

# Intercontinental Press

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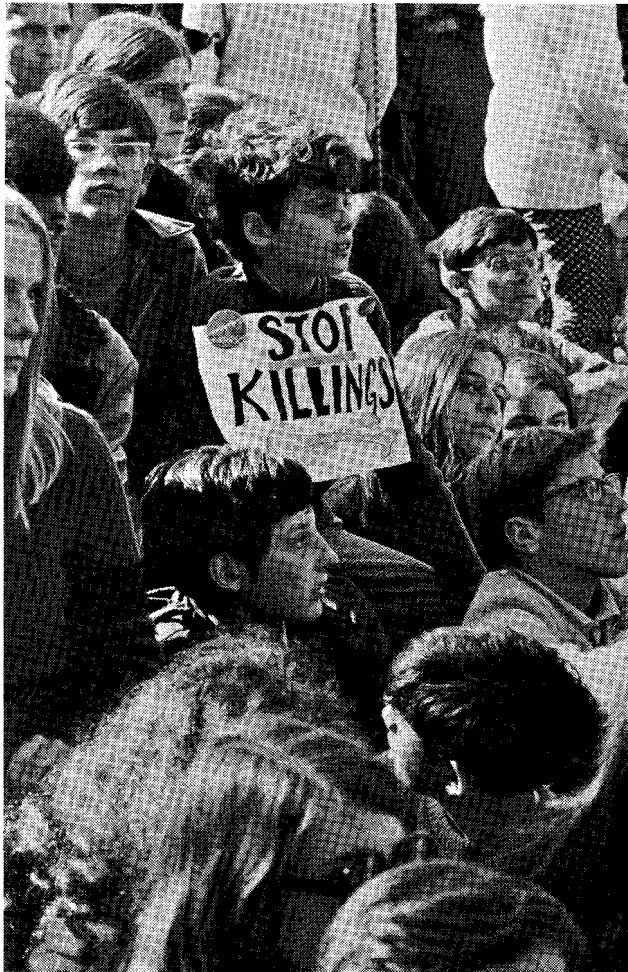
the Americas

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50c



HIGH-SCHOOL antiwar protesters in New York City's Central Park. A tiny sample of the millions in the assembly from coast to coast in the U.S. October 15 who cried out, "Enough! Bring the troops home now!"

**NEXT  
DATE:  
Nov. 13-15**

To Protect John Kenneth Galbraith?

**State Department Bars Ernest Mandel**

Czechoslovakia:

**From Courts to Plants—A General Slowdown**

The Struggle Deepens:

**What Strategy for Irish Revolutionists?**

## But Saves Scalp

Walter J. Hickel, the former governor of Alaska, appointed by Nixon to be his secretary of the interior, was booed and jeered so vigorously by an all-Indian audience in Albuquerque, New Mexico, October 8, that he could hardly finish his speech.

The Indians, aware of his record in Alaska, view him as an enemy of conservation, an enemy of the Indians, and a tool of the vested interests.

Hickel confirmed their estimate of him when he said in a speech last July 30 that the American Indians are too dependent on the federal government and that they would have to "cut the cord."

In Albuquerque, Hickel took a different line. Apparently his speech writer had visualized the situation his boss would confront and had written a script in which the orator said he opposed a policy of "termination of policy."

This sounded suspiciously close to a weasel-worded statement.

The crowd of 1,000 delegates, representing 105 tribes at the National Congress of American Indians, became tumultuous. Cries rang out to "shut up," to "go home." The white messenger of the Great White Father in the White House was repeatedly called a "white honky."

Wendell Chino, the president of the congress, had to come to the microphone several times to appeal to the audience to let Hickel finish his speech.

A number of those opposed to Hickel were standing at the rear of the hall unable to get seats. Several attempts were made by the sergeant-at-arms to have them ejected.

The attempts did not succeed, but as Hickel neared the end of his oration, they left, saying they would corner him outside.

The wily Hickel avoided this confrontation by staying inside the hotel. Said he had to see some Indian officials in private.

According to those who have seen Hickel since then, he still has his scalp. That is, if he did not buy a new hairpiece.

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## State Department Bars Ernest Mandel

Ernest Mandel, noted European Marxist scholar, editor of the Belgian weekly *La Gauche*, and a contributing editor of *Intercontinental Press*, was barred from participating in a conference on "Technology and the Third World" organized by the Graduate Students Association at Stanford University, California, November 17-18.

Without giving any official explanation, the U.S. State Department denied him a visa for the four-day visit.

Mandel, best known as the author of the two-volume *Marxist Economic Theory*, was to debate Professor John Kenneth Galbraith of Harvard as a feature of the two-day session. He had also been scheduled to address the student body at the nearby University of California campus at Hayward.

Although the invitation to Mandel had "strong concurrence" from the office of the Stanford president, the State Department persisted in its refusal, disregarding strong protests from Stanford, Harvard, and Princeton faculty members.

The sponsors planned to answer the ban by having Mandel speak by tape or over a transatlantic phone hookup.

Mandel's exclusion is the latest of several such cases over the past year. The most publicized involved the Mexican novelist Carlos Fuentes, who, on February 22, was prevented from docking in Puerto Rico. This incident provoked protests from writers' organizations, newspapers, publishers, and even former high government officials. (See "The Banning of Carlos Fuentes," *Intercontinental Press*, March 17, pp. 277-78.)

The March 5 *New York Times* carried a stinging editorial on the action against Fuentes. "One sure way to tarnish the United States is for some bureaucrat to decide that a writer, painter or other artist is an 'undesirable alien' because of his work or beliefs . . . The basic problem is that



**SECRETARY OF STATE ROGERS. It was hardly in the best interests of the United States to let egghead Galbraith be mouse-trapped into debating Ernest Mandel.**

the immigration law on exclusion is a vestige of the restrictive era of the nineteen-fifties. Aliens who are teachers and writers are particularly singled out for advocacy and affiliations that are considered repugnant; almost anyone can be barred for past or present Communist or totalitarian affiliations. Congress ought to re-examine and eliminate these purposeless restrictions, which make the United States ridiculous rather than secure."

The ban upon Mandel is especially arbitrary since he made a two-month tour of the United States last September-October, speaking at thirty universities from coast to coast.

At that time his revolutionary positions (he made no secret of his Trotskyist views) were attacked by such right-wing voices as *Barron's Business and Financial Weekly*, the conservative columnist William Buckley, and in front-page editorials in the Hearst press signed by its editor-in-chief William Randolph Hearst, Jr.

Mandel has been invited to speak

at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Princeton, Columbia, Amherst, and the New School for Social Research in early December.

He has also agreed to participate with André Gorz, Lucien Goldmann, and other speakers at a conference at Town Hall, New York, November 29, on the subject of "Agencies of Social Change" under the joint auspices of the Socialist Scholars Conference and the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation.

These sponsors intend to make a vigorous effort to get the ban upon Mandel lifted so that he can fulfill these engagements. They contend that the right to hear and debate dissenting views face-to-face goes hand in hand with the right to read them on the printed page.

A national protest campaign will be launched if the government authorities do not budge from their refusal to give Mandel a visa. This should meet with a favorable response from academic, intellectual, and radical circles. The exclusionary policy of the State Department has been widely condemned as a hangover from the McCarthy period.

Resentment against the restrictions upon visits by foreign Marxists is bound to become intensified by the opposition to Nixon's policies manifested in the unprecedented October 15 antiwar demonstrations.

### Transatlantic Debate

Some 2,000 students at Stanford University, Palo Alto, California, managed to circumvent the State Department's ban on Ernest Mandel and hear the Belgian Marxist debate economist John Kenneth Galbraith after all. A tape recorder and a transatlantic telephone hookup were enlisted in the October 18 meeting.

Mandel spoke first by tape, followed by Galbraith in person. Then Mandel rebutted Galbraith over the telephone from Brussels. The call was piped over an amplifier to the student assembly. With the State Department's help, Galbraith was able to get in the last word.

# Revaluation of the Deutsche Mark

By Ernest Mandel

[The following article is from the October 11 issue of the Belgian revolutionary-socialist weekly *La Gauche*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

The pressure for an upward revaluation of the deutsche mark has become irresistible. It will come as soon as the changing of the guard in Bonn is confirmed by the Bundestag. What does it mean? What does it reveal? What does it point to?

At first view, the revaluation of the deutsche mark looks like a triumph for American diplomacy. U.S. big capital has applied the most conspicuous pressure for this result, backed up in particular by the City of London. The reason why these two powers favor revaluation of the deutsche mark is hardly mysterious. It would force their most formidable competitor to raise his prices on their principal foreign markets.

A 7 percent revaluation of the deutsche mark would mean that German industrial products would cost 7 percent more in the United States and elsewhere. (This is only true, however, so long as the German exporters do not succeed in "reabsorbing" the costs of the revaluation and the export tax is maintained in the Federal Republic. There may be a disagreeable surprise in store for the Anglo-American industrialists on this score!)

The American capitalists, moreover, would like to see the West German example imitated by other formidable competitors — the Japanese capitalists (the pressure will shift onto them next), or the Italian capitalists. Strongly pinned down by their working class, the Italians will defend themselves with the courage of desperation. The Japanese will most likely have to yield.

From the standpoint of the monetary experts, the triumph of American imperialism looks still more impres-

sive. When one capitalist country has a deficit in its balance of payments (as the United States has) and another a surplus (as Germany has), the "normal" procedure has always been for the deficit country to devalue its currency, and for the gold parity of the currency of the country with a surplus to remain unchanged.

Speculation, that is, capital transfers and flights, has been sufficient to achieve this result, as recently in the case of the French franc.

However, in the age of the gold-dollar standard, no speculative movement can force American imperialism to devalue. The United States has decided, for all practical purposes, not to give up any more gold in the "normal manner." The monetary experts have had their breath taken away: "Vice not virtue is being rewarded!" Instead of the dollar being devalued, the deutsche mark is being revalued.

But in making this observation, these same experts, without realizing it, are mixing up appearance and reality. *Because this is exactly what the revaluation of the deutsche mark is — a devaluation of the dollar!*

This will become still clearer should the Japanese yen and other currencies such as the Italian lira and the Dutch florin or the Swiss franc become caught up in the whirlwind of revaluation. But it still holds true even if the revaluation is restricted to the deutsche mark alone.

As soon as things are viewed in this way, the American "triumph" begins to look a lot like a Pyrrhic victory. In the October 7 issue of *Le Monde*, Paul Fabra proclaimed: "The supremacy of the dollar has become so total that for the first time in perhaps ten years the U.S. balance-of-payments deficit . . . was not even brought up before the general assembly of the International Monetary Fund."

By way of conclusion, Fabra added: "Finally, if, in spite of this

imposing display, the dollar is not yet [!] 'as good as gold,' it is because it continues to be threatened on the domestic front, that is, by the inflation in America itself . . ."

This "not yet" is worth its weight in gold. We can bet that the American capitalists are engaging in some bitter reflections on a currency whose "total supremacy" is characterized by an annual loss of 6 percent of its buying power . . .

In actuality, the inflation in the United States, this loss of buying power, is no mere "domestic" matter. It rebounds against American capitalism throughout the world. It forces the big U.S. corporations, which formerly managed to pay their creditors' interest of 3 to 4 percent a year, to borrow in Europe at rates of 8 percent like any ordinary mini state (Belgium, for instance).

This inflation is provoking a general flight from the dollar, not only among the private capitalists but even among the principal central banks. This reflects not a "total supremacy," but to the contrary a *loss of industrial supremacy* which is astounding.

This is explained in part by the fact that, owing to the U.S. refusal to devalue the dollar, the American inflation has had repercussions on the country's export prices. No one has drawn attention to this aspect.

In the first five months of 1969, West Germany (whose population is only one-fourth that of the United States) exported more than a billion dollars worth of goods to the U.S., which is more than it imported from the U.S.

In both April and May, the U.S.'s total imports of machines and transportation equipment exceeded \$1,100,000,000. At this rate, these imports would come to \$13,000,000,000 over a year's period, thus equaling the figure for U.S. exports of producer goods. Four years ago, exports of American producer goods to Germany were still 20 percent high.

er than imports. This U.S. "triumph" is really impressive . . .

In interimperialist competition, the battle is decided by competitive capacity, and this, in the last analysis, is a function of three factors — the volume of capital, the level of productivity, and the level of wages.

With regard to the first factor, American imperialism enjoys a comfortable lead; with regard to the second, its lead is being eaten away year by year; as for the third factor, American imperialism suffers a considerable handicap. And in this area, the inflation can only increase the difficulties for the U.S., inasmuch as it compels the American workers to demand more and more substantial wage rises.

The flight of capital — "international speculation" — is an anticipatory movement, which obviously can bring the day of reckoning closer. But in the last analysis, it is the development of competitive capacity which is decisive. During the two weeks the deutsche mark was offered at a "floating rate," France lost all the currency reserves it had gained since the devaluation of the franc.

