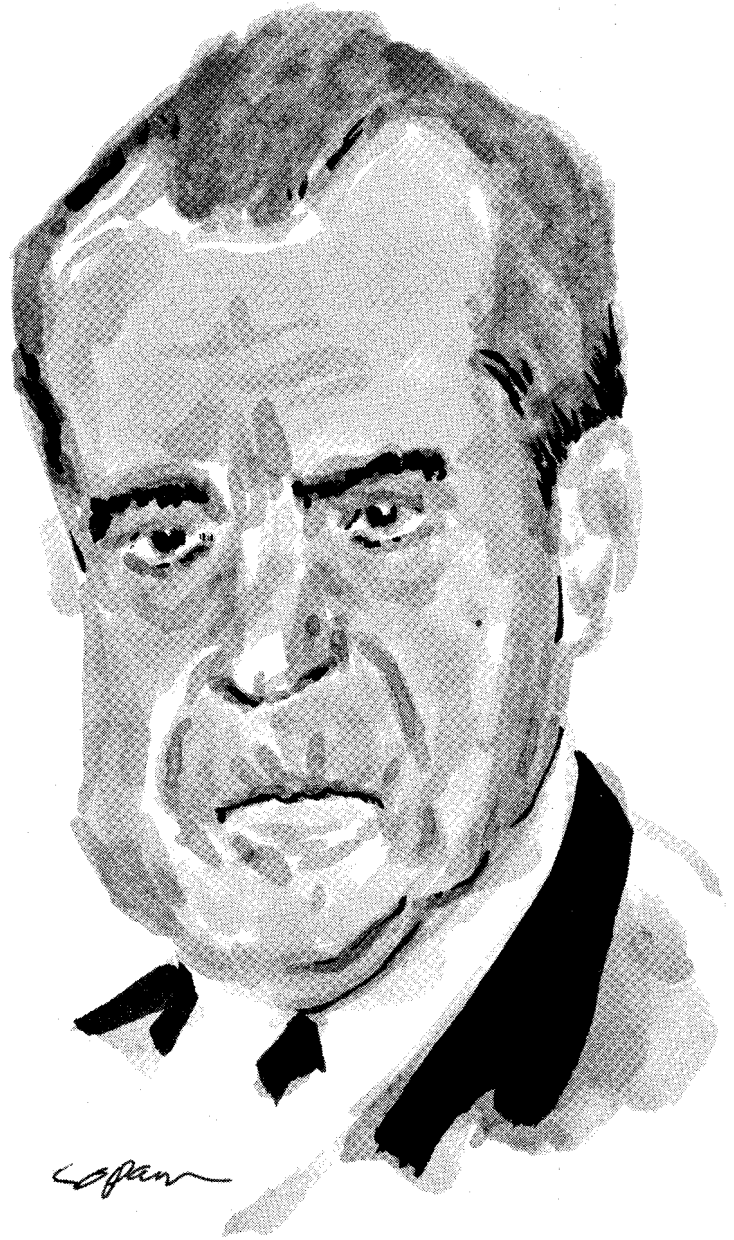


# Nixon's 'Peace' Game

Hugo Blanco:

Peru's Agrarian Reform

- SWP Fights New York Election Ban
- Voices of Soviet Citizens in Dissent
- Battle Goes On in Northern Ireland
- Middle East at the Crossroads



NIXON: For measured withdrawals—measured with an eyedropper, that is. See page 843.

# New Upsurge in Argentina

## U.S. Scores High

Charles A. Schweighauser, of the Center for Environmental Studies at Williams College, offers some impressive figures in the September 22 *Nation* on America's standing as a garbage producer.

"Each one of us in a year," he writes, "throws away 188 pounds of paper, 250 metal cans, 135 bottles and jars, 338 caps and crowns, and \$2.50 worth of miscellaneous packaging."

This begins to add up. "In 1920 the citizens of this country were throwing away 100 billion pounds per year; today the amount is more than 720 billion pounds per year—not including 6 trillion pounds of mineral and agricultural solid wastes. By 1985, household wastes alone will amount to an estimated 1.25 trillion pounds per year."

The trend is indicated by what happened after modernization of the beer bottle. Before 1938, you returned the empty and got a refund. Then came the first "no deposit, no return" bottle.

In 1958, more than 1 billion beer bottles were made to be thrown away. "By 1970, the estimated combined beer and soft-drink use will exceed 12 billion nonreturnable bottles. That's 33 million bottles a day."

And that's not counting the cans that are thrown away, too.

American garbage contains "ferrous and nonferrous metals valued at more than \$1 billion" annually. "Fly ash from incinerators weighs about 20 pounds for every ton of refuse incinerated, and contains enough silver and gold to be comparable to a normal mine assay in the West."

Little of the valuable materials in garbage are recycled. It's cheaper to tap America's still unexhausted natural resources.

So garbage is "disposed of." This costs an estimated \$4.5 billion annually, "an amount that is exceeded only by schools and roads among public services."

Moreover, that's for a very inadequate job. For the next five years an estimated additional \$750 million will have to be spent each year just to bring the garbage system "to an acceptable health and aesthetic level."

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# The Meaning of Nixon's 'Peace' Game

By Les Evans

What is Nixon up to? Is he really trying to "test" Hanoi's intentions? Or is he trying to test what he can get away with in relation to the antiwar movement in the U.S. and internationally?

The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam on September 4 called for a three-day cease-fire September 8-10 to commemorate the death of Ho Chi Minh. The September 5 *New York Times* reported that Washington officials said the U.S. would abide by the truce, albeit "reluctantly and guardedly."

The U.S. command in Saigon, however, announced the next day that no change in battle orders had been issued to American troops for the cease-fire period.

In Washington the same day, officials reduced their commitment to a pledge to "possibly" observe the truce.

On September 7 the U.S. command in Saigon flatly rejected the cease-fire, saying they would follow the lead of the Thieu-Ky regime in continuing the fighting.

Meanwhile, Spiro Agnew (Nixon's vice-president), in an interview on national television, declared: "We are doing everything we can to utilize this [the proposed cease-fire] as a possible constructive undertaking that may result in some benefit to the progress in putting this terrible war to an end."

Nixon, seemingly less certain on this point, issued a statement at his summer home in San Clemente, California, to the effect that he was undecided about the truce, but doubtful that the U.S. would honor it.

Still another turnabout came on September 8, after the truce was already scheduled to have begun. Unidentified "authoritative officials" in Washington now said the U.S. would accept the NLF proposal and "do its share" to keep the level of fighting low during the three-day period.

Meanwhile in Saigon, puppets Thieu and Ky began to pull a few strings of their own. Thieu and Ky had reportedly accepted the last-minute agreement



**BUNKER:** Going to be light at the end of tunnel? We are at the end of the tunnel!

to adhere to the NLF-proposed cease-fire. U.S. officials denied any disagreement between Washington and Saigon.

Then, as *Newsweek* magazine reported September 22, "Thieu flew off to Con Son Island, 135 miles southeast of Saigon in the South China Sea, for a weekend of sport with his cronies. And during his absence, a South Vietnamese spokesman announced that Saigon had no intention whatever of respecting the cease-fire."

According to this source, General Creighton Abrams and another U.S. official managed to persuade Premier Tran Thien Khiem to honor the agreement.

At this point Thieu returned and ordered the Saigon troops to keep fighting. When Nixon learned of this, he is said to have intervened directly and ordered Abrams to bring Thieu to heel.

"In the end, however," *Newsweek* said, "Thieu gave his personal assurance that he would go along—and then, for the third time, reneged. Thus, during the cease-fire period, while U.S. and Com-

munist troops refrained from practically all offensive actions, the South Vietnamese Army actually stepped up the tempo of its activity."

This picture of total confusion was described by *Newsweek* as "an almost unfathomable display of uncertainty of purpose on the part of the U.S."

*Newsweek's* conclusion, however, is not borne out by the facts. Nixon may be charged with clumsiness, but not with being uncertain of his purpose in Vietnam. How adamant Nixon's opposition to Thieu's action really was, for example, remains a question of some doubt. If, as there is every reason to believe, Nixon had no intention of ending U.S. aggression in Vietnam, then his interest in the cease-fire would be quite limited.

It would be convenient, in fact, to allow Washington's South Vietnamese "allies" to pursue the war while the Americans formally complied with the truce for the sake of appearances.

As for the so-called bombing "halt" which followed the cease-fire, it is enough to point out that the thirty-six-hour "suspension" and the resumption of the bombing were announced at the same press conference by White House press secretary Ronald L. Ziegler September 12.

Only hours earlier the U.S. Defense Department had denied knowledge of such a "bombing halt," and Ziegler himself refused to say whether the North Vietnamese had ever been informed of this "gesture."

The effect of such an absurd maneuver was the opposite of what was intended; rather than placating antiwar sentiment, it suggested that Nixon was bent on continuing the war.

On September 12 Nixon met with his advisers for a top-level conference on Vietnam. Since the June 8 announcement of the first "withdrawal" of 25,000 American troops, administration spokesmen have consistently suggested in their public statements that Nixon is on the verge of bringing the war to a close; that he has abandoned Lyndon

Johnson's goal of a military victory over the Vietnamese people.

Reports of the September 12 meeting indicated the truth. Around the conference table were many of the same figures Johnson consulted—men who have become known as the "Vietnam Establishment": Generals Creighton Abrams and Earle Wheeler, Admiral John McCain, Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker, and Central Intelligence Agency Director Richard Helms.

Also present were the Nixon "team": Secretary of State William Rogers, presidential assistant Henry Kissinger, Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird, and Attorney General John Mitchell.

"Congressional sources," the *New York Times* reported from Washington the day before the meeting, "said they were aware of a revival of sentiment among both civilian officials and military leaders that the United States should seek a clear victory in Vietnam and should play down the attempt to reach a negotiated settlement."

A clear military victory . . . That was the line of the Johnson administration, to which Nixon, in his campaign propaganda, promised a clear alternative.

Ellsworth Bunker, the *Times* said, "has brought President Nixon optimistic reports of the political situation under President Nguyen Van Thieu of South Vietnam and of improving combat capabilities of the South Vietnamese Army. . .

"Mr. Bunker is . . . also said to have urged Mr. Nixon to hold off on negotiations, contending that the longer the talks in Paris are deadlocked, the better it is for the United States and South Vietnamese military position."

General Abrams, the *Times* added, "has given the same optimistic evaluation through military channels, the sources said."

*Newsweek* confirmed this account. Military commanders in Vietnam, the weekly said, "have been filing rosy reports of U.S. and South Vietnamese battlefield triumphs. Thus, once again, the question was revived in Washington whether a clear-cut U.S. military victory might not, after all, be feasible.

"And significantly, one of the most hawkish voices in this debate belonged to U.S. Ambassador to Saigon Ellsworth Bunker. 'We used to hear from Bunker that there was going to be light at the end of the tunnel,' one official said. 'Now he's practically telling us that we *are* at the end of the tunnel.'"

The decisions made by Nixon after being briefed by his brain trust show that he intends to continue, perhaps even intensify, the war.

On September 16 the president made his long-promised announcement of a new troop withdrawal. What was significant was its paltry size—an estimated 35,000. *New York Times* columnist Tom Wicker commented: "Once again the mountain has labored and brought forth its mouse." Even Nguyen Cao Ky had predicted on the eve of Nixon's announcement that the number would be 40,500.

As he has done since the beginning of his administration, Nixon is stalling for time, and trying to buy it as cheaply as possible at that. His performance recalls the election posters bearing his picture over the caption, "Would you buy a used car from this man?"

Nixon managed to drag out his first token withdrawal of 25,000 men for more than three months. He canceled the promised August announcement of a further cutback, stalling until September 16. When the announcement was finally made, Nixon coyly avoided naming the actual figure to be withdrawn, referring to "a minimum of 60,000 troops" as the total for both withdrawals, the second to be dragged out until December 15.

At that rate it would take nearly five years to withdraw all American forces from Vietnam. But this time, unlike his June 8 announcement of the first cutback, Nixon did not promise that any more troops would be brought home in the future.

It might be noted also that former President Johnson said in 1968 that 60,000 American soldiers could be withdrawn from Vietnam without any appreciable effect on the "war effort."

But even this minimal figure may have been inflated. Nixon avoided an explicit figure for the new withdrawal because, it appears, he was referring to a reduction in the "authorized" rather than the actual number of U.S. servicemen in Vietnam. "Authorized" strength has usually been somewhat higher than the real deployment of forces. Lyndon Johnson "authorized" American commanders to field some 549,500 troops, although the real totals ranged around 535,000.

The present real U.S. troop strength in Vietnam is about 508,000 men, which Nixon said would be cut to

484,000 by the new withdrawal. Simple subtraction shows that Nixon is taking out only 24,000 men. The White House has thus far refused to explain the discrepancy.

One explanation is that a substantial portion of the new cutback is made up of "authorized"—but nonexistent—soldiers.

In either case nearly half a million U.S. soldiers will remain in Vietnam at the beginning of 1970.

Nixon has evidently abandoned his "hope" of beating the timetable suggested by former Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford calling for the withdrawal of 100,000 troops by the end of the year. Even the most optimistic estimate put forward by the administration leaves Nixon 40,000 short of this goal when the present withdrawal is completed on December 15—with only sixteen days left to carry out the now forgotten "hope."

