outside the country. They are like a class in their consciousness of their interests.

"We only need in this country a

small central planning council and workers councils. We do not need the apparatus. We do not need that centralized bureaucracy....

"A bureaucrat is a man with interests against the people. He can rule only behind closed doors. He can make policy in secret. We analyzed their every act, not only their words, but their acts.

"Preobrazhensky, Trotsky, and Djilas were available as a general critique, but we needed new concrete mechanisms.

"Lenin died before he worked out his ideas on socialist democracy. We had to work ours out in struggle. Marxism tends to concentrate on the past and develops a critique of capitalism. The last works of Lenin have some new moments, but only a few. Stalin's model killed off all ideas of socialism without bureaucracy. We had to find day-to-day answers. Stalin did not want a theoretical development, no less Novotny.

"We had to fight very hard to find a language that a few of us could understand and to translate it in such a concealed form as to survive.

"Our greatest advantage over Yugoslavia is that they're too empirical. They lack theory. We tried to prepare a theoretical basis...."

The remainder of the notes are about their personal plans.

I think you can see the element of groping, the element of confusion, but also the fact that these are revolutionaries. These are people who were committed to struggle, and they remain so. They remain in Czechoslovakia, and they are in contact now with the workers in the factories as they were before the invasion.

Daily, systematically, these writers and intellectuals, many of them workers, are going back to the factories and arguing with the workers, talking with them. Universally they say that the workers themselves are more militant than they. That is to say, the workers have no patience for waiting. They make excuses for Dubček; they say, "Well, he's sick, they treated him badly," but they are very clear that he has capitulated. In the matter of structure, they understand that Dubček and his group have accepted all the essential Soviet demands. And the workers, I heard this from several sources, in Prague, in Bratislava, Pilsen, the two things that the workers stress are, one, they want councils, workers councils, and they want an openly mandated party congress.

And they press the writers, "Let's organize, let's meet, let's have a street

meeting to discuss this. Let's formulate demands and ask the leadership to implement them." Repeatedly. The tendency is for the writers to hesitate. The tendency is for the writers to seek to keep the links they had with the workers, but to fall short of organizing a political struggle.

The students, on the other hand, are very spontaneous. It's not merely the big demonstrations, it's not merely the march, but wherever there's a public monument some group is gathered, either reading poetry, arguing, discussing the ways in which they can struggle or resist the

occupation....

So the main impression I want to convey is one of an extraordinary explosion of popular energy, an extraordinary hope that had been generated by the expectation that it was possible to have Communism, it was possible to have socialism and workers democracy.

The Soviet invasion has only riveted the working class and the intelligentsia together in a way that has not been seen in that country, certainly in the twenty years of what goes by the name of Communist rule....

ERNEST MANDEL ON "NEOCAPITALISM"

"Neocapitalism" has been pictured by bourgeois ideologists as a greatly improved edition of capitalism, a virtually new product in which the old flaws that periodically led to disastrous depressions have been completely eliminated.

The Marxist economist Ernest Mandel takes a different view, maintaining that so-called "neocapitalism" has not been able to remove any of the deep contradictions of the system. He presented his analysis of neocapitalism at the Socialist Scholars Conference held at Rutgers University last September. It was considered to be one of the highlights of the gathering.

The full text of his paper, "Workers Under Neocapitalism," has now been published in the November-December issue of the International Socialist Review.*

Today's capitalism has been modified by heavy intervention of the state in regulating the economy: deficit financing, pump-priming, wage controls, government subsidies of big business, etc., Mandel explains.

Nevertheless, despite improvements in his standard of living, the worker is unable to escape the necessity of selling his labor-power in order to exist. It is true that the composition of the working class has changed, but Mandel argues that this does not mean a decline in the social weight of the working class, as some have maintained. "Indeed," he says, "one could say that the third industrial revolution at one and the same time both reduces industrial labor in the factory as a result of growing automation and in-

creases industrial labor on a vast scale in agriculture, distribution, the service industries and administration."

Thus "white collar" and "professional" workers are increasingly proletarianized, with the creation of an ever larger and more homogeneous working class. The productive process of today, Mandel says, "tends more and more to integrate manual and non-manual workers...."

Mandel demonstrates that neocapitalism has not been successful in eliminating sources of social conflict. All the Keynesian devices aimed at reducing the depth of the business cycle raise the opposite specter of inflation. "Every attempt to stop inflation strangles the boom and precipitates a recession. Investment fluctuations and monetary disorders combine to increase economic instability, further abetted by stepped-up capital concentration both nationally and internationally, so that the system tends towards a marginal increase in unemployment and a generalized recession in the whole Western world."

If economic stability cannot be guaranteed indefinitely, then capitalist political stability is reduced to ideological manipulation of the working class.

"In the last analysis," Mandel points out, "the question boils down to this: Which force will turn out to be stronger in determining the workers' attitude to the society he lives in, the mystifying ideas he receives, yesterday in the church and today through TV, or the social reality he confronts and assimilates day after day through practical experience? For historical materialists, to pose the question this way is to answer it, although the struggle itself will say the last word."

* For a copy send \$.50 to International Socialist Review, 873 Broadway, New York, New York 10003.

THE WAR BETWEEN NIGERIA AND BIAFRA

[The November 16 issue of the Belgian socialist weekly La Gauche published extensive excerpts from a document which helps illuminate the tragic events in Nigeria. We have therefore made a translation which appears below.

[In an editorial note signed by P. de Beukelaer, La Gauche says that the document is based on a study made by Peter Brandt which appeared in the German socialist journal Was Tun (What Is to Be Done?), edited by Lothar Boepple, Peter Brandt, Rudi Dutschke, and others. The document was written by a student group in Lausanne, Switzerland named "Jeunesses Progressistes" (Young Progressives).

[Among other points, La Gauche states that it disagrees with the conclusions reached by Jeunesses Progressistes that revolutionists should come out on the side of Biafra.