In this context, the revaluation of the deutsche mark represents an attempt by big capital east of the Rhine to stop a chain reaction which could mortally threaten the entire international monetary system, that is, capitalist world trade.

When certain capitalist countries enjoy a considerable surplus in their balance of payments, they cannot help but attract capital "fleeing" from those countries that have deficits, where a devaluation seems inevitable sooner or later. But, by themselves, neither revaluation nor devaluation change the situation. They only change it if the relationship of productive forces changes, if the competitive capacity of a country suffering a deficit is restored. But such a change is not a function only of exchange rates. It is also a function of relative industrial productivity, of capitalist profit rates (which determine whether or not it is possible to "neutralize" the modification of the exchange rates), of the relationship of forces between the classes.

Although it may seem surprising, since the Social Democrats have been great advocates of revaluation — is this really so paradoxical? —

the revaluation is primarily a psychological operation aimed against the German working class.

The government and the bosses will tell the workers and the unions: "See, there is no longer any reason for you to get excited. Inflation has been staved off. The buying power of the deutsche mark is secure. So, be satisfied with 'reasonable' raises. Don't forget that the competitive capacity of German industry has been damaged by the revaluation. If you demand excessive wage raises, exports will drop and we will find ourselves in a recession. Don't kill the goose that lays the golden eggs."

This amounts to saying that the German workers must be satisfied with the *reduced* share of the national income that was forced on them as a result of the 1966-67 recession and its consequent unemployment now when there is full employment again.

Will the German workers let themselves be taken for a ride? That is not certain. And last month's strike wave is grounds for hoping that they will not. At any rate, all the speeches about "capital flight" have not prevented the Italian workers from demanding — and getting — quite substantial wage increases.

All this reflects the fact that "overheating" is again developing in the economies of several European countries and that this development will end up in a recession, which, unlike the one in 1966-67, might well coincide with an American recession. It is this prospect that sends cold chills up and down the spines of the Common Market financial experts.

Up until now, the American workers have been the principal victims of this merry-go-round. Their buying power has been declining for several years, while the purchasing power of the European workers, despite everything, has risen markedly. This is the only "positive" aspect of the American inflation for U.S. big capital — it enables it to reduce the disparity between wages in the United States and Europe.

But here again the question is whether the American workers will let themselves be had. In 1967 and 1968, the hours of work lost because of strikes in the United States were double the average in the years 1960-66,

nearly double that of 1964, 1965, and 1966, and more than double that in 1960, 1961, 1962, and 1963.

The American workers are defending their steaks, and the "wage disparity" remains more or less intact. The only remedy is a new American recession with an increase in unemployment. The Nixon regime is working on this in its own way. But it is a drastic remedy because the United States has become the principal market of all the other imperialist countries, and an American recession would strike all the other capitalist economies, thus reducing their capacity to import American products . . .

To sum up. The crisis of the international monetary system has not been produced by technical causes. It is not the product of errors made by the governments. It simply reflects the fact that without inflation, American — and international capitalism — can no longer avert serious recessions.

The maneuvers we are witnessing for the moment have a double meaning. Every imperialist class is trying to shift the burden of an adjustment, which has become inevitable, onto the shoulders of the working class of its country and onto the shoulders of its competitors (that is, the workers in the competing countries).

The workers will not remain passive in the face of these attempts to create and export unemployment. Immediate self-defense is required. But the best defense is the best offense, that is, challenging a system whose bankruptcy is once again apparent, despite ten years of boasting by its exponents.

#### Unemployment Down in West Germany

Unemployment in West Germany fell in September to 100,000, or one-half of one percent of the population, according to Bonn. With 1,500,000 foreigners already employed in the country, the number of open jobs still stood at 832,500.

#### UN Closes Petition Mail Box

Under pressure from Moscow, the United Nations on October 3 sent out orders to its information centers to end the twenty-year practice of accepting petitions from citizens charging their governments with violations of human rights.

## From Courts to Plants — A General Slowdown

The Kremlin-sponsored Stalinist restorationists in Czechoslovakia have apparently been able to win over, intimidate, or oust the members of the pro-Dubcek faction in the state and party bureaucracy with relative ease. They appear, however, to be meeting much greater difficulties in rebuilding the badly shaken totalitarian system.

The Husák regime began preparing a large-scale repression as soon as it was installed at the May Central Committee plenum. For his state prosecutor, Husák chose Dr. Jan Fejes, a prominent prosecutor in the mass frame-up trials of the early 1950s.

On the occasion of the September Central Committee plenum, which marked the second phase of the bureaucratic reaction, Jan Nemeč, the general secretary of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society and a case-hardened Stalinist, was given the post of minister of justice.

Emergency laws have been decreed which sanction the following measures: (1) internment of citizens for twenty-one days without a warrant or authorization from the state prosecutor's office; (2) exclusion of legal counsel from the pretrial investigation conducted by the court; (3) verdicts by individual judges without the concurrence of either other judges or juries, even in cases involving allegations of serious crimes; (4) banishment of political offenders.

Between August 18 and 31, according to the October 13 issue of the West German weekly *Der Spiegel*, 4,094 persons in the Czech lands and 433 in Slovakia were indicted for illegal distribution of leaflets.

The German magazine noted, however, that the courts were moving very cautiously against persons hauled in for political crimes. Of 212 citizens in Slovakia indicted for participating in demonstrations on the anniversary of the Soviet occupation, only eighty-six have been sentenced. Moreover, most of the penalties imposed have been jail terms of one to fourteen months, unusual mildness in a coun-

try where more death sentences were handed down for political crimes in the 1950s than in any other East European country except the Soviet Union.

In addition, there have been several instances of judicial clemency and fairness that must seem virtually scandalous to the Stalinist hangmen in the Soviet Union.

Ludek Pachman, the Czech chess master, was arrested on the night of August 20-21, charged with "publicly slandering a leading representative of the republic." The slanders were supposed to have been contained in a letter Pachman sent to various officials and institutions. The offending passage referred to Husák, who holds only the post of Communist party first secretary and no official position in the government:

"I have often declared publicly that — despite all my reservations about his political line — I regarded Dr. Gustáv Husák as one of our most capable political leaders of the recent period . . . A series of his latest moves, however, have convinced me that I erred. It is not possible to consider shameless indulgence in the crudest demagoguery as rhetoric; lack of political principle cannot be presented as tactical talent; adaptability as realism; and ruthless disregard of the people's will as originality."

Pachman was held in detention for three weeks. On being transferred to the Pankrác prison in Prague, he began a hunger strike, after which he was immediately released. The court found the evidence insufficient.

The mine mechanic Prucha was sentenced to two months in jail for "insulting and maligning the Russian people with vulgar expressions in front of two Soviet army officers." The court, however, postponed remanding Prucha to jail for a year, by which time an amnesty is expected for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia in May 1970.

But the most surprising case of judicial independence came in connection with a slander suit against the

arch-Stalinist and Kremlin collaborator Vilém Nový. A group of anti-Stalinist figures including Pachman, the journalist Skutina, the writer Pavel Kohout, the student leader Holeček, and the Czech Olympic champion Zátöpek initiated a suit against Nový for his allegations that they had persuaded Jan Palach to burn himself alive.

The martyred student's mother also added her name to the suit on the grounds that the same Stalinist hack had accused her son of "maintaining contacts with the West German secret service."

Over Nový's protests, the court accepted this suit and the first hearing took place September 19. Nový chose Dr. Ruzicka, who served as a "defense attorney" in the treason trials of the early 1950s, to represent him.

Ruzicka is mentioned in a recently published book by Arthur London, a prominent Czech Communist jailed during these purges. He was London's attorney. In his memoirs, which appeared in France under the title *L'Aveu* [The Confession], London described Ruzicka's role: "I saw my attorney for the first time after my trial . . . He promised me at the time that he would go see my wife, but he never did."

It seems likely that Ruzicka is defending Nový with greater zeal. But he does not seem to be doing this with any greater adeptness. In the September 19 hearing, Ruzicka challenged the court's jurisdiction on the grounds that his client's statements were "subject to the discipline of the Communist party." According to *Der Spiegel*, Dr. Melchar, the lawyer for the plaintiffs, protested that Ruzicka's plea represented "a new and astonishing interpretation of trial procedure and legal responsibility."

The court postponed hearings on the case until October 24, demanding that Ruzicka give a written explanation of Nový's absence from the initial session and guarantee that his

client would be in court when the new session began.

Where citizens are able to force Stalinist officials to answer to a court for their political slanders, the totalitarian system is obviously under serious challenge. This case in Czechoslovakia need only be compared with a similar one which occurred recently in the Soviet Union.

Mrs. Lyudmila Ginzburg, the mother of the young dissident writer Aleksandr Ginzburg, announced her intention in January 1968 to sue the Soviet youth paper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* for alleging that her son was an agent of a reactionary anti-Soviet emigré group.

Shortly after this, she was hauled into the offices of the secret police and warned that if she repeated her "offense," she would be liable to a penalty of three years in prison for spreading false rumors.\*

*Der Spiegel* reported that the hatred of the Stalinist terror system expressed during the brief period of relatively free speech threw a lasting scare into the old regime's hanging judges. "Before the party leadership can impose class justice [sic], it must replace the entire apparatus of judges and state prosecutors. But it does not have sufficient legal technicians for that. In the 1968 Prague spring the press ruthlessly exposed the Stalinist drumhead justice.

"Even old Stalinists who had to resign in 1968 are afraid to return to their posts. Thus, the highly incriminated former state prosecutor of Ostrova, Dr. Zdenek Zuska, preferred a place in the party apparatus — he did not want to be rehabilitated to a post in the state prosecutor's office."

The obeisances of the new government to the Kremlin could hardly be more abject. For several weeks the Soviet press has carried notices of messages of "esteem" for the Soviet Union from Czechoslovak officials, and retractions by Czechoslovak bodies of previous condemnations of the August 21 invasion.

The following letter to Kosygin

\* See "Lyudmila I. Ginzburg Protests Slander of Her Son," in *World Outlook* (now *Intercontinental Press*), February 16, 1968, p. 126; and "Moscow Politburo Police Warn Ginzburg's Relatives and Friends," in *World Outlook*, March 1, 1968, p. 181.

from Oldrich Cernik, a former Dubcek supporter, is a good example of these declarations. It was printed in the October 11 *Pravda*:

"Esteemed comrade Kosygin, I sincerely thank you for your heartfelt congratulations on the occasion of my designation to the post of president of the government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Permit me on this occasion again to express the profound interest of the peoples of Czechoslovakia in continually strengthening the traditional fraternal friendship, the mutually beneficial cooperation among the peoples of our countries. Devoted to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, we will strive to guarantee a firm place for Czechoslovakia in the commonwealth of socialist countries . . ."

The people of Czechoslovakia, however, seem less reconciled to Soviet overlordship than the regime. In an article in the October 14 Red Army newspaper *Krasnaya Zvezda*, according to the *Washington Post* of October 15, General A.M. Mairov, the commander of the Soviet garrison in Czechoslovakia, wrote that his forces "often experienced and continue to experience in varying degrees the provocative activities of antisocialist forces." He complained that "forces hostile to socialism are still operating, sometimes in the open, sometimes under cover."

In a speech to the Skoda workers in Plzen October 14, Husák indicated that there was still considerable unrest within the country: "Many people are falling prey to dejection, spreading panicky moods as if our state were facing collapse from which there was no escape." He complained that even party members were "occasionally losing if not their good mood, at least their courage to struggle with problems."

Husák seemed to confirm reports that many Communist officials were reluctant to cooperate with his purge, either out of principle or out of fear that, in the present state of the world, a regime supported by the bayonets of foreign troops has no future:

"Certain persons don't even want to accept high posts. They don't want to dirty their hands. There are people who run away when the going gets tough; they get cold feet. We have

to get rid of all those persons in high or less high office who don't want to fight . . . If certain people want to run away and keep their hands clean, very well, but they must give up their posts."

In his speech to the Skoda workers, Husák seemed to alternate between threats and pleas. He promised that there would be "no return to the errors of the past," meaning presumably the witch-hunt trials of the fifties. But this reassuring note was followed immediately by a menacing one: "If someone tries to undermine the state, this is an entirely different matter."

Perhaps the most significant thing in Husák's speech, however, was his threat to reintroduce the six-day work-week unless productivity improves. This would mean a frontal attack on the national slowdown strike that has developed spontaneously in response to the occupation. The outcome of such a confrontation cannot be predicted.

An indication of the problem Husák faces was given in an article in the October 15 issue of the *Washington Post*: "Visitors returning to Vienna say they have seen whole sections of important factories where most of the workers were simply standing idle by their machines or were working at the slowest pace possible."

Moreover, it is possible that the resistance the Husák regime would meet if it launched a head-on confrontation with the workers would not be entirely leaderless. The *Washington Post* article continued: "What may be an even more serious sign of protest was reported in *Rudé Právo* yesterday [October 14] in the form of a 'manifesto of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Czechoslovakia'\* calling for strikes and civil disobedience in factories.