Nixon's unctuous plea for "peace" at the United Nations September 18 did nothing to offset the clear delineation of his policy of aggression. Least appreciated was his hypocritical "defense" of the right of self-determination for the people of Vietnam.

Even the *New York Times* was forced to comment in a September 19 editorial: "This argument is not likely to carry much weight with world opinion as long as massive American forces continue to support a government in Saigon that stubbornly excludes substantial elements of even the non-Communist opposition."

Finally, on September 19, Nixon played the last card in his current "peace offensive." He announced that draft calls for this year would be cut by 50,000 men, and that certain technical reforms in the selection of army draftees would be implemented at some time in the future.

What he did not announce was that the total number of young men drafted in 1969 *after the proposed reduction* would be only 5,600 less than the number drafted in 1968. And most of this number was accounted for by budget cuts in the armed services not in any way affecting the war in Vietnam.

What Nixon's week-long "peace" operation amounts to is an attempt to defuse antiwar sentiment at home, especially on the campus. Nothing that he has done thus far can be expected

to have the least effect in reducing the level of fighting in Vietnam or in advancing a "diplomatic" end to the war.

On the contrary, all the signs indicate that he intends to carry on Johnson's policy of continuing and even escalating the war. As the popular antiwar

protest song puts it, "Waist deep in the Big Muddy, the big fool says to push on. . ."

Will Nixon's course stir up fresh opposition to the war? This will soon be tested.

A major antiwar demonstration is

scheduled to take place in Washington November 15. There the American people will have the opportunity to answer Nixon's maneuvering with the lives of their sons.

In Washington tens of thousands will demand, "Bring the GIs Home Now!"

## Argentina

# New Upsurge in Cordoba and Rosario

By Gerry Foley

A new upsurge of resistance to the military dictatorship of General Juan Carlos Onganía began September 8 when workers struck on the Mitre railroad line connecting Buenos Aires and the provincial cities of Córdoba and Rosario.

This conflict resulted in confrontations between the strikers and the dictatorship that mushroomed into a strike of all the railroad workers and a thirty-eight-hour general strike in Córdoba and Rosario, as well as massive new demonstrations in the latter city.

The Mitre line strike was touched off by a new act of antiunion intimidation, according to *Le Monde's* correspondent Philippe Labreveux September 15: "Some strikers, who had initially staged a sit-down to show their solidarity with a shop steward suspended by the company, were in turn suspended for a month. The government announced subsequently that if the [striking] railroad workers did not return to work, they would be drafted into the army. The workers, for their part, considered that they were 'permanently called up,' since the Argentinian railroads are run at the highest level by military officers. Moreover, a high military officer runs their union . . . which was put under government control in 1966."

It was clear that the workers' hatred of the regime had reached such a pitch that little was needed to ignite a new explosion. "The Rosario workers said that the sanctions against their shop steward were only 'the last straw,'" Labreveux wrote.

The railroad workers strike dovetailed with a rise in student activity. On September 12, students demonstrated in Buenos Aires, Rosario, Córdoba, and Santa Fe to mark the

anniversary of the death of Santiago Pompillon, a young Córdoba student shot in the head by police during a protest in 1966.

In Córdoba and Rosario the police attacked the demonstrators, who responded by throwing Molotov cocktails and breaking windows.

On September 15, the coordinating committee of the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor] in Córdoba and the United CGT\* in Rosario called a thirty-eight-hour general strike to begin the following day. Conflicts in the FIAT automobile assembly plant in Córdoba were an additional reason for the strike. FIAT fired a hundred workers who staged a sit-in strike in one of its shops.

The union movements in these two cities have been the focal points of the resistance to the regime which began in mid-May and which has resulted in several one-day national general strikes and major demonstrations. Both of these cities were the scene of large-scale rebellions; Rosario on May 22 and Córdoba on May 30.

After the latest one-day national strike August 27, the Rosario and Córdoba unions appealed to the national labor leaders to declare an all-out struggle against the regime. The response to this appeal was evasive. "The moderate trade-union leaders in the capital admitted the need for more aggressive demonstrations against the regime than the August 27 strike; but they are afraid of repression," Labreveux wrote.

\* Two rival CGT federations exist in Argentina. Since the upsurge of mass opposition to the regime, there has been a tendency toward reunification. This has been accomplished to a certain extent in Rosario and steps in that direction have been taken in Córdoba.—*IP*.

The *Le Monde* correspondent noted: "While the national leaders of the 'Commission of the Twenty,' representing the majority of the unions, agreed in principle to a new strike, they set no date and did not propose to meet on this question before September 22. Moreover, it was only with reservations that they extended solidarity to the railroad strikers."

The national union leadership justified its timid attitude with the pretext that new contract negotiations were soon to open with the employers. (Onganía issued a severe warning to the unions against any strikes during the period of negotiations.)

The arguments of the national unions, according to Labreveux, "did not convince the workers. The disparity between the wage demands raised, which vary between 30 and 100 percent, and what the employers' organizations seem inclined to grant, will unquestionably compel the government to intervene."

Since the governor of the province of Córdoba declared September 16 a holiday to head off mass meetings on the work sites, the unions there decided to reschedule their strike to begin September 17. Elsewhere the strikes began at the time originally set.

A few hours before midnight, September 15, when the railroad workers were scheduled to begin their strike, the government issued a decree putting them under military discipline. The decree stipulated that any workers who failed to show up for work would be considered "deserters" and would be subject to two-year prison sentences. The decree also provided for setting up special military courts to try workers

accused of serious offenses, such as sabotage.

Despite the government's threats, the workers walked out on schedule. "The 124,000 Argentinian railroad workers went on strike . . . on Monday at midnight," Agence France-Presse cabled. "Half the trains in Argentina were halted today," according to Reuters, September 16.

When the police blocked off the headquarters of the CGT in Rosario the first day of the strike, thousands of protesting workers and students stormed their lines. The demonstrators "threw up barricades and set fire to a train and a dozen public transportation vehicles," *Le Monde's* special correspondent wrote.

The demonstrations, which lasted two days, reached a peak after two youths were killed. A twelve-year-old boy was reported shot to death from a passing car, and a seventeen-year-old youth was killed in a clash with the police. As tension rose, the Second Army Corps under General Heriberto Robinson, supported by artillery units from other garrisons, occupied the city.

"The army was in control of all strategic areas in Rosario, Argentina's second largest city, today. . . ." according to a September 18 *New York Times* dispatch.

"General Robinson immediately issued a warning that his troops had orders to shoot if there was any more rioting," the *Times* dispatch continued. "This morning troops guarding the Sorrento station just south of Rosario opened fire when a crowd of 50 men and youths marched on the building."

According to press and wire service reports, the railroad strike was still continuing September 18. "The union's leaders have gone underground, and there is an order for the arrest of Antonio Scipione, who is leading the strike. Mr. Scipione was secretary general of the Unión Ferroviaria [Railway Union] until the union was placed under a military intervenor two years ago," the *New York Times* correspondent wrote from Buenos Aires.

While tension remained high in Córdoba and Rosario and along the railroad lines, a strike of sugar workers in the northern province of Tucumán reportedly continued to spread. The sugar workers are fighting threatened mill closures.

Meanwhile a new conflict developed in Cipolletti, a small town about 500

miles south of Buenos Aires, where the authorities imposed a curfew. The residents of Cipolletti had been protesting for several days against the provincial government's arbitrary removal of their mayor and the appointment of a special deputy in his place. Fifteen persons were wounded when gunfire broke out in a confrontation between the police and protesters. One hundred demonstrators were reported arrested.

Since mid-May, when student demonstrations won the sympathy and support of broad layers of the population, massive spontaneous explosions of resistance to the regime have followed one after the other. Several opponents of the regime have been killed; hundreds wounded; and hundreds more, including many union leaders, have been sentenced to long prison terms.

The most bureaucratic and opportunistic union leaderships have been compelled to lead militant confrontations with the dictatorship, or be overridden by their rank and file. Although

## Soviet Union

# In Solidarity with People of Czechoslovakia

[The statement printed below was issued August 20, on the anniversary of the Kremlin's invasion of Czechoslovakia. The names of most of the signers have figured in other protests in the USSR in recent times. Ilya Gabai, who included his name indirectly, has been in prison since this spring, as has former Major General Pyotr Grigorenko. The latter's wife, Zinaida, signed the statement in his absence.

[News of this protest was widely carried at the time it was made, but to our knowledge this is its first appearance in full in English. The translation—from the Russian text which recently became available—is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

On August 21, last year, a tragic event occurred: the troops of the Warsaw Pact countries intervened in the brother country of Czechoslovakia. This action had the aim of cutting off the democratic path of development onto which that country had turned. The whole world had followed the post-January developments in Czechoslovakia

the struggle has remained at a high pitch for five months, there is little sign that the combativity of the Argentinian workers is declining.

The latest struggles indicate that the pressure of the ranks on the bureaucratic union apparatuses may even be rising. The railway union was subjected to especially tight controls when the dictatorship assumed power in June 1966. The present strike marks the first time the workers have been able to break these fetters. The breakthrough on the railroads suggests that new explosions are in the offing.

"In the face of these growing manifestations of discontent," *Le Monde's* Argentinian correspondent wrote September 17, "the government and the national CGT leadership remain in suspense. The security forces have been beefed up considerably since the events of May and June, especially in the provinces. On their side, the union leaders, once again overridden by their rank and file, are wondering about the advisability of a new test of strength."

with great hope. It seemed that the idea of socialism, discredited in the Stalin era, would now be rehabilitated. The tanks of the Warsaw Pact countries annihilated those hopes. On this sad anniversary we declare, as before, that we do not agree with this decision which threatens the future of socialism.

We are in solidarity with the people of Czechoslovakia, who wanted to show that socialism with a human face is possible.

These lines are dictated by anguish for our homeland, which we wish to see truly great, free, and happy. We are firmly convinced that a nation that oppresses other nations cannot be free and happy.

Signed: T. Bayeva, Yu. Vishnevskaya, I. Gabai (by proxy), N. Gorbanevskaya, Z. Grigorenko, M. Djemilev, S. Kovalev, L. Petrovsky, L. Plyushch, G. Podyapolsky, I. Yakir, P. Yakir, A. Yakobson, V. Krasin, A. Levitin.

## Pop Music in China

A current smash hit in the People's Republic of China is "Smash a New Czar." The new song, according to a report from Peking, tops the list of titles being played on the radio.

## SWP Fights New York Election Ban

The Socialist Workers party has announced that it will fight the arbitrary and undemocratic September 18 ruling of the city board of elections excluding the party from the November 4 municipal election ballot.

The Socialist Labor party, similarly deprived of its democratic rights September 17, likewise stated that it would fight the outrageous ruling. The SLP promulgates the teachings of Daniel De Leon.

The board's action was part of a crude maneuver by New York's liberal Republican Mayor John V. Lindsay to secure a more favorable position for himself on the voting machines by knocking the two socialist parties off the ballot. Lindsay's campaign apparatus spent thousands of dollars to deny the democratic right of the SWP and the SLP to appeal to the electorate for votes, after the two parties had complied with the state's already onerous and restrictive requirements for securing a ballot place.

Under New York election law, ballot representation goes automatically to the two major parties, the Republicans and the Democrats. In addition, any party that received a substantial vote in the previous election is listed without further qualification—at present this applies only to the Liberal and Conservative parties, which are essentially auxiliary electoral appendages of the major parties.

Minority parties are required to collect some 7,500 "valid" signatures of registered voters on independent nominating petitions to list a candidate for mayor on the ballot.

The SWP had filed 13,390 signatures of New York City voters. The SLP had turned in some 10,389. Despite the considerable margin allowed for by both parties, the Lindsay machine, using the money, manpower, and political influence available to a ruling capitalist politician, challenged a majority of the petitions on vague and ill-defined technical grounds.

The *New York Times*, which gave front-page coverage to the case, reported the reactions of the SLP and SWP on September 18:



JOHN V. ("VENAL") LINDSAY

"The Socialist Labor party called the challenge 'a shameless act of political opportunism sponsored and managed by the Lindsay camp.'

"Paul Boutelle, the Socialist Workers party candidate for Mayor, said in an open letter to Mr. Lindsay that the challenge was 'a slap in the face of every fair-minded individual in the city.'

This gross violation of elementary democratic rights was compounded by the pettiness of Lindsay's motives. His name was already scheduled to appear on the ballot *twice*, once as the candidate of the Liberal party, on a top line, and once as a candidate of the non-existent "Independent" party. He merely wanted to secure a better spot on the ballot for his fraudulent "Independent" party.

An "Ad Hoc Committee for a Fair Ballot" has been formed under the sponsorship of a number of well-known local and national figures. The committee's two cochairmen are Dave McReynolds, national field secretary of the War Resisters League, and Ruth

Gage Colby of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

The initial sponsors include former city councilman Paul O'Dwyer, a leader of the New Democratic Coalition, a key figure in organizing Democratic party support for Republican Mayor Lindsay; columnist Nat Hentoff, author of a recent laudatory biography of Lindsay; Norma Becker of the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee; writers Susan Sontag, Eric Bentley, Dwight Macdonald, and Paul Goodman; James Haughton of the Harlem Unemployment Center; Aryeh Neier, executive director of the New York chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union; and Julius Jacobson, editor of *New Politics* magazine.