["The war in Nigeria," declares La Gauche, "cannot bring the Nigerians closer to socialism. Thus one should do everything possible to stop it immediately. It is not necessary to choose between the imperialisms clashing with each other through foils. Consequently both the Soviet policy of supporting the 'national' bourgeoisie of Nigeria and the Chinese policy of supporting the 'anti-American' camp of Colonel Ojukwu must be condemned. It follows that the strongest pressure must be exerted to suspend the arms deliveries to both sides. Thus we do not put the instigators of the conflict on different planes. Contrary to the conclusions of the authors of the study below, we do not say that it is sufficient to denounce the 'objectives' of French imperialism, and, having made this qualification, support the Biafran struggle. Any aid (we mean military aid) given to Biafra signifies escalating the aid to the other side and vice versa. All aid to the belligerents adds to the massacre that has already taken place and postpones still further Nigeria's genuine independence from colonialism."]

* * *

Anyone who wants to analyze the Nigeria-Biafra conflict finds himself confronted with great difficulties. The current literature on this subject is highly inadequate and deals almost solely with the course of the war. We think, however, that the left's somewhat painful silence on this matter must finally be broken.

Although in view of these circumstances any article on the Nigeria-Biafra conflict must necessarily remain unsatisfactory, we want to try to give a few guidelines, real ones, on this problem.



LT. COL. ODUMEGWU OJUKWU

Nigeria -- A Product of Colonialism

In 1861 the English imperialists occupied Lagos and took possession of the southern part of the present Nigeria. After the establishment of a protectorate over the northern regions in 1914, they unified all of the contiguous British territory as the "Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria." Like all the boundaries of the colonial period, these did not take into consideration any ethnic or cultural realities whatever.

From that time on 250 tribes have been included in the territory of Nigeria. Today they number between 55,000,000 and 60,000,000 human beings. The great majority of the population is accounted for by the four main tribes -- the Islamic Hausas and Fulanis in the north, and the predominantly Christian Yorubas and Ibos in the south and east respectively. The Hausas and the Yorubas claim an origin dating back to the emergence of the legendary medieval kingdoms.

To establish its control over all of Nigeria, British imperialism used the

Ibos, who were enlisted in its administrative services. This people had never organized beyond the level of village communities, which turned out to be an advantage for the imperialists since this atomized social organization was not difficult to break down. And so the members of the Ibo tribe spread throughout the country to form the majority of the big merchants, military officers, clerks, doctors, lawyers, and other professions.

As a consequence of this development, a Nigerian nationalism emerged whose bearers were the Ibo national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. Its clearest expression was the founding in 1944 of the "National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons" [NCNC]. The oligarchies of the other tribes reacted by creating their own parties. The Yoruba bourgeoisie formed the "Action Group" [AG] and the Hausa aristocracy the "Northern People's Congress" [NPC]. Even after the declaration of independence on October 1, 1962, Nigeria's highly touted "parliamentary democracy" consisted in reality of wheeling and dealing among the three most important tribal oligarchies, since the parties that emerged on the electoral arena remained purely tribal organizations.

The British method of governing according to the dictum of "divide and rule" consisted of preventing any of the three principal tribes (the Hausas and Fulanis are ethnically related and live under similar social structures), or rather any of their ruling strata, from becoming too powerful. The feudal structures* predominant in the North proved to be pillars of colonial domination since the feudal lords were ready to recognize the authority of the British empire, at least as long as its power went unchallenged.

Even under the independent regime, nothing changed in regard to the colonial character of the Nigerian economy. Exports still consisted of agricultural and industrial raw materials shipped to the imperialist countries -- primarily Great Britain -- at prices showing an altogether too constant tendency to decline. The 1967 Fisher-Weltalmanach shows that exactly two-fifths of these exports consisted of coconuts, palm oil, and peanuts, and one-sixth cacao. Some years ago, isolated man-

* The concept of feudalism has two meanings. From a purely economic point of view it means that the feudal lords do not produce for a market but to supply their own domains. As a system of relationships among men, in distinction to wage labor, feudalism rests on ownership and physical subjection. In many underdeveloped countries the relationships among men are still feudal, while the economy is nevertheless tied to the market.



MAJ. GEN. YAKUBU GOWON

ufacturing industries appeared (textile and cement factories, etc.) which, as in the other underdeveloped countries, do not serve the needs of the national economy but those of the exploiting imperialist trusts. Even quantitatively this timid partial industrialization changed nothing in the neocolonial structures.

Role of the National Bourgeoisie

Despite all this, Southern Nigeria was and remains, in African terms, a socially and economically highly developed country. The number of college graduates and trained administrators is higher than in any other state in black Africa. Illiteracy has been practically eliminated in the South (in the North on the other hand in 1959 only 8 percent of the children went to school according to Afrika -- Eine Politische Landerkunde, F. Ansprenger, Berlin, 1961).

The historical tasks to be achieved in Nigeria were certainly those belonging to the bourgeois democratic revolution --

national reform and the expulsion of imperialism in order to create an internal market and industrialization in all its forms. The precondition for this would have been the liquidation of all tribal traditions and the elimination of the feudal vestiges, that is, the overthrow of the emir in the northern part of the country.

To carry out this gigantic revolution, a social force comparable to the Western bourgeoisie would have been necessary, that bourgeoisie which in the course of the struggles of the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries displaced the nobility and the monarchy and established its own rule. But it was already shown in Czarist Russia that in a country where the national bourgeoisie is very weak numerically, and allied with imperialism and the medieval vestiges against the masses of the people, capitalist industrialization through bourgeois revolution is impossible.

The weakness of the national bourgeoisie is due primarily to the fact that in the last decades of the nineteenth century imperialism took possession of all the underdeveloped agricultural regions and utilized them as a source of raw materials and as ready markets. If any industry was created, it remained in the possession of foreign trusts. Moreover, investment in industrial projects returns less profit in the short run than investment in the unproductive sectors (the building industry, recreation) and in land. Also the bourgeoisie of the underdeveloped countries has a parasitic psychology and is incapable of restricting its consumption as the European bourgeoisie did in its time.

Since the Russian revolution, the incapacity of the colonial bourgeoisie to achieve the tasks of the bourgeois revolution has been confirmed again and again. These tasks can only be accomplished when the revolution develops into a socialist revolution (let us compare India as an example of the first instance and China as an example of the second).

