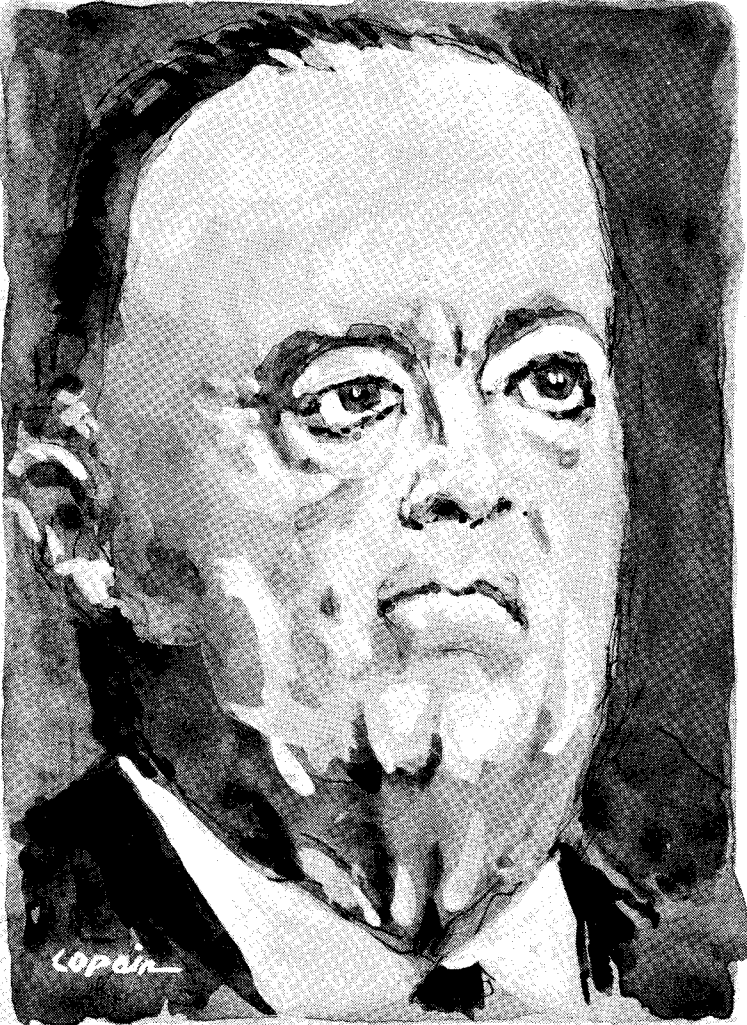


Why Washington Mourns Nasser's Death



J. EDGAR HOOVER: A specter is haunting the chief of the FBI, the specter of the Young Socialist Alliance. See page 840.

Revolutionary Struggle in Jordan

Soviet Union:

Observations of Kolkhoz Life

Bolivia:

New Crisis Faces Ovando

Chile:

Nixon Weighs Possible
Alternatives to Allende

Gerry Foley:

What I Saw in Belfast and Derry City

Free Raja Anwar!

Pakistani student leader Raja Anwar was arrested at the beginning of September by the military regime of General Yahya Khan, according to information received by the British socialist paper *The Red Mole*.

Anwar is well known in the country not only as a student leader but also as a Trotskyist and supporter of the Fourth International. He was one of the leaders in the mass uprisings of the November 1968-March 1969 period which resulted in the forced retirement from the presidency of General Ayub Khan.

Anwar has also been involved in the anti-imperialist movement in Pakistan and has been one of the organizers of protests against the American aggression in Indochina.

At the time of his arrest, Anwar was a candidate for a seat in the provincial assembly in the general elections scheduled for December. His confinement thus constitutes a violation of the regime's pledge not to interfere with the electoral process.

The Red Mole has learned that the pretext for the arrest was a speech considered "inflammatory" by the authorities. Anwar has been charged with violating Martial Law Regulation No. 16-A.

An inquiry by *The Red Mole* at the Pakistan High Commission in London as to the exact content of Regulation 16-A produced no response except the claim that the commissioners did not possess a copy of the Martial Law Regulations, which are the rules by which Pakistan is governed! Presumably, however, the regulation in question prohibits criticism of the regime.

The Red Mole has called on all individuals and groups who support democratic rights to demand Anwar's immediate release.

Messages of protest can be sent to Pakistani embassies and to General Yahya Khan, Chief Martial Law Administrator, Rawalpindi, West Pakistan.

Copies of protests should be sent to: *The Red Mole*, 182, Pentonville Road, London, N. 1, England.

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'Amman Is a Murdered City'

"Amman is a murdered city," according to *Le Figaro's* correspondent Thierry Desjardins. "The fighting continued this morning but it was as if Hussein was beating a corpse. His heavy artillery continues pounding the refugee camps with phosphorous bombs. But these camps no longer exist. For mile after mile, there is only ruins, mud, craters, twisted metal and screams." (Desjardins's article was published in translation in the *Washington Post* September 26; the date of the French original was not given.)

The French journalist was able to reach the Wahdat refugee camp, where the headquarters of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine was located. Before the Jordanian regime launched its civil war, 55,000 people were housed in this camp in tents and shanties.

"They have been massacred," Desjardins wrote of the inhabitants. "Everything still smokes — a yellowish unreal smoke that stings one's eyes. Tonight, for five hours, the shells fell again. But on what? On the rubble of mud walls, on ruins that have been machine gunned . . . for the past eight days."

Desjardins continued: "The sun came up on an atrocious, unbearable spectacle. I saw hundreds of bodies — men, women, children — in piles, an immense shambles. Death had caught them as they fled their burning homes. They lay all along the twisting alleys between the ruins. Others were crushed under the corrugated metal roofs.

"I saw: a man who had thrown himself over a child, obviously to protect it; three women, who had perhaps been running; Many children; Bodies in shreds; . . . an arm, a child's shoe, mud made of earth and blood; a young girl, her stomach open, her long hair soaked in blood. There were thousands of bodies and an unbearable stench. . . .

"In that sinister dawn the smoke from the shelling enveloped the bodies. Then I heard the screams of thousands and thousands of wounded."

The proimperialist forces did not even spare the survivors: "I quickly learned what Hussein's Bedouins do

to their prisoners. In Zarqa, where they destroyed everything, they took hundreds of prisoners. They took them to a military camp in the desert, then they shut them in a basement that had been an ammunition storehouse and then the massacre began. I myself saw a Bedouin execute a wounded prisoner . . ."

The royalist encirclement of the Wahdat camp was described by two Agence France-Presse reporters in the September 29 issue of *Le Monde*: "A few kilometers from Wahdat, on the Jerusalem road, the cannon that pounded the camp for eight days are still in position. They are British and American 155mm cannon. . . ."

The events in Jordan apparently convinced Nixon that American military aid would be put to its proper use. While Washington previously refused to provide aid to strengthen Jordanian defenses, after Hussein's attack on the Jordanian and Palestinian people, the U. S. government was quick to offer heavy military equipment to bolster the Hashemite monarch's armed forces.

Hussein proved his willingness to commit mass murder to eliminate any threat to the neocolonialist regime. His popularity in imperialist circles has increased accordingly. But it is doubtful that the "tough little king" will prove any more effective as a policeman for imperialism than his Vietnamese counterparts Ky and Thieu.

"There is still the problem of the Palestinian militia," *Le Monde* reported Friday, October 2. "Dozens of armed militiamen continued to circulate late Wednesday in the streets of Amman. . . . 'The Cairo agreement does not concern us,' a militia leader said. 'Only the regular fighters must leave Amman. There is no compromise possible on this point . . . We must have a militia to protect the revolution from the counterrevolution.'" —

People in Glass Houses

A book entitled *China Today*, recently published in the Soviet Union, says that China is ruled by a bureaucracy.



NAYEF HAWATMEH

Habash, Hawatmeh Hunted in Jordan

What has happened to Nayef Hawatmeh, the leader of the militant Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine [DPFLP], and Dr. George Habash, the leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine [PFLP], the organization credited with the hijacking of four planes on the eve of King Hussein's bloodbath in Jordan?

The press has made something of a mystery of their whereabouts during the civil war. It was widely reported, for instance, that Habash had left Jordan on a junket to North Korea.

To add to the interest, Hussein has offered a reward of \$15,000 each for their capture—alive.

According to the September 29 *Le Monde*, the Tokyo press reported that a North Korean news agency said September 18 that Habash had come to Pyongyang "to study the techniques and thought of the great Comrade Kim Il Sung."