The above sponsors sent a letter to Lindsay September 17 stating:

"We have been deeply disturbed by the efforts of your campaign manager, Richard Aurelio, to force off the ballot the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party and the Socialist Labor Party in order to insure a second line on the ballot for your own candidacy. Both of the parties involved have made what we believe to be serious and extended efforts to qualify for the ballot, involving literally hundreds of man hours of time in gathering and processing their petitions.

"Both parties are established parties in New York and have run candidates in every election for many years.

"No political issue facing the city justifies—or could justify—the effort to deprive voters of their right to cast a ballot for one of these two parties if they chose to do so. We ask that you and your campaign committee reconsider and withdraw the challenges to these parties on the basis of the democratic right of any political party to be represented on the ballot."

Reporting the facts in the September 26 issue of the revolutionary-socialist weekly *Militant*, Robert Langston summarized the position of the SWP:

"The SWP will show that Lindsay's attack is a concrete illustration of the illusoriness of democracy under capitalism, and that it is an example of the extreme vulnerability to subversion by capitalist politicians of the limited democratic rights guaranteed by capitalist law. It will serve as one more proof that democracy will only be real and secure once capitalism has been abolished. We do not think Lindsay will get away with it."

## Hugo Blanco Weighs New Agrarian Reform

[The following is an account of an interview with the revolutionary peasant leader, Hugo Blanco, published in the Lima magazine *Así*, August 1. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

In 1962, while the peasants were waiting impatiently for the passage of laws no one would observe, Hugo Blanco, a peasant himself, carried out an agrarian reform in complete harmony with the real social and economic interests of the country. From El Frontón prison he analyzes the new agrarian reform law with the perfect honesty of a fighter for justice.

● ● ●

Seven o'clock in the morning. A harbor fog. Yawn follows yawn, a smell of salt water and grease overlays the warm aroma of coffee. As we settle into our places in the launch, the steamers doze under the flutterings of grotesque pelicans.

"The trip takes forty minutes," a neighbor tells me. The passengers chat about their experiences: "I was there three months." "My cousin is there." The launch glides away gently. Outlined in the distance are chimneys, towers, and the big old houses of La Punta—shrinking away. San Lorenzo and El Frontón begin to loom up.

"Your identification," one of the guards asks us, "discharge papers, voter's card, pass, anything. There's no signature on this; it's no good." A stamp on the arm, "the right please," one sol [37.5 soles equal US\$1], another sol . . . "Hugo Blanco, that's him," they tell me.

"Hugo Blanco? I'm from *Así*."

"Oh, I hadn't heard of it."

There's a man with a scraggly beard. That's Creus. "How do you do," he says, with a frank air about him.

Hugo Blanco wears a rather old poncho, which hangs stiffly on him. I am interested in his opinion of the Agrarian Reform Law.

"I haven't studied it thoroughly," he says, "but I can say a little about it."

The sun comes out timidly. We find a place in the cafeteria (it reminds me

of the wholesale market, the butchers, the long concrete tables with benches on both sides). In front of me is Hugo Blanco, at his side the Argentinian Creus. On my left is Blanco's brother—"he comes every Sunday."

The visitors are meeting the people they came to see, chatting, shouting, embracing. "I know that they accused you—"

"Use the familiar form," he interrupts me.\*

"Well, Hugo, I know that they accused you of importing foreign ideologies."

"Yes, that's so, because I fought for introducing modern technology into the Indian commune [ayllu], and tried to extend and regulate the Indian communal system [ayni]. That was what the 'foreign ideologies' amounted to. Moreover, in my capacity as agrarian reform secretary of the Department of Cuzco Peasant Federation, I issued a decree which was implemented on a hundred estates and gave the peasants more than the present agrarian reform law.

"The most impressive and substantial successes can be seen in Chaupimayo and Santa Rosa, and also in Paltaybamba.

"In a nutshell, the decree gave the land to those who worked it without them having to compensate the landlords in any way. Those who had no land, or very little, were given uncultivated areas on the sole condition that they put it under cultivation. On some estates, the peasant unions decided how much land would be left in the hands of the landowners.

"In cases like Chaupimayo, where the ranchers had been actual murderers, the unions expropriated the land, the houses, the buildings, etc., without compensation, and everything became collective property to be used for schools, health facilities, defense (ransom for

imprisoned peasants, 'lawyers,' etc.). All, or almost all, the directors of this deepgoing agrarian reform were imprisoned. Others died in the struggle."

The sound of yelling came from not far away, rising and falling like the waves breaking on this tiny island. Someone pointed to the "wolves' den" for incorrigible troublemakers (a cell on a rock pitilessly swept by the wind and surf).

"What is your opinion of the junta?"

"The positions the junta takes, benefiting the exploited masses and in defense of the national sovereignty, must be firmly supported. There can be no doubt about that. In the specific case of the agrarian reform law, we can say that this is an advanced piece of legislation and superior to the previous law in many respects.

"But this law, like the previous one, does not propose confiscating the big estates without compensation, which is what the peasants want. How can the peasants pay for the land if they have been exploited all their lives? Moreover, paying compensation for the expropriated land will decapitalize the countryside instead of bringing in the capital needed for development. I can't fail to point out that 'laws' favoring the peasants have existed for centuries—since before Túpac Amaru.\* But very few have been carried out. The previous law attempted to make people believe that land was being given to the peasants in La Convención, when these lands had already been taken by the peasants themselves. All it did was sanction an accomplished fact so as to justify compensating the ranchers for lands which were no longer theirs, thus saddling the peasants with a debt. There are, then, some 'agrarian reform laws' which are against the interests of the peasants.

"As I said, the law is an advanced

\* Familiarity requires using the form "tu," similar to the archaic "thou" in English, instead of the formal "Usted." An equivalent in English is the use of first names instead of "Mr."—*IP*.

\* The name of the leader of an Inca revolt against the Spanish conquerors who was sentenced to death in 1579. Gabriel Condorcanqui, a descendant of the Incas, who led a peasant revolt in 1780, used the name as a sobriquet.—*IP*.



one. But that's why it was passed. All the laws have been advanced ones, superior to the previous ones. That's because each time it's harder to cheat the people, more concessions have to be made, the deceptions are more subtle.

"You don't have to pass an agrarian reform law to benefit the peasants. All you have to do is enforce the decisions in the legal settlements which the communes have won against the ranchers."

A homosexual strolls by with a little dog under his arm. There is a homosexual whorehouse, someone says. Creus and Hugo Blanco keep looking at my notes.

The sun does not succeed in emerging from behind the clouds. A prisoner is selling baskets, stamps, cigarettes.

"And what part is the peasantry to play?" continues Hugo. "The peasants must be the ones to decide what kind of ownership is going to be established. Measures cannot be imposed on our peasantry or on us, no matter how legal they may be. This is because of all the exploitation we have suffered. If a 'misti' (white man) comes to a community to 'help us,' no one will pay any attention to him because this pretext has been used to harass and exploit us.

"But when we call in a specialist, we get every last bit of expertise out of him. We must be the ones to choose; we must be the ones to decide when, where, and how a measure is to be taken. An agrarian reform behind the backs of the peasants tends to lose its force and remain a dead letter. Nothing must be imposed on the peasants. Let their experience be what impels them to decide.

"If at first the peasants divide their lands, the effect of another group of peasants holding the land in common—with higher yields—will turn them around. And that is what must occur because the vanguard elements strive to organize themselves in cooperatives, and insofar as this system is more productive, in the long run, the peasants will turn to cooperative forms. This took place in the south. Another positive thing about the law, before I forget, is that section on big industrial farms. That is an effective way of taking away the power of a group in the oligarchy.

"The question as to whether the peasants are capable of holding property and governing themselves will be an-

swered as they are given land. The needs of farming will force them to educate themselves and to work more intensively. They may not be very well educated today. But it is utopian to think that any boss rancher is going to give them the chance to learn anything.

"I would like to expand on what I said, but I know the time is short. A lot has been said about me not saying anything. That's not so. Hugo Blanco is the member of a party and as such I

## U.S.A.

# Unrest Among Officers Worries Pentagon

The growth of antiwar sentiment in the U.S. armed forces is not limited to rank-and-file GIs.

Flora Lewis, in a column in the September 9 Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin*, reports: "Dissatisfaction among junior officers has spread to the point where it is a serious worry to some military planners. Since 1960, they say, the retention rate of young officers who had planned a full military career has been dropping sharply."

The disaffection is particularly strong in Vietnam. "On a recent trip to Vietnam," Flora Lewis writes, "two out of every three captains I met and one out of every three majors told me they had changed their minds about the Army and had asked or intended to ask for release."

These resignations do not show up immediately in current statistics because the armed forces are allowed to keep officers on active duty for as long as eighteen months after their release is due, if "the needs of the service" are believed, by the top brass, to justify it.

"Furthermore," the columnist adds, "the men in the field claimed that those asking for release were being punished these days with immediate extension of their assignment in Vietnam for an extra year. This does not seem to be the rule, but a lot of officers apparently think it is, so they are holding off sending in their resignations."

"The Army," according to Flora Lewis, "avoids the subject where possible. Some time ago, it answered a congressional query about the number of men being sent to Vietnam for a

express myself through the organs of the party I belong to.

"The students? Let them go into the countryside because they are part of the people and do not have the same interests as the bureaucracies that may succumb to the pressures and bribes of the boss ranchers. The students must participate in the agrarian reform because their involvement is a guarantee that it will be carried out."

second and even third involuntary tour of duty.

"Not serious, the Army said, just a temporary pattern, due to last year's Tet offensive, and involving only a small group of men with 'special skills.'

"The official answer failed to explain that in this context all infantry officers were considered to have 'special skills.'"

## Nerve Gas Tested

The Pentagon admitted September 18 that deadly nerve gases had been tested in Hawaii on four occasions between 1966 and 1967.

The admission came after army officials had denied that the army had tested any chemical or biological weapons in Hawaii.

According to the Pentagon, the army men did not lie since the poisons—GB and BZ gases—were not tested in "weapon" form.

Jerry Friedheim, Defense Department spokesman, said the tests took place seven miles from inhabited areas. They did not involve animal life and were aimed at determining the effectiveness of the gases in a jungle environment.

GB is capable of killing in minutes. BZ is an "incapacitant."

BZ was tested in 1966. GB was tested once in 1966 and twice in 1967. The site was Mauna Loa.

The Pentagon said no more tests were contemplated in Hawaii.

But Hawaii Gov. John Burns cabled the army that the island state might cancel the army's lease on the test site at Mauna Loa.

# Middle East at the Crossroads

By Abou Saïd and Moche Machover

[Abou Saïd and Moche Machover are leaders of the Israeli Socialist Organization (ISO). The ISO, which has both Arab and Jewish members, has been persecuted by the present rulers of Israel for its consistent opposition to Zionist expansionism and its advocacy of a multinational socialist republic in the Middle East.]

\* \* \*

The Middle East is approaching a crossroads. The four great powers are conferring in an attempt to reach an agreed "solution," which they will then proceed to impose on the inhabitants of the region, and which they hope will restore the stability that was shaken by the June 1967 war and its aftermath. The aim of the present article is to analyse the dangers which wait at this crossroads and which threaten the future of the revolution in the Middle East.

An important new protagonist has appeared on the Middle Eastern political stage: the Palestinians. True, they had taken action into their own hands a few years before the June war, but the real impetus came only after that war. The positive factor here is that Palestinian action has transformed a struggle formerly between governments into a mass struggle.

For nearly twenty years the Palestinians had been an object of history, passively awaiting salvation by the Arab states in general, or by the "progressive" Arab states, in particular Egypt, under the leadership of Abdel Nasser.

The 1948 war exposed the bankruptcy of the old middle-class and landowners' leadership of the Arab national movement. As a result, a new leadership—petty bourgeois in its class nature—came to the forefront; it overthrew the old regime in several Arab countries and scored considerable successes in the anti-imperialist struggle.

But the June 1967 war revealed the limitations of this leadership; limitations resulting from its class nature

and its nationalist ideology. Among other things it proved its total inability to solve the Palestinian question. Despite the Soviet support, Nasserism and Ba'athism are in a state of political bankruptcy.

Against this background the emergence of Palestinian mass struggle can be understood. As mentioned above, the emergence of this new factor is a positive phenomenon. But one can also discern a negative and dangerous trend in it. Some sections of the Palestinian movement have adopted the view that the Palestinian masses can and should "go it alone" and solve their problem by themselves, in separation from the all-Arab revolutionary struggle. Those who hold this view present the problem solely as a Palestinian one, which can be solved in a purely Palestinian framework. The stick has not been straightened, it is being bent in the opposite direction.

The former passive attitude, hoping for salvation by others, risks being replaced by a narrow localist attitude. The only help which is demanded from the rest of the Arab world is aid to the Palestinian front itself.