Foreign observers in Prague have not seen this manifesto. However, it is considered extremely significant that the Communist Party organ has denounced it publicly."

\* A manifesto of the Revolutionary Socialist party of Czechoslovakia issued in August was printed in *Intercontinental Press*, October 6, 1969, p. 885. This statement also called for strikes and civil disobedience in the factories.

It is not clear from the brief report in the *Washington Post* whether this manifesto was the same one that came under fire in *Rude Pravo*.

# Workers Occupy Singer Company

By Woki Woka

[On October 7 workers seized the factory, offices, and shops of the Singer group of companies in Lagos and Mushin, Nigeria. The workers were protesting the refusal of the company, a subsidiary of the Singer sewing machine company of New York, to enter into negotiations for a company-wide settlement for all its workers. The following report from Nigeria outlines the issues in the strike. Woki Woka is an industrial reporter for the *Nigerian Socialist*, published in Lagos.]

\* \* \*

Lagos

America, the world's capitalist lord, is bent in its dubious policy of fragmentation and disorder in Nigeria's social, economic, and political life.

The Singer Industries and Associated Workers' Union of Nigeria have been forced by the noncooperative policy of the management of the Singer group of companies in Nigeria to declare a trade dispute.

The issue at stake is the management's policy of "divide and exploit." The management of the Singer group of companies, a subsidiary of the Singer international monopoly based in New York, have refused to negotiate with the workers' union through a centralized negotiating machinery over the union's proposals for better conditions of service based on the workers' memorandum submitted to the management of the Singer group of companies in Nigeria on July 29, 1969.

The Singer monopoly has two industries in Nigeria, the production section based in Mushin and the marketing section based in the city of Lagos. These two departments are in Lagos state.

In spite of the concrete evidence to the contrary, the management is wrongly maintaining that both departments are not only different but at the same time have nothing in com-

mon, and as such should negotiate separately for and on behalf of employees of both departments.

It has been proved beyond reasonable doubt that the Singer group of companies in Nigeria have the same financial controller, one general manager, and above all maintain a single apex of administrative organization. Hence clerical employees are being summoned to work with either section of the companies without a formal termination of appointment, letter of transfer, or fresh career, as should normally be the case with two different companies.

The Singer group of companies have a total staff strength of about 1,500 throughout the Federation of Nigeria. It produces and markets 26,000 Singer sewing machines yearly, at the rate of 500 per week, yet the technicians are placed on a daily wage of 7 shillings and 6 pence (US\$1.05).

It is alleged that all grades of its technicians, including those with government Trade Test certificates, are placed on a casual basis and can be suspended and terminated at will. Its management is very arrogant, rude, and is racially brainwashed about the so-called low African mentality and, as a result, its senior employees are on a starvation scale of salaries ranging from £15 to less than £50 per month [one Nigerian pound equals US\$2.70].

Past correspondence between the union and management dated February 1, 1966, and minutes of meetings between the same parties dated April 10, 1966, attest to the fact that both companies are one, but are only essentially committed to exploiting the labour of its Nigerian employees, while maintaining a closed-shop attitude on the question of Nigerianization and appointment of personnel to man the industrial relations sectors of both establishments.

It must be noted that the workers of both establishments of the Singer

group are being registered and recognized as one house-union by the government. This single act of the government should have guided the management to bury its capitalist policy of separate negotiation which is a deliberate act to split and weaken the workers' labour force, and cause social and economic commotion in the country which amounts to a serious subversion against the determined effort of the Nigerian people to win political and economic independence in a united country.

Apart from adding another filip to the American effort to frustrate the struggle of the people of Nigeria, it is a classical example of an open challenge against the unity and solidarity of the working class.

In order to forestall the subtle intrigues of foreign capitalist monopolies, the workers have determined as youths of a greater tomorrow to meet the forces of reaction in our national life with action.

Long live working-class internationalism!

## Nationalise Singer!

The Singer Industries and Associated Workers' Union in Lagos, in an October 7 communiqué signed by the union's general secretary Armstrong Ogbonna, declared:

"We, the Singer workers and employees of the Singer Group of Companies—Singer Sewing Machine Company Nigeria Ltd., Singer Industries Nigeria Ltd.—have this morning seized the factory, offices and shops of Singer establishments in Nigeria and taken control from the Management . . .

"We call on the Federal Military government to nationalise the Singer establishments . . . and appeal to our patriotic forces and people to offer us maximum protection from molestations by Management thugs . . ."

". . . should Management impose violence on us," the statement added, "we will have no alternative but to resist."

A press release issued by the union the same day said the workers had decided to seize the Singer facilities part because management locked employees on September 20 during



a fourteen-day grace period before the strike was scheduled to begin.

"In spite of the intervention of the Ministry of Labour at that stage," the union said, "the Singer Management have resorted to open threats, intimidations and arrogant boasts in furtherance of their jungle Management and victimisation. Four days after the expiration of the 14 days grace in accordance with the Trade Dispute Emergency Decree 1968, neither the Management nor the Ministry of Labour is conscious of our plight. We are therefore determined to put a stop

to this irresponsible Management. The Nigerian workers can no longer continue to beg for our rights."

The union pointed out that the two supposedly separate and independent Singer companies at a September 25 negotiating meeting had told union officials they could not sign an agreement without approval from their head office in New York.

"Such a stand," the union said, "in our view is inconsistent with the sovereignty and independence of Nigeria . . ."

## Demonstrators Free Prisoners in Ibadan

New rioting broke out at Egba Owode, a town about forty miles southwest of Ibadan, Nigeria, September 30. The October 1 *Nationalist*, published in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, said:

"The rioters are reported to have burnt down the local police station, the council treasury and some private houses. Police detained 12 men and one woman.

"This was the first violence reported from the state for some days, but clashes between armed rioters and police and army units have resulted in an unofficial death toll of at least 50 — including three policemen — since the September 16 prison attack."

On September 16 an armed crowd of several hundred stormed the main prison in Ibadan, the largest city in black Africa, freeing most of the 480 prisoners.

The demonstrations were reportedly triggered by growing discontent with the costs of the continuing war against secessionist Biafra, a farmers' movement against an unpopular state tax of about \$9 a year, dislike of corrupt officials, and intertribal rivalries.

Jim Hoagland, writing from Ibadan in the September 22 *Washington Post*, described the situation:

"The villages around this city of 1.3 million persons are in turmoil. One stands deserted, its 2,000 residents having fled to the forest, fearful of being caught in the shootouts. Part of another village, including the police station, have been burned to ground.

"Police struck back yesterday [Sep-

tember 20], raiding 17 villages. Twenty-four persons were shot to death and 209 arrested. Today, 180 more were seized."

Some troops bound for duty in the eastern war area have been diverted to Ibadan.

There have been sporadic "tax riots" for about eighteen months. In July an armed band invaded the village of Ogbomosho. Twenty persons were said to have been killed in the fighting and the village chieftan, the Shoun, was beheaded by the insurgents.

Nigeria's deputy inspector of police, T.A. Fagbola, in charge of crushing the rebellion, declared September 20: "We will deal with them ruthlessly."

A dawn-to-dusk curfew imposed in Ibadan after the prison raid was lifted September 30.

### Robert Williams Under Fresh Threat

North Carolina's racist authorities filed extradition papers with the state of Michigan, October 9, seeking the return of Robert Williams on a phony 1961 kidnapping charge.

It was this frame-up that compelled the militant black leader to leave the U.S. and live many years abroad as a political exile.

### Divorce Reform Approved in Britain

Parliament approved a law October 17 legalizing a divorce by mutual consent after a two-year separation and despite the objection of one party after a five-year separation.

## Ceylon

# Giant Rally Backs Oil Strikers

Some 20,000 workers belonging to unions affiliated to the Ceylon Mercantile Union [CMU] walked off their jobs in Colombo at 3 p.m. October 8 to protest the government's use of army troops as scabs in the continuing strike at the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation.

The oil workers have been on strike since September 13. Ceylon's Governor General William Gopallawa proclaimed a state of emergency September 14 and the strike was declared illegal under an Essential Services Order. The government is technically empowered to discharge or even arrest workers at the state-owned oil corporation, but it has not yet dared to apply these measures.

According to a report in the October 9 issue of the Colombo weekly *Ceylon News*, Bala Tampoe, the general secretary of the CMU, called the demonstration the largest in the history of his union.

The demonstrators streamed from their jobs to the union headquarters on Chatham Street and later held a rally in Hyde Park where several speakers, including Bala Tampoe, addressed the crowd.

In addition to his union position, Bala Tampoe is secretary of the Lanka Sama Samaja party (Revolutionary), the Ceylon section of the Fourth International.

Two other major strikes, in the Fisheries Corporation and the Tyre Corporation, are also continuing. These corporations are run by the Ministry of Industries, which has agreed to some of the strikers' demands. The Ceylon Petroleum Corporation is run by the Ministry of Nationalised Services.

A group of union leaders met with the minister of Industries and Fisheries, Philip Gunawardena, October 8. The *Ceylon News* reported:

"At the outset Mr. Bala Tampoe, General Secretary of the CMU, told the Minister that it was not possible for any self-respecting trade union to

enter into negotiations for a collective agreement with the Ministry of Industries and Fisheries covering employees coming under that Ministry while the same Ministry had refused to hold talks with trade unions now on strike at the Fisheries Corporation . . . and had used the military to break the strike and drive nearly 3500 workers out of employment.

"The representatives of other trade unions present at the discussions endorsed the view of the CMU leader."

The CMU and the Joint Committee of Trade Unions, representing some fifty-three unions, have called a nationwide strike for October 12 in solidarity with the oil strikers. The entire membership of all the affiliated unions are to walk off their jobs at 2 p.m.

## New Zealand

# Fyson Makes Vietnam War Key Issue

George Fyson, candidate of the newly formed Socialist Action League of New Zealand for the Wellington Central seat in parliament, has demanded radio and television time for SAL and the other minority parties.

The campaign, which was launched October 1, has received wide publicity in the Wellington papers. The October 8 *Dominion* described the "Left wing challenge to Wellington Central":

"The [Socialist Action] league's candidate," the paper said, "will be a 20-year-old university student, Mr George Fyson.

"Mr Fyson is editor of the Victoria University Socialist Club's magazine, Red Spark.

"Yesterday the league stated it had decided to enter a candidate for Wellington Central after failing to receive an assurance from the Leader of the Labour Party, Mr. Kirk, that the party would withdraw troops from Vietnam within 40 days of being elected. . . .

"Mr Fyson said though the party was campaigning because of Labour Party policy on Vietnam it was also standing on a full election platform . . ."

An interview with the socialist candidate appeared in the October 9 issue

to join in massive demonstrations.

"They demand the withdrawal of the armed forces," the *Ceylon News* said, "the lifting of the emergency and the removal of the Essential Services Order.

"They want the Government to resume negotiations with the striking unions in the Petroleum Corporation with a view to resolving the fifteen demands."

V. A. Sugathadasa, the minister for Nationalised Services, has scheduled high-level conferences with Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake.

The Security Council met October 8, the *Ceylon News* said, "to decide what action should be taken in the event the strike should deteriorate into a general strike."

of *Salient*, the Victoria University student paper.

"The reason why we are putting up a candidate," said George, "is that we regard the Vietnam issue as a critical one for the future of the whole world, and it is essential that it should be made into a key issue in the elections. The Labour Party Conference . . . called for the withdrawal of NZ forces, but the National Executive and the Caucus, in order to maximise Labour's chances at the elections regardless of the cost, do not intend to implement the decision.

"We are standing a candidate only because of the Labour "leadership's" deliberate equivocation on this fundamental question of Vietnam.

"We have offered our active support to the Labour Candidate for Wellington Central on the condition that Mr Kirk will commit himself as leader of the Party to unconditional and immediate withdrawal. But he won't. We wrote two letters to him, but he did not deign to reply."

The *Salient* asked Fyson to comment on a charge by the Labour party that the SAL was trying to use "blackmail" by running an independent campaign:

"Asked if the S. A. L. was trying to

'blackmail' the Party, as Kirk is reported to have said, George replied, 'Certainly not; there can be no such construction placed on our actions. We have deliberately chosen a seat that is safe for National [the ruling National party] in order not to harm Labour's chance of becoming the Government. The Labour Party is definitely preferable to a Tory government; although bureaucratically deformed in the extreme, it *does still retain the affiliation of the bulk of the working people*. Our campaign is to raise ideas and issues; vote-catching is incidental."

The October 10 Wellington *Evening Post* added on this point that Fyson had announced the SAL's campaign slogan would be "Vote Socialist Action in Wellington Central. Vote Labour elsewhere."