Naturally, in view of the incredibly low level of development of the productive forces in Nigeria as compared to Asia or Latin America, the Nigerian bourgeoisie was still less able to assume the historical tasks we have described. And this was all the more true because there was not even an embryonic "Nigerian nation."

Around 1962, the contradictions among the three oligarchies, which had been adroitly camouflaged by the colonial power, flared violently into the open. At the time of the 1962 census which was to serve as the basis for the next elections, the Yoruba oligarchy, opposed to the co-

alition between the NPC (the North) and the NCNC (the East), made an alliance with the Ibo bourgeoisie against the Hausa aristocracy. Electoral frauds on both sides, terror against the Ibo candidates, and the resulting boycott of the elections by the Ibos, reduced the vote to a pure farce which supplementary elections could not make good.

At the time of the following regional elections in the West, similar conflicts broke out, bordering on civil war. The great hope of Western democracy threatened to collapse.

The Coup d'Etat and Its Consequences

To change this situation, on January 15, 1966, a group of young nationalist Ibo officers decided to act. They were motivated by the desire to eliminate corruption, using the army to enforce order. They wanted to break the domination of the North, put an end to the anarchy, and establish a centralized state. The political leaders of the old regime -- who came primarily from the North -- were assassinated by the putschists. The leaders of the East and Middle West, who had risen to power in 1963, managed to escape.

Major General Johnson Aguyi-Ironsi -- also an Ibo -- remained loyal and had the putschist officers seized. Fearing a civil war, he maintained the federalist organization of the country and appointed indigenous military governors to head each region. Nepotism and corruption again spread and a series of key posts became exclusively reserved for Ibos.

Then Ironsi himself took over the plan of the putschists to destroy the federal system. This measure, conflicting with the type of economic development occurring in the country, amounted to a first step in the direction of a bourgeois revolution and could not be accomplished without a war against the North, where the power of the emir remained intact.

The population had looked with sympathy on the coup d'état that brought Ironsi to power. However, the oligarchies -- above all that of the North -- succeeded in converting the old tribal quarrels into propaganda against the Ibo government. But even the Ibo bourgeoisie was not inclined to follow Ironsi's policy. "Many Ibos showed little desire to share with others the profits which the natural wealth of their land brought them." (Neue Zürcher Zeitung.)

This was a concrete illustration of what we have said about the national bourgeoisie. The attitude of the Ibo bourgeoisie virtually sealed the fate of the petty-bourgeois national officers operating without a social base. And the bold move of

proclaiming a united republic could not save the Ironsi regime.

At the end of May the first pogroms against the Ibos broke out in the North, taking a thousand lives. On July 29, Northern troops revolted and Ironsi was shot. Colonel Gowon, a Northerner, but not of either the Hausa or Fulani tribes, took power.

Among the first things he did was to release the professional politicians imprisoned at the time of the civilian regime. They have proved invaluable to him ever since. Gowon immediately came out against a united state. He promised to form a civilian government. Structural changes in the country were to be made only with the approval of the population, that is, of the three oligarchies.

The military commander of the Eastern region, Colonel Ojukwu, the son of a rich Ibo merchant and, as such, a good representative of the native bourgeoisie, immediately refused to recognize Gowon. In the negotiations among the four regions beginning September 12, the representative of the West proposed dividing the country into a large number of federated states. This plan, which was accepted by the representatives of the North and the Middle West, seemed directed solely against the all-powerful North. Neither the feudal structures nor the federal dismemberment were eliminated by this measure.

The Ibo bourgeoisie, however, saw another maneuver in this step. The country's increasingly important oil fields are in the East but in an area inhabited predominantly by members of non-Ibo tribes. There are 5,000,000 Efiks, Ibibis, Ekois, and Ijaws, as against 7,000,000 Ibos in the center of the East. The giant British Petroleum-Shell oil trust controls the exploitation of these fields, paying taxes to the Lagos government for this right. The tax helps line the pockets of the ruling clique. Probably the Ibo bourgeoisie wanted to secure this source of profit for itself without having to share it with the other oligarchies. It seemed to them that this aim was endangered.

The Role of the Imperialists

That British imperialism bears the historic responsibility for this butchery is clear. In addition, it bears the major responsibility for the current situation.

The British Petroleum-Shell group has invested more than 200,000,000 pounds sterling in Nigeria. In 1966, 20,500,000 tons of oil was pumped in Nigeria, 67 percent of it in the East and the rest in the Middle West. However, even the oil from the Middle West is exported by pipeline through the oil ports in the East.

On July 12, 1967, Ojukwu threatened to nationalize the oil if the payments coming due were not met. The arrest of the general manager of British Petroleum-Shell by Biafran troops drew a protest from international financial circles and their press.

In response to the early Biafran successes, British imperialism, represented by its "socialist" government, began to send massive aid to the central government. Not only did it send arms, DCA's, mortars, and tanks, but English officers took part both directly and indirectly in the war.

On the contending side, Biafra received aid from French imperialism. In 1962 the oil corporation SAFRAP, a subsidiary of the nationalized French combine ERAP, acquired drilling rights over a 25,000-square-kilometer area. The Michelin trust is building a tire factory. French companies are establishing branches.

On August 9, the photocopy of a document supposedly signed by Ojukwu was shown to the press in Lagos. It ceded all rights to exploit the Biafran underground resources, both minerals and coal, to a French bank for ten years in return for payment to the ENUGU [Biafra] government of about 80,000,000 francs [5 francs = US\$1] in currency. The agreement did not include the resources in petroleum and natural gas in the region.

While still tentative, the alliance of the Ibo bourgeoisie with French imperialism seems only logical. In fact, if Biafra survives, the French trusts will certainly be able to profit from the anti-British hatred of the bourgeoisie and the population.

The aid to Biafra from Portugal, Spain, Southern Rhodesia, and South Africa, often pointed to by supporters of Nigeria, amounts simply to these governments indicating sympathy for the secession in the hope that they will be strengthened by any weakening of the black African states. Portugal provides airplanes to Biafra and additional "aid" is offered by some traders from these countries, since Biafra can only obtain certain products by this means.*

Up to now, the Biafran army's equipment has consisted of material bought from European arms dealers, dating often from the second world war. Since France openly took Biafra's side by recognizing its gov-

* Note by La Gauche: The authors of this article underestimate Portugal's aid. It has put its airports completely at the disposal of the Biafrans. There is a constant shuttle service between them and Biafra. Portugal and South Africa must obviously tender their aid discreetly. They are too compromising as allies.

ernment, "French military planes have been flying in arms and munitions by night..." (Der Spiegel, August 19, 1968). An additional significant fact is that two of the three African states which have recognized Biafra are in the French sphere of influence -- Gabon and the Ivory Coast (the third is Tanzania). White mercenaries are fighting on both sides, but no one has checked into this seriously.