But the Beirut office of the PFLP told the *Le Monde* correspondent that Habash had returned to Amman September 14. Meanwhile other reports said he had been seen in Baghdad and Damascus and may have slipped into Amman.

Le Monde reported in the same account that Hawatmeh was seriously wounded in the shoulder September 17 when the headquarters of the DPFLP was hit by a rocket. He came to the hospital each day to have the wound dressed.

When the hospital was taken by Hussein's forces on September 24, they found no trace of the guerrilla leader.

Another leader of the DPFLP, Abou Leyla, was reported to have been burned alive.

Why Imperialism Mourns the Death of Nasser

The death of Egypt's President Gamal Abdel Nasser of a heart attack September 28 at the age of fifty-two marked the end of an era in the Middle East and in the so-called Third World. Nasser epitomized the efforts of the national bourgeoisies in the colonial areas in the postwar period to carry through bourgeois-democratic revolutions, to break free from the tutelage of the advanced capitalist countries — but without embarking on a socialist revolution or involving the masses in struggle, and in fact actively opposing the latter alternative despite the most vigorous demagoguery to the contrary.

As millions throughout the Arab world mourned the man who had become a symbol of Arab nationalism, political observers in the imperialist capitals tried to weigh the significance of Nasser's death in the current turmoil in the Middle East. A frequent comment was that Nasser had abandoned "neutrality" in favor of a military alliance with the Soviet Union and that his death deprived Moscow of its principal ally in the area.

More sophisticated observers, however, regarded Washington as the main loser. The September 29 *New York Times*, for example, said: "Although Mr. Nasser gained a reputation in his early years in power as a fire-breathing radical, in recent years he had become a force for moderation and pragmatism."

The *Times* summed up the comments on the floor of the United Nations immediately after the news of Nasser's death was announced:

"All those who spoke appeared to fear that the forces of moderation in the Middle East had suffered profound damage and that the forces of extremism would be strengthened as a result of the Egyptian President's death."

The same issue of the *New York Times* reported from Washington: "United States officials, startled by the death of Gamal Abdel Nasser, tended to view it as a blow to peace-making efforts in the Middle East."

In the U. S. Senate the news was announced by Mississippi Senator John C. Stennis, a notorious hawk

on Vietnam and a supporter of Israel. Stennis called Nasser "superior to most anyone who might have been in power."

The *Washington Post* spelled out its main worry quite clearly in its September 29 issue:

"For the United States, Nasser's death is a crucial loss. Although Egypt and America had their differences, there remained a grudging mutual respect. Often Egypt gave the Americans a helping hand. . . .

"With Nasser gone, the guerrillas, along with other extremists in the Arab world, no longer have any political brakes to check what some observers feel is their slide to the left."

This view of Nasser as a force for "moderation," that is, conciliation with Washington, was expressed in some detail by the *New York* financial magazine *Business Week* in its October 3 issue:

"We have the feeling Nasser kept the area calmer than it would have been without him," said a U. S. expert on Middle East oil in Paris this week.

"Oilmen thus echoed the judgment of diplomatic observers that the death of Egypt's president removes a moderating influence on the militant ideologies, fierce political rivalries, and national antagonisms that have kept the Middle East in turmoil for a quarter century. . . .

"It may be months before Nasser's death can be measured for its full impact. . . . But Western oilmen fear that it means more trouble ahead for them, starting in Egypt itself."

Miles Copeland, a reporter for the Associated Press, added the observation October 1 that Lebanese President Camille Chamoun "knew, as any of Nasser's closest friends knew, that the Egyptian leader was never seriously anti-American. . . ."

The main current argument for this estimate was that Nasser—with the agreement of the Soviet Union, or under its pressure—had accepted the American "peace" initiative and was prepared to negotiate a settlement with Israel that brushed aside the national rights of the Palestinians.

A number of commentators argued

that in view of Nasser's willingness to negotiate, his death was a blow to the Zionist regime in Israel. In this vein, for example, the October 3 *Manchester Guardian Weekly* said:

"For without Nasser, peace is far away. Alone among the Arab leaders, Nasser had the stature to persuade Israel's neighbours and the remainder of the Arab world to turn away from fruitless and endless war."

Michael Adams, described by the *New York Times* as "a supporter of the Palestinian Arabs," wrote in the October 1 issue of that paper:

"Those who criticized him, on both sides of the armistice lines, and perhaps most of all the Israelis—who so recently were trying to bomb him off his throne—are likely now to find that without his stabilizing influence their situation becomes more dangerous than ever."

The Zionist regime said little publicly, but its few comments tended to indicate agreement with Adams's assessment. One Knesset member said Nasser "was the only man who could make war with Israel, but he was the only Arab leader strong enough to make peace with Israel."

Israel's Deputy Premier Yigal Allon told a student meeting September 29:

"If his [Nasser's] successors really want to learn from him, I hope they will learn the lessons of the honeymoon of his first years, and those from the last chapter of his rule."

Peter Grose, writing from Jerusalem in the September 30 *New York Times*, commented:

"This underlined the main point in official Israeli thinking today—that at the time of his death, the much-hated President Nasser seemed to be in fact moving toward reaching some kind of accommodation with Israel, despite his military moves in violation of the American-sponsored cease-fire."

"There was widespread doubt that any successor in Cairo would be able to pursue this risky policy of accommodation, against opposition from Palestinian guerrillas and other Arab capitals, at least until his tenure in office had been made secure."

The Revolutionary Struggle in Jordan

By A. Yoldachs

[We have translated the following article from the September 28 issue of *Rouge*, the weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste, the French section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

On the day of the military coup d'etat [September 16] the Jordanian Nero, Hussein, declared that he would not leave the country until it was red with blood and flame. In turn the sinister Majali said: "I will destroy Amman but I will reestablish respect for our noble institutions . . . in ten days there will not be any more Palestinian resistance. . . ."

About ten days have passed since the military coup d'etat staged by the triumvirate of Hussein, Majali, and Daoud; but their bloody enterprise has not yielded the results they counted on.

They thought that by bringing the full weight of their repressive apparatus into play they could liquidate the Palestinian resistance. But their wish has not come true. Not only have they failed to achieve this objective, they are encountering the greatest difficulties, both military and political.

From the military standpoint, the Israeli armed forces allowed the Jordanian army, led by the triumvirate, to abandon the bank of the Jordan and devote themselves exclusively to eliminating the Palestinian resistance, since both had a common interest in getting it out of the way.

For several days the Bedouins, the Rangers, and the royalist shock troops have been shelling Amman. Mortars, phantom jets, and heavy artillery are being used to wipe out the valiant Jordanian and Palestinian guerrillas. Despite the military superiority of the royalist forces and the destruction of almost all the Palestinian refugee camps, especially the El Wahadeth camp controlled by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Revolution camp (formerly called the King Hussein

camp) controlled by the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, "pockets" of Palestinian resistance still exist in Amman. Street battles are continuing to flare up, although they have diminished in intensity.

Of course, the military tactic of the Palestinian resistance was to withdraw toward the Irbid region to the north where the Jordanian and Palestinian masses had already established their power a few days before the military coup d'etat.

In carrying out this withdrawal, they did not have to abandon Amman to the hangman of the masses. Proof of this is that the curfew has not been lifted in Amman and the good journalists blockaded in the Intercontinental Hotel are getting themselves evacuated by the Red Cross or the Egyptian government. They are obliged either to echo the communiqués of the triumvirate or copy word for word from the Lebanese bourgeois press (*Le Jour* or *L'Orient*), which is as poorly informed as they.

From the first skirmishes and extreme tensions at the beginning of this month, Irbid was already designated a strategic point by the Palestinian resistance, especially the Democratic Popular Front. The Palestinian movement is deeply rooted here and has a very large following in the camps and villages surrounding Irbid, such as Jarash and Husn.

Irbid is the second command center of the Palestinian resistance. All the Palestinian and Jordanian organizations have offices and headquarters there. It is also the first big city in Jordan where a working population developed. Agricultural workers live there and the teachers' unions are very dynamic (strikes involving fairly considerable mobilizations took place on the eve of the February 1970 events; Democratic Front militants participated actively).

Irbid is one of the few cities in Jordan in which, because of its dense population, experiments in organizing

the masses were tried. There was a campaign for building shelters to defend the population against the daily bombings to which the Israeli army subjected the city for a long period. There was a literacy campaign. Palestinian militants worked in the union federations. There was a training program involving the creation of craft workshops (the craft sector absorbs essentially women and young high-school students).