This attitude disregards the connection between the Palestinian struggle and the struggle in the Arab world as a whole, and it therefore advocates "nonintervention in the internal affairs of the Arab states."

The Arab governments encourage this attitude. The very mobilization of the masses in the Arab countries—even if only for the Palestinian cause—threatens the existing regimes. These regimes therefore wish to *isolate* the Palestinian struggle and to leave it entirely to the Palestinians.

The Arab governments—both reactionary and "progressive"—are trying to buy stability for their regimes with a ransom to the Palestinian organizations. Moreover, the governments want to use this financial aid to direct the Palestinian struggle along their own politically convenient lines, to manipulate it, and to utilize it merely as a

means of bargaining for a political solution acceptable to them. The Egyptian, Syrian, and Jordanian governments are mainly interested in regaining the territories they lost in the June war (and in thereby regaining their lost prestige and consolidating their authority), while the Palestinian cause is, from their point of view, only secondary, a means rather than an aim. This is what the Arab governments mean when they call for "liquidating the results of aggression."

Clearly, if the Arab governments achieve their aim (e.g., through the four great powers), they will be prepared to desert the Palestinians, and even to take an active part in a political and physical liquidation of the Palestinian movement.

The four powers will probably insist on this as a condition for a political settlement.

As the consequences of the 1948 war provided the background for the downfall of the old national leadership in the Arab world and for the emergence of the petty-bourgeois leadership—so the consequences of the 1967 war have set the stage for replacing this leadership by a new one, representing a new class.

Since the propertied classes proved unable to solve the social, political, and national problems of the Arab world, it has become apparent that only the exploited masses themselves, under a working-class leadership, are capable of solving their historic problems.

But the existence of suitable *objective* conditions does not mean that this new leadership will automatically emerge. For this further requires a subjective factor—a political organization with a revolutionary theory and a revolutionary all-Arab strategy.

However, it is precisely this need for political work and for an all-Arab revolutionary strategy that is explicitly rejected by some important sectors of the Palestinian movement. They advocate the *confinement* of the struggle to the Palestinian front alone and its *limita-*

tion to armed operations without a political programme.

The balance of forces, as well as theoretical considerations, shows the impossibility of solving the Palestinian problem in a separate Palestinian framework.

What is the balance of forces? The Palestinian people are waging a battle where they confront Zionism, which is supported by imperialism; from the rear they are menaced by the Arab regimes and by Arab reaction, which is also supported by imperialism.

As long as imperialism has a real stake in the Middle East, it is unlikely to withdraw its support for Zionism, its natural ally, and to permit its overthrow; it will defend it to the last drop of Arab oil.

On the other hand, imperialist interests and domination in the region cannot be shattered without overthrowing those junior partners of imperialist exploitation that constitute ruling classes in the Arab world.

The conclusion that must be drawn is *not* that the Palestinian people should wait quietly until imperialist domination is overthrown throughout the region, but that they should rally to the wider struggle for political and social liberation of the Middle East as a whole.

Just as it is impossible *in practice* to defeat Zionism without overthrowing imperialist domination throughout the region, so it is *theoretically* absurd to present formulas for solving the problem within the territory of Palestine alone.

If one speaks about the situation existing before the overthrow of imperialism in the entire region—then the de-Zionisation of Israel and the establishment of a Palestine without Zionism is quite impossible. And if one thinks of the situation after the overthrow of imperialism—then what is the sense of a formula which refers to Palestine alone, without taking into account the necessary changes which would take place in the whole region?

In the last analysis, the formula that restricts itself to Palestine alone, despite its revolutionary appearance, derives from a *reformist* attitude which seeks partial solutions within the framework of conditions now existing in the region. In fact, partial solutions can only be implemented through a compromise with imperialism and Zionism.

In addition, the solutions which are limited to Palestine cannot grapple suc-

cessfully with the national problem. The formulas which speak of "an independent democratic Palestine all of whose citizens, irrespective of religion, will enjoy equal rights" have two defects.

On the one hand, they imply the creation of a new separate "Palestinian" nation whose members do not differ from one another nationally but only religiously. The authors of these formulas are themselves aware of the absurdity of separating the Palestinians from the general Arab nation; they therefore hasten to add that "Palestine is part of the Arab fatherland." This looks suspiciously like the old slogan of "Arab Palestine" dressed up in new—and more nebulous—garb.

This attitude results from a misapprehension of the national problem in general and of Israeli reality in particular. It is true that the Jews living in Israel came to settle there under the influence and leadership of Zionism, and that they—as a community—have oppressed and are still oppressing Palestinians.

But it is impossible to ignore the patent fact that today this community constitutes a national entity (which differs from world Jewry on the one hand and from the Palestinian Arabs on the other) having its own language and economic and cultural life.

In order to solve the Palestinian problem, this community (or at least a substantial part of it) must be severed from the influence of Zionism and attracted to a joint struggle with the revolutionary forces in the Arab world for the national and social liberation of the entire region. But clearly this cannot be achieved by ignoring the existence of that community as a national entity.

This problem cannot be solved within the narrow framework of Palestine. If one is thinking of a democratic state pure and simple—"one man, one vote"—then in fact it will be a state with a Jewish majority, and there is nothing to prevent it from being like the present State of Israel, but having a larger territory and a bigger Arab minority.

If one is thinking of a binational state, then it will be an artificial creation separating the Palestinian Arabs from the rest of the Arab world and from the revolutionary process taking place in it.

Besides, in a binational structure there are no inherent guarantees that one of the two national groups would not

dominate the other. All this refers to proposed solutions which can be considered as feasible within the present condition of the Middle East, i.e., which do not presuppose a comprehensive social revolution.

On the other hand, if one considers the situation which will exist after a victorious social revolution, after imperialism and Zionism are defeated, then there will not exist a separate Palestinian problem, but rather the problem of the various national groups living within the Arab world (Kurds, Israeli Jews, South Sudanese).

This problem can only be solved by granting these nationalities the right to self-determination. Of course, recognition of the right to self-determination does not mean encouragement to separation; on the contrary, it provides the correct basis for integration without compulsion or repression.

Moreover, self-determination in the Middle East is impossible so long as that region is under direct or indirect imperialist domination, but is possible only after it is liberated from all imperialist influence, i.e., after a victorious socialist revolution. In particular, this situation presupposes the overthrow of Zionism.

To sum up: the existing objective conditions enable and require the creation of a revolutionary mass movement, led by the working class, guided by a revolutionary Marxist theory, and acting according to an all-Arab strategy, which will recognise the national rights of the non-Arab nationalities living within the Arab world and prove capable of attracting them to a common struggle for the national and social liberation of the entire region.

#### Police Attack Strikers in Peru

Some 4,000 striking miners and metal workers were attacked by 800 police fifty miles outside of Lima September 15.

The police used tear-gas grenades and clubs. They arrested about 100 persons, including a priest and two lawyers.

The workers were marching to appeal directly to the ruling military junta to intercede on their behalf in a wage dispute with the big U.S.-owned Cerro de Pasco Corporation.

They had been on strike for 16 days, seeking a wage increase of 33 soles [US\$.85] a day. The company offered 13.

Several of the strike leaders reportedly managed to reach Lima.

#### Busy Ticket Writers

Some 1,899,000 tickets were handed out by traffic cops to Egypt's 170,000 private automobile owners last year. This makes the average more than 11 per driver.

# The Struggle Goes On

By Pat Jordan

[The following article appeared in the September issue of *International*,\* the organ of the International Marxist Group, the British section of the Fourth International.]

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Some people expressed scepticism on seeing the cover of a recent issue of *International* with the legend: "The Permanent Revolution Reaches the U. K." Well, no one doubts now the revolutionary nature of the struggle in Northern Ireland; but will it be permanent? By permanent we mean that it is a problem which has no solution under any foreseeable circumstances in capitalist terms.

At time of writing there is a lull in the struggle, and Labour's biggest smoothy, Callaghan, is doing the rounds trying to calm everyone down. However, the air is heavy with social tension and a spark could start a prairie fire.

The policy of the Wilson government is very plain—it wants to appear to be doing something and yet wants to avoid upsetting the very status quo which led to the crisis in the first place. Above all, it is frightened of a Protestant "counterrevolution." Hence its shuffling on the question of the B specials.<sup>1</sup> Once again an immutable law of politics has been vindicated: social democracy, which is so firm against the left, will always capitulate in face of a firm right wing.

Until now the Tory party has behaved with "responsibility," no doubt heeding the warnings of serious bourgeois journals like the *Economist* of the consequences of trying to take advantage of the situation for electoral reasons. It has been left to wild-man Enoch Powell to raise an anti-Irish bogey—so far with little effect. How-

ever, the left should be on its guard on this front, particularly if Irish political tendencies take to terrorist methods of struggle.

In Ireland an element of dual power exists in Bogside [the Catholic ghetto in



**WILSON: A sterling friend in times of trouble. Can be counted on to see that Ireland gets its share of British bayonets.**

Derry City], with the local defence committees administering justice and many functions of local government. This reached the point where, on one occasion, the British army was obliged to provide material for a barricade to replace a new bus which the bus company wanted back.

However, no one should be fooled by the friendly atmosphere the British army is trying to create: if those barricades can't be got down by a combination of trickery and threats, the British army will be used to take them down by force. It is quite intolerable

for a bourgeois state to allow within its boundaries a little island of workers' power.

The hypocrisy of Wilson and Callaghan is best demonstrated by the fact that they took no steps whatsoever to deal with discrimination against the Catholic minority, the political gerrymandering, and the police state repression until forced to do so by pressure of events. Now they appeal for calm, denounce the use of violence, and ask the Catholics to dismantle their barricades. They have refrained from denouncing the daily violence of the Stormont [Belfast] regime against political prisoners, and the more insidious violence of enforced unemployment.<sup>2</sup>

Wilson, that doughty defender of democracy against the threat of communism, knows full well that for years the Unionists<sup>3</sup> manipulated the ward boundaries in Derry, giving themselves a majority in a town with a two-thirds Catholic population; that in [County] Fermanagh, where over half the population is Catholic, the Unionists hold 38 seats out of 50; that discrimination is practiced against Catholics in "employment appointments and housing" (the *Economist* 23/8/69); and that a set of repressive laws exist in Northern

2. The Northern Irish regime follows a policy of forcing Catholics to emigrate by limiting job opportunities for them. This is done through manipulation of investment, discrimination in government hiring, and by encouraging discriminatory practices in private industry. — *IP*.

3. The Unionist party, which is dominated by the Anglo-Irish big landowners, capitalists, and merchants, has ruled Northern Ireland since the enclave was created during the Irish war of independence (1918-22). It is organized as a communalist party dedicated to maintaining Protestant supremacy. The term "Unionist" derives from the fact that the Protestant community, which was originally settled as a garrison-colony to hold the country for England, has generally been closely associated with British rule in Ireland and therefore supported union with Great Britain. — *IP*.

\* *International* is published monthly. For a one-year subscription, send the equivalent of £1 or US\$2.00 to Connie Harris, Business Manager, 8 Toynbee St., London, E. 1, England.

1. The auxiliary police force which plays a vigilante role. — *IP*.

Ireland comparable to those of South Africa. Yet he has done nothing until now.

Not least in making sure that the struggle will have a permanent nature is the economic situation. Northern Ireland government officers have estimated that unemployment will rise to 10% in the province this winter, reaching and exceeding 20% in towns like Derry, Newry, and Enniskillen.

Northern Ireland already has an unemployment rate of 7.3% (compared with the too high 2.5% in the rest of the United Kingdom). But this figure obscures a basic tendency: unemployment is much higher in the Catholic areas of Northern Ireland than the average. In July, 1969, there were eleven towns in Northern Ireland with an unemployment rate of more than 10% (more than four times the national average). Every one of these towns had Catholic populations in the 1961 census of around 50% or more; two of them, Strabane and Newry, having over a 75% Catholic population. In July, unemployment in the Catholic towns of Kilkeel, Enniskillen, Strabane and Derry was 20%, 18%, 18%, and 13% respectively. All this compares with the Belfast rate of around 3.5% (in Belfast the Catholic population is about 25%, the same as in Lancashire).

Attempts to deal with these terrible figures have been confined to attracting investment (most British but some foreign) by offering all kinds of inducements. This has not even held the position: each year Northern Ireland's farms, heavy engineering, and shipyards shed 5,000 workers, and another 4,000 young people come on to the labour market. Against this total of 9,000 jobs required, construction and service industries create 4,000 jobs, thus leaving a gap of 5,000. Stormont and Westminster have created an average of 3,300 jobs per year in manufacturing. Unemployment would have been even higher had it not been for large-scale migration.

The policy of tax concessions (mostly to British big business), while it has led to soaring profits, has done little to assist the people of Northern Ireland. Firstly, the investment is capital intensive, thus raising few jobs for a given amount of investment. Secondly, it has been concentrated in only a few industries (notably man-made fibres), thus leaving the small-scale economy

excessively reliant on a small number of products.

In fact, Northern Ireland has many features of an internal colony in the United Kingdom: low wages and high productivity (the growth rate in the six counties<sup>4</sup> has been twice that of the



THE REV. IAN PAISLEY: His own followers recently decorated him with stones.