In the *Salient* interview, Fyson was asked whether running for parliament was compatible with his perspective of a socialist revolution in New Zealand. "There is nothing at all hypocritical in standing for Parliament," he replied, "provided that you have a genuine socialist programme, and put it before everything else. At a certain stage the Bolsheviks under Lenin put up candidates for the Tsarist Duma, and even had them elected. Lenin recognized that elections provide revolutionaries with great opportunities to publicise their ideas. And it goes without saying that he was under no illusion as to the efficacy of parliament in the long term."

"One of our first actions in the campaign," Fyson added, "will be to demand radio and television time for ourselves and for all political groups that are at present excluded, such as the Communist Party and the Socialist Unity Party. This situation is typical of our whole distorted electoral system, which sometimes seems like nothing more than a deal between the leaderships of the main parties to preserve their own parliamentary positions. We will not only attack this blatant and arbitrary censorship, but will also point up the self-censorship of the Press, which functions in the interest of privileged minorities."

The Socialist Action League has set as its aim the construction of a Leninist party in New Zealand. It has said that it hopes in the future to seek affiliation as the New Zealand section of the Fourth International.

The *Salient* published the league's program in the Wellington Central election:

"(1) *Foreign Policy*. Withdrawal from Vietnam, of all NZ personnel; withdrawal from Malaysia, SEATO, ANZUS; no Omega stations here. Trade embargoes on Rhodesia and South Africa; no sports tours to countries practicing apartheid. Recognition of The People's Republic of China.

"(2) *Education*. Greatly increased state expenditure on education. No state aid to private schools, which exist only to maintain either privilege or sectarianism. (But school buildings etc. will be available to all cultural and political groups to hold classes and meetings after school hours.) Abolition of all examinations. Universities to be administered by councils representative of all groups — staff, students — in proportion to their numbers. University grants to be controlled by a council 1/3 students, 1/3 staff, 1/3 government. All students over the age of 16 to receive the national minimum wage (see below).

"Secondary school students to have full trade union rights, schools to be run by councils similar to universities. Abolition of corporal punishment.

"(3) *Income, Rents, Taxes*. A National Minimum Wage, payable to all people over 16, whether sick, unemployed, studying. Taxation to be much more steeply graduated. Rents to be no more than 10% of wage. Retraining for persons displaced by automation etc. at full pay. Social Security to be completely overhauled; all medical and related services to be entirely free.

"(4) *Nationalisation* of all large industrial enterprises, and of all financial institutions. All nationalised industries — including those already nationalised — to be placed under the control of democratically elected workers' councils. In general, no compensation to former owners, but with exceptions in the case of farmer owned freezing works and in the case of holders of small parcels of shares.

"(5) *Equality for Women*. Equal pay for women immediately. Legalised abortion. Free day nurseries, and vastly increased facilities for pre-school children.

"(6) *Maoris and Islanders*. Recogn-

nise the Polynesian peoples' rights to self-determination, even to the point of their forming a separate state, if they so wish. Special and substantial state funds for Maori and Islanders' education. Polynesian studies to be a compulsory subject in all schools. Schools of Polynesian studies to be developed in the universities, with substantial government grants. Outlawing of all discrimination — in jobs, accommodation, etc. — on the basis of race.

## Great Britain

# New Antiwar Protests Planned

London

The international autumn anti-Vietnam-war offensive began to take form in Britain on October 15, with a demonstration of almost 300 students, mostly Americans studying in London universities. The action, organized in solidarity with the Vietnam Moratorium in the U.S., brought the students to the American embassy in Grosvenor Square with placards demanding immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops, "Nix on the War," "Vietnam Is a Bad Trip—End It," and other slogans.

In the House of Commons, fifty Labour MPs called for a debate on the failure of the British government to dissociate itself from U.S. policy. Speaking for this group of MPs, John Mendelson (Lab Penistone) called on the government to urge the U.S. to withdraw the troops from Vietnam in line with the main demand of the Moratorium.

As an expression of solidarity with the U.S. antiwar movement, the recently formed Vietnam Mobilisation Committee urged organizations opposed to the war to bring letters of protest to the embassy as an initial step in building the November 23 London demonstration.

The VMC letter stated:

"The American Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam has made a call for international anti-war actions between October 15 and December 15. The Vietnam Mobilisation Committee — a united front of groups and organisations in Britain opposed to the Vietnam war and Brit-

"(7) *Security Service* [the political police]. To be abolished.

"(8) *Management of the Economy*. All nationalised industries to be coordinated in a national economic plan, and the planning board to be responsible to the highest democratic body of the country. Strict price control. Automatic escalator clauses in all wage agreements including the N.M.W. No bank secrecy for any firm or organization. State monopoly of foreign trade."

ain's complicity in the war — have responded to this call and will seek to mobilise maximum support for a mass demonstration in London on November 23rd. The demonstration will take place one week after the projected student strike and massive march on Washington November 14 and 15 in the United States.

"Nixon says he will ignore the demonstrations. The Vietnam Mobilisation Committee intends to join with the American people to make sure that he cannot.

"It will give its support to other anti-Vietnam war activities planned for October and November in Britain and to the international demonstrations taking place in the months of October, November and December."

Letters were also handed in to the American embassy from the International Marxist Group, the British section of the Fourth International; the Vietnam Solidarity Committee; a group of housewives who had previously organized to defend Dr. Spock; the British Peace Committee; and the Communist party.

The rising international mood against U.S. aggression in Vietnam, which prompted the October 16 London *Times* to feature a picture of an American GI in Vietnam wearing a black antiwar armband, promises to bring more and more people in Britain into active struggle against the war. Organization for the big November 23 demonstration is centred in the Vietnam Mobilisation Committee headquarters at Room I, 13 Whites Row, London, E.1. Telephone 247-9845.

# October 15 — the Handwriting on the Wall

By Les Evans

The sheer size of the mass protest October 15 shows that the movement against the Vietnam war in the United States has entered a new stage. The capitalist news media admitted that "millions" took part in the actions called by the Vietnam Moratorium Committee.

More than 100,000 persons participated in a rally in Boston; 11,000 in Austin, Texas; 30,000 in Washington, D. C.; 25,000 in Madison, Wisconsin; 20,000 each in Detroit, Minneapolis, and Philadelphia. About 100,000 persons attended a rally in New York's Bryant Park; more than that participated in demonstrations in other parts of the city.

Actions took place in thousands of other cities and towns across the country. Uncountable high schools and colleges closed or were shut down by student and teacher walkouts.

Construction workers at a site north of Boston shut down the job and held an antiwar rally on the spot.

Twenty thousand persons gathered

in midtown Manhattan to be addressed by Wall Street bankers dissatisfied with Nixon's prolongation of the war.

In New Haven, Connecticut, police estimated that 50,000 people assembled on the city Green — a third of the population.

In Vietnam, the October 15 *New York Post* reported, "Associated Press photographer Charles Ryan, on patrol south of Da Nang with a platoon from the U. S. Americal Division, said about half of the 30 soldiers were wearing black arm bands.

"I'm wearing it to show that I sympathize with the antiwar demonstration back home," said the platoon leader, 1st Lt. Jesse Rosen of New York City. "It's just my way of silently protesting. Personally, I think the demonstrating should go on until President Nixon gets the idea that every American should be pulled out of here now."

Thirty-two American civilians in Saigon marched to the U.S. embassy and presented Ambassador Bunker with a petition declaring, "We say this war must stop. We call for the immediate withdrawal of all American troops."

Some of the smaller demonstrations — the fact that they could happen at all — were important indicators of the depth of the antiwar mood.

About 1,500 congressional employees held a forty-five-minute silent vigil on the steps of the capitol building in Washington.

In Nashua, New Hampshire, 300 people attended a rally against the war. Similar actions took place in small towns from coast to coast.

Four thousand employees of New York publishing houses walked off the job for an afternoon rally. In some cases their bosses gave permission for the absences. In some cases they did not.

In Paterson, New Jersey, 100 employees of a company that makes

plastic body bags for the return of GIs killed in Vietnam, called for an end to the war.

Nearly 400 students held an all-night vigil against the war at the University of Oklahoma.

At Harvard University, one of the most exclusive institutions of higher learning in America, the undergraduate daily, *The Crimson*, came out editorially in support of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. "And we can best support the N. L. F.," the paper said, "in exactly the same way that we can best support our own troops — by demanding that all American troops be withdrawn from Vietnam completely."

A broad spectrum of organizations and individuals endorsed and took part in the Moratorium events, ranging from revolutionists, to sectors of the ruling class in fear that the massive popular movement might get out of hand.

Whitney Young, executive director of the National Urban League and one of the most conservative black leaders, came out against the war in Vietnam for the first time October 13 and endorsed the Moratorium.

In the first major breakthrough into the organized labor movement, the Alliance for Labor Action, representing about four million workers, endorsed the Moratorium. The ALA includes the United Automobile Workers Union, the Teamsters, and the Chemical Workers Union. The ALA, in an advertisement in the October 14 *New York Times*, declared:

"We call upon our government to face up to the reality that there is nothing to be won in Vietnam that is worth one more drop of American blood."

Scores of senators, congressmen, state governors, and other elected officials spoke at rallies during the Moratorium. In New York, Senator Jacob Javits said that American troops should be withdrawn from Vietnam



NIXON. To end the war? That was only a campaign promise . . .

"soon." The crowd shouted back, "Now! Now! Now!"

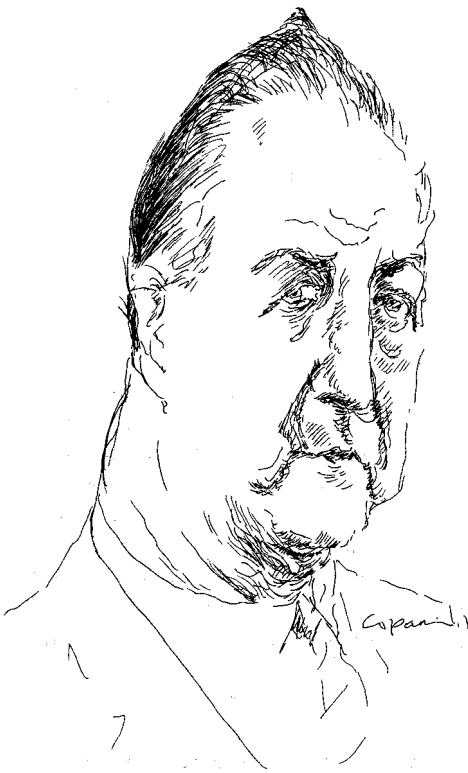
At the White House, Nixon, remaining prudently out of sight, maneuvered vainly to stem the tide. On October 13 he reiterated his declaration that he would not be affected by the demonstrations, no matter how large. In a letter to a student at Georgetown University in Washington, D. C., he averred that "to allow Government policy to be made in the streets would destroy the democratic process." He added: "Therefore, there is nothing new we can learn from the demonstrations."

In choosing the recipient of this arrogant declaration, Nixon had reason to believe he had found a kindred soul who would tell the press he had been impressed by the president's wisdom. The letter was addressed to Randy J. Dicks, the organizer and sole member of the Georgetown University Student Monarchist Society. But the monarchist was of the opinion that even a king ought to be more responsive to the will of the people. The SMS leader told reporters: "I'm in favor of American withdrawal from Vietnam as soon as possible . . ."

At the same time, Nixon sent Secretary of State Rogers to bat. In a national television interview October 12, Rogers claimed that public criticism of Nixon's policy had eliminated the possibility of a "negotiated settlement" for at least a few months by strengthening the resolve of the "enemy." This sophistry merely provoked a new blast from Senators Goodell and Church.

Finally Nixon decided to send in the man who could be the next president of the United States, Spiro Agnew. Coming directly from a meeting with Tricky Dick, Agnew made a red-baiting attack on the Moratorium, demanding that its organizers disavow a letter of solidarity with the demonstrations broadcast over Radio Hanoi. The letter, he said, was a "shocking intrusion into the affairs of the American people."

The millions who turned out the next day gave Nixon and Agnew a fitting rebuke. Fred Halstead, the Socialist Workers party's 1968 presidential candidate, said in a speech in Villanova, Pennsylvania, that he



**AGNEW.** Then they sent me back to ask why can't we cut U. S. intervention in Vietnam to letter writing like Hanoi?

"wished Washington would restrict its intervention in Vietnam to sending letters."

Peter Camejo, a well-known leader of the SWP, also scored Agnew's anticommunist gambit in a speech to the throng of 100,000 in Boston. Camejo was cheered when he declared: "Who are the people from this little nation, who are holding off the mightiest military power in the history of the world? The fighters of the National Liberation Front are the most beautiful people in the world—they are young people, giving up their lives for all of us, so that some day we can end the oppression in this world."

Another attack on the antiwar mobilization came from the "left." The leadership of the Students for a Democratic Society [SDS] refused to participate in the demonstrations, calling them a "sell-out" because they did not have "anti-imperialist" demands. Instead, the SDS engaged in puny forays in Chicago October 8-11 during the frame-up trial on vague "conspiracy" charges of eight left-wing figures associated with the protests at the Democratic party convention in that city in August 1968.