But perhaps the most important experiment the Democratic Popular Front carried out was forming and organizing the first soviets. As our comrade Alain Krivine announced at the meeting sponsored by the Ligue Communiste [Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International] September 22 in support of the Palestinian resistance, and as *Le Monde* confirmed Thursday, September 24, the soviets had appeared a few days before the latest events.

Three days before the military coup d'etat, the Jordanian and Palestinian masses organized at the street and neighborhood level — as well as the city as a whole.

Political commissars were delegated by the Democratic Popular Front to take charge of the political education of the masses in Irbid and to help them organize and defend themselves against the army and tanks which were surrounding the city.

The encirclement tightened. The military coup d'etat took place in Amman. It was then that the chairman of the Central Committee of the Palestinian Resistance named new administrators for the city and ordered the militiamen in Irbid to obey them. In reality only the coup d'etat prevented the extension of the process of forming people's councils.

At this point the Iraqi army was withdrawing toward Mafrak and getting ready to return to its own frontier.

The Palestinian resistance so upset the expectations of the Arab regimes by its reply to their plans that they

have not had time to define a common position. This is the reason for the apparent contradictions in the statements of Libya and Egypt.

Three days after the bloody battles had begun, Nasser sent an appeal to Hussein and Arafat to accept a cease-fire. The Central Committee responded immediately with a categorical no. As soon as Cairo learned of this reply over Radio Damascus—which was put at the disposal of the Palestinian resistance from the first hours of the fighting—Nasser made a new appeal in person over Radio Cairo. The appeal came close to being an ultimatum: "Accept a cease-fire or we will intervene to prevent a slaughter."

Hussein accepted the proposal but the Palestinian resistance refused. In view of such a situation Libya was forced to shift its position to the left. It suspended its financial aid to Jordan. To justify this decision, the Libyan government accused Hussein of failing to carry out the cease-fire.

In fact the Libyan position was determined by two factors: (1) the failure of Nasser's plan to influence the Palestinian resistance; (2) the complications ensuing from the positions taken by the two Baath parties in Iraq and Syria.

The Libyan position was not revolutionary. The Tripoli regime did not take the side of the Jordanian and Palestinian masses. Fundamentally it wanted the same thing Nasser did: to send a military force to Jordan—not to stand between the Jordanian army and the guerrillas, as they claimed, but to defend Hussein's throne against a hypothetical intervention by the Syrian and Iraqi armies.

The determination of the Palestinian resistance not to yield to these appeals led Quathafi and Nasser to fall back on the idea of an Arab summit that had been proposed by the Tunisian premier, whose crypto-Zionist aura antedates June 1967.

But this conference did not take place. It could not be held if the Palestinians would not swallow the pill of a cease-fire. It was not the refusal of Syria, Algeria, or Iraq, and still less of Morocco that blocked holding the conference. It was the determination of the valiant Jordanian and Palestinian masses to refuse to capitulate by laying down their arms. This forced Nasser, Quathafi, and Numeiry of the Sudan to take a different tack. They sent a small committee presided

over by Numeiry with full powers to bring about a cease-fire.

For these capitulationist petty-bourgeois leaders, ending the deadlock also meant pressuring Iraq and Syria, which in word or theory supported the Palestinian resistance, through the intermediary of other states. This was to be the role of the Soviet bureaucracy. The USSR did not have much difficulty in convincing the Iraqi government. Baghdad was neither willing nor able to intervene.

In order for Iraq to intervene in support of the Jordanian Arab masses, the Iraqi masses would first have to be liberated from imperialist exploitation and organize and arm themselves to confront not only the Jordanian army but the Israeli and Anglo-American armed forces.

Because of its class nature the pro-imperialist repressive Iraqi government has no interest—either now or in the near future—in undertaking an armed intervention against Hussein's officers. This holds true above all if such intervention involves a dynamic that could open broad perspectives.

It is in this light that we must understand Iraq's disastrous refusal to come to the aid of the Palestinian resistance.

Contrary to the propaganda of all the bourgeois media, ready at any time to justify an American or Israeli intervention, Syria did not intervene in Jordan. *It was tanks and forces of the Palestine Liberation Army [PLA] stationed in Syria that crossed the border into Jordan.*

Of course, Syria did officially back the Palestinian resistance but this position was a result more of the mobilization of the Syrian worker and student masses than of the nature of the Syrian Baath.

The Syrian Baath party is not a homogeneous leadership. Three tendencies coexist at the top: (1) a rightist pro-Iraqi tendency represented by General Hafez al-Asad, minister of defense; (2) a center tendency represented by the chief of state Nureddin al-Atassi, which has been playing a balancing game since Asad's right-wing coup d'etat in 1968 (this coup cost the life of al-Jundi, the leader of the left tendency based in the unions); (3) a left tendency represented by ex-General Salah Jadid and Yusuf Zu'ayyin, prime minister before Hafez al-Asad's coup d'etat.

This last tendency has been squeezed

out of the government but has remained in the leading bodies of the Baath party (the national and regional commands of the Baath). It no longer holds the reins of the unions but has a strong base in them.

Salah Jadid, Yusuf Zu'ayyin, and Khaled al-Jundi, the ex-president of the Syrian General Federation of Workers Unions, promoted the formation of the Saiqa [the Syrian guerrilla army], at first as a Baathist force that could block the intrigues of the army they did not control.

Nevertheless, the left wing of the Baath mobilized the unions and the masses to demonstrate their complete solidarity with the Palestinian resistance in the streets. This mobilization of 50,000 demonstrators in the street last week forced the state as a whole to take the step of sending the Palestine Liberation Army to fight at the side of their comrades.

More interesting than this decision are the possible repercussions of the Syrian government's fraudulent verbalism. This posture can compel the Syrian Baath to intervene if the mass organizations (women's associations, workers, peasants, and student unions) remain mobilized and hold the initiative.

It is impossible to say definitely what will happen, since the right wing of the government, represented by Minister of Defense Hafez al-Asad, whose sympathies for the Iraqi regime are well known, might win out, perhaps by military force.

The PLA did of course advance into Jordan from Syrian territory. It could have done so as well from Egypt or Iraq.

The Palestine Liberation Army was created by the Arab states in 1964-65. Organized on the pattern of a regular army and provided with heavy military equipment (Russian tanks and English, French, and American artillery), it has been stationed in Syria since 1967. At that time, under Palestinian pressure, Nasser agreed to send a few regiments to Syria and Iraq, in order, he said, to reinforce the eastern front. He was relying on this front, moreover, as a means for achieving a peaceful solution.

The lack of response by the masses in the other Arab countries to the events in Jordan has been striking. Not long ago mass demonstrations

were occurring throughout the Arab world. Never since the June war have the Arab masses hesitated to express their support for the Palestinian resistance.

At difficult times for the Palestinian resistance like November 1968, February 1970, or June 1970, at least in Lebanon the masses demonstrated in the streets.

This time there has not only not been any big mass demonstration in the Arab world (except the one in Syria), but an attempt to organize one on Saturday, September 19, in Beirut was a failure. This case deserves special attention.

The Beirut demonstration, which drew 10,000 people, was organized by the National Committee to Support the Palestinian Resistance and Lebanese progressive groups and organizations.

Not only did this demonstration draw few people (in comparison to those of April 23, 1969, and November of the same year, or the recent demonstration against Sisco's visit to Lebanon) but it was very cautious.

The organizers, including the Progressive Socialist party of Jumblat, the Communist party of Nicalos Chaoui and Mohammed Kechli, the Organization of Lebanese Socialists, and Socialist Lebanon, agreed not to raise any anti-Nasser or anti-Hussein slogans.

This capitulation clearly revealed the difficulties of the Lebanese left and the incapacity of some of its components to mobilize broader masses and to give a militant or even radical tone to the demonstration.

This demonstration of the well-behaved should give all of the Lebanese left something to think about. It must draw the full lessons from this flagrant failure and make a balance sheet of two years of practical experience for the Arab masses.

If support by the Arab masses is lacking precisely because of the absence of a well-organized left in the Arab world, support from the Syrian government is still more improbable. The unlikelihood of such support, moreover, is increased by the fact that the USSR will do everything it can to dissuade Syria from intervening.

An independent mobilization by the Syrian masses can be decisive in forcing the Baathist government to offer the fedayeen material support.

Denounce Rogers Plan

Paris Rallies Back Palestinian Revolution

Speakers supporting the Palestinian revolutionary movement addressed a large and enthusiastic audience September 21 at the Mutualité in Paris.