United Kingdom as a whole over the last ten years); a virtual single-product economy; migrating labour (thus countering the effects of full employment); etc.

As a result of the recent struggles, the economy will be hit in two different ways. Firstly, the entire situation is one in which investors will be very reluctant to build new factories, plants, etc. This will not have an immediate effect on unemployment because there is a two-year time lag between investment and jobs being realized. On the other hand, lower investment potential will mean a lessening of construction and the creation of service facilities—this will hit employment almost straight away.

An immediate and damaging effect of the "troubles"<sup>5</sup> will be to drastically reduce tourism. Over the last period this has netted Northern Ireland's invisible earnings some £28.5 million per an-

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4. Six of Ireland's thirty-two counties are included in the Northern Irish enclave. These six counties form part of the historic Irish province of Ulster, which also includes the counties of Cavan, Monaghan, and Donegal in the so-called Irish Republic.—*IP*.

5. The guerrilla warfare which led to the formal independence of the major part of the island is sometimes referred to as the "troubles."—*IP*.

num. This reduction in tourism will both reduce seasonal employment and generally worsen the economic position.

The British government, itself in a very difficult economic situation and under an obligation to keep government expenditure down, will find it hard to put in money to create a basis for the giving of reforms to mitigate the social crisis. Already it will have bills amounting to over £10 million promised to Stormont to enable the latter to speedily pay compensation for fire damage (again mostly to British big business). In addition it has the not inconsiderable cost of recent military operations (not forgetting the upkeep of the army of occupation).

Westminster is already pouring money into Northern Ireland at the rate of approximately £150 million per year. This includes "balancing items" to level up industrial and social benefits of nearly £40 million. £25 million is received in direct agricultural subsidies, and then there is the so-called assumed deficit for Northern Ireland's nominal share of external affairs and defence. Wilson is paying nearly £100 per person per year [of the Northern Irish population] to keep the Ulster Unionists in power; in return he gets ten or so hard-line Tory MPs<sup>6</sup> in Westminster.

We thus see that the economic situation is one which shows no chance of removing high unemployment, low wages, and all the other things which have underpinned the recent struggles. What of the political situation?

One outstanding feature of the political situation is that every existing political organization is discredited. Furthermore, there have been no claimants on the scene, as yet, likely to quickly win the loyalty of the disillusioned. Even Paisley has been stoned by his own supporters and nobody on the Catholic side has established anything like hegemony. Saying this in no way decries the heroism of the civil-rights leaders like Bernadette Devlin.

A revolutionary leadership has yet to be built and no working-class organization has won any honours in the recent situation. There seems to be no immediate political solution of any kind on the horizon. On the contrary, the

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6. The Unionists are affiliated to the Conservative party in Great Britain.—*IP*.

uneasy truce could be broken at any time.

If the crisis is likely to be permanent, if there is no revolutionary leadership and no workers' solution to the crisis likely in the coming period, then working out a correct political approach is of the highest importance. Whilst we have the task of assisting the Irish people in their day-to-day struggles to the absolute best of our ability, we cannot afford to neglect the long-term problems.

In this sense there are two problems which just have to be tackled: the ending of British imperialism's exploitation of Ireland and the creation of a revolutionary leadership in Ireland, capable of leading a social revolution. The first of these tasks is a historic one handed down to us by the sins of omission of generation after generation of the English working class; the second amounts to giving revolutionary Marxists in Ireland every assistance we can and working among the million and a half Irish people in Britain to spread revolutionary ideas.

It is in this context that we have to examine some of the discussions which are taking place in the British labour movement.

"*Self-determination for Ireland.*" There are a number of objections to this slogan and some say that this cannot be advanced without being qualified by the call for a workers republic. Others argue that Ireland has self-determination in the sense that there is bourgeois democracy in both parts of Ireland.

It first has to be made crystal clear in what context the slogan is used. It would be ridiculous for Marxists to insist that this is the main slogan to be advanced by the Irish movement. It is clear that the Irish movement must be won for the idea that the only solution for the problems of the Irish people and, moreover, the only way to unite the Catholic and Protestant workers is a socialist one.

Concretely, the slogan of a united Ireland in the form of a workers republic, with the perspective of becoming part of the workers federation of Britain which, in turn, would be part of the United Socialist States of Europe, is appropriate.

To achieve such a solution, power would have to be won by struggling against the bourgeoisie and its allies north and south. To facilitate this, Irish revolutionaries would have to work out a transitional programme which would

enable them to win the hegemony of the Irish workers and small farmers.

British Marxists in working out and defending a Marxist analysis of the situation in Ireland can put no other programme forward.

"*British Imperialist Oppression.*" But this is by no means the whole story. We have today a continuation of the national oppression of Ireland by British imperialism. This takes two forms: one, the artificial division of the country, with one part being occupied, directly or indirectly, by British imperialism; the second is the neocolonialist type exploitation of the economy of southern Ireland (which is facilitated by the border: incredible as it may seem, there is relatively little trade between the two parts of Ireland; only 4.1% of the south's imports come from the north, and only 13% of the south's exports go to the north).

The second point is not generally understood in Britain. Despite formal political independence, the grip of British monopolies on the industry, banking, distribution, etc., of the Republic of Ireland is virtually as tight as it was before the first world war. Britain takes no less than 70% of the south's exports and provides 50% of its imports. This kind of relationship in the capitalist world always boils down to the stronger power being able to impose harsh terms of trade. It is estimated that it costs the Republic's government over £50 million in subsidies to farmers because of the British government's cheap food policies.

Under these conditions the only Marxist position is that of unconditional support for the self-determination of the Irish people. This means campaigning against all oppression and interference in Irish affairs. It cannot be conditioned by saying that we stand for self-determination *if* the Irish people opt for socialism. We can express opinions, offer advice, support Irish socialists; but in Britain, in the British labour movement and against the capitalist state machine, we must advance the slogan of self-determination without strings.

It is often argued that self-determination must also be extended to Protestants of Northern Ireland, too, and as they clearly want to be part of the United Kingdom, we should support them in this.

First, a few facts: the relationship of numbers between Catholics and Protestants is not reflected by the electoral

system in Northern Ireland. In the 1961 census, Catholics made up 35% and the combined total for Presbyterians and Anglicans was 53%. It seems almost certain (there are no separate figures for the Presbyterians and Anglicans) that the Presbyterians are in fact a minority.<sup>7</sup>

Catholics definitely are in a majority in the counties of Derry, Tyrone, and Fermanagh; they must be something near that in Armagh and Down [leaving the Protestants a clear majority only in Antrim].

But to argue along religious grounds is to confuse the issue: we are in favour of national self-determination; but membership of a religion does not constitute a nationality. The slogan of self-determination does not mean supporting the right of separation of every religious group (especially those under reactionary influence).

It is argued that self-determination means the ending of the border and the domination of the Protestants by the Catholics. Thus instead of having a Catholic minority discriminated against, we would have a Protestant minority similarly treated.

The Protestants of the north certainly fear this very outcome. Our experience of the behaviour of the Catholic hierarchy in other countries shows this is not an idle fear.

But these arguments miss some important facts:

1. Catholics are being discriminated against, shot down in cold blood, and suffering police repression here and now — this cannot be compared with the *possible* exploitation of Protestants in the future.

2. A united Ireland would be a very different kettle of fish from the present setup in the south; in fact, the present regime is hardly likely to survive such an eventuality, as the two Tory parties of the south have been able to keep a

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7. The Northern Irish Protestant community itself is divided into castes, the Anglicans representing the upper caste and the Presbyterians the lower. Since in certain periods Presbyterianism was persecuted by the Anglican ascendancy, the original Presbyterian upper class went over to Anglicanism. The basic Presbyterian stock came from Scotland; the basic Anglican stock is English in origin. The Anglicans are generally much more closely tied to England by culture, spirit, and interest. Some of the civil-rights leaders in Northern Ireland have referred to representatives of the Anglican ruling class as "Englishmen." — *IP*.

radical posture on the grounds of their national struggle against the English.

The infusion of a militant working class from the north, together with the existing level of struggle and the absence of the national question to confuse things, would clear the decks for a clarification along class lines of the political situation. In this state of affairs, the Protestants of the north could ally themselves with a working class fighting both the bourgeoisie and its frocked backers.

3. The removal of the border and the abstracting out of the national and religious question would lay the basis for a much greater degree of unity of the working class especially, and in the first instance, mainly, in the industrial field.

Having said all this it must be emphasised that an important part of a transitional programme for Ireland will be an absolute guarantee against any form of discrimination on the grounds of race, religion, etc.

A further argument against self-determination—that this would mean a reduction in the standard of living of the workers of Northern Ireland, both Catholic and Protestant—is factually correct but politically wrong.

There is a huge difference in the spending on social services in north and south. Stormont, covering about half the population of the south, actually spent more last year on education (£51 million against £49 million). In the social services the gap is even greater: £82.5 million for the south against £126 million in the north. The average wage in industry in the north was just over £16 for a man, against £14 6s in the south (this should be compared with Britain's average of about £23). The south's level of unemployment pay is only about two-thirds of the north.

These arguments cannot be avoided: this is why for Irish Marxists it is absolutely essential to put forward a comprehensive transitional programme—which would demand the raising of the south's living standards to at least those of the north as immediate corollary of the ending of the border.

Needless to say, such a drastic redistribution of wealth is impossible without the workers and small farmers of all Ireland laying hands on the riches of the country. Hence the ending of the border would be directly linked with a social revolution overturning both bourgeois classes.

By struggling against the border in

Britain via the slogan of self-determination, we will, in fact, be laying the conditions for a move toward the workers republic we all want.

*"Withdraw British Troops Now."* This slogan flows directly from the position of self-determination; but there are people who are willing to support the line of self-determination but not the slogan of immediate withdrawal of British troops. Again we have to make it clear to whom the slogan is being directed and in what context it is being used.

The civil-rights movement of Ireland is opposed to this slogan and is anxious that the British solidarity movement does not advance it. It argues that the arrival of British troops prevented a pogrom, and for it to demand their recall would be suicidal.

This dilemma cannot be dodged by shouting about "revisionism" and "sell-outs." These are real problems involving—as has been demonstrated—people's lives.

The slogan demanding the withdrawal of British troops is an educational one designed to clarify the actual political relationship of forces. In the Vietnam campaign we advance the slogan of victory to the NLF, solidarity with the Vietnamese people, and self-determination for the people of Vietnam, to explain the nature of the struggle.

The demand for withdrawal of British troops, coupled with a demand for the ending of Westminster support for the Stormont regime, carries out a similar function.

If the left were strong enough to enforce the withdrawal of British troops, it would also be strong enough to do many other things, too. The only real solution to the danger of a pogrom is the self-defence of the Catholic people—as they demonstrated. A movement capable of enforcing the withdrawal of British troops would be able to take real steps to assist the self-defence of the oppressed Catholic minority of Northern Ireland.

On the other hand, it is extremely shortsighted indeed to think in terms of British troops "protecting" that minority. Inevitably, as the national struggle develops, those troops will be used against the Irish people. But even leaving this aside, the presence of British troops is aimed to perpetuate the very state of affairs which leads to the danger of a pogrom in the first place.

At very best, the presence of the British troops *may* have stopped a pogrom in 1969, only to preserve a state of affairs which could lead to further slaughter in 1970, 1971, 1972. . . .

The demand for the withdrawal of British troops is one which the British movement must adopt if it is to correctly implement a policy of fighting for self-determination. The emphasis given at a particular time to this slogan is a tactical question.

Obviously, there are big difficulties in making this the main slogan of demonstrations taking place at a time when the civil-rights movement is strongly opposed to it. Moreover, for the civil-rights movement itself, the emphasis should be on the right to armed self-defence.

But for revolutionaries it is essential to include the demand in all their statements on the situation. This is the only way that they can struggle for a correct line on the question; they have, moreover, the job of helping to clarify the problems in Ireland itself. For the civil-rights movement to confine itself to demands for the disarming of the B specials (by whom?), etc., is to doom it to a reformist trap.

In the Republic, the demand must be for arms to enable the minority in the north (and those who wish to assist them) to defend itself. The Irish people in Britain can make the same demand of the Eire government. The left in this country, whilst it cannot make this demand itself, should assist the Irish militants to make and implement it.

In the last analysis, all these differences are around one issue: do we stand for a revolutionary struggle and solution in Ireland, or are we trying to calm things down by working out solutions for the present bourgeois governments to implement?

Revolutionary struggle by the people of Ireland themselves, aided by a solidarity struggle among the British people based upon the working class, is the only way to complete the liberation of Ireland and set it on the road towards a workers republic.

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#### U. S. Base Still Safe in Libya

Libya's Premier Mahmoud Soliman al-Maghreby, appointed September 8 by the still secret military junta, announced September 17 that the U.S. will not be asked to give up its giant Wheelus air base near Tripoli before the agreement on the strategic concession expires next year.