The Soviet Union's Role

Even before the intervention of British imperialism, the central government received aid from another source. The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia (which pulled back under the Dubček government) delivered arms of all sorts as well as bombers piloted by Egyptians.

This involvement was justified on the grounds that Biafra was supported by U.S. imperialism. Up to now there has not been the slightest proof to support this claim. To the contrary, according to Biafran reports, the USA is delivering arms to the central government. U.S. grenades have been captured by Biafran troops. These accounts were confirmed by Undersecretary of State for African Affairs Joseph Palmer, as reported by Stimme Afrikas, when he made a statement against the Biafran secession (according to Biafra Information). But aside from this, even American aid to Ojukwu would not change the fact that the interests of the oil trusts determined the British government's aid to Nigeria.

We are forced to state that the Soviet Union is backing a war in conjunction with the imperialists. Nigeria offers another striking example of Soviet policy in the Third World. In order to establish purely diplomatic ties with the colonial bourgeoisie, the Soviet Union cooperates with reactionary states. There are numerous examples of this sort from the Latin-American dictatorships to the absolute monarchies of Africa and the Shah of Iran to the Indian "democracy." Any regime which takes a neutral position militarily and diplomatically and votes with the Soviet Union in the UN from time to time stands in the good graces of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

Revolutionary struggle against the oligarchies thus is of no interest to the Kremlin, and if it were it would only be with an eye to a possible diplomatic link. Naturally Soviet support to the emir of Northern Nigeria has not made him any more progressive.

Biafra and the Right of Peoples to Self-Determination

The imperialist rivals are engaging in a savage contest on Biafran soil;

although it must be noted, to modify this formula somewhat, that the Gowon clique's dependence on British imperialism is much greater than that of the Ojukwu clique on French imperialism.

The oligarchies of the three main tribes have proved themselves incapable of offering even the beginning of a solution to the problems raised. Theory declares -- and this holds true for all the countries of the Third World -- that it remains up to the working class, which, though numerically weak, constitutes a dynamic force, to rally the popular masses against the oligarchies.

The level of development of the productive forces has produced a working class* in Nigeria larger than in most of the African states and about 10 percent of it is organized in unions. The left is stronger in Nigeria than elsewhere; but it was not yet strong enough. When the conflicts broke out, the left was shattered by the pull of the [bourgeois] parties, rallying to the central government, while the Biafran left backed up Ojukwu.

Tribal conflicts have proved temporarily to be an insurmountable obstacle to an awakening of the Nigerian and Biafran masses.

This apparently insoluble situation -- a bourgeoisie which is no longer capable of acting effectively and a proletariat not yet capable of doing so -- absolves the revolutionary forces from having to take sides in this murderous war. Abstractly, two apparently contradictory observations can be made from a Marxist point of view:

(1) Lenin formulated the maxim for the imperialist epoch of the right of peoples to self-determination. And this right explicitly entails the freedom of secession. Naturally, the interests of the world revolution take precedence if they come in conflict with this right in any concrete case.

(2) From the economic point of view, large areas offer a better chance for capital accumulation than small ones. Particularly in the underdeveloped countries exploited by imperialism every new division prolongs capitalist domination.

Our article has tried to make it clear that Nigeria is not governed by a progressive bourgeoisie struggling against a backward tribal rebellion incited by U.S. imperialism, as Soviet propaganda claims. The example of Nigeria shows precisely the

* In 1959 there were 340,000 workers who, moreover, are mostly concentrated in a few centers. (Afrika -- Eine Politische Landeskunde.)

following: It is not enough to create a large state. An internal market must be created. This requires a bourgeois democratic revolution which can win victory under the conditions of imperialism only if it grows over into a proletarian socialist revolution.

Revolutionists obviously have no business trying to arouse a desire in peoples, to say nothing of tribes, to create a state of their own if these peoples will have nothing to do with it. But when a people opts for this road, socialists must respect and support the decision. The great majority of Ibos have clearly followed their bourgeoisie on the road of independence. Otherwise, the determined resistance against the central government's troops could not be explained. The creation of Biafra was, at least for the Ibo masses who supported it, a reaction to the massacres in the North and the flood of refugees.

For the moment, Biafra's struggle against Nigeria must be characterized as a defensive action. There is no working class in either Nigeria or Biafra capable of preparing the way for a solution to the problem by siding in solidarity with one or the other.

No one then can demand of the Ibos that they let themselves be exterminated by Adekunle's troops. A peace not recognizing the independence of Biafra could only paper over the national conflicts

which would break out again in the long run.

The Ojukwu regime also bears evident features of neocolonialism -- and French imperialism is no better than English imperialism. But it is only in an independent Biafra that the Ibo bourgeoisie can eliminate all the contradictions of the tribal quarrels. It is only along this path that the Nigerian and Biafran workers can recover from their destructive defeat and take up the struggle for real national and social liberation -- for the overthrow of the national bourgeoisie and the feudal aristocracy, for the dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the peasants and certain sectors of the petty bourgeoisie, and for the unification of all the Sudanese states on a socialist basis.

The duty of all the international revolutionary movements must be to bring the most resolute pressure to bear on the Soviet Union to suspend its arms deliveries and to expose the objectives of French imperialism. With all these restrictions, there is no other alternative for us but to support Biafra's struggle to the death. However, parallel to this, we must also recognize the justice of the aspirations of the national minorities on Biafran territory which we must battle to realize.

October 17, 1968

THE ORDEAL OF OBI EGBUNA

Obi Egbuna, the well-known Nigerian novelist and playwright, will go on trial in London November 25 on the frame-up charge of "uttering a writing threatening to kill police officers at Hyde Park." Egbuna, 32, has been held in Brixton prison, with two other black power militants, since July 25. It was only on November 13 that a date was set for trial.