"Before a packed hall decorated with the Palestinian colors and slogans in French and Arabic, six speakers took the floor, unanimously denouncing the 'fascist regime in Amman,' and the 'capitulationist governments that accepted the Rogers plan,'" *Le Monde* reported in its September 23 issue.

The meeting was sponsored by the Palestinian General Student Union. Supporting groups included the PSU (Parti Socialiste Unifié—United Socialist party), the Ligue Communiste (Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International), Vive la Révolution (Long Live the Revolution, a Maoist group), Union des Communistes de France Marxistes Léninistes (the Union of Marxist-Leninist Communists of France), Lutte Ouvrière (Workers Struggle), Alliance Marxiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Marxist Alliance), UNEF (Union National des Etudiants Français—National French Student Union), Voix Prolétarienne (Workers Voice), and other Maoist groups.

The representative of the Palestinian General Student Union told the meeting: "In the sixth day of the war the political and military situation is excellent. Our revolutionary forces have liberated the north and the road to Amman is now open for the conquest of power."

In the name of all the groups supporting the meeting, a French student called for the formation of committees to defend the Palestinian revolution in the schools, factories, and neighborhoods.

The next night, September 22, the Ligue Communiste held a meeting to present a political analysis of the Palestinian revolution. Alain Krivine, the Ligue's presidential candidate in 1968, explained how the Rogers plan, drawn up by the imperialists and backed by the USSR after the June crisis in Jordan, showed that the advocates of peaceful coexistence opposed the heroic struggle of the Palestinians.

The speaker following Krivine analyzed the history of the Arab national liberation movement, showing the total bankruptcy of Stalinism, as expressed both in the policy of the Soviet state and in the strategy of revolution by stages adopted by all the Arab CPs.

This stage theory left the field open to the petty bourgeoisie, represented by figures like Nasser, which has never been able to make a real break with imperialism. The Arab petty bourgeoisie has proved its incapacity to achieve the national-democratic tasks of struggle against Zionism, the speaker said. Its historical failure was marked by the June 1967 defeat.

This defeat led to the emergence of the Palestinian resistance. By mobilizing and radicalizing the Arab masses, by creating a new Marxist vanguard, this movement has engendered a dynamic of permanent revolution.

The third speaker, Daniel Bensaïd, stressed the necessity of political debate within the context of supporting the Palestinian revolution. *Rouge*, the weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste, gave the following summary of Bensaïd's remarks:

"Our support is not limited to repeating ready-made slogans but includes helping to build a revolutionary party to lead the Arab masses to victory. Comrade Bensaïd then stressed the need for extending the Palestinian struggle throughout the Middle East in order to end the isolation of the fedayeen through mobilizing the Arab masses and the Israeli workers on a class basis. Declaring our solidarity with the comrades of the Israeli Socialist Organization (*Matzpen*), he noted that only an international settlement in the framework of a socialist federation of Middle Eastern states could resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict."

Trigger-Happy Cops

South African police admit having killed 132 persons since 1968. In addition, 363 persons have been wounded.

The government has paid out more than \$20,000 in compensation to the wounded and to the next-of-kin of the dead. Many claims for compensation are still pending.

Hoover Alerts America to the Growth of Trotskyism

The Nixon administration has opened a witch-hunting campaign aimed at rolling back the gains achieved by the American student movement last spring. The chief role in the campaign has been assigned to J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

On September 21 Hoover released the text of an "open letter to college students" warning them to beware of "extremists" who "take advantage of the tensions, strife, and often legitimate frustrations of students to promote campus chaos."

"The extremists," Hoover said in the letter, "are of wide variety: adherents of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) including the Weatherman; members of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), the Trotskyist youth group; the Communist Party's Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL). Or they may be associated with the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMC), a Trotskyist-dominated antiwar group."

These "extremists" certainly ought to be easy to identify. According to Hoover, they continually encourage disrespect for the older generation, education, common sense, law, the "Nation," democracy and logical argument — all under the cover of "idealism."

Richard Nixon endorsed Hoover's sermon as "a cogent and enlightened analysis of the strategy these extremists employ as they attempt to trick college students." Nixon sent the letter signed by the head of the FBI to some 900 university presidents.

What is really worrying Hoover — and his boss — came to light when the FBI director addressed a different audience, the Veterans of Foreign Wars [VFW — a reactionary veterans' organization].

The September 1970 issue of the monthly *V. F. W. Magazine*, published in Kansas City, Missouri, contains an eloquent sounding of alarm entitled "The Red University." The subtitle reads: "Goal of Trotskyist Communism in the U. S."

"A college student strode across the university campus," the FBI chief begins, in Dick Tracy comic strip style.

"He was a clean-cut young man, his hair cut short, wearing a pair of brown trousers and a white sports shirt. There was nothing of the beatnik or hippie type in his appearance."

Who is this apparent innocent? No innocent at all! He is carrying something? What? Marijuana? Heroin? A bomb? Far worse: he is carrying nothing less than a copy of the *Young Socialist* magazine!

This issue of the magazine [September 1969], Hoover reveals, contained an article entitled "YSA Program for the Campus Revolt."* He quotes a paragraph calculated to send shivers oscillating in the spines of all true patriots of the VFW:

"The concept of a 'Red University' oriented toward the need of the working class and the oppressed first arose in Europe. The concept means that the university ought to be transformed from a factory producing robots into an organizing center for anticapitalist activities, a generator of revolutionary education, an arena for mobilizing youth in the struggle for the complete transformation of society."

Hoover now gives his audience a small dose of pedagogy, bringing them up to date on the latest intricacies of "Communism."

"Much less has been heard about the Trotskyist brand of Communism than the Stalinist Communists of the Communist Party, USA. The Trotskyists are old-line, orthodox Marxist-Leninists, basing their ideology [sic] on the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. . . ."

"For years, the Trotskyists . . . were orphans in the ideological vineyards of the left. They were small, ineffectual and virtually forgotten when compared to the much larger Communist Party, USA.

"But the tables have now turned. The Trotskyists, especially its [sic] youth group (YSA was founded in the late 1950's), have shown a vast membership growth and resurgence

in the last 24 months until YSA is today the largest and best organized youth group in left-wing radicalism. Trotskyist influence is especially strong in the youth field, particularly on the college campus.

"For example, at YSA's National Convention in Minneapolis last December, roughly 1,000 members and observers were in attendance. Enthusiasm was high. The convention was effectively organized and run. A number of new recruits were obtained."

The successes of the YSA have obviously either greatly disturbed the aging chief of the FBI or given him what he considers to be a priceless new argument in seeking funds from Congress for his political police:

"Under the banner of Leon Trotsky, old-line Communism — virtually unopposed — is making an almost unbelievable comeback in the nation. Here lies a danger of great magnitude. . . ."

"Today there are an estimated 50 YSA chapters on college campuses throughout the nation. They operate openly and effectively, representing orthodox Communism's most extensive current beachhead in higher education."

Not at all deterred by such considerations as consistency, Hoover accuses the YSA of not working "openly and effectively" but of boring secretly from within:

"A ready-made channel of Trotskyist influence on the college campus is the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC). The SMC is a nationwide antiwar group which, along with the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam [the New Mobilization Committee is in fact at this point all but defunct — *IP*], has influenced literally thousands of students, faculty members and others against the war in Vietnam. SMC has received extensive publicity in the national news media and its leaders are frequently interviewed as 'representatives' of student opposition to the American presence in Vietnam.

"Early in 1970, an SMC National Conference was held in Cleveland, Ohio, for the purpose of organizing

* A reprint of this frightening article can be obtained for 5 cents from YSA, P. O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003.

antiwar protest strategy. Some 4,000 individuals of varying ideological backgrounds attended. Yet, few people know that SMC is controlled by the Trotskyists. YSA and SWP leaders hold top positions in the SMC and call the signals."

Hoover views with alarm what is happening on the high-school campuses, too:

". . . the Trotskyists also have a well-functioning program aimed at high school students. They know that if students are radicalized at this age they are more apt to become militant revolutionaries in college. The Trotskyists have made considerable progress at a number of high schools.

"In one instance, for example, a group of Trotskyist adherents in one school openly proclaimed support of Socialist Workers Party candidates for their area . . . They set forth other demands, saying that unless these demands were met they could no longer participate in the morning activities of their school, such as the pledge of allegiance."