The SDS adventure of seeking fights with the police was a fiasco. The Mark Rudd, or "Weatherman" group, which controls the SDS national office, was able to bring out not more than 200 persons, who did not succeed in accomplishing a single one of the stated objectives and who fell into the waiting hands of the police.

Chicago's club-swinging cops took full advantage of the opportunity provided by the ultraleft "Weatherman" strategists.

Nixon has announced that he will make a "major" Vietnam policy statement November 3 — the eve of the elections. The timing is also aimed to undercut the November 15 march on Washington called by the New Mobilization and Student Mobilization committees. The SMC is organizing a nationwide student strike November 14 and the Moratorium Committee is calling for local actions November 13-14.

The giant turnout October 15 indicates that Nixon will have difficulty in derailing this movement with token concessions. Only a big gesture of some kind could succeed in gaining further time for his plan of keeping U. S. troops in Vietnam indefinitely. Even this might now only further inspire the antiwar sentiments of the American people by giving them the feeling of having won a big victory by taking their opposition to the streets.

The power of the October 15 demonstrations testifies to the far-sightedness of those small forces who set out in 1965 to construct a mass independent antiwar movement around the program of immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam.

For several years the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance stood virtually alone as champions of the program calling for mass mobilizations against the war. They stood firm for the principle of reliance of action by the masses and of rejecting all the get-rich-quick schemes and fancy shortcuts, ranging from proposals to convert the antiwar movement into a "broad multi-issue community movement" to demands for "imaginative" guerrilla-type actions carried out by small isolated groups.

The Moratorium showed what can

be accomplished when such demonstrations begin to reach into the working class, and to take on aspects of a mass political strike against the government's war policy.

The *Christian Science Monitor* aptly described the Moratorium as "orderly anger."

What worries the ruling class is the possibility that the anger of the American people may go beyond an "orderly" level.

David S. Broder, writing in the October 14 *Washington Post*, warned: "If the moratorium continues, as planned, for two days in November, three days in December, and so on, it will more and more come to resemble the general strike so familiar to European politics."

Max Frankel, the Washington correspondent of the *New York Times*, expanded on this theme October 16:

"Even some critics of the war here," he said, "have opposed the protest movement because they fear it now seeks the 'breaking of the President' and risks a grave constitutional crisis. At least some of the protesters accept this challenge when they say they are out to 'change the system' as well as end the war."

But if some spokesmen of the capitalist class admit worry over this possibility, the radicalization has gone so deep that certain columnists openly support the prospect. Nicholas von Hoffman, writing in the October 15 *Washington Post*, declared:

"The moratorium isn't a protest. It's an ultimatum by an enormous section of the population laid down to its politicians. That ultimatum says there is no time left. It says there's no more credibility gap because there's no more credibility. It's an ultimatum that says either end the war forthwith or we will stop it ourselves. . . . an action like the moratorium isn't an event in itself but the preparation and the threat of more and wider action. Even now what started out to be a sedate moratorium is inching in the direction of a general strike. It hasn't reached that point yet, but it will unless the government capitulates to its citizens. . . ."

"People don't care if we bug out, run out, march out, stumble out, crawl out or fade out as long as we get out now."

## Peru

# Appeal to the People of Huancayo

By Hugo Blanco

[From his prison cell in El Frontón, Hugo Blanco, Peru's well-known peasant leader, who is serving a sentence of twenty-five years for his revolutionary activities, wrote the following appeal in behalf of peasants jailed for participating in the agrarian movement.

[The appeal is addressed: "To the students of Huancayo, to the fathers and mothers, to all the inhabitants.]"

\* \* \*

Imprisoned in Huancayo are men whom the Peru of the future will recognize as heroes: *Cirilo Campos Alanya, Pablo Torres Flores, Valentín Seguil Pastrana, Pablo Flores Martínez, Simeón Flores Martínez, Nicolás De la Cruz Flores, Leonardo Ortiz Morales*, and others.

These men are fed worse than dogs. Many of them lack even a mattress. Some of them are ill, like Ortiz, Flores, and De la Cruz. They are not being treated nor permitted to use self-medication. They want to work in order to make a few pennies for their families. They have no tools.

When a man is in prison, one of his greatest needs is visitors. He feels an urgency to see his mother, his children, his brother, his wife. He needs to talk with them; he needs them like water, like air. Every look, every word, gives life to a prisoner, revives him.

This is forbidden to the prisoners in Huancayo. The hangmen have installed mesh gratings to separate them from their visitors, so that they cannot touch hands. The hangmen have decreed that the prisoners must speak with their families in groups of ten, for five minutes, through a small grill covered with mesh. They cannot chat; they cannot even see each other's faces.

And the mother, the wife, the children — after having come so far, suffering hunger and deprivation, return to their hovels in tears without even

having been able to see the prisoner, without having been able to talk with him, without having been able to touch him. The hangmen are satisfied; they feel in good humor over what they have done.

There are wives who have left their imprisoned husbands; there are mothers who have died; there are children whose whereabouts are unknown. The hangmen are in all the better humor over these achievements.

### *Why Are They in Prison?*

Because they wanted their children never to have to go without a glass of milk or a toy. Because they knew that all Peruvian children would be happy if none of them went hungry, barefoot, or illiterate.

These brothers of ours, with so little to eat themselves, struggled so that all of us might have food. With rags on their bodies, their feet bloody, they struggled to clothe us and give us shoes. They, who do not know how to read, struggled so that our children might have the educational opportunities that only the children of the rich enjoy today.

They love the children of Huancayo, of Junín, of Peru. They do not know how to express their feelings with fine words, but they have shown it by what they did, these prisoners now in Huancayo jail, who have had to leave the families they love so dearly, for the sake of all of us.

Here are their own children, scattered to the four winds, because of the love they displayed for all our children — *their* hungry children, their barefoot children, their sick children.

### *What Is Huancayo Doing for Them? Nothing!*

There were those who wanted to help them, but the hangmen's investigators threatened them and this was enough to frighten them off.

We know that the hangmen are especially rough with women. We know that if anyone brings fruit to the prisoners, he is threatened with prison himself. We know that these hangmen are capable of jailing people who shelter the children of the prisoners.

Nothing in this surprises us; that is the way hangmen are. They feed on human blood, on the tears of mothers, the terror of children. They are not people but monsters.

We know the Peruvian breed well. They are the ones who kick to the ground, peasants with their hands tied behind them and laugh at this feat. They are the ones who burn down poor hovels and rape the women. They are the ones who speak humbly to their bosses and yell at women. They are the ones who threaten the imprisoned peasants in Huancayo by firing at them point-blank and telling them they will never get out alive.

From these hangmen, no brutality surprises us. They are made for this.

But what about the people of Huancayo? How can the people of Huancayo cringe at this intimidation and abandon our beloved brothers?

What will you parents tell your children when they ask questions? Because, you can be sure, your children are going to ask a lot of questions. They will ask how many times a month you visited the prisoners. They will ask what honorable wrongs you suffered for the sake of helping the imprisoned peasants. They will ask why you did not tell them to share their bread and toys with the children of the imprisoned peasants.

And if you answer: "We had to look out for you, for your future," they will answer, "The peasants were imprisoned because they looked out for us and our future."

And if you tell them, "We were concerned about your education," they will answer, "You do not educate by teaching ingratitude, selfishness, and cowardice."

And you will not even be able to tell them, "The Peruvians in those days were like that." Because that is false.

That was evident to us thirty prisoners from Cuzco, who were tried in Tacna. How Tacna loved us! The entire people received us with affection although they did not know us.

They gave us fourteen quarts of milk a day, fruit, and other kinds of food—

October 27, 1969

plenty of it; clothing, everything they could. The people of Tacna waited in the street until midnight for them to bring us out of the courtroom so they could greet us. On the only visiting day, they formed a line two blocks long so they could press our hands.

How could we fail to remember Tacna with the deepest emotion! How could we forget after Tacna showed us what the love of a people is! How could we not remember after the way Tacna increased our faith in the Peruvian people!

It might be that you, students, fathers, and mothers of Huancayo, have not heard up to now about the heroes imprisoned in your city and what they stand for.

## Fish Can't Take It

France's lucrative fishing industry may soon be doomed, to believe M. Bonnassies, the general secretary of the Confederation of Mutual Maritime Credit Associations. He is quoted in the October 15 *Le Monde* as having warned at a recent conference of his organization:

"Our spawning grounds have been placed under deadly danger by the creation of industrial zones on our coasts, the influx of tourists, the use of larger and larger tankers, the almost total absence of cleaning stations or even simple settling basins. We call on the public authorities to take immediate action."

France is not the only country where the capitalist principle of free enterprise in the use of powerful poisons and in the disposition of wastes is leading to disastrous consequences to marine life.

A few months ago, virtually all the fish in the lower reaches of the Rhine were killed when several hundred pounds of pesticide were accidentally dumped into the river.

Now a new case has been reported. On October 12 a poison wave was noted moving down the Elbe, leaving thousands of dead fish in its wake.

Pending identification of the chemical, the West German news agency DPA sought to put the blame on East Germany, suggesting it could be waste

We appeal to you to do your duty. Help these imprisoned peasants and their families. Protect them. Strengthen and support the Comité de Derechos Humanos [Human Rights Committee], which has a representative in your city, the self-sacrificing student Ranulfo Peña.

Out of your duty as human beings,  
Out of your duty as Peruvians,  
Out of respect for your country,  
Out of love for your children and regard for their future,  
Help the peasants imprisoned in Huancayo!

Hugo Blanco Galdos

El Frontón Prison  
September 1969.

from a sugar factory across the border. Police warned farmers to keep their cattle well away from their normal drinking places along the river.

The United States appears to be holding its own in this field despite the competition from abroad.

The Interior Department said October 14 that on the basis of reports from forty-two states some 15,236,000 fish were killed by water pollution last year.

This is up 31 percent from 1967 and is the highest figure since 1964, when effluents killed 18,387,000 fish.

David D. Dominick, commissioner of the Federal Water Pollution Control Commission, offered the following comment:

"While improved reporting practices, variations in weather and other factors could be partially responsible for the increase, the report is a macabre reminder that our rivers, lakes and streams are being poisoned by many highly toxic and dangerous substances."

### Nixon's Answer to Moratorium?

A nationwide "Student Fast for Peace," organized by a variety of right-wing groups in support of Washington's war in Vietnam, drew four people to a scheduled demonstration in front of the White House October 10.

# What Strategy for Irish Revolutionists?

By Gerry Foley

Fresh violence has flared in the Northern Irish capital of Belfast three weekends in a row — September 27-28, October 4-5, and October 11-12. Various clashes have also occurred in other places in the province of Ulster. The renewed fighting shows that the British military occupation has solved nothing and that the situation in the London-dominated enclave remains highly explosive.

As a result of attempted pogroms by the repressive forces and fanatical Protestant mobs in mid-August, the oppressed Catholic minority of Northern Ireland barricaded off its ghettos and established its own law in these areas. This mass initiative and the incipient elements of workers power that accompanied it represented a danger to all the conservative establishments with interests at stake in the Six-County<sup>1</sup> statelet.

These forces have concentrated their efforts since the August explosions on dismantling the independent power in the Catholic ghettos and disarming the inhabitants.

The reactionary force perhaps most threatened by the revolutionary mobilization of the oppressed minority — the Catholic hierarchy — appears to have been the one prepared to take the greatest political risks to return the ghettos to their former passivity.

On September 15 the hierarchy intervened directly and authoritatively to force removal of the barricades in Belfast. The bishop of Down and Connor, Dr. Philbin, assisted by a crew of clerical subordinates, marched through the streets of Belfast ordering the Catholic defense groups to tear down their blockades.

Proinsias Mac Aonghusa described what happened in the September 26

1. In accordance with the Anglo-Irish treaty of 1922, Ireland was divided into two political entities. The six counties in the northeast corner became an autonomous province of the United Kingdom, the remaining twenty-six counties became formally independent.

issue of the Dublin biweekly *Hibernia*: "In Classical nineteenth century fashion he [Bishop Philbin] came into Free Belfast [the barricaded area], pushed aside the representative Defense Committee and, with a mixture of tears and threats, took over. When a young man protested that there was no authority from the Defense Committee to take down the barricades at that time, His Lordship declared that he spoke 'with a higher authority' . . ."

"We are the ones who will have to face the machine guns, not you', said one man at a barricade in Peel street. Father *James Taggart* shoved him aside and shouted, 'How dare you talk to your Bishop like that? How dare you try to silence him on the streets of Belfast? Are you Catholics or Communists?'"

Mac Aonghusa, a mildly left independent Social Democrat, pointed to a key contradiction in the history of the Irish liberation struggle: "Democracy and the voice of the risen people are alien to the Catholic Church . . . No one knowing the Catholic Church's role in Irish history could expect Dr. Philbin and his associates to act other than the way they did. . . ."