During the four months he has been in jail, courts have refused four times to grant bail to the black leader. This might have been expected if the defendant were accused of having actually killed policemen. In fact, Obi Egbuna is not accused of having even attempted such a thing. Nor is he charged with so much as saying that he thought such an act would be a good idea -- a "crime" solely within the sphere of thought and belief rather than deeds.

The prosecution has refused to reveal what the mysterious "writing" may be, but it is known that a nervous printer went to the police with copy intended for publication in the magazine, Black Power

Speaks. This is said to have included a play by Egbuna.

Egbuna is the author of the novel Wind Versus Polygamy, published by Faber and Faber, and of the play The Ant-Hill, broadcast by BBC-TV. He is also a leader of the Universal Coloured Peoples' Association [UCPA]. Two other leaders of the UCPA have been jailed with him: Gideon Dolo, a Fijian insurance agent, and Peter Martin, 22, a Nigerian artist.

The three have been deprived of their livelihoods while in prison, which has been a great hardship to their dependents. Egbuna learned a few weeks ago that the village in Biafra where his mother and other relatives live has been destroyed in the civil war. Because of his imprisonment he has been unable to try to locate his mother. He told one reporter, "There were heaps of corpses around and no trace of my mother."

Tony Smythe, general secretary of the National Council for Civil Liberties, wrote in the October 18 Tribune that Eg-

buna's "continued detention has certainly obstructed his ability to assist in gathering evidence for his defence...."

"The Black Panther Movement in a circular dated October 3 suggested that evidence for the prosecution was, to say the least, flimsy, and the performance of the main prosecution witness at the committal proceedings gave weight to this impression. Black Power may have produced some extravagant slogans but it requires great imagination and just a little prejudice to imagine any of its advocates seriously manufacturing a blue print for murder."

In the November 17 Observer Kenneth Tynan wrote:

"Before his arrest Egbuna was working on a new play about Enoch Powell -- a mock trial, I'm told -- the manuscript of which was seized by the cops. Without presuming to comment on the rights and wrongs of a case that is still sub judice, I can't help recalling the Roman mob in 'Julius Caesar,' who couldn't distinguish between Cinna the poet and Cinna the politician. Let us hope that the police know the difference between Egbuna the dramatist and Egbuna the black militant."

The three black leaders have been given brutal treatment during their long wait for a trial. Jagmohan Joshi, convenor of the steering committee of the Black People's Alliance issued a statement to Home Secretary Callaghan early in November saying, "In Brixton prison these men face almost daily the most vulgar and provocative abuses and insults. Not infrequently they have been treated with physical violence and one of them has been spat upon. Several times they have been either denied the normal prison right of having visitors or have their visiting time drastically shortened."

"In August one of the men went on a fast in protest against their cruel treatment. He was removed to a separate cell and was prevented from having any contact with the other two. In September another of the men was also removed to a specially guarded cell."

A protest picket line was held outside Brixton prison November 16 demanding the immediate release on bail of Obi Egbuna and his two companions. The demonstration was organized by the Nottingham Anti-Colour Bar Campaign.

COMMITTEE FOR DEFENCE OF OBI EGBUNA FORMED

By Connie Harris

London

A committee has been formed here to aid imprisoned black power leaders Obi Egbuna, Peter Martin, and Gideon Dolo who will be tried November 25 on frame-up charges of "uttering a writing threatening to kill police." The Committee for the Defence of Obi Egbuna will have observers at the trial to expose any overt role that racialism plays in the proceedings. The committee will seek the maximum publicity for the three men to win support for their rights and to ensure that they are given justice.

There is growing concern that political and racial prejudice will influence the outcome of the trial. The harsh treatment the three have received in prison, combined with the sensationalistic

coverage the press gave to their arrests raises grave questions about the fairness of the trial that is about to begin.

Obi Egbuna told me recently that the policy decided on by the three political prisoners has been to ignore all provocations by prison guards and officials. They know the brutal treatment they are receiving is calculated to provoke an outburst that the prosecution could cite in court as "proof" of their violent character.

Donations are urgently needed for the work of publicizing this injustice. Contributions and requests for further information may be sent to: Connie Harris, Secretary, Committee for the Defence of Obi Egbuna, % New Left Review, 7 Carlisle Street, London, W.1, England.

BRITISH CP BACKED IN OPPOSITION TO CZECH INVASION

The Morning Star reported November 11 that delegates to the Scottish, Welsh, Midlands and Kent congresses of the British Communist party, voted to support the party's Executive Committee in

opposing the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia. The Scottish congress voted 120 for, 54 against; the Welsh, 43 to 6, with 4 abstentions; Midlands, 62 to 19, 1 abstention; Kent, 31 to 18, 2 abstentions.

SOHYO DIVIDED OVER COOPERATION WITH ZENGAKUREN

A sharp debate has broken out in Sohyo [General Council of Trade Unions of Japan], Japan's largest labor organization, over continued cooperation with radical Zengakuren students in antiwar demonstrations, particularly in the struggle to prevent the renewal of the Japan-U.S. Joint Security Pact in 1970.

The dispute was precipitated by the Sato government's witch-hunt attack on student leaders and activists following the massive antiwar demonstrations October 21. On that day joint demonstrations by Sohyo and the various Zengakuren factions brought out more than 800,000 people throughout Japan. The students went beyond the moderate tactics advocated by the Sohyo leadership (which reflects the views of the Japan Socialist party), and engaged in sharp clashes with police, especially at Shinjuku Station in Tokyo, and on Midosuji Street in Osaka.

The government responded by invoking the little-used antiriot law -- essentially an "antisedition" act carrying severe penalties -- and arresting more than 900 demonstrators.

Heavy pressure was put on the leadership of Sohyo to dissociate themselves from the student actions. On October 23 Akira Iwai, general secretary of Sohyo, told a Kyoto press conference that the 1,250,000-member labor organization would not collaborate with the Sampa Rengo [three-faction alliance] Zengakuren in the struggle expected in 1970 because of the "extremism" of the students. He added, however, that he disapproved of the "crime of riot" provision being invoked against mass movements.