Trotskyism, in fact, is to be seen just about everywhere. Opposition inside the armed forces to fighting and dying for Ky and Thieu in Vietnam? That's straight Trotskyism:

"Mention should also be made, in

discussing the Trotskyist attempt to reach young people, of YSA's and SMC's 'GI Antiwar Movement,' whereby YSA and SMC members encourage GIs to challenge military regulations, to agitate among their comrades against the Vietnam War and to demand what YSA calls their 'constitutional rights.'"

The great defender of the American Way of Life and Death cannot conceive of constitutional rights of Americans, it seems, except as a synonym for Trotskyism:

"In a northern state a bus pulls into the terminal. It is loaded with off-duty GIs coming from their base to spend Sunday afternoon and evening in the city. On the sidewalk stands a group of some five or six college students—members of YSA. As the GIs alight, the students hand out leaflets which denounce the Vietnam War and urge the GIs to 'stand up for peace and against militarism.'"

In fact, it is highly unlikely that many leaflets—whether written by members of the YSA or any other organization—would use the pedestrian slogans that lifted the hair on Hoover's head straight up. In any case, he is sure that such language has an almost magical effect:

"No wonder a recent Trotskyist publication could brag: 'The growth of the anti-war movement among the GIs adds powerful new forces to the anti-war movement—forces in a key strategic position from which to campaign against the war. Anti-war actions led or initiated by GIs are increasing. GI anti-war papers are proliferating, and on-post battles for constitutional rights to oppose the war are becoming a regular feature of life in the armed forces.'"

Fortunately for the future of the world, America has its Hoover just as ancient Rome had its Horatio, who stood so valiantly at the bridge, whacking away at the barbarian hordes while shouting to the great "silent majority" for assistance:

"To meet this Trotskyist challenge, we must be positive in our support of America—its ideals, its values, its principles.

"As never before, America needs help. In today's world, with so many forces endeavoring to disrupt democratic government, each citizen must be willing to stand up and boldly say: 'You can count on me.'"

We foresee a promising market for a new badge on the American campus—Hoover's mug framed in glowing red words: "You can count on me."

Deadline Nears in Chilean Election

Nixon Weighs Possible Alternatives to Allende

By Les Evans

The Nixon administration has said little in public about the September 5 electoral victory in Chile of Salvador Allende Gossens. Privately, however, Washington has made it known that it is extremely worried at the possible consequences if Allende should win the presidency in the October 24 runoff vote in the Chilean congress.

Unnamed White House spokesmen have raised the specter that an Allende regime would mean a Communist takeover in Chile, which would be followed in quick succession by similar developments in Argentina, Bolivia, and Peru. These predictions were made at a "background" news briefing in Chicago September 16.

Under White House rules officials

cannot be identified by the press, but it was at a similar briefing in Chicago the next day that an "official" threatened U. S. military intervention in Jordan if Hussein were to lose to the Palestinian commandos.

The anonymous spokesman in the latter case, it was soon disclosed, was no one less than Nixon himself.

Charles Vanhecke commented in the September 27-28 Paris *Le Monde* that "In Washington the talk is that Chile has become his [Nixon's] main pre-occupation, after the Middle East and Vietnam."

The *New York Times*, a rather selective champion of "free elections," even went so far as to advise the Chilean armed forces on how to find a good

pretext for a coup d'etat if Allende ultimately won the presidency. In a September 19 editorial the *Times* said:

"If Dr. Allende in office tried to withdraw from his commitment—by purging the judiciary, politicizing the schools or canceling elections—Chile's armed forces then would have a legitimate excuse for intervening in defense of the Constitution."

Although Allende's People's Unity coalition has no intention of instituting a communist regime, it is certainly true that Wall Street would be the biggest loser from any large-scale nationalization of foreign-owned property in Chile.

According to U. S. Commerce Department data, the value of American

corporate holdings in Chile at the end of 1968 (the latest figures available) was \$964,000,000. More than half of this figure [\$586,000,000] represented investments in mining and smelting. Chile is the second largest copper producer in the world, with a capacity to turn out 850,000 tons a year.

There are 110 companies or agencies of American interests operating in Chile. The largest U. S. investors are the Kennecott and Anaconda copper companies, but firms in other sectors of industry have also been turning a handsome profit. Boise Cascade runs electric utilities which had a gross income of \$87,000,000 in 1968. International Telephone and Telegraph owns a 60 percent interest in the Chilean telephone company, on which it had a gross income of \$60,160,000 in 1968. In the same year Coca Cola, Standard Oil of New Jersey, and General Motors had sales respectively in Chile of \$20,250,000, \$46,870,000, and \$36,000,000.

The rate of profit is high. The September 21 *New York Times* reported: "In 1967, the earning ratio on capital invested in mining enterprises was 27.3 per cent. In 1968 it was 26 per cent. . . . The 1968 return on all United States investments in Chile was 17.4 per cent."

President Eduardo Frei Montalva's Christian Democrats have been demanding programmatic concessions from Allende as the price of their votes in congress October 24. Allende on September 30 refused their demand for constitutional amendments guaranteeing free elections and freedom of the press. He also refused to relinquish his right if elected to name commanders of the armed forces.

Nevertheless, Allende's multiclass coalition has shifted sharply to the right since the September 5 voting. In an interview quoted in the September 26 *Washington Post* Allende declared:

"The future government of Chile will not be a Socialist government. It is unscientific to maintain the contrary. I have said repeatedly—and it could not be otherwise—that my government will be multi-party."

He assured his critics that the bulk of industry would remain in private hands: "The area of private property will be numerically the biggest."

As early as September 9 the *London Times* reported: "Dr. Allende has told friends that he will rest contented if by his presidency he breaks the power

of a few very rich and influential families and the new immigrant rich."

But the rich have no intention of surrendering even a portion of their privileges to Allende's halfhearted reforms. Immediately after the elections a run on the banks began. Joseph Novitski reported from Santiago in the September 25 *New York Times*:

"The Chilean economy went from expansion to recession almost over-



David in Direct from Cuba

SALVADOR ALLENDE GOSENS

night, according to the outgoing Government."

The Central Bank had to supply Santiago banks with 688,000,000 escudos [22 escudos equal US\$1] in the first two weeks of September to cover unexpected withdrawals. This was three times the average for a full month.

Money, and its owners, are flowing out of the country in a steady stream. Most of the wealthy Chileans are heading for Argentina—although for some

this is just a stopover on the way to the United States.

Malcolm W. Browne reported from Buenos Aires in the September 17 *New York Times*:

"An invasion of refugees, panic-stricken by the prospect of a Marxist President in Chile . . . has packed hotel rooms here and jolted the Argentine economy."

Browne said that "there are thought to be tens of thousands of migrant families" now in Argentina.

"The Chileans have sought to convert as much money as possible into dollars," he added, "much of which has been sent either to banks or to relatives in the United States."

"The flow has strained Argentine reserves of foreign currency. By the end of last week the Central Bank had lost \$2-million to \$13-million that was directly attributable to the Chilean migration."

The military regime in Buenos Aires is plainly worried at the prospect of a "leftist" government in Chile, coming on top of the rising radicalization it faces at home. Argentina's lackluster strongman, General Marcelo Levingston, appears to be casting around for a civilian successor who could act as a buffer between the military and the aroused masses.

Marcel Niedergang reported in the September 27-28 *Le Monde* that a whole string of former presidents have visited Levingston recently, at his request. These included General Edelmiro Farrell, president from 1944-1946; Arturo Frondizi, president from 1958 to 1962; Arturo Illia, president from 1963-1966; and even Levingston's immediate predecessor, General Juan Carlos Onganía.

But the most likely candidate, in Niedergang's opinion, was unable to visit Levingston, because he is in exile in Madrid: former President Juan Peron.

"The possibility of General Peron returning to Buenos Aires before the end of the year is again the chief topic of commentary and speculation in political circles in the Argentine capital," Niedergang wrote.

Recent months have seen an increase in acts of individual terrorism, sabotage, and attacks on government offices.

"Upset by this menacing and uncontrollable rise of violence," Niedergang said, "some Argentine leaders

may be tempted to authorize General Peron's 'return to the country' in the hope of disarming the most turbulent elements of revolutionary Peronism.

"Another argument to encourage the Argentinian leaders to take a new look at the 'Peron dossier' is the victory in Chile September 4 of the Socialist Salvador Allende, the standard bearer of the People's Unity coalition, who

is regarded in Buenos Aires as a Trojan Horse of Communism in Latin America.

"The comments made in President Nixon's entourage in Washington and last week in Chicago on the Chilean political perspectives are obviously not the sort to allay the 'red scare' in Argentina.