"One newspaper account of Dr. Philbin's activities ended: 'As the argument rose, the Bishop, wiping tears from his eyes with his sleeve, climbed into an [English] army jeep and rode away'. With him in that jeep drove the acclaiming ghosts of Bishops *Moriarty* of Kerry, *Colohan* of Cork, and *Doherty*<sup>2</sup> of Galway."

The phenomenon Mac Aonghusa touched upon here is that although the peculiar features of the English conquest of Ireland engendered an unusually deep attachment to the Catholic church among the descendants of

2. Bishops famous in Irish history for their antinational attitude. Bishop Colohan of Cork condemned the Irish rebel forces during the 1918-22 war of independence.

the conquered Celtic population, the hierarchy has been stoutly antinational and proimperialist.

## *The Church Versus the People*

The English conquest of Ireland in the seventeenth century paralleled the rise of capitalism in England. This conquest was, in fact, a social war of English bourgeois society against the tribal collectivism which existed in Ireland; it required a virtual genocide to uproot the native Irish system.

Since the ideology of the rising English bourgeoisie was Protestantism, this campaign was waged as a holy war against the "heathen" native population, which had no social reason to abandon the older religion. A Protestant colony was planted in part of Ireland's northern province of Ulster, on lands from which the native population had been driven, to hold the country for England.

Because of its international organization, the Catholic church was the only institution supported by the indigenous population that survived the holocaust of the seventeenth-century wars of conquest.

However, the Vatican put greater store in the wealth and power of England than in the loyalty of the Irish Catholics. The top clerical circles in Rome prevailed on the local hierarchy to reconcile the Irish to English rule. The objective of the Vatican power politicians was to use the Irish as a base for regaining some of the influence in Britain which the Protestant revolution had cost them.

Moreover, until religious emancipation in the first part of the nineteenth century, most Catholics who received an education, and all Irish priests, were trained in church-run colleges in Spain, France, and Rome.

These schools imbued the Irish attending them with the philosophy of the counterreformation and a hostility to the primitive collectivism of the old



Gaelic order, as well as the revolutionary aspirations of the dispossessed peasantry making up the overwhelming majority of the Irish people.

With its conservative international connections, its "other worldly" philosophy, and a prosperity and power rooted in the ghettoized mentality of the defeated Irish people, the Catholic hierarchy became a broker between English imperialism and the oppressed masses.

The church supported reforms that would increase the wealth and status of the community it fed on. But it consistently opposed the separatism and social radicalism of the revolutionary nationalist forces. The movements which sought to build a nation in Ireland to replace the walled-in religious communities created by the English conquest struck directly at this basis of the church's peculiar power and status in the country.

Catholicism's defense of private property and established power has had a special importance in Ireland, where virtually all property and social position derived from foreign conquest directly, or from collaboration with the conquerors. The Irish Catholic bourgeoisie — really more of a petty bourgeoisie for the most part — has developed in the shadow of clerical power.

### *Hierarchy to the Rescue*

An article in the *Irish Times* of September 16 indicated that Bishop Philbin did not act solely in the interests of preserving the traditional clerical dominance when he forced the removal of the barricades. "A prominent Belfast figure associated with the barricades stated last night there had been consternation among many moderates in the barricaded areas at the statement issued earlier by the Belfast Central Citizens' Defense Committee in which it was stated flatly that the barricades in the Catholic areas would not come down."

Some of the problems the establishment of independent power in the Catholic ghettos have caused for the authorities were indicated by Tony Geraghty, writing in the *London Sunday Times* September 28: "An inconclusive meeting between the British Army Commander in Northern Ire-

land and the Ulster Government has left legal experts on both sides this week-end pondering the tender question of who enforces the law behind the barricades.

"Although the barricades are less tangible than a week ago, the Royal Ulster Constabulary cannot follow up a number of orthodox criminal cases—including allegation of intimidation—for political reasons."

Geraghty described how established authority appears to be decaying: "In the circumstances it is not surprising that Northern Ireland is becoming touched by a climate of undramatic anarchy expressed by a policeman at a road accident in Belfast when he asked a student motorist: 'Do you live in the jurisdiction?'"

*Hibernia*, which reflects the viewpoint of the new middle classes in the formally independent part of Ireland, summed up the forces at work in its September 26 issue:

"An area within which the people could organise themselves, or be organised could be clearly useful to the republicans, it could also give the people a taste of what it was like to discipline themselves rather than be disciplined by the police. For these reasons alone, apart from the excuse that traffic was being held up, the barricades were an anathema to the government from the start and eventually worrying even to the church authorities. The confrontation between the bishop and people in which bitter exchanges took place in the traditionally Catholic Falls . . . reflected something of the real fear of church authorities of a left wing movement which is now gaining ground rapidly. . . . This shift has genuinely alarmed Catholic church authorities and explains why Dr. Philbin decided to pitch his personal authority against the hardliners on the barricades."

### *Putting Humpty Dumpty Together Again*

The more intelligent spokesmen of the Unionist ruling class have not hesitated to appeal to the Catholic middle class, seeking their support in liquidating the mass mobilization in the Catholic ghettos. In a speech at Kilmore, County Down, October 4, Brian Faulkner, Northern Irish Minister of Development and the leading rep-

resentative of the Presbyterian<sup>3</sup> business class, said:

"I am not saying for one moment that there are many people who are hell-bent on the violent destruction of Northern Ireland. The real political vandals are small in number. But I feel that the temptation has been there for anti-Unionists to flirt with these forces, on the assumption that anything which is anti-Unionist must ipso facto foster the Nationalist cause.

"This is a dangerous temptation based on a complete fallacy.

"Make no mistake about this — the destruction wrought by the hard-core insurrectionists harms us all."

Faulkner expressed some impatience here with the slowness of the Catholic conservative forces to confront the rebels in the barricaded areas. However, the position of these forces is by no means an easy one.

The Unionist regime has retained power in this northeastern corner of Ireland for fifty years on the basis of inciting hatred and fear of the almost 40 percent Catholic minority. The Catholic population has been subjected to a discrimination whose harshness has few parallels in the Western World. Dozens of Catholics have been killed in repeated pogroms over the last fifty years and the populations of whole neighborhoods have been beaten and harassed again and again by Protestant mobs and the bigoted repressive forces of the Unionist regime.

The civil-rights movement sparked by young radical activists from Queens University in Belfast quickly aroused this oppressed community. Under these conditions, the attempt by Northern Irish regular and auxiliary police to lead new pogroms in mid-August touched off great explosions, in which the entire Catholic population down to very young children mobilized to defend their neighborhoods. It is not likely that the Catholic conservative forces will have an easy time extinguishing this militancy.

Moreover, the Unionists have found it difficult to prevent provocations on their own side. A whole reactionary structure has been built up on religious discrimination in Northern Ire-

3. The Protestant population is divided into subcastes. The mass of workers and the business classes are generally Presbyterian. The big landowners and old bourgeois families are Episcopalian.

land — the Unionist political machine; the secret Orange Order, which resembles the Klu Klux Klan; a reactionary ideology which has penetrated deeply into the Protestant masses.

In their dilemma, the dominant sectors of the Catholic and Protestant bourgeoisie in both parts of Ireland have tended to look to their British imperialist patrons as the only power capable of enforcing law and order and restoring the necessary conditions for an effective bloc of all conservative forces.

One of the oldest Irish bourgeois nationalist papers, the *Irish Independent*, has defended British imperialism against attacks in the Soviet press, writing that the Northern Irish Catholics regard British troops as their defenders.

It was hoped that the "Peace Line" drawn around the Catholic ghettos by the British army would enable the Catholic conservative leaders to persuade the ghetto dwellers to give up their barricades and self-defense organizations.

Parallel to this, it was hoped that the Catholics' reliance on the army as the peace-keeping force would lead to a restoration of "British" sovereignty in the ghettos and thereby placate the Northern Irish loyalists.

### *Troops Watch While Homes Burn*

These hopes suffered a setback with the resumption of fighting on the weekend of September 27-28. Protestant terrorists crossed the "Peace Line" in Belfast and burned five Catholic homes, provoking a new upsurge of resistance in the ghetto community.

"By late afternoon today," the *New York Times* wrote September 28, "Roman Catholics in the area had built six new barricades. Residents complained that they had not been protected sufficiently by the British troops who, they alleged, had stood by and watched their homes being burned."

The new terrorism, added to the already considerable suffering of the Catholic population, increased their exasperation. Of the more than 400 homes burned in Belfast, all but about twenty are estimated to be Catholic homes, according to a report in the October 1 issue of the British biweekly radical journal, the *Black Dwarf*.

The *New York Times* reported from

Belfast the night of September 28: "'We have lost faith in the British army,' Jim Sullivan, the chairman of the Citizens Defense Committee, declared on the day of the outbreak. 'We originally took down the barricades because we were under the impression that the military would provide security. This has not happened.'"

The correspondent of the Eire government-subsidized Irish-language weekly *Inniu* [Today] reported a conversation he had with one of the Belfast ghetto dwellers: "'Peace is a forgotten word now,' he said . . . 'Every family in the district is looking for something to defend themselves with. There is nothing better for this than guns. Where can we get guns?'"

### *London Decides to Use the Club*

The Unionist ruling class again expressed impatience. The Belfast *Telegraph*, the spokesman of the dominant sector of the Protestant ruling class, wrote in its September 29 issue: "Now we are back to square one, or even square minus one, with the job of restoring lost confidence in the military's ability to keep the peace. . . ."

"Whatever may be said to the contrary, the impression is that the army here has been acting with its hands tied behind its back — presumably on the instructions of the politicians. This is a wise enough course, so long as it gets results, but there comes a time—and it must be perilously near—when diplomacy must give way to increasing use of force."

The right wing of the Unionist bourgeoisie, represented by former Minister of Home Affairs William Craig, called on the British to occupy the Catholic ghettos. "The army and the police should be going and getting the offenders by the scruff of their necks, whoever they might be," Craig said in a speech before 2,000 loyalists in Ulster Hall September 28.

In fact, the British army did seem to be assuming some of the repressive role previously played by the Northern Irish police. When questioned about the legal basis for several arrests made by soldiers, British army spokesmen declared: "Under the Northern Ireland Special Powers Act, regulations exist which enable soldiers to stop people and search them if they suspect that they are carrying firearms

and ammunition prejudicial to peace or maintenance of peace. It also enables them to enter buildings."

In the September 28 issue of the *Sunday Times*, Tony Geraghty noted these facts about the Special Powers Act: "In May last year Capt. Terence O'Neill admitted that the British Government was unable to ratify certain articles of the European Human Rights Convention because of the existence of the same law. One Belfast lawyer estimates that no fewer than 500 men have been imprisoned in Ulster without trial since the second world war.

"One of the more experienced internees is Mr. Sean Keenan, chairman of Derry Citizens Defence Committee and still unashamed of his Republican philosophy, illegal though it is. He has no criminal record, yet he has served a total of almost 10 years in prison in the United Kingdom without trial."

After the September 28 outbreak, the London government rushed 600 more crack troops to Belfast. When new fighting developed October 4, the reinforced English troops contained it. The Catholic defense forces were again persuaded to remove their barricades.

On October 10, the Hunt Commission, a government commission of inquiry set up after the mid-August outbreaks, recommended disbanding the B Special auxiliary police force and disarming the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), the regular police.

Prime Minister James Chichester-Clark of Northern Ireland immediately accepted these recommendations "in principle." The head of the Northern Irish police forces, Inspector General Anthony Peacocke, then resigned, to be replaced by Sir Arthur Young, a London police commissioner on temporary assignment.

According to Robert C. Toth, writing in the *Los Angeles Times* October 11, Chichester-Clark said that Sir Arthur's task would be to carry out "sweeping and radical changes" in order to see that "law and order is fairly, firmly and impartially enforced in all parts — I repeat — all parts of Northern Ireland."

Toth commented: "This emphasis implied that Ulster police would soon move to reassert control over Londonderry's Bogside and sections of Belfast where Catholics, ringed by British

troops, still refuse to allow police to enter."

In the early morning hours of Sunday, October 12, serious new clashes developed. An estimated 2,000 Unionists marched on Unity Walk, a Catholic apartment building isolated in a Protestant area. The Protestants reportedly had been provoked by the measures striking at the prerogatives of the traditional repressive forces.

### *Troops Fire on Pro-British Loyalists*

The troops were fired on as they moved in to break up the Protestant march; they shot back. "The troops opened fire in Shankill Road at 1 A.M. after being sniped at for about two hours. It was the first time troops or policemen had fired on demonstrators since sectarian violence broke out in the province more than a year ago," the Associated Press reported October 12. With the renewed fighting, the Wilson government rushed in 600 more troops.

There have been conflicts before between British imperialism and its local supporters in Ireland. But the violence of the clashes October 12 was unusual.