The following day the leadership of the Osaka council of Sohyo, representing 360,000 workers, announced that they had no intention of banning Zengakuren

students from participating in future actions called by Sohyo in Osaka.

The difference was debated at a meeting of Sohyo's national executive body October 28, Iwai's stand being confirmed and underlined. The Mainichi Daily News reported October 30 "that anti-Communist Party Zengakuren students would not be permitted to participate in campaigns against the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty unless they abandon their present violence and riotous activities."

The meeting also decided that Sohyo would not aid any of its members who belonged to the radical Antiwar Youth Council and were arrested at Zengakuren demonstrations.

The Osaka council of Sohyo responded to this decision by reaffirming their support for the students at a meeting of its directors November 12. The directors approved the stand taken earlier by their local leaders. The decision came in an evaluation of the October 21 Midosuji Street demonstration. The directors said that while in their opinion some students had been excessive in their actions, the majority should be given due credit for their role in making the demonstration a success.

The views of the Osaka council will be debated at a meeting of Sohyo's national board of trustees to be held in Tokyo early in December. The exchange is expected to be heated.

In the meantime, thirty-seven student leaders were indicted in Tokyo November 12. They were charged with interfering with police, assembly with weapons, and "violence." The prosecution has asked the district court for an extension of detention for 285 of the students still being held.

CALCUTTA CROWDS GIVE MCNAMARA A WARM WELCOME

Former Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, one of the chief architects of the escalation of the Vietnam war, had to be rescued by helicopter from demonstrators in Calcutta November 20.

Johnson's former No. 1 Pentagon lieutenant was visiting India in connection with his present post as head of the World Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Great crowds of people blocked McNamara's route from the airport, shouting, "The Vietnam warmonger shall not enter

Calcutta." In battles with police, they burned two buses and a trolley car.

Police, ordered out to protect the former war strategist from bodily harm, injured twenty-five persons. Students throughout Calcutta struck in protest over the police brutality and over the presence of a "Vietnam war criminal."

Fighting flared again when the police tried to prevent a group of demonstrators from burning an effigy of McNamara in front of the U.S. Information Agency.

Curing Deaf-Mutes

A NEW TRIUMPH FOR MAO'S THOUGHT

[The following is the full text of a remarkable report by "SHIH LIU and SZU CHI" published in the November 15, 1968, issue of Peking Review. It is an account of how, despite the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi on medical and health work, a right-thinking team succeeded in making a major breakthrough in science. We think it should prove of special interest to those who have been impatiently waiting for the day when the monopoly of the Western world on hitting the needle could be broken.]

[The subheadings appear in the original.]

* * *

To describe the impossible, people in China often used the saying "The dumb will speak only when the iron tree flowers." Today, with the light of Mao Tse-tung's thought shining over the land, many things formerly considered impossible have become possible. Miracles are being performed.

Inspiring news has recently come from Kirin Province. Relying on the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, a Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda team of medical workers from the P.L.A. 3016 Unit's health section stationed in the Liaoyuan School for Deaf-Mutes has, by acupuncture* treatment, enabled many of its mute students to speak. One hundred and twenty-nine of the school's 168 students can now hear, and 125 can cheer "Long live Chairman Mao!" "We wish Chairman Mao a long, long life!" Forty-seven can sing The East Is Red and other songs propagating Mao Tse-tung's thought.

This is a great victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought; a rich fruit of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Once-Silent Deaf-Mute School Rings with Joy

Over half a year ago, unbroken silence reigned in this school from morning to night. Students could only communicate with each other by finger signs or at best utter a few broken sounds that could not express what they meant. Today, both the classrooms and sports grounds ring with day-long laughter and chatter. Cheers of "Long live Chairman Mao!" and

* ac·u·punc·ture... 1: the orig. Chinese practice of puncturing the body with special usu. gold or silver needles to cure disease. (Webster's Third New International Dictionary Unabridged.)

"We wish Chairman Mao a long, long life" are heard, as are voices singing The East Is Red and many songs of Chairman Mao's quotations set to music.

A Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda troupe of 35 formerly deaf-mute students has taken 22 songs and recitations which they themselves composed to factories, mines, P.L.A. units and villages to spread Mao Tse-tung's thought among the workers, peasants and soldiers. They have everywhere evoked a strong response and been most warmly welcomed by the masses.

In early May this year, the troupe went by invitation to the Liaoyuan Mining Administration Bureau. When the curtain lifted, a miner's daughter Wang Ya-chin who had been deaf and dumb for 17 years, appeared on the stage as master of ceremonies. In a clear voice charged with emotion, she began: "The thousand-year-old iron tree has flowered! The vines, withered for ten thousand years, have again borne fruit! Now, even deaf-mutes can speak, all because of our dear Chairman Mao..." Before she could say anything more, the whole hall burst into hearty cheers, and shouts of "Long live Chairman Mao!" rang out lustily for a long time.

When the performance ended, several old miners ran up the stage and hugged the young performers. Rumpling their hair, they said: "Dear children, in the old society, even if we poor people could speak, we had no voice! In the new society, deaf-mutes who could not speak can now talk. This has all been brought about by Chairman Mao!"

The "Forbidden Zone" Must Be Opened Up

In March this year, the health section of the 3016 Unit, implementing Chairman Mao's series of instructions on health work, formed a Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda team of medical workers to go to the deaf-mute school to propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought and give the students acupuncture treatment at the same time. The team was made up of three army doctors and five medical orderlies. None of them had ever attended a medical school. Seven of them had only a primary school level. Only one had, for a short time, attended junior middle school.

When the propaganda team arrived at the deaf-mute school, the students were overjoyed. They took the hands of the P.L.A. men and waved them back and forth before a portrait of Chairman Mao in token of shouting "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!" When the parents heard the happy news, they, too, told each other ex-

citedly: "Chairman Mao has sent beloved P.L.A. men to treat our children!"

Seeing this, the propaganda team comrades were deeply moved. They stood before the portrait of Chairman Mao and took a solemn oath to cure these deaf-mute students.