"Of the two 'evils,' Peronism and

Communism, the Argentine officers would still unquestionably prefer the former. Even a temporary accord with the Peronists might seem capable to them of putting off the eventuality that, rightly or wrongly, they dread the most—the rise of a popular movement demanding the establishment of a socialist regime in Buenos Aires, either by force or by the ballot."

Uproar over Expulsion of Clerics

New Crisis Faces Shaky Ovando Regime

The Ovando government's decision in mid-September to deport five radical clerics touched off a new crisis for the military regime.

The five—four Catholic priests and one Methodist minister—began a hunger strike early in September, demanding that the army return the bodies of guerrillas killed in Alto Beni to their next of kin. Some students joined in the action. Ovando expelled the clerics on the pretext that their protest represented a "common-law crime."

For the first time the Bolivian Catholic hierarchy opposed the military regime, demanding that it rescind its deportation order. The Bolivian trade-union federation denounced the government's repressive methods.

The Oblate order, to which Father Maurice Lefebvre, one of the deportees belonged, threatened to pull all of its members out of the country if Ovando did not withdraw his order before September 27. This religious body is active primarily in the tin-mining region.

Ovando went on national radio Sunday, September 20, to declare that his government "would not tolerate any ultimatum" or let itself be "intimidated by any threat." The Bolivian dictator declared: "We have no intention of turning the country over to blind libertinism."

Students and workers came into the streets September 21 and 22 in militant protests against the government's arbitrary action.

Demonstrations took place in La Paz, Cochabamba, Santa Cruz, Oruro, Potosí, Sucre, and Trinidad, a small town about 120 miles north of La Paz.

One policeman was killed in the Bo-

lian capital and several others were wounded, according to an Agence France-Presse dispatch published in the September 24 issue of *Le Monde*. In Trinidad one student was killed and three others were wounded in violent clashes with the repressive forces.

In order to halt the spread of protests, Ovando's minister of education ordered all the high schools in La Paz closed September 23.

Along with the news of the latest confrontations in the cities, there were reports of renewed guerrilla activity. More troops were sent to the Alto Beni guerrilla front September 20.

Le Monde's special correspondent Marcel Niedergang wrote September 23 that a new guerrilla front had appeared near Cochabamba, not far from the area where Che Guevara's guerrillas fought in 1967.

In the September 29 issue of *Le Monde*, Niedergang wrote that the Ovando government was tottering. "Persistent rumors of an impending coup d'etat circulated late last week in the Bolivian capital. Ovando's personal plane was ready to take off from El Alto airport. . ."

Thirty-three influential retired officers, including some former government ministers, denounced Ovando for his inability to suppress the worker and student agitation. They called for establishment of a junta "preparatory to general elections."

The rumor was, Niedergang wrote, that Ovando's likely successor would be General Lechín Suárez, former head of the state body administering the nationalized mines. Lechín is at

present the Bolivian ambassador in London.

Reliable sources in La Paz consider Lechín "a pro-American officer because of his connection with right-wing circles linked to the big American companies—the Gulf Oil Company, the Grace Company, Philipps Mining, and others."

Niedergang continued: "Washington, it is said, would look with a favorable eye on the replacement of General Ovando by another officer more determined to halt the revolutionary effervescence in the country. Bolivia's strategic importance has increased since the establishment of a progressive nationalist regime in Lima and the probability that a government will come to power in Santiago de Chile which will include Communist and Socialist ministers."

Since the removal of the liberal General Torres from command of the army, Niedergang wrote, a group of extreme rightist officers has become all powerful. "General Rogelio Miranda, commander in chief of the army; Colonel Juan Ayoroa, minister of the interior and 'key man' in the operation that ended with the death of Che Guevara in October 1967; and General Valencia, the minister of the economy are the main leaders of a 'military command' that is held to govern Bolivia in reality. All these officers, it is said, are in direct contact with the Argentinian high command and its chief General Alejandro Lanusse, who now seems to have the decisive influence in Bolivia.

"The return to power of this grouping is regarded in La Paz as a personal success for Siracusa [the U.S.

ambassador], a discreet but effective man. For a year he has had at his disposal on the 'roof of the Andes' several hundred functionaries and 'councilors' spread out among the

various American civil and military bodies operating here—the U.S. Information Service, the Agency for International Development, the Alliance for Progress, the Institute for the De-

velopment of Agricultural Communities, the Peace Corps, specialists in counterinsurgency warfare instructing the 'Rangers,' and FBI and CIA agents."

Groups Plan Joint Demonstration

October 31 Set for London Antiwar Action

By Pat Jordan

London

In response to the appeal of the National Peace Action Coalition for international action in solidarity with its October 31 demonstrations in the United States, the Vietnam Solidarity Committee [VSC] has taken steps to ensure an action in London on the same day.

The idea was "floated" at a meeting organized by the VSC to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on September 12.

At this meeting both Linh Qui, representative of the DRV in London, and Tariq Ali, well-known member of the International Marxist Group [IMG—British section of the Fourth International], spoke in favour of continuing the demonstrations against the U.S. war of aggression in Southeast Asia and in support of the liberation struggles in that area.

The VSC had invited representatives of various organizations to the meeting and after hearing the speeches of Linh Qui and Tariq Ali those present held a general discussion on further actions. The outcome was a decision to establish a coordinating committee which would plan such action.

The first meeting of the coordinating committee was attended by representatives of the Action Committee Against NATO, Anti-Imperialist Movement, Australians and New Zealanders Against the War in Vietnam, British Council for Peace in Vietnam, British Peace Committee, Extra-Parliamentary Opposition, Group 68 (a group of antiwar Americans living in London), ICDP, IMG, New Socialists, Spartacus League, Tricontinental Committee and VSC.

Although not represented at the meeting, both the Friends of Korea Committee and International Socialism

have indicated their support, as have members of women's liberation groups, who hope to be officially represented in the future. The Young Communist League is to discuss the project—its representatives have indicated general support. Over sixty other organizations have been invited to the coordinating committee meetings which will take place weekly until the demonstration.

Final arrangements and slogans will be adopted at the next meeting on September 29, but so far the timing (late afternoon on Saturday, October 31), the main thrust (solidarity with the liberation struggles of Southeast Asia and with the U.S. antiwar movement), and aim (as large as possible a demonstration on a militant programme) are agreed, as are the speakers at the political rally: a representative of the Vietnamese, an antiwar GI and a British trade unionist

who will have recently returned from Vietnam.

The Anti-Imperialist Movement (an organization consisting mainly of ex-LSE [London School of Economics] students who came together in the struggle against that college's links with South Africa and Rhodesia) is anxious that the general international nature of imperialism be stressed and that the role of British imperialism on a world scale be explained. It has been agreed that this point be covered by messages of support from various organizations being read at the political rally (e.g., from the Irish Solidarity Campaign, Black Panthers, Arab groups, etc.).

The coordinating committee, which tries to work by a "consensus" approach, is confident that a really broad but militant programme and demonstration can be arrived at.

An Appeal for Help

100 Trotskyists in Greek Prisons

The weekly *Rouge*, published by the Ligue Communiste [Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International], appealed in its September 28 issue for aid to the more than 100 imprisoned Greek Trotskyists and their families.

Rouge cited the case of Theologos Psaradelles as an example of the plight of the Greek Trotskyists.

Psaradelles escaped from the Mytilene prison and crossed to Turkey in a rowboat. From there he tried to gain asylum in Bulgaria. The Stalinist authorities turned him over to the Greek political police.

At his trial, Psaradelles defied the military court: "I confess in the name of all workers. I struggle together with all of the oppressed people of the earth. I am a militant of the Fourth International."

According to *Rouge*, he was sentenced to thirteen years and three months.¹

Despite the dramatic circumstances

1. In *Intercontinental Press*, September 7, page 722, we reported that Psaradelles had been given a sentence of twelve years and three months. This report was based on a note from a Greek correspondent,

of the case, the communications media passed it by as not newsworthy.

"The silence of the leading papers on Psaradelles indicates how isolated our comrades are," declared *Rouge*. "There is no lack of aid for 'democrats' and to a lesser degree for Stalinists, but we alone can aid our revolutionary comrades and their families. The arrest of a comrade often means that his relatives will lose their jobs or be evicted. *Help us to help our imprisoned Greek comrades!*"²

Because of the depth of the reactionary terror in Greece, the names of less than half the Trotskyists in the colonels' jails are known. *Rouge* gave the following partial list of the prisoners and their sentences:

Theologos Psaradelles, 13 years, 3 months.