De Gaulle's clampdown on the European settlers in Algeria in the final phase of the liberation of this former overseas province of France indicates that it is sometimes necessary for an imperialist power to deal harshly with its own most fanatical agents when they go too far in taking things into their own hands.

The difficulties of ruling an area through fanaticized and deluded forces like the Northern Irish Unionists should not be underestimated. The caste system and the myths and fears which British imperialism fostered as a bulwark against Irish nationalism now limit London's capacity to maneuver.

Having for centuries enjoyed special privileges as an ally of English rule in Ireland, the Protestant population naturally tends, in general, to regard any concessions to the Catholics as a direct threat to its status and standard of living — that is, as a betrayal.

In the clashes between Protestant mobs and police October 4, a *New York Times* correspondent reported the shouts that came from the crowd: "When asked by an outsider why Prot-

estant men had begun throwing bottles at the police, her [a woman in the mob] only answer was to spit.

"The police have been turned against us by Cardinal Conway, [William Cardinal Conway, Archbishop of Armagh],' the woman yelled.

"He put the screws on General Freeland [commander of the English troops], and the police and the army are now out to get us,' a man shouted."

The fact that British commanders have felt compelled to use force to contain the loyalists illustrates the complexity and instability of the caste system which imperialism has fostered in Northern Ireland, as well as its monstrosity.

### *Can a Road Out Be Found?*

There are also, however, considerable obstacles and pitfalls in the way of militants seeking to open up a revolutionary perspective in Ireland.

The conscious revolutionary forces in Ireland are weak and scattered and have only begun to grow recently. This underdevelopment of the Irish revolutionary movement is owing not only to the continued hold of Catholicism on the majority of the people but to the fact that such large numbers are forced to emigrate. And it appears that at least some elements of British imperialism are still counting on emigration to reduce the revolutionary pressure in Northern Ireland.

In its reporting of the Ulster crisis, the London *Economist* stressed the additional unemployment that would be caused, since unsettled conditions had frightened off some investors.

An article in the August 23-29 issue noted: "Migration, the traditional resort of the Irish, seems the only answer, although it is one no Ulster politician has yet found the courage to advocate in public. Each year some 7,000 people are guesstimated to leave Ulster for good;<sup>4</sup> in each of

4. Unionist policy forces a higher percentage of Catholics than Protestants to emigrate. In his book, *Eyewitness in Northern Ireland*, Aidan Corrigan, chairman of the Dungannon Civil Rights Association, describes the pattern of emigration in County Fermanagh, which has a slight Catholic majority and borders

the past ten years its population has increased by 10,000. And those who leave are, by the nature of all such migrations, the younger and better qualified sections of society — indeed many of them give up good jobs to go to better ones elsewhere. The Stormont [the Northern Irish seat of government] officials' own calculation is that if the present migration were doubled it would only reduce unemployment by 1 per cent. Even so, a policy of increased emigration is occupying more attention in the planners' minds than the rioters realise."

In a country as long oppressed and drained as Ireland, it is difficult to generate revolutionary hopes. This seems especially true in Northern Ireland, where there is no immediate outlet for the struggle of the Catholic population.

The minority obviously cannot take power in the country nor can it carry out a socialist revolution in its barricaded ghettos. Moreover, the oppressed population cannot immediately look for aid from the Catholic majority in Eire.

Even aside from the question of the subservience of the Irish bourgeoisie to English imperialism, unity with the Twenty-Six County regime as it stands is not an appealing prospect, at least from the economic point of view.

With a population half the size of that in Eire, Northern Ireland spent £51,000,000 on education last year as against £49,000,000 spent in Eire, and £126,000,000 for social services as against £82,500,000 in the so-called Irish Republic.

### *How Long Can They Hold Out?*

Another difficulty is how to maintain the revolutionary spirit of the embattled Catholic ghettos until the struggle broadens. In Irish conditions the militancy of these populations has been accompanied by political backwardness. Moreover, the continuation of clashes for more than two

on Eire: "40% of the Catholics of Fermanagh emigrate between the ages of 15 and 25; only 17% of the Protestants emigrate." An estimated 51% of school-age youth in Northern Ireland are Catholic.

months now threatens to produce exhaustion.

Daniel Read gave his impression of the atmosphere in the Belfast barricaded area in the October 1 issue of the *Black Dwarf*: "The areas leave mixed feelings with anyone who visits them. To wake up in liberated territory, to emerge into a run down Victorian ghetto and see that the streets belong to the people and that there are no policemen, and to look down the street to the twenty-foot-high steel barricades with workers guarding its side entrance; that is a really good feeling. But although physically liberated, the areas were not politically free. There is no proletarian democracy, mass meetings are rare. The citizens' defence committee is not elected. This is not surprising, it is not a city that has been freed, there are no areas of political or industrial production within the barricades (no factories, town halls, or even cinemas). The barricades are defensive and surround Catholic homes. The inertia of self-defence and the static position of being besieged give an insight into why the Paris Commune despite its internal development never marched on to Versailles."

### *Question of National Unity*

There are, however, avenues by which it seems possible to open up a broad revolutionary struggle which could solve the conflict in Northern Ireland.

The low level of social spending in Eire is not an automatic consequence of the poverty of the country, as most of the reports in the capitalist press have suggested. This backwardness flows in large part from the creation of two states on the island based on religion.

Social services in Eire are dominated by the Catholic church, which wants no state competition. Church domination of welfare enables the weak Irish bourgeoisie to keep its social spending down.

The Northern Irish state is no less reactionary but the social gains won by the British workers, under the conditions of a more advanced capitalism, automatically extend to this autonomous province of the United Kingdom.

By again raising the question of the

national unity of Ireland, which the regime in Eire has avoided since the thirties, the rebellion of the Catholic minority in the North immediately challenged the clerical basis of the Twenty-Six County regime. In response to this pressure, the hierarchy has indicated a new willingness to make concessions.

The Irish primate, Cardinal Conway, has announced that he "would not shed a single tear" if Article 44 of the Eire Constitution, which gives a special status to the Catholic church, were abolished.

This is a new attitude for this "prince of the church," as Proinsias Mac Aonghusa pointed out in the October 10 issue of the English liberal weekly the *New Statesman*: "Nearly two years ago an all-party committee set up to examine the workings of the [Eire] Constitution suggested that divorce be legalised for non-Roman Catholics and that non-Roman Catholics divorced abroad should be free to remarry in the Republic. The abolition of Article 44 was also recommended. But it all came to nothing. Cardinal Conway denounced it in a strong unambiguous statement and the politicians caved in immediately . . ."

Furthermore, there seem to be certain possibilities for maintaining the mobilization in the Catholic ghettos of the North over a relatively extended period.

It may not be easy for the Northern Irish authorities, or even the British, to reestablish their full sovereignty in the liberated areas, even if the barricades finally come down.

In his presidential address to the *ard-fheis* [national conference] of Sinn Féin in December 1968, Thomas Mac Giolla boasted of the republican movement's success in winning the Irish people to the practice of direct democracy: "During the past few years Sinn Féin<sup>5</sup> has been carrying out a policy of direct political action in the Twenty-Six County area to put its economic and social policies into effect in so far as possible. We have taught the people the value of extraparliamentary democracy, and gradually the

system of political patronage is breaking down."

While many observers have been disappointed by the weakness of the Irish Republican Army in the North as a fighting force, there is no doubt that the republican movement has many dedicated cadres in the Six Counties. In the liberated areas, the republicans now have an extraordinary opportunity to organize forms of direct action and self-rule which could maintain the spirit of the people until the struggle broadens.

It will soon be shown whether the republican movement has developed an effective revolutionary program for the liberation of Ireland, as it claims, or whether Mac Giolla's boast about extraparliamentary action was only a cover for the romantic antipolitical attitude that has long condemned the republican movement to sterility.

### *League for a Workers Republic*

A newly formed socialist group in Eire has offered a program for opening up the way to an all-Ireland revolutionary struggle. Following the August explosions, the League for a Workers Republic in Dublin issued a statement on the tasks of Irish revolutionists in the present situation.<sup>6</sup> It said in part:

"Revolutionary parties are built in struggle and by direct intervention no matter how limited in the political situation as it exists. It is not enough to analyse the situation and then mouth platitudes about the necessity for building such a party. It is the duty of a revolutionary group to put forward a concrete set of demands and to do all in its power to put them into effect. . . ."

"Socialists are fighting for revolutionary reunification of the country against imperialism and Irish capitalism, for a Workers' Republic. But, given the lack of a revolutionary party and the corresponding low level of socialist consciousness among the working class, the revolutionary vanguard is forced to make interim demands which would facilitate this struggle in the future and frustrate the

5. Sinn Féin is the movement which supports a clandestine army called the Irish Republican Army (IRA).

6. The address of the League for a Workers Republic is 15 Hume Street, Dublin 2, Eire.

designs of capital at present. It must be realized that contrary to the raving of ultra-left and petty-bourgeois 'socialists', North and South, the struggle is not being waged on socialist demands. . . . The slogan of a Workers' Republic and other socialist demands, which can be educational if raised in the proper manner, are largely irrelevant at present as *fighting slogans*."

The League raised a series of demands intended to broaden the struggle in the Six Counties and raise it to a higher level:

"● Support the right of the Catholic population to secede into the twenty-six counties in the areas where they are in a majority.<sup>7</sup>

"● Demand an autonomous state within a united Ireland in the remaining area in order to safeguard the democratic rights of Protestants.

"● Disband the B-Specials and the RUC. Withdraw all British troops now. Arm the Catholic workers for self-defence against Paisleyite mobs.

"● Call on the Protestant working class to defend Catholic workers areas against Paisleyite attack. Defend the Protestant workers against Paisleyite and police intimidation."

For the Twenty-Six counties, the League raised the following demands:

"● Demand arms from the Twenty-Six County arsenals to protect Catholic areas of the north.

"● Demand that all armed republican bodies supply arms to Catholic workers for self-defence.

"● Demand an end to the political power of the Catholic church. Full democratic rights to all citizens including the right to divorce, contraception, and genuine secular education.

"● Fight for vast increases in social welfare benefits.

"● Agitate for the setting up of a workers' militia to defend Catholic workers and Protestant workers who are being intimidated by armed Paisleyite thugs."

The League for a Workers Republic

<sup>7</sup> Catholics are in a majority on about half the territory of Northern Ireland and a large part of this area is contiguous to Eire. Some of the Irish leaders, in fact, agreed to the partition in 1922 on the basis that border adjustments would make the Protestant enclave unviable.

lic was absolutely clear on the central problem posed by the development in the North.

"The League for a Workers' Republic calls on the workers of Ireland to organize *themselves* to oppose British imperialism, Paisleyite fascism, the Unionist power, and the Southern accomplices of British imperialism. The workers of Ireland must *themselves* organize to defend the Catholic workers of the North, and also the Protestant workers who are being intimidated, against the Orange and Paisleyite threat. They must arm themselves and prepare to defend their brothers under attack. Workers militias must be formed and trained."

The League recognized the reality that in view of the repeated massive and armed attacks on the Catholic workers in the North, there are only two alternatives for them — reliance on the British imperialist army or armed self-defence.

The League statement may have underestimated the difficulty of British imperialism's tasks in Ireland. It viewed London's problem solely as the need to liquidate an outdated repressive structure:

"British imperialism and the two sections of Irish capitalism desire a peaceful reunification of the country in a Free Trade Area with Britain and ultimately in the capitalist European Common Market. However, the instruments they created in the past to subdue the Irish working class [partition, Unionism, etc.] have risen now to bar their path."

This passage suggests that the League does not consider that the national struggle of the Catholic minority in the North poses an immediate threat to the capitalist system in Ireland. It may be that the League is missing the potential for permanent revolution in this struggle. Time, of course, will tell whether their perspective is correct. In the meantime, the demands the League has raised seem to offer an effective basis for socialist intervention in the struggle that is developing.

The potentially revolutionary crisis in Ireland may prove to be an acid test for revolutionists in Britain as well as in Ireland. The British left has suffered unduly from sectarianism and scholasticism — perhaps be-

cause of its remoteness on the civilized island of Great Britain from dynamic revolutionary struggles in the rest of the world.

Revolutionists throughout the world will be watching with great interest as the British left responds to the violent struggles in semicolonial Ireland, only twenty miles from Great Britain at the nearest point.

The concern of revolutionists will be increased by the fact that England is the seat of the Socialist Labour League, an organization that professes to be virtually the only significant organization in the world that defends the principles of Trotskyism and uses the theoretical tools of revolutionary Marxist analysis.

From its island vantage point, the Socialist Labour League has surveyed the world and discerned many phenomena that have escaped all other observers — state capitalism in Cuba under Castro, for instance.

Now that great struggles have erupted so close to its home base, one wonders what advice the Socialist Labour League proposes to offer the embattled nationalist workers of Northern Ireland.