News that the propaganda team was treating the students with acupuncture shook the so-called "noted doctors" and "specialists." They commented: "Who has ever seen anything in foreign medical books about treating deaf-mutes? It's preposterous to think you can cure them with a few needles!" "These raw soldier boys, what do they know? How can they cure deaf-mutes!" These derisive remarks roused the deep anger of the fighters. They drew strength from Chairman Mao's teaching: "We the Chinese nation have the spirit to fight the enemy to the last drop of our blood, the determination to recover our lost territory by our own efforts, and the ability to stand on our own feet in the family of nations."

The "noted doctors" and "specialists," the fighters said in scorn, eat food grown by the people but do not work for the people; they put blind faith in foreign books and crawl behind others; they haven't in the least got the spirit of the Chinese people! We are determined to rely on the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung to open up a "forbidden zone": to cure deaf-mutes with our shining needles!

The team investigated the case of each deaf-mute child. They found that over 97 percent of these children were from families of workers or poor or lower-middle peasants. In the old society, oppressed and exploited by the landlords and capitalists, the working people went hungry and wore rags. They could not afford to give their children medical treatment. In the new society, Chairman Mao is boundlessly concerned for the working people, and has issued a series of important instructions on medical and health work. But Liu Shao-chi pushed a counterrevolutionary revisionist line in medical and health work so that the doors of the hospitals were closed to the working people, and they could not get timely treatment for their illnesses and became disabled through delay.

The veteran worker Wang Yu-hai of the Liaoyuan Mines, for instance, was badly exploited by the capitalists before liberation. He got married only after liberation, when he was already over 40. He had a daughter, whom he named Wang Ya-chin. When a baby, she fell sick, and because treatment was delayed, she became a mute. Wang Yu-hai and his wife were full of hope that well-known doctors in the hospitals could cure their only daugh-

ter. But some "noted doctors" told them, "Mutes are mutes. Even the foreigners can't cure them, how can we!"

The worker Chang Chen-fang has a son Chang Li-feng who was also a mute. He took his child to a big hospital where he sought the advice of a "noted doctor." This man, with a reflector on his head, wagged it back and forth in front of the child's ear and said decidedly: "The ear drum is damaged. No amount of treatment can cure him. Just forget it!" This old worker came to the hospital with hope, but returned home in tears.

Reading over the medical case histories of the children, the comrades of the propaganda team were fired with even stronger proletarian class feelings for the working people and deepened hatred for Liu Shao-chi. The fighters said: "These are not medical records, but indictments written in blood against Liu Shao-chi!" Turning their hate into strength, they were determined to relieve the sufferings of the deaf-mute students. On a wall they wrote up Chairman Mao's teachings: "Serve the people wholeheartedly" and "Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory." They kept these constantly in mind. They resolved to use the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung to cure the "incurable."

Giving Treatment with Profound Proletarian Feelings

They first of all made repeated experiments in using the acupuncture needles on their own bodies. They tried the needles out on each other, and on themselves with the aid of a mirror. After the experiments, not a few of them had swollen necks or a ringing in their ears, or mouths so sore that they had difficulty taking food. But all this did not deter them. They were willing to take a thousand risks to win happiness for their class brothers. They vowed that they would not give the children any needle treatment of which they were not absolutely certain themselves.

The "ya men point" is an important point in the body for the acupuncture treatment of deaf-mutes. But "noted" bourgeois doctors and "experts" classified it as a "forbidden point." The old books on acupuncture also stipulated that at this point the needle should only be inserted to a depth of from 1 to 1.6 cms. But practice showed that insertion to this depth did not produce good results. Could they put the needle in any deeper? The "authorities" again chorused: If the needle is inserted to a depth of 3.3 cms., a healthy person becomes mute; insertion to a depth of 5 cms. endangers life.

Fully realizing the danger involved, the comrades of the propaganda team braved it fearlessly. The medical orderly Chao Pu-

yu was the first to experiment on himself. When he inserted the needle 3.3 cms. into the "ya men point," his nerves began to react, and he hesitated. What if the experiment really made me mute? he thought. As soon as he caught himself thinking this, he recalled Chairman Mao's shining words: "Serve the people." Immediately he felt an onrush of fresh courage and silently made a resolution: In order to enable tens of thousands of deaf-mutes to cry "Long live Chairman Mao!", I would be willing even if I become mute myself. So he carried on without the slightest hesitation.

When the needle was inserted to a depth of 5 cms., he felt as if his head were swelling. To go in any further meant the danger of losing his life. Yet he bore in mind Chairman Mao's teaching: "Wherever there is struggle there is sacrifice, and death is a common occurrence. But we have the interests of the people and the sufferings of the great majority at heart, and when we die for the people it is a worthy death." He carried on until he felt as if a wave of electricity was running through his head. This told him that he had found the most effective depth for treatment. It was only then that he pulled out the needle. When he measured it with his hand, he found that the depth of the insertion had been nearly 7 cms.

Through such repeated experiments, the comrades of the propaganda team mastered new techniques in acupuncture and acquired first-hand knowledge. They then used them widely on the deaf-mute students.

After a fortnight of treatment, they finally opened up a "forbidden zone": curing deaf-mutes! Of the 157 students under treatment, 70 were now able to hear distinctly and 32 out of the 70 could shout: "Long live Chairman Mao!" Chang Li-feng was the boy of whom the "noted doctors" and "specialists" had said, "The ear drum is damaged. No amount of treatment can cure him." Now he was also able to shout "Long live Chairman Mao!" for the first time in his life. Chien Shen-chi, who had been mute for 15 years, went home and in front of his whole family cheered: "Long live Chairman Mao!" They were so glad that they all shouted together, with tears of happiness, "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!" When the neighbours heard this, they, too, hurried over to offer congratulations. Many people feelingly exclaimed: "These medical fighters armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought are really good!"

Enabling More Deaf-Mutes to Sing "The East Is Red"

One day, Fang Ying-teng, the responsible comrade of the propaganda team, discovered a girl student Wang Shu-fang,

the daughter of a poor peasant, standing by the wall and wiping away her tears. This girl had already gained her hearing through their treatment, but could not yet speak. Fang Ying-teng asked her with deep concern what was the matter? The girl pointed to her mouth and then to other students, meaning that they could shout "Long live Chairman Mao!" and sing The East Is Red, but she couldn't, and she felt it keenly.