Anton Liakos, life in prison; Triphon Mitaphidis, life in prison; A. Darveris, life in prison; Th. Thomadakis, life in prison; Pan. Doukas, life in prison.

Helen Douka, 18 years; D. Katsaros, 15 years; G. Nikas, 18 years; D. Dariotis, 16 years; K. Anastasiadis, 16 years; L. Reklitis, 15 years; I. Petropoulos, 15 years; M. Kalergi, 15 years; I. Theophylaktopoulou, 15 years; M. Pitakas, 10 years; K. Manthaios, 8 years; N. Armaos, 8 years.

Also, P. Doulmas; S. Papadopoulos; Helen Douma; Dimitri Phragoudakis; L. Karouta; Th. Dermitropoulos; D. Kakhrimanis; — terms unknown.

Also, Georgios Anomeritis, 25 years; Dimitrios Dodos, 25 years; Dimitrios Papaioannou, 25 years; I. Mylonas, 23 years; B. Rapanos, 8 years; A. Khouliaara, 7 years; D. Despiniadis, 5 years; L. Gianakopoulos, 10 years; S. Pantazopoulos, 5 years; K. Tsebelikos, 17 years; M. Giarali, 15 years; N. Voulelis, 8 years; Khr. Vavraki, 5 years; A. Anastasiadis, 3 years.

Also, R. Vranas, 18 years; N. Anagnostopoulos, 20 years; Khr. Kalatzis, 15 years; E. Dolmadakis, 17 months; D. Kouzoune, 18 months; Khr. Koutsogiorgos, 20 years; A. Arkas, 20 years; S. Sideris, 16 years; T. Karageorgiou, 17 years; I. Felekis, 8 years.

which, in turn, was based on reports appearing in the Athens daily press September 11.

2. Correspondence can be directed to *Rouge* at Boite Postale 201, Paris 19, France.

Panaghoulis Writes from Greek Prison

Invites U. S. Senate to Send Him New Cage

[Greek revolutionist Alexandros Panaghoulis has been under a suspended sentence of death since November 15, 1968, after he was convicted of an unsuccessful attempt to blow up the automobile in which dictator George Papadopoulos was riding.

[A worldwide campaign on Panaghoulis's behalf has so far restrained the dictatorship from carrying out the death sentence, but the brutal treatment inflicted by his jailers has seriously impaired Panaghoulis's health. (See *Intercontinental Press*, June 29, 1970, page 636.)

[His letter reprinted below was smuggled out of Bogiati military prison in July. It was translated and distributed by the Inter-American Federation for Democracy in Greece,

which has offices in Minneapolis, Minnesota.]

* * *

To the American Senators, who in a recent visit in South Viet Nam witnessed and honestly exposed the existence of the Prison-Cages of the Saigon regime, I extend an invitation to come and visit me in the Military Prison of Bogiati. They will be rewarded with a new experience about the methods of fascism in Greece. This might stimulate the philanthropic sentiments of their government, who might decide, along with the armaments they are shipping to the fascist junta, to ship also a cage for myself. A cage . . . healthier than the one provided for me by the junta. I'll be awaiting them . . . [Ellipses in original.]

Alex. B. Panaghoulis

Report Police Poisoned Brazilian Unionist

A Brazilian congressman has challenged the military dictatorship to reopen an inquiry into the death of a labor leader in prison. He has also revealed that a doctor who testified that the unionist had been poisoned has since disappeared.

Pedroso Horta raised the charges before the federal Senate in Brasilia in mid-September. According to a September 23 Associated Press dispatch, "Olavo Hansen, a chemical worker, died May 9, eight days after his arrest at a labor rally. The police say Hansen was a Trotskyist agitator and that he killed himself in jail by taking parathion, an insecticide.

"The congressman contends the police tortured and then injected parathion into him to simulate a suicide."

The September 23 Paris daily *Le Monde* published this report on the case:

"The doctor who performed the autopsy on Brazilian union leader Olave [sic] Hansen, and revealed that the latter had been poisoned in the São

Paulo police station, has been missing since the month of July. . . .

"Arrested in São Paulo after a demonstration called for May 1, Olave Hansen, a militant of the Brazilian Revolutionary Workers party (Trotskyist), was jailed, admitted to the prison infirmary, and found dead in a deserted area. In his report on the autopsy, Dr. Brandt Mueller declared that Olave Hansen had been tortured and had succumbed following a subcutaneous injection of a massive dose of insecticide.

"The police at the time said that the unionist had poisoned himself with this substance. Then they arrested Dr. Brandt Mueller July 13. There has been no news of him since."

Martial Law Ended in Turkey

Martial law, which prohibited strikes and demonstrations in Istanbul and surrounding provinces since June, has been ended. The September 24 *Christian Science Monitor* reported that workers at one oil refinery have already gone on strike and that leftist groups plan an antigovernment campaign.

French Trotskyists Win Favorable Hearing

The results of the Bordeaux parliamentary election, which had been awaited with considerable interest throughout France, were announced late in the evening September 20.

The most stimulating feature of this election for the capitalist press lay in the fact that it pitted a flashy new "modernist"—former *l'Express* editor Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber—against the post-Gaullist premier and local political boss Jacques Chaban-Delmas.

The spice of a "leftist" danger was added when an important public opinion poll predicted a respectable 3 percent vote for Gérard Barthélémy, the candidate backed by *Lutte Ouvrière* (Workers Struggle) and the Ligue Communiste (Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International). Barthélémy is a member of *Lutte Ouvrière*. Jean Metais of the Ligue Communiste was on the ballot as his official alternate.

Even before the "3 percent vote" was forecast, the campaign by the two revolutionary organizations had some success in exposing the hypocrisy of bourgeois electioneering, as the sophisticated Paris daily *Le Monde* recognized. (See "Trotskyist Candidate Runs Against French Premier" in *Intercontinental Press*, September 21, 1970, page 766).

The forecasters proved wrong on the vote for Barthélémy—either that or the local election officials made some one-sided mistakes in adding up the ballots. They credited Barthélémy with .63% of the vote; Chaban-Delmas with 63.55%; Servan-Schreiber, 16.59%; the Communist party candidate Rivière, 8.63%; the bourgeois liberal Taix, 7.76%; the PSU (Parti Socialiste Unifié—United Socialist party, left Social Democrats) candidate Mme Lataste, 1.36%; and assorted minor candidates with a total of 1.44%.

The most probable reason for the discrepancy between the poll's prediction and the actual vote for Barthélémy seemingly lay in the social character of the district, Jean Metais wrote in the September 28 issue of *Rouge*, the weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste. The population of the

area includes an unusually high percentage of youth below voting age. Of the qualified voters, a high proportion are middle-aged and elderly.

Metais drew a balance sheet of the campaign. He did not judge its success by the size of the vote that he and Barthélémy received. On the positive side, Metais noted: "The entire Bordeaux region was well covered by the Ligue and *Lutte Ouvrière*. Our work was not aimed at the district as such but at all the working people in the region.

"All the factories and working-class residential areas were covered in our reaching out with revolutionary propaganda—newspapers, posters, leaflets, street meetings, playing-field meetings. Some scandalous situations were exposed and this gave rise to mobilizations on the living conditions of the workers. The campaign made it possible to publicize the firings of some shop stewards at the Tâchon plant, for example. All instances of police interference aroused strong response.

"The local press was regularly provided with detailed contributions on such subjects as 'The Revolutionists' Program,' 'Healthy Profits and Healthy Workers,' 'Education in the Service of Business,' 'Are We Anti-Communists?' 'Hands Off the Palestinian Revolution.' (The press refused to publish the last contribution.)"

The campaign showed, according to Metais, that "since the Krivine campaign our two organizations have made clear progress in developing a base. We are in position to offer the youth and the workers definite perspectives for struggle. The best answer to the electoralism of the traditional organizations was to go beyond the stage of pure propaganda . . . to undertake the struggles which are necessary and possible at the present time."

On the negative side, Metais felt that opportunities had been missed to raise broader political questions, such as support for the Palestinian and Vietnamese revolutions, as well as opposition to the bourgeois army.

The Bordeaux campaign was the first major joint action of the Ligue Communiste and *Lutte Ouvrière*,

which have been engaged in unification talks for some time.

Metais wrote that the campaign had clarified some political differences between the two organizations. The main disagreement, in his opinion, was that *Lutte Ouvrière* wanted to concentrate on specific economic issues, while the Ligue Communiste sought to raise general political questions in addition.