# The Deepening Struggle Against Duvalier

[The following interview was given by Gérard Pierre-Charles, a Haitian exile living in Mexico, to María Eugenia Saúl of the Inter Press Service. Gérard Pierre-Charles is known in Mexico for his two books, *La Economía Haitiana y Su Via de Desarrollo* (The Haitian Economy and Its Path of Development), 1963; and *Radiografía de Una Dictadura* (X-ray Picture of a Dictatorship), 1969. The interview was published in the Mexico City daily *Excelsior* August 24. The translation from the Spanish is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

*Question: What group is most influential in the opposition to François Duvalier?*

*Answer:* At present it is very difficult to say which group abroad is the strongest. The most well-known group in the USA was founded in 1966 under the name Haitian Coalition of Democratic Forces. It was created with the objective of uniting many groups and persons who had been fighting against Duvalier in the United States. This group was founded at the direct suggestion of the State Department, which was already concerned about finding some alternative for replacing Duvalier.

In the beginning, even technicians working in Washington joined the coalition, as well as some personalities like Paul Magliore (who took over the chairmanship) and Louis Fouché. They were able to work with an American radio station in New York, the New York World Wide, and broadcast an hour of anti-Duvalier propaganda to Haiti every day. They established relations with Haitian groups in Canada and some African cities. In 1967 they established a good base in the Bahamas, where a large number of illegal Haitian immigrants live.

It was this coalition that organized the invasion in May 1968. After that, the coalition broke up into two groups. One is headed by Colonel R. Léon, a former officer in the Haitian armed

forces. This group is believed to be responsible for the latest bombing of Port-au-Prince on June 2.

The other group, called the November 12 Revolutionary Movement, is headed by François Benoit, also a former officer very well known in Haiti. His family was murdered on Duvalier's order because the dictator thought (without foundation) that Benoit was implicated in an attack on one of his daughters.

[In Gérard Pierre-Charles's opinion, one of the most significant indications that the USA is preparing the way for a successor to Duvalier is the pressures being applied to bring about the integration of the Tonton Macoutes into the army. Some contingents have already been incorporated into the regular army. (In mid-June the chief of the Tonton Macoutes, an ex-baker, Elie Maître, was stripped of his command when this integration began.)]\*

*Q: Does that mean that in choosing a successor the influence has been excluded of the Dominique clique (headed by Duvalier's son-in-law, Max Dominique, and Dominique's wife, Marie Denise Duvalier), and likewise the Foucard clique (headed by Duvalier's other son-in-law)?*

*A:* The family conflict does enter in. Max Dominique and his wife have in practice secured control of the government apparatus, even denying Foucard the right to visit his father-in-law. And so long as Duvalier stays, Dominique and Marie Denise will remain powerful figures.

[The interview then revolved around the other opposition, the new left. This opposition took its most definitive step February 12 when the Parti d'Entente Populaire (Party of Popular Union), PEP, and the Parti Unifié des Démocrates Aïtiens (United party of Haitian Democrats), PUDA, united under the

\* The paraphrasing of Pierre-Charles's words appears in the original. "Tonton Macoutes" is the name of Duvalier's private goon squad. — *IP*.

name of the Parti Unifié des Communistes Haïtiens (United party of Haitian Communists—PUCH). They united on the basis of a common ideology, program, tactics, and leadership.

[Both groups had been publishing subversive material clandestinely since 1960 and carrying out clandestine actions. In its constitution, the new party noted that preparing the way for guerrilla struggle was "the keystone of the present tasks." And a paragraph explained: "We must pit the organized violence of the class struggle against the reactionary violence of Duvalier's Tonton-Macoutism in order to annihilate the Duvalier system."]

*Pierre-Charles:* Underlying the present situation in Haiti is a fact that is unprecedented in twelve years of Duvalierism. A left-wing armed movement is arising, composed of young elements who have nothing to do with the old political school. These youth initiated a struggle in the interior of the country at the end of March.

The events began with an assault on a village in the interior, Cazale. This assault was followed by an outbreak of bombings in Port-au-Prince. The agitation provoked the passage of the anti-Communist act.

*Q: Who are the leaders of these actions?*

*A:* The most brilliant and well known of those involved is Gerald Brisson. He has assumed the stature of the main leader. He is a national champion in the high jump and a Pan-American runner-up. He is a musicologist, a lawyer, and the son of a prominent legal figure in Port-au-Prince. Brisson was arrested in 1959 and the police went as far as ordering him to dig his own grave. But he was saved, thanks to his father's influence. He was deported from the country, later returning clandestinely.

*Q: What support do these groups have among the Haitian population?*

*A:* Essentially, the support of the peasantry. Two [only one is mentioned—



IP.] measures taken by the government indicate its awareness of this support—the closing down of the governmental National Literacy Campaign Office, because, according to the authorities, it had been infiltrated by the Communists.

*Q: Is this resistance Marxist to a monolithic degree?*

A: Basically there are two groupings among the resistance forces in the interior of Haiti—the wing controlled by the Communist party (PUCH) and the Catholic wing controlled by Progrès Haiti [Progress Haiti], which could be called Christian Democratic and which is inspired by young priests.

[Gérard Pierre-Charles noted that the young priests are in open dispute with their hierarchy (which has capitulated to Duvalier, who designates the bishop by virtue of the present Concordat with the Vatican). The position of these priests is categorically "condemned" in the anti-Communist law itself, one of whose paragraphs imposes penalties on priests and preachers who "aid the Communists."

## Pakistan

# Peking Lends a Helping Brush

General Yahya Khan, head of the ruling junta in Pakistan, commemorated the fourth anniversary of the India-Pakistan war September 6 with massive military parades in Rawalpindi, Lahore, Karachi, Dacca, and other cities.

The show of force was intended as a threat to the Pakistani masses as much as to the Indian bourgeoisie.

Yahya Khan made the nature of the demonstration clear in a public declaration.

"Pakistan," he said, "is conscious of all threats to its security and is ever watchful and ready to meet them with all forces at its command."

Yahya Khan came to power last April. Six months of strikes, student demonstrations, and peasant land seizures had forced his predecessor, Ayub Khan, to abdicate. Since April the military regime has used the threat of a bloodbath to intimidate the Pakistani masses.

*Q: How do you interpret the presence of Dominican troops on the frontier?*

A: As a measure to prevent the expansion of the guerrilla nuclei. It must be remembered that there was a clash between the Haitian army and the guerrillas in early May in the mountains of Ouanaminthe, a border region near the Dominican city of Dajabon. Any guerrilla nucleus that survives, immediately gains the possibility of receiving help from the Dominican revolutionists and widening the struggle to the whole island.

*Q: Has the Duvalier government halted the guerrilla activity?*

A: For one thing, it is known that 500 men from the tactical battalion at Las Salinas base are tracking the guerrillas.

This much is certain. If Duvalier had stamped out the guerrilla action, he would have issued an official statement or taken the usual measures when the repression is at its worst—public firing squads or putting the bodies of the leaders on exhibition.

Army, the P. L. A. units in the Peking area, the Peking garrison command and other quarters, including Wang Hsin-ting, Li Chiang, Han Nien-lung, Ma Wen-po, Hsieh Huai-teh and Wu Hsiao-ta."

Hsinhua added that the reception "proceeded in a friendly atmosphere."

In Rawalpindi, representatives of the Maoist regime presented gifts to the chief of staff of the Pakistani army at a reception following the military parades.

Hsinhua described this event as follows in a September 7 dispatch from the Pakistani capital:

"A military display of various units of the armed forces was inaugurated here yesterday morning by Lieutenant General Abdul Hamid Khan, chief of staff of the Pakistan army.

"He also gave a reception to mark the 'Defence of Pakistan Day' here yesterday evening.

"President Yahya Khan and high-ranking officials and officers were present.

"Chang Tung, Chinese ambassador to Pakistan, and Sun Pi-jung, military attaché of the Chinese embassy, were among the guests.

"In the reception hall, ten oil paintings vividly depicting the heroic war of resistance waged by the Pakistan armed forces and people in September, 1965, were exhibited. Those oil paintings were done by Chinese artists who had been invited to Pakistan."

It will take more than a coat of paint, however red, to sell the neocolonialist regime of Yahya Khan to the workers and peasants of Pakistan.

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## Watch What You Read

The repressive Special Powers Act is still being enforced in Northern Ireland. The fact that the British government took over responsibility for law and order there has made no difference.

Francis Luke Campbell, a County Armagh truck driver was jailed three weeks and then fined £10—the equivalent of a week's pay—September 2. His crime? Possession of a copy of the constitution of the banned Irish republican party Sinn Féin.

Campbell denied belonging to the organization. He was not given a stiffer penalty, the judge said, because of his "previous good character."

# Voices of Soviet Citizens in Dissent

By George Saunders

*Dear Comrade: Pavel Litvinov and the Voices of Soviet Citizens in Dissent.*

Edited and annotated by Karel van het Reve. Pitman, New York. 199 pp. \$4.95. 1969.

The texts of some sixty messages (letters and telegrams) make up the bulk of this book. They were written by Soviet citizens to Pavel Litvinov in response to the two protest statements of late 1967 and early 1968 that brought him to the fore in the new movement struggling for socialist democracy and human rights in the Soviet Union.

The two protest statements are also included: (1) the open letter dated October 3, 1967, and addressed to six Soviet and Western Communist papers, which detailed secret police pressure on Litvinov aimed at preventing him from publicizing the trial of Vladimir Bukovsky and other young dissidents; and (2) the appeal "To World Public Opinion" issued by Litvinov and Larisa Daniel on January 11, 1968, protesting the mockery of a trial in which Alexander Ginzburg, Yuri Galanskov, and others were convicted of "anti-Soviet slander."\* Those two young oppositionists had been in the forefront of earlier protest against the trial of writers Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel, the first of the current rash of political trials and intensified repression that have marked a new stage in the internal life of the Soviet Union.

The response to Litvinov's protest statements, as voiced in these letters and telegrams, gives a fascinating sampling of the currents of opinion among the opposition-minded layer of the Soviet population, the likes of which could hardly be gotten from the official Soviet press. They are a useful index for trying to judge the processes among the anti-

bureaucratic elements and the prospects before that movement.

A rough breakdown of the contents and sources of these letters is in order. But first a comment on the format of this book: It is a bilingual edition, with the texts of the Russian original and the English translation on facing pages.

This is fine for those who read Russian; some good Russian idioms and a few choice obscenities can be learned, especially by a close reading of the few letters attacking Litvinov. But for the non-Russian reader it probably gets in the way of the reading. Why did the publishers do it this way? To show the authenticity of the documents, probably; also, to give a scholarly tone; but even more, I'm sure, to preserve the copyright against other translations—a practice the publishing sharks have taken up in competing for the gravy to be made out of sensational Soviet items.

It's unfortunate, too, that the editor, Karel van het Reve, who has done a service by making these materials available to the world, is a combination of poorly informed "Kremlinologist" and mouther of bourgeois clichés about the Soviet Union. For example, he equates Lenin and Stalin, and views the Stalinist bureaucracy as the inevitable outcome of the October Revolution. Here he ignores the outlook of the Soviet oppositionists themselves, with whom he has had close contact as a journalist in Moscow, and with whom he claims to sympathize.

Litvinov himself has amply refuted the equation of Stalinism with the Soviet state. In his final statement on October 11, 1968, while being tried for demonstrating in Red Square against the invasion of Czechoslovakia (a statement not included in this book), Litvinov declared:

"The indictment is too abstract. It does not say what, in actual fact, was subversive to our social and state systems in the slogans we displayed [those were "Long Live a Free and Independent Czechoslovakia," "Shame on the

Occupiers," "Hands Off the CSSR," etc.]. . . . The prosecutor also says that we were against the policy of the party and government but not against the social and state system.

"Perhaps there are people who consider all our policies and even our political errors the logical outcome of our state and social system. I do not think so. I do not think that the prosecutor himself would say this, for then he would have to say that all the crimes of the Stalin era resulted from our social and state system."

It is unfortunate indeed that very often the voice of the Soviet anti-Stalinists reaches us through bourgeois media—rightist émigrés, anti-Communist newsmen, Kremlinologists, the CIA, and other government-financed sources. This is offset by a goodly amount of such material that has been published by the left, including Communist party publications in some countries. This should be done more extensively both because the Soviet rebels are our natural allies in the worldwide revolutionary struggle and because such action helps defuse the bureaucrats' charges that the dissenters are "tools of bourgeois ideology." Nevertheless, even though the documents in *Dear Comrade* reach us, as it were, through enemy channels, they are of great interest and value in themselves.

There is not space in a short review to quote all passages from the letters that one might wish. But a rough breakdown of their contents and sources is worthwhile.

About half the messages are brief statements along the line of "admire your courage"; "greetings . . . grateful . . . fully support"; and "all decent people are with you." A few are long and tedious; some are quite thoughtful and extremely interesting.

Forty-five of Litvinov's correspondents support him; eight are opposed; two are neutral, seeking more information. In the introduction to this volume, we are told that he received four additional hostile messages "of a

\*For an account of these trials and a declaration of the Fourth International in support of Litvinov and Mrs. Daniel, see *World Outlook* (the former name of *Intercontinental Press*), January 26, 1968, pp. 68-71.

clearly psychopathic character" that are not included because they were lost. However, there are indications that favorable letters were in some cases not delivered.