This set Fang Ying-teng thinking. Yes, he thought, the most deep-felt words the working people use to express their love for the great leader Chairman Mao are "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!" The most resounding song they love to sing in praise of the great leader Chairman Mao is The East Is Red. As a medical worker of the people, it is my duty to do my best to help more deaf-mutes realize their fondest wish. Conscious of his responsibilities, Fang Ying-teng immediately examined Wang Shu-fang. It puzzled him that although the child had regained her hearing, which also opened up the possibility of speech, she was still unable to speak. He finally discovered that the frenum of her tongue was so thick and tightly stretched that her tongue could not move freely. This was the reason why she could not speak. This made Fang Ying-teng think of other students who were not able to speak, and he wondered if it was due to the same reason. Together with the comrades of the team, Fang examined in turn those students who could not speak even after the needle treatment. They found that 32 students suffered from the same disability.

The burning desire of the deaf-mute students to sing The East Is Red spurred on Fang Ying-teng to find a way to remedy the defect of their frenums. Late that same night, neglecting a high fever, he looked through many books on acupuncture and medical periodicals, but all of no avail. What should he do?

Remembering Chairman Mao's teaching that "The masses are the real heroes," he went, early the next morning, among the comrades of the propaganda team and called a meeting, asking each member to think up ways and means of tackling the problem. The fighters said: "What we can't find in the books, we can create in practice and write it into the books. We can break new paths untrodden by others." Everybody put forward suggestions and gave his opinions. After earnest discussions, they decided to repair the frenums by surgery. Having got the approval of the Party committee of the unit, the team made everything ready and performed the operation on the students. Every operation was successful. The girl student Wang Shu-fang was able to say clearly "Long live Chairman Mao!" the very next day after her operation.

The success of the P.L.A. 3016 Unit's Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda team of medical workers in curing deaf-muteness proves once again that people

armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought have the greatest combat effectiveness, and can surmount all difficulties and perform miracles.

FOLLOWERS OF POSADAS DENIED POLITICAL ASYLUM IN CHILE

Fourteen members of the Posadista group* in Uruguay, reported to have been deported from the country [see Intercontinental Press, November 18, p. 1,027] are still being held in Montevideo, according to the Uruguayan weekly, Marcha [November 8].

Along with eleven Uruguayan citizens, the fourteen, who are Argentine nationals, were arrested in a raid conducted by the political police October 28 on a Posadista congress in Montevideo. The Uruguayan government ordered the Argentinians deported as "undesirables."

On November 5, three of the fourteen -- Homero Cristalli, Rosa Preirtera, and Alberto di Franco -- left for Chile, which they had chosen as a country acceptable to them. They were escorted by two members of parliament, who had agreed to go with them to guarantee their safety.

However, despite their pledges to refrain from all political activities while in asylum, they were denied entry by the police at the Chilean border.

Brought back to Montevideo, they are now being held by the police there. There is cause for concern about their fate. If they are turned over to the military dictatorship of General Juan Onganía in Buenos Aires, they may be immediately thrown into prison or subjected to some-

* A small ultraleft grouping led by Juan Posadas which, under guise of proclaiming itself to be the Fourth International, split from the world Trotskyist movement six years ago. (The action was taken at a faction conference held in Uruguay, the main base of the group, in April 1962.)

thing worse, as political opponents of the regime. And since Chile is virtually the only country left in Latin America which retains a semblance of civil liberties, there is not much hope they can find asylum elsewhere.

Marcha reports that in addition to the Argentine nationals, sixteen Posadistas who are Uruguayan citizens are being held by the Policía del Estado [State Police], making in all thirty Posadistas under arrest.

The grouping is a legally registered party with a public headquarters, a regular publication, and a program on the radio. That there is not the slightest legal justification for the action against them is shown, according to the November 1 issue of Marcha, by the fact that the judge to whom the case was originally referred declared that there were no grounds for the arrests.

The Uruguayan government, which is faced with widespread unrest and turmoil, probably moved against the Posadista group as a preliminary operation to more general repressive measures. Since the group is small and unpopular, the political police no doubt calculate that the repercussions will be minor and that they will be able to get away with it.

The actions of both the Uruguayan and Chilean governments in this case demonstrate the weight of the reaction prevailing throughout Latin America and the sad decline of political rights in these two countries which the propagandists of U.S. imperialism have long depicted as "models" of democracy and "showcases" of the capitalist alternative to the road taken by the Cubans.

MODIBO KEITA OVERTHROWN BY JUNTA IN MALI

The military junta which overthrew the government of President Modibo Keita in Mali on November 19 made plain only three days after its successful coup what course it intends to follow.

Speaking over Malian radio November 22, the chief of the newly installed Military Liberation Committee, Lieutenant Moussa Toaré, appealed in his government's name "to all foreign capital with-

out distinction and to private enterprise to aid us in promoting the economic and social development of Mali."

The officers' coup was prompted, according to the New York Times of November 23, by the growing strength and "ideological militancy" of the youth militia of President Keita's party, which "were becoming a major threat to the army's status."

15,000 CIVIL-RIGHTS MARCHERS FOIL POLICE IN DERRY

More than 15,000 civil-rights marchers in Derry, Northern Ireland, succeeded in outflanking police barricades November 16 to hold an "illegal" rally inside the walls of the inner city.

Pitched battles were fought in Derry October 5-6 when marchers, protesting lack of adequate housing and the disfranchisement of thousands of the city's Catholic majority, were attacked by police. The November 16 march was largely peaceful, although four leaders of the Derry Citizens' Action Committee were arrested. Police stopped the marchers as they crossed the Craigavon Bridge over the River Foyle. The police had set up a double row of steel crowd-barriers, backed by a line of police vans and a heavy turn-

out of cops. Four members of the citizens' committee, after a meeting of march leaders, symbolically tried to cross the police line and were arrested.

The demonstrators were not to be turned around so easily. The word was passed to break up into groups, cross the bridge, and reassemble in the Diamond, in the heart of the old city. Home affairs minister William Craig had explicitly banned the march from entering the city walls.

The demonstrators ran up the numerous back streets and alleys of Derry city, with the outnumbered police unable to do anything about it. A spirited rally was held in the Diamond.

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