The Ligue Communiste candidate felt that the experience of the campaign supported his organization's position. "The *LO* comrades were quite surprised to see that our speeches, even when long, were attentively listened to in the playing fields, in the street, and in front of the plants. They could see the impact of papers such as *Taupe Rouge*, *Entreprise*, *Education Nationale*, which offered high-level, specific political arguments without any sugarcoating."

Metais's general conclusion on the lessons of the action was: "If the Ligue capitalizes on this campaign and affirms its line and tactics, if unity of action is maintained in Bordeaux, our two organizations will build a revolutionary group of formidable effectiveness."

Nixon a Communist?

The Nixon administration, the United Nations, the U. S. Supreme Court, Martin Luther King Jr. and Coretta King, the assistant secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, cartoonist Jules Feiffer, and author George Plimpton are all tied in one manner or another to a "Communist conspiracy."

This rather surprising revelation has been provided by the United States army in a 433-page "encyclopedia" entitled *Communist Party, U. S. A.*

Columnist Jack Anderson reported August 29 that the book "was issued by the [Army Signal] center's Office of Doctrine Development, Literature and Plans, a sort of Stone Age 'think tank,' to judge by the encyclopedia."

The book, which has been recalled by the Signal Center's commander, observes that the United Nations is "Soviet-oriented," that the Supreme Court has made it easy for Communists to "infiltrate all branches of government," and that "the Executive branch was and is the most vulnerable for Communist infiltration."

Disunited Left Faces Repression

By D. Roy

Calcutta

Since the fall of the second "United Front" [UF]* government, and even before that, the condition of West Bengal has deteriorated in geometrical progression—strikes and layoffs on the one hand and internecine battles among the constituents of the UF on the other. The crisis in the economy has not sharpened the political insight of the left parties here, whose thought and action is dominated by a "parliamentary complex."

So the opportunity for revolutionary movements has been whittled away. The situation is now completely controlled by the bureaucratic appointees of the president's rule. Slowly but surely they are building up a brutally repressive regime.

In July, while the Six-Party Combination [SPC] led by the CPI(M) and the Eight-Party Combination [EPC] led by the CPI [Communist party of India—the pro-Moscow CP] were fighting each other over the fixing of dates of "Bangla Bandh," the police hounded revolutionaries with impunity. In July and August at least five young men were murdered in the police lock-ups.

Following in the footsteps of Dr. P. C. Ghosh, who as chief minister of the state two years ago initiated a police rampage in Uttarpara College, the present governor, Dawan (a nominee of Prime Minister Gandhi), opened the gates of the educational institutions to the police and the Central Reserve Police, who then killed and injured both students and teachers. The horrors enacted by the police at Sibpur Bachelor of Engineering College and Jadavpur University will not be soon forgotten.

This is the background upon which the Durgapur debacle, an indefinite

strike called by the CPI(M), was carried out.

The Durgapur steel plant, with all its ancillaries in the industrial complex of Durgapur, is a losing concern. This public sector area is a haven for bureaucratic officialdom, and has a tradition of squandering public money for the comfort of "Neo-Nawabs" living in luxury on wealth exploited from starving people. The plant runs a large annual deficit. Workers at Durgapur are in a somewhat privileged position, close to the middle class, which accounts for the influence of the petty-bourgeois parties.

The CPI(M)-sponsored indefinite strike, which began on August 11, 1970, and ended with an unconditional surrender on August 22, became an abject show of political imbecility. To explain the failure, the CPI(M) alleged that the CPI and its EPC broke the strike in connivance with the police. (The same alibi was used by the striking parties last year when the struggle of the National Medical College workers collapsed under bombs and brickbats in the hands of CPI(M) and RSP [Revolutionary Socialist party] members.)

New Zealand Bars Asian Immigrants

New Zealand, which is currently suffering a labor shortage, doesn't want Asian immigrants, Deputy Prime Minister John Marshall has announced.

Marshall, who is also minister of immigration, has been attempting to relieve the labor shortage by government subsidies for the transportation costs of immigrants from Western Europe and the United States. But Asians, or Americans of Asian ancestry, are not admitted even if they are able to pay their own way.

Writing in the September 19 issue of *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Alexander Macleod notes that discrimination against Asians is nothing new in New Zealand.

The police know the limitations of all these political parties that can see no farther than parliamentary manoeuvres; hence the unabated repression and excesses on their part. The government showed unaccustomed alertness in applying all sorts of coercive measures to liquidate the striking force of the working class in the steel town.

After Durgapur there came the three-day strike by state government employees August 26-28. During these days the people of Calcutta showed unprecedented valour, which was dampened only by the CPI(M)'s inactivity in failing to stage the threatened gherao [a strike in which the employer is surrounded and not permitted to move until he has agreed to the strikers' demands] of the "Writers Buildings" (Secretariat) on August 31.

The state government, under president's rule, called in army units to patrol the streets of Calcutta.

Then on September 10 when the teachers at nongovernment colleges of West Bengal began their indefinite strike, the government invoked the Suppression of Terrorism Act of 1932.

It is obvious that the vise is being tightened. The police and military repression of mass movements is mounting. Meanwhile the central government headed by Indira Gandhi has refused to permit a midterm election—although the state legislative assembly is dissolved—on the plea that present "lawlessness" is not conducive to holding a peaceful election.

* The second so-called United Front government in West Bengal, a multiclass coalition dominated by the erstwhile pro-Peking Communist party of India (Marxist) [CPI(M)], collapsed March 16, 1970, with the resignation of Chief Minister Ajoy Mukherjee, a representative of the bourgeois Bangla Congress party. —IP

Observations of Kolkhoz Life in the USSR Today

[In 1965, the Soviet writer Andrei Amalrik was sentenced as a "parasite" to two and a half years' exile in Siberia. He spent the period working on a *kolkhoz*—a collective farm.

[Amalrik, who is also the author of *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?*, described his experiences and observations of kolkhoz life in a book entitled *Involuntary Journey to Siberia*. Circulated in mimeograph form, copies of the book eventually found their way to Western Europe.

[Publishers in West Germany and the United States have announced plans to publish translations of *Involuntary Journey to Siberia*. Amalrik, meanwhile, was rearrested in May.

[The excerpts printed below have been translated by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

My work in the kolkhoz began on June 23. At eight in the morning the brigade leader arrived and gave me my first assignment. He was called Pyotr, but he called himself Petro Alexeievich Shapovalov. He was sixty years old. In the village they said that his father had been a bandit in the Ukraine during the civil war and had been deported to Siberia after Pyotr himself turned him in.

When famine broke out in the Ukraine following collectivization, Pyotr Shapovalov followed his father voluntarily. His strongest and strangest impressions stemmed from the period of collectivization. He recalled a little boy in a Ukrainian village at the beginning of the thirties. The boy had seen a suckling pig running across the street, and shouted: "Grandfather, quick, look at that funny animal!" The old man had begun to cry at the thought of the children growing up in a time in which a shoat is a fabulous beast. An illustration of the years millions of peasants starved.

Pyotr told of thousands of people arrested on the basis of denunciations. The prisoners received almost nothing to eat or drink; they died by the hundreds in the jails; and finally the authorities dispensed with trials altogether.

Shapovalov had just obtained a farm in Guryevka when the collectivization also began in Siberia. Now there was no other place to go. But the sly Ukrainian didn't give up. At first he worked in the kolkhoz as a blacksmith, later as manager of the warehouse, until finally, following the war, they made him chairman because he was a veteran of the front lines. Five years earlier he had joined the party, a fact of which he was very proud.

Shapovalov assigned me the task of digging holes and bracing poles. There was an electric line from Novokrivosheino to Guryevka, but many of the poles were tilting and threatening to fall. Now thick braces were provided. I had to anchor them in the ground and then force the poles and the braces together with wire. But wire was generally not available.

I was very surprised that I didn't have to creosote or char the braces; they would certainly become rotten in the ground very quickly. As I could see for myself, the ends of the poles stuck in the earth were already considerably rotted. Later I understood that this is exactly the style of all the kolkhoz workers: to stop up holes any old way and then forget them, even if it means that everything will fall apart within two years.

Wages in the kolkhoz were paid according to "workdays," that is, according to completely arbitrary units of measurement. At first, the number of "days" of work performed by each person was indicated by an equal number of marks written after his name in the register by the uneducated accounting head. Now, of course, they use numbers instead of marks, but the system has remained the same. At the end of each year, the amount of money and foodstuffs set aside for wages is apportioned according to the total number of days worked by each member of the kolkhoz.