An indication can be found in the October 3 issue of *Workers Press* in an article by Cliff Slaughter, the chief theoretician of the Socialist Labour League. Unfortunately Slaughter confused the issues somewhat by trying to compress a polemic against a broad spectrum of tendencies into the framework of a denunciation of essentially only one of them, the International Socialists:

"The 'International Socialists' (state capitalists) have no political strategy for the workers of Ireland. Instead they say things like this:

"'The lessons of the past week's rioting for the beleaguered Catholics of Belfast are plain. The barricades must stay. More must be built, and more must be reinforced.'

"After many months of a disastrous reliance on the middle-class civil rights leadership, the Catholic workers find themselves isolated from their Protestant brothers in the barricaded slum areas.

"Whatever the problems of 'law and order' for the capitalists, this situation is *politically* a good one for them.

"All those who work to perpetuate the divisions and isolation of the Catholic workers of Derry and Belfast, in-

stead of turning to the Labour movement for the urgent job of mobilizing the workers as a *class*, Catholics and Protestants, are playing a reactionary role which is subservient to the Catholic hierarchy and the Unionists."

Since the International Socialists include various tendencies, it is not easy from a distance to determine exactly what role they have played in the Irish struggle. The influence of the International Socialists, however, is generally assumed to be widespread among the young militants who sparked the civil-rights struggle.

But Slaughter would be quite unfair if he accused these young fighters of not trying to reach the Protestant workers. Some of them have been willing to go to considerable lengths to avoid alienating the Protestants. Early this year on the civil-rights march from Belfast to Derry, many of these youth suffered brutal beatings from Protestant fanatics. During this march, Eamonn McCann, the leader of the radical wing of the civil-rights movement in Derry, said:

"Let us be very clear about our policy today. For three days we have been harassed and abused without any retaliation on our part. Today we may face provocation far beyond anything yet seen. We said at the outset that we would march non-violently. Today will see the test of that pious declaration. And [are] we prepared, individually and collectively, to run the risk of serious injuries without taking the slightest retaliation?"

"I am afraid this is the policy we must support to a lunatic extreme. We must agree that not one single person will retaliate even to save himself from injury. . . ."

"Comrades, this may sound insane and absurd. But it is necessary. We will be opposed, make no mistake of that. And any trust you may still have in the R. U. C. is, in my opinion, quite misplaced. We are on our own and our only weapons are the principles we have adopted. The People's Democracy is a radical movement. Its members hope to change the consciousness of the great mass of the people of this part of the country, charging them with an awareness of the real problems of the exploited and oppressed, Catholic and Protestant alike. In all logic we cannot attack or retaliate when attacked by Protestant working people. Remember the

nature of those who have hindered us during the last few days. They are not our enemies in any sense. They are not exploiters dressed in thirty-guinea suits. They are the dupes of the system . . ."

Attempts to overcome the caste divisions in Northern Ireland by uniting Protestant and Catholic workers in economic struggles have not gained lasting success. Before the radicalization of the Catholic population under the impact of the civil-rights movement, the Unionist ascendancy seemed more secure than ever.

Bernadette Devlin stated the problem well in her speech at Berkeley during her American tour in August and early September, although it is not clear if she has drawn the full implications from this remark: "We simply wanted justice for the people of Northern Ireland. The government hadn't any ideas about how to give it to the people, and we did. The government was not prepared to listen to our ideas. What it *was* prepared to do, however, was to insist that we were really a load of Catholic bigots who simply wanted to stomp all over the Protestant people of Northern Ireland. Of course, to the exploited Protestant working class the government's attitude seemed quite reasonable. They knew that if anything was going to be shared out equally, it was all the people at the bottom who were going to have to readjust themselves and sort things out. The government was going to lose nothing, therefore, naturally the Protestant working class was going to suffer a serious lowering in standards . . ."

What this reality means is that in a social sense the Catholics are moving first as the worst exploited. The Protestants are fearful of losing their relatively better-off position. But in the peculiar conditions of capitalism in Ireland, the revolt of the Catholic workers in the North has brought the whole system into crisis. Besides the obvious dangers indicated by repeated attempts to stage anti-Catholic pogroms, the situation which has developed offers hope.

#### *Economism Under the Union Jack*

In a period of economic decline and increasing austerity in Britain as a whole, it is difficult to see how the caste exclusiveness of the Protestants

can be broken unless the Catholic workers can demonstrate that the present system cannot be maintained, and unless the struggling Catholic workers can open up a new revolutionary perspective for all the people of Ireland by making the imperialist system unworkable.

The liberation of the ghetto areas indicates that the most oppressed section of the Irish working class has that capacity.

Of course there are great dangers in a revolutionary crisis, especially under the conditions prevailing in Northern Ireland. It has been possible for quasi-fascist Unionist extremists to mobilize mobs of desperate petty-bourgeois elements against the Catholic workers.

These ultraright Unionists have been able to draw the backward and privileged layers of the working class behind them — in this case large segments of the Protestant working class.

They have been able to create and arm terrorist forces.

In the midst of this revolutionary crisis, Slaughter raises the prospect of essentially a reformist economic struggle as the solution: "What is required in Northern Ireland is a *class* orientation in the trade unions and the Labour movement which will link up with this powerful development in the South [the economic strikes of the past few years] and the struggles here in Britain."

What this means, it would seem, is that the Irish Catholics in the North should build a labor movement in Ireland like the one in Britain. In a country like Ireland, where so much explosive material has accumulated, this is pure utopianism.

Slaughter is adamant about keeping the Irish struggle within the civilized bounds to which he in Britain is accustomed: "All the talk about arms is adventurist rubbish at this stage."

The Irish revolutionists will, of course, be best able to judge the worth of the Socialist Labour League's advice.

At the moment, the most interesting question about the Socialist Labour League theoretician's analysis of the Irish struggle is whether he has fully considered the implications of this passage in Trotsky's Transitional Program:

"The reformists systematically implant in the minds of the workers the

notion that the sacredness of democracy is best guaranteed when the bourgeoisie is armed to the teeth and the workers are unarmed.

"The duty of the Fourth International is to put an end to such

slavish politics once and for all. The petty-bourgeois democrats — including Social Democrats, Stalinists and Anarchists — yell louder about the struggle against fascism the more cravenly they capitulate to it in actuality."

## Reaction of CPs

# Glum at Groveling of Czech Stalinists

The approval of the Soviet intervention proclaimed by the September plenum of the Czechoslovak Communist party could not but embarrass those Communist parties throughout the world that, to one degree or another, had opposed the August 21 invasion of Czechoslovakia.

If Moscow's decision to intervene was an unfortunate mistake, as these CPs generally maintained, how were the self-criticisms and the abasement of the Czechoslovak party to be explained?

If the first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist party, Dr. Gustáv Husák condemned the August 21 resolution of his own party's Presidium, which had opposed the Soviet intervention, as "not proceeding from a class standpoint, non-Marxist, and fundamentally in error," how did this reflect on other Communist party leaderships which had also opposed the intervention?

The Italian Communist party, which made a relatively strong condemnation of the invasion, expressed cautious disapproval September 29 of the positions taken by the Czechoslovak CP Central committee plenum.

"These decisions," an Italian CP Political Bureau statement said, "have again raised problems which . . . touch the workers and democratic movement of our country and have aroused regret and concern on the part of all Italian Communists."

The Italian CP statement very delicately hinted at the causes for the Czechoslovak party's total reversal of its former positions:

"No one is more convinced than we are that the Czechoslovak Communists

must be allowed to solve their own problems in full independence and with full responsibility. For us this is not a question of formal rights; it is certain, however, that a judgment of the most recent developments in the situation in Czechoslovakia and of the measures which have been taken cannot disregard the weight exercised by the peculiar conditions created in August 1968 with respect to independence and sovereignty."

The position of the French Communist party, which took an ambiguous and wavering stand in opposition to the August invasion, was an especially delicate one.

Commenting on the French CP's attitude to the September plenum in Czechoslovakia, *Le Monde* wrote October 1:

"It is revealing that so far *l'Humanité* has limited itself to printing wire service dispatches reporting the most recent events and has considered it preferable not to add any comment. The central organ of the PCF [Parti Communiste Français — French Communist party] has even carried its discretion to the point of publishing an incomplete text of the Czechoslovak plenum's final resolution."

*L'Humanité*, the Paris bourgeois daily noted, did report that the Czechoslovak CP Central Committee annulled the party Presidium's August 21 resolution. However, it did not report that this resolution was denounced as "non-Marxist" and that the entry of Warsaw Pact troops was described as not only in the "interests of defending socialism in Czechoslovakia," but also in the interests of the "security of the socialist camp"

and the "world Communist and workers movement."

The top leadership of the PCF has remained silent on the latest developments in Czechoslovakia. However, two of the party's leading intellectuals condemned Husák's Stalinist course. Early in October, Louis Aragon, the most respected Communist cultural figure, denounced "the establishment in a socialist country of systematic informing as a national duty" in the weekly *les Lettres Françaises*, which he edits.

At the French CP Central Committee plenum in Ivry, October 13-14, the question of Czechoslovakia was raised by the CP's main intellectual spokesman, Roger Garaudy. Garaudy's contribution to the discussion stressed the point that the socialism the CP seeks to establish in France can have nothing in common with that imposed on Czechoslovakia, according to the October 16 issue of *Le Monde*.

In the plenum of the Central Committee of the Austrian CP held in the second week of October, the anti-Stalinist opposition in the party introduced a motion calling for support to Dubcek and for condemning Husák's reactionary course. The motion was defeated by a vote of thirty-six to twenty-four.

On October 14 it was announced that Ernst Fischer, the most prominent Austrian Communist intellectual and a Central Committee member until January 1968, had been expelled from the party. Fischer's comment on the so-called normalization in Czechoslovakia was that "there can be no normalization in the relationship between the knife and the wound."

The Czech CP's submission to Moscow seemed to embolden the unreconstructed Stalinist minority in the Finnish Communist party. On October 15 Agence France-Presse reported that the Political Bureau of the Communist party of Finland had rejected a demand by the ultra-Stalinist wing for withdrawal of its August declaration condemning the Warsaw Pact intervention. The minority reportedly is threatening to run its own candidates in the March 1970 general elections.

# Pickets Greet Shah in New York

Some seventy-five Iranian students and their supporters demonstrated October 18 in front of New York's Waldorf-Astoria Hotel where the shah of Iran had set up court during a visit to the U.S.

Police attacked the demonstration and arrested four persons, three Iranians and one American. The cops claimed they had been assaulted by the protesters and booked the four defendants on charges of "inciting to riot, obstructing government administration and disorderly conduct."

The press has not revealed what business the Iranian dictator plans to take up during his visit, but it is rumored that he is seeking a \$500-million loan from his patrons in Washington.

The demonstration was called by the Iranian Students Association, which distributed thousands of leaflets denouncing the "political repression and violations of human rights in Iran" and drawing special attention to the plight of political prisoners in that country. During the October 15 Moratorium the association passed out a leaflet headlined, "The People of Vietnam Will Win — So Will the People of Iran."

Demonstrators in front of the Waldorf-Astoria shouted, "Down with the



**HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY MOHAMMED REZA SHAH PAHLAVI ARYAMEHR SHAH-ANSHA OF IRAN. Pickets in New York conferred a fresh award on the much decorated monarch—the Royal Raspberry.**

Shah!" and "Freedom for Iran!" and sang militant songs in Persian.

The marchers carried signs demanding the immediate release of political prisoners, and an end to U.S. intervention in Iran. Other slogans op-

posed imperialism and Zionism and supported the struggles of the Kurdish minority in Iran.

Other groups supporting the demonstration included Arab student organizations, the Ethiopian Student Union in North America, and the Pan-African Students Association in the Americas. A number of U.S. student organizations, including the Young Socialist Alliance, took part in the demonstration.

Later that evening, after the police attack on the demonstrators, New York's Mayor Lindsay presided at a dinner in honor of the dictator at the American Museum of Natural History.

## Al-Hadaf Publishes Speech by Camejo

A speech by Peter Camejo, "How to Make a Revolution in the U.S.," has been translated into Arabic by the weekly magazine *Al-Hadaf*, published in Beirut, Lebanon.

In an editorial note, *Al-Hadaf* describes Peter Camejo as "an American youth, a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party in the U.S. A long-time leader of the Young Socialist Alliance, he is widely known for his activities at the University of California in Berkeley."

The editorial note praises the clarity, the scientific approach, the relevance, and the courage of the presentation. "Actually this analysis can be applied to a number of modern problems in more than one place in the world. From this angle it is pertinent to the discussion inside the Palestinian resistance movement."

*Al-Hadaf* reflects the views of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, one of the major guerrilla organizations. The magazine published the article in two installments (October 4 and 11).

Camejo's speech first appeared in the New York revolutionary-socialist weekly *The Militant*. It has been reprinted by Merit Publishers as a 24-page pamphlet. It can be obtained by sending 25 cents. The address is 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.

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