Of the favorable messages twelve are from groups rather than individuals ("A Group of Humanities Students at Moscow University"; a "group of twenty students" from Leningrad; a "group of schoolboys (24)" from Moscow; "A Group of Soviet Youth"; a "family of teachers"; three workers from Odessa; a Moscow group that "includes young Communists, Communists and non-Party people").

Where do the messages come from and from whom? They come not only from the "two capitals," Moscow and Leningrad, but from many other parts of the Soviet Union—Kiev, Riga, Tallin, Narva, Yaroslavl, Penza, Voronezh, Kazan, Pskov, Mogilev, Volgograd, Archangel, Tashkent. There is also a message from Ketrzyn, Poland, as follows:

"We, young citizens of Poland, congratulate you and admire your courage in defence of innocent and shamefully condemned Russian intellectuals.

"Despite the fact that we young people of Poland, like all our citizens, have to keep our mouths shut, justice here being in no way different from what it is in the Soviet Union, the heads of the regime we hate appreciate very well our silent protest against the oppression of human thought.

"Convey our congratulations to all the heroic authors of the protest and assure them that the time will come for a united and general overthrow of oppression. Then we will be the judges! Long live freedom for all mankind!"

The internationalism here is quite significant, considering especially that the letter is dated January 16, 1968, predating and almost forecasting the Czech democratization and the student struggles of April in Poland and of June in Yugoslavia.

What kind of people supported Litvinov? It seems, a fair cross section, though weighted on the side of young people, students, and professional types, teachers, people with higher education. There is also a sailor, several workers, several pensioners, a priest (!), a Jewish factory worker who addresses an appeal to Litvinov for the right to emigrate to Israel—under the mistaken impression that Litvinov is a deputy to the

Supreme Soviet. And there is an odd letter from someone in Tashkent who "became a worker recently," "deliberately," and without "regrets." He opens up for Litvinov the "most secret corners of the heart of the working people." "From our bitter experience we know about freedom, democracy, the rights of man," he declares.

"We paid with our blood for this knowledge, with years of foolery and humiliation, with the people's conscience. And we cannot sing the songs about the 'madness of the brave.' The brave must keep their heads.

"Can you show us the way? Have you ideas that are worthy of the heirs of October? If you have, tell us about them. And we will follow you, not asking for any freedom or rights. . . . But if you have nothing in your soul, go away."

The voice of the ultraleft, even from faraway Tashkent!

How do Litvinov's correspondents interpret the struggle in which he and his cothinkers have involved themselves? Is it playing into capitalist hands? That, of course, is the theme harped on by several of the hostile letters: How much do the foreign broadcasters pay you?, etc. But some of those who sympathize with the protesters are also disturbed:

"Our only sources of information are the 'Voice of America,' the BBC, and the German Wave, and we regard these, quite rightly, with some distrust—all the more so because in our own press, apart from brief notes refuted by the Western press, nothing has been reported about these trials. We have a right to know the details, and we want to learn the facts, so as to make up our own minds."

The authors of this letter—from Agadyr, Kazakhstan—appeal to Litvinov for information, but in a "P.S." they seem to suspend their disbelief in the bourgeois-financed media.

"This evening the 'Voice of America' broadcast the text of the petition: 'To world public opinion'. We protest along with you and demand that the guilty be punished and the sentences on those who have been condemned be reconsidered."

Clearly the essence of Litvinov and Daniel's message got through to them in spite of the medium.

There is a particularly interesting pair of letters, from a disabled veteran,



PAVEL LITVINOV

a collective farmer of the Voronezh region.

(The editor, van het Reve, tells us that signers' names have been left off the letters to protect them; though this would leave room for possible forging of these documents, I see no reason to doubt their authenticity.)

The farmer's basic position is as follows: "I agree with you that we must protest and fight against lawlessness, but in the right way, not by throwing dirt in the face of our motherland and not by seeking glory throughout the world."

What is particularly "wrong" about Litvinov's way, he feels, is his getting publicity through the capitalist media. However, he wants more information and wants to discuss the issue, as he states in his January 20 letter.

There is a second letter from the same man dated February 10. He has apparently received a reply from Litvinov in the meantime. (Unfortunately, Litvinov's side of the correspondence is not included in this collection, so it is difficult to tell exactly what Litvinov said.) The older man has clearly been influenced. His neutrality is less hostile:

"But as to how to combat breaches of the law committed by the authorities themselves, without washing our dirty linen in public, I can write nothing to you, . . . because I don't know what to say. . . . I have never had to do with things like that, and I've never had

the chance to talk about them with better-educated or learned people. To put it briefly, I have only begun to think about the problem since I wrote to you."

The farmer makes some telling points about the lack of objectivity of the BBC and Voice of America, but seems to sense he has not resolved the problem. He concludes in quite a friendly way, "If I am ever in Moscow, I will look you up. For my part, I invite you to come and see me, if you ever think of taking the road into the country."

In this brief sequence, we see, in miniature, the process of political consciousness being awakened, a process that must be occurring in thousands of instances in the wake of these trials and protests.

A suitable answer to the doubts about utilizing the bourgeois media is provided in the letter from the Moscow group of "young Communists, Communists, and non-Party people":

"If in our cruel age of police government there are people to be found ready to voice openly the opinion of many and fight for the rights granted us by the Constitution, this means that Russia will not die in lethargic sleep. It will become a truly free and just, truly socialist country, where bureaucracy, inertia, petty tyranny will die. We believe this! *And if you speak about this elsewhere than in the pages of our newspapers, you are not to blame for that*" (emphasis added—G. S.).

If the information media in the Soviet Union were open to all views within the general framework of support to the October Revolution and the overturn of capitalism—that was how Lenin, Trotsky, and the Bolshevik party envisioned the normal functioning of Soviet media—then there would be no need to try to utilize the capitalist press. That the general point of view of sympathizers with the new opposition is clearly for October, for *socialist* democracy, is indicated by many of these letters. Some are quite eloquent on that point.

The most valuable aspect of this collection of letters is the firsthand impression it gives of the thinking and circumstances of the anti-Stalinist opposition. Many letter writers feel constrained to comment on the degree of support Litvinov and his kind have in the country.

A research student who states he is not signing his name because of the

KGB nevertheless expresses the opinion that Litvinov's action "without any doubt is approved by the majority of our people." Others, more moderately, repeat that all decent or honest people are in solidarity.

One letter from Moscow expresses the opinion, "Those who understand and support you are a hundred times more numerous than those who have sent you letters of support."

The Moscow group of Communists and non-Party people states:

"Perhaps few bold spirits have so far come forward to support you but such people do exist. It is to be regretted that even now real people have to risk prison in order to stand up for man's right to his human dignity. We believe that justice will triumph. All the advanced forces in the world are on your side."

A determination to struggle, even though still in a minority, shows through. "Continue what you have begun, we will help you," says a Moscow letter of June 6, 1968. A thirty-one-year-old Leningrad engineer leaves a note for Litvinov. He traveled to Moscow to see Litvinov because letters he had written to Moscow were not being delivered.

"The purpose of my visit was to get reliable information about the trial and the condemned men [Ginzburg, Galanskov, etc.], and also, of course, to convey the approval and thanks which both I and my fellow-Leningraders feel for you. Our duty is to give you support in the difficult situation in which you have put yourself. . . ."

A letter from an older Communist in Moscow gives a thoughtful evaluation of the situation:

"Now, of course, conditions for a struggle are very difficult. The people are too disunited. But everything begins with something small. It is hard to make a start.

"But the present time is better in another way—news travels very fast. Today this news has flown in an instant all round the world, including our country. . . . Take heart, Pavel Michajlovic, before the great trials that face you. But you are not alone! Able people will be found in our country to carry your cause onward."

The tendency to look to Litvinov's action as a model to support and continue is particularly significant. One person whose name has come out by

another source, V.M. Voronin, from the town of Arzamas, was himself inspired to send a protest statement to *Izvestia*, a copy of which he sent to Litvinov with a covering letter. Both texts are in this book.

Voronin likens the social atmosphere to "a blank wall of lies" against which it is useless to beat one's head.

"What is hardest to bear is the awareness of one's isolation in this almost useless but necessary endeavor:

"This is why your protest and your struggle are so important. . . . [they] show the world that lawlessness and coercion are not supported but arouse protest in our society, . . . your voice reaches us and shows that we are not alone, and that gives us new strength."

A curious side note is the comment on the climate of opinion by one who is hostile to Litvinov; the letter writer is a budding technocrat, a thirty-one-year-old building engineer and engineering economist in Narva.

"If you're not satisfied with our policy," he says, "go to the devil. What is needed is work, with hand and brain, and not a lot of nonsensical talk; we need more strictness, *like we used to have*, then there will be more order, better production. Today too many people discuss and say what should and should not be done, and work goes forward too slowly. . . . P.S. Take into account that I live among the people, ordinary folk, those who are called the 'plodders,' and I know better than you what people need." (Emphasis added—G. S.)

An opposite opinion, but a similar description of reduced restrictions and greater discussion in the post-Stalin era, comes from an older factory worker in Volgograd who supports Litvinov. He recounts an incident, just after the Twentieth Congress, when he insulted a foreman and was threatened with being fired but held his ground. Though he was harassed, they left him on the job, because "it isn't clear yet how this thing [de-Stalinization] will turn out."

"Time has passed," says the worker, "something has changed, things have brightened up a bit, but those people are still with us who had the idea that only they possessed the right to rule, while everybody else had to 'shut up and like it.'"

In a propaganda talk recently, the worker goes on, one of these types urged increased vigilance. The security forces, he said, had found out about a

man who had written out a program and rules for a party to "arise and fight for the elimination of our shortcomings." The reaction of the workers to this talk is what is interesting. It was "something like this: What times we live in! So we haven't to get on with our work, but only to keep an eye on each other and act the spy."

This was just a tempest in a teacup, Litvinov's correspondent allows, "but it can serve as an indication that the people are silently setting themselves to resist coercion."

In general, this worker's letter should be read even if you can't read the whole volume. It gives a rare picture of conditions in the Soviet factories and of the attitude of an advanced worker toward the intellectuals' struggle for democratization. It reminds us again that such a struggle helps radicalize the workers to fight for their own demands, something that should be self-evident after Czechoslovakia.

Despite the diffuseness of this movement and its obvious difficulties in getting started, there is energy spurring it on, as expressed, for example, by the group of twenty-four Moscow school-boys:

"From the depths of our hearts we are indignant about this trial [of Galanskov, Ginzburg, etc.] and we realize what the general silence and indifference can lead to. . . For this reason the thinking young people of the 1960s call upon all honourable men to rally round you bold spirits and sign your letter."

In the teeth of repression, this movement, or more generally, this current of opinion, is groping toward some organizational form, the better to conduct the fight for political freedoms. The little groupings that sign joint letters and statements point toward this.

The efforts these various cothinkers make to keep in touch with one another, despite tampering with the mail, cutting off of phone conversations, and more open forms of harassment, is dramatized by comments in many of these letters. The trend toward more organized forms of protest is clear.

One of Litvinov's correspondents—who had to send his letter by way of a trusted friend, all the way from Archangel—hits right on the point but, almost embarrassedly, retreats from it.

"We need an organization of all honest and courageous people, and if it exists already I should like to join it. . . We must form a second party, or, more

correctly, we must create a force capable of defending everything progressive, so that people are not whisked off to prison for their beliefs. To do this we need brave men like you. Please don't regard my letter as that of a provocateur. I want to do something, and that is why I appeal to you" (emphasis added—G. S.).

The task of building an organization with a principled socialist program, with demands that can mobilize broader layers into struggle pointing towards workers democracy, that is the task lying before this new opposition, this new Leninist levy in the Soviet Union.

In conclusion, news of Litvinov's later fate—after being convicted and sent to Siberia—may be of interest for its further hint of the potential this movement has. A recent dispatch by *Washington Post* correspondent Anatole Shub is the source, Shub being the son of the cynical old Menshevik David Shub, who is known for his vitriolic biography of Lenin.

Despite the reporter's bias—he is no more sympathetic to October than his father, or than van het Reve for that matter—the fact that he, too, has recently worked as a journalist in the

## Switzerland

### Westmoreland Takes Evasive Action

#### Zurich

General William Westmoreland, chief of staff of the U.S. army, paid an official visit to the chief of staff of the Swiss army in the second week of September. This in itself was not news—despite its claims of neutrality, the Swiss army has good connections with the U.S. brass, and the Oerlikon armaments factory has gotten a green light from the government to sell anti-aircraft artillery to the U.S. army, although the export of weapons to countries waging war is technically illegal.

But antiwar demonstrations forced Westmoreland to take evasive action, as the tacticians call it, wherever he went.

In Tessin canton, his first stop, "wanted" posters and leaflets were widely circulated, reading, "War Criminal Westmoreland, Wanted Dead or Alive."

Soviet Union and had extensive contacts with the rebel circles gives his reports a certain value. In an article that includes a graphic account of Larisa Daniel's struggle in exile under police harassment, Shub says this about Pavel Litvinov:

"In exile, which is a milder form of punishment than forced labor, the only legal restriction on the prisoner is on movement outside the designated area. In benighted tsarist days, Lenin hunted, fished and wrote his most serious books in exile at Shushenskoe in Siberia. Trotsky, Stalin and other revolutionaries also found exile a not altogether unpleasant experience—and many of them managed to escape, some several times.

"Exiles today are obliged to find work, with the help of the authorities—and some of them have obtained more or less dignified employment. Pavel Litvinov, a physicist by profession, has been working as an electrician in a coal mine in the Chita region.

"Friends say Pavel, who is 31 and physically strong, does not mind the work and is greatly respected by the miners, for whom he is the first 'political' they have ever met."

Fifty figures on the left signed a statement which was published in the press, protesting against the "American provocation," and exposing Westmoreland's role in Vietnam.

Antiwar activists and groups of the "extraparliamentary opposition" called a demonstration in Berne to coincide with the general's arrival there.

And so the Swiss authorities decided to hide Westmoreland from the public during his stay. Not even journalists were allowed to see him or told his whereabouts.

He was moved quietly in private cars or flown in helicopters from one military base to another. (One group of demonstrators spotted him at a military camp near Zurich.)

This was the first time since the war that a high-ranking American official did not dare to appear in public in Switzerland.

## Le Monde Presents Trotsky

The widely read Paris daily *Le Monde* published a two-page symposium last April 5 on the life and revolutionary thought of Leon Trotsky.

The occasion for this special study was the republication of a series of Trotsky's works in French (particularly *The Third International After Lenin*, and *How the Revolution Armed Itself*.\*) *Le Monde* has now printed the most important articles in this symposium in the September 10 issue of its English-language *Le Monde Weekly Selection*.

Entitled "Leon Trotsky or the Relevance of Permanent Revolution," the three articles, accompanied by a brief biography and bibliography of Trotsky's books, take up a full page of the eight-page weekly.

The lead article, by Jean-Michel Palmier, begins:

"Trotskyism, particularly since the events of May 1968 in France, has become a household word. But it is often bandied about by people who, whether on the Left or the Right, seem to know surprisingly little of Trotsky himself and his actual place among modern political thinkers."

"Stalin," Palmier says, "wanted to excise Trotsky's name and role from the history of the October Revolution, but he has continued to captivate people's imaginations."

"This is by no means simply the result of a wave of revolutionary romanticism. It is becoming clearer every day that his prophetic writings are highly relevant to the political situation of the world today."

The two other articles in the symposium were written by Fred Zeller and Pierre Naville. Zeller served as one of Trotsky's secretaries for a short time during the Russian revolutionary's exile in Norway in 1935. Naville was one of the original members of the Left Opposition in France, remaining active in the Trotskyist movement until 1939. Today he is a well-known writer in the field of sociology.

Zeller tells of his first meeting with Trotsky in the little village of Weksaal, Norway. He describes Trotsky's daily routine and something of his personal life.

"One day," Zeller writes, "I could not help bringing up the subject of the injustice of the fate he had suffered and asked why, when he was at the head of the Red Army, he had capitulated to Stalin."

"It was because after the subsidence of the revolution and the emergence of a postrevolutionary 'Thermidorian' reaction, dominated by totalitarian technocrats, he had preferred to allow himself to be eased out of power rather

than support a policy which was in no way his, and indeed was repugnant to him.

"Socialist 'ends' could never justify *any* 'means.' 'One cannot be both Robespierre and Napoleon. One has to choose,' he said."

Zeller's picture is, of course, one-sided. It is true that Trotsky chose, for good reason, not to use the army against the Communist party. But he did not "allow himself to be eased out," nor did he "capitulate" to Stalin. He waged a political struggle on an international scale against the rise of the usurping bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

The most cogent and timely piece is the one by Pierre Naville. (The full text was translated and published by *Intercontinental Press* in our April 21 issue.)

Naville's comments on the relevancy of Trotsky's thought today are presented in the form of a review of *The Third International After Lenin*, Trotsky's searching analysis of Stalin and Bukharin's draft program for the Communist International in 1928.

"Nothing whatever can be understood about the development, and the present state of crisis, of the Communist parties of the world, without recourse to this work," Naville declares.

"The Paris events of May 1968," he adds, "made it clear that these problems exist not only in those places where the capitalist *bourgeoisie* has been eliminated, but also in those places where it is still safe from state control and continues to flourish."

Naville concludes: "It is clear today that Trotskyism—or, more accurately, Trotsky's interpretation of Marx—has once again become the touchstone, whether avowed or not, of every present-day revolutionary movement."

"Today's world is grappling on a vast scale with the problems that Trotsky raised in 1928. The true dimensions of the increasingly widespread struggle against bureaucratic domination are only just beginning to be realized. The conflicts between 'socialisms in one country' have become the daily bread of international politics."

### Where Canada's Dollars Go

According to the August 2 issue of the Canadian *Financial Post*, United States investors control about half of Canada's largest corporations.

The *Financial Post* published a list of the 100 biggest industrial companies, ranked on the basis of sales. Of this number, which accounts for 41 percent of sales of all Canadian companies, 47 firms are controlled from outside Canada, mostly from the United States. There are "substantial foreign shareholdings in another six."

This represents an increase from 45 foreign-controlled firms listed by the *Financial Post* a year ago.

The 53 companies controlled or heavily influenced by foreign capital account for 54 percent of the total sales, 51 percent of the total assets, and 55 percent of the total net income (profits) of the 100 largest companies.

U.S. owned subsidiaries of American corporations, such as the Canadian branch of General Motors, are not included in the listing by the *Financial Post*.

\*Originally published in three volumes by the Supreme Military Council of the Soviet Union, this collection of Trotsky's writings on the civil war and the construction of the Red Army has never been available in English. An important selection from this work has recently been published under the title *Military Writings* and can be ordered for \$1.95 from Merit Publishers, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. Merit Publishers will also supply a free catalog listing all of Trotsky's works now in print in English.

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## Two Good Articles

By Javad Sadeeg

Two current articles dealing with Iran are of unusual interest.

The first one is a reprint of "The Crowd in Iranian Politics 1905-1953" by Evrand Abrahamian which appeared in the December 1968 issue of *Past & Present*, a journal of historical studies published by Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

Abrahamian, a graduate student at Columbia, provides a brief account of the mass actions in Iran in the first half of this century and demonstrates their political power. He also goes into the class composition of the movements as they developed.

The "pre-industrial" period from 1905 to 1925 marked the first Iranian revolution.

The masses defeated the monarchy and won a constitution, but were unable to expel the Russian and British imperialists from the country. The Russian workers took care of their ruling class, thus relieving the Iranians of this foreign yoke. The British, however, prevented the Persian revolution from becoming consolidated, thus ushering in the counter-revolutionary period, 1925-41.

The "semi-industrial" period, 1941-53, marked the second Iranian revolution.

Through mass actions, the gains of the first revolution were restored, British imperialism was expelled, and, for the first time, the working class moved toward power.

Working-class militancy was not confined to the capital or the oil fields. In 1943 the governor had to flee from the city of Isfahan. "The unions took over not only the factories and their granaries, but also the whole city. The propertied classes were horrified: 'the concept of private property has been violated.'"

The extensive source material cited by Abrahamian provides suggestive leads for further investigation.

The other article is "Land Reform in Iran" by Farhad Khamsi. It appeared originally in the July 1968 issue of *Iran Report*, the organ of the Confederation of Iranian Students, and has now been reprinted in the June 1969 issue of *Monthly Review*.

Khamsi's article deals with the land reform undertaken by the ruling class during the present period of mass quiescence in Iran.

On the basis of statistical material provided by the regime itself, he analyzes this "reform" and comes to the conclusion that it represents "concessions to the land hunger of the peasantry without really reducing the power of the large landowners; to prepare the way for the growth of capitalist farming without totally uprooting the vestiges of feudalism."

The present trend, according to Khamsi, points to the formation of large commercial farms and to an increasing rate of class differentiation among the peasantry. "It is therefore highly unlikely that the regime will be able to resolve the contradictions arising from the reform. Nor is

the regime capable of solving the basic problems of Iranian agriculture, for despite its rhetoric about justice, equality, freedom, and progress, it has shown itself to be the guardian of the landowners and of the rural bourgeoisie. It has expended little effort on improving the lot of the ten million or so destitute peasants; on the contrary, it has paved the way for their gradual expropriation."

Khamsi concludes that a genuine land reform program cannot be carried out in an underdeveloped country if the "frame of reference is to be a market economy."

These two articles are among the promising signs that the intellectual stagnation in Iran, which followed the defeat of the second Iranian revolution in 1953 and the reestablishment of the military dictatorship under the shah, is drawing to a close. A new generation of Iranian intellectuals has appeared. The work they are doing to reach a better understanding of Iranian society and its development can only be welcomed by the working-class revolutionists currently interested in drawing up a balance sheet, the better to develop a revolutionary program in order to intervene consciously in shaping the future of Iran.

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## Quebec

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### An Advance for Lutte Ouvriere

Revolutionary socialists in Québec made an important advance this September, substantially improving their principal publication *La Lutte Ouvrière* [Workers Struggle]. "Soon *La Lutte Ouvrière* will be six years old," the editors wrote in the first issue of the new series. "To celebrate this anniversary we are taking the most important step since this publication was founded. With this issue we are launching the 'new' *La Lutte Ouvrière*. It is new because from now on it will be a monthly with a newspaper format and a larger press run than ever before." The publication was previously a bimonthly magazine.

This expansion was made necessary, the editors wrote, because of the rising anticapitalist and anti-imperialist struggle in Québec: "It is no accident that we took this big step forward for the workers' cause in Québec in 1969. Everywhere in the world we see the rise of revolutionary forces, especially in these last years. From one end of the world to the other fighters for a society of peace and prosperity are advancing rapidly. This phenomenon is reflected in Canada and especially in Québec, where we see the birth of a new student movement, a nationalist movement capable of mobilizing thousands of persons in the street, and a militant workers movement being attacked more and more directly by the government. *La Lutte Ouvrière* could not continue as it was. Greater tasks were on the agenda. We appealed to our readers to make an extraordinary effort. They responded rapidly with about \$1,000, which enabled us to launch the new journal."

*La Lutte Ouvrière* reflects the views of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière [Socialist Workers League], the Québec branch of the Canadian section of the Fourth International. A one-year subscription costs \$1. The address is 226 Ste-Catherine, Montréal, Canada.

# Nuns in Confrontation

A controversy between the Immaculate Heart of Mary Sisters and the Roman Catholic hierarchy appears to be headed toward a showdown, according to a report in the September 8 *New York Times*.

After the Ecumenical Council, held in 1962-65, urged Catholic religious orders to "update" themselves, these nuns spent several years mulling over how to go about this.

The problem was, as they saw it, to make themselves "relevant to the 20th Century"—a problem, it might be observed, that certain other sectors might well ponder over.

The nuns, who operate in several western states in the U.S. and in Canada, also had good practical reasons for updating themselves. "Fewer and fewer young people were being attracted to the religious life," according to Sister Mary Mark Zion, vice-president of the order. "We knew something must be wrong."

The upshot was that the nuns began experimenting with new forms of religious life.

For instance, they decided to wear modern dress, including high-rise hemlines.

"You looked at those old habits and you thought the church was still in the Middle Ages," Sister Patricia told the *Times* reporter. "We wanted to show we could relate to modern times. We



**HIS HOLINESS:** Orders nuns to "cooperate" with Cardinal McIntyre—or else.

didn't want to be separated by those strange costumes."

They did not even draw the line on the use of lipstick.

Going still further, they sought "to develop a sense of responsibility in areas of social concern."

More than 100 nuns withdrew from parochial schools in which they were

teaching and went back to college for more training.

They decided to teach anywhere, and some of them went into ghetto areas to participate in the public schools. "Several have also become involved in political campaigns."

As Sister Mary Mark put it: "That is quite a switch from the traditional quiet nun who waits for the hierarchy to pronounce the proper church view of things."

Sister Helen added: "We decided that nuns should act as individuals. They are entitled to their opinions on social and political matters even if the majority doesn't approve. They should be allowed to act as adults."

This experimental stuff did not escape the eye of James Francis Cardinal McIntyre, Archbishop of Los Angeles. He likes his nuns quiet, meek, long-suffering, and in long habits.

The cardinal "objected vigorously" to the decisions taken by the nuns and removed them from the parochial schools of the archdiocese.

But Cardinal McIntyre didn't get very far laying down the law to the Immaculate Heart of Mary Sisters, and so he appealed to His Holiness Pope Paul VI. Cardinal McIntyre's cries of anguish went not unheeded.

Last spring the Vatican ordered the nuns to stop experimenting with updating themselves. And in June the Most Rev. James Casey, Archbishop of Denver, laid it on the line.

The nuns had to get back into their proper outfits. They had to get back to the parochial schools. And they had to cooperate, "especially" with Cardinal McIntyre.

"It all seems so unbelievable," said Sister Helen, "it reminds me of the argument over how many angels could sit on the head of a pin."

Sister Mary Mark explained: "We embarked on an eight-year program of experimentation, and we just aren't ready to end it now."

The nuns have been threatened with expulsion if they do not comply. But their response was that they intended to continue their work.

Sister Helen put it as follows: "Our public vows would be canceled but we could just remake our vows to God. That is what we thought we were doing in the first place."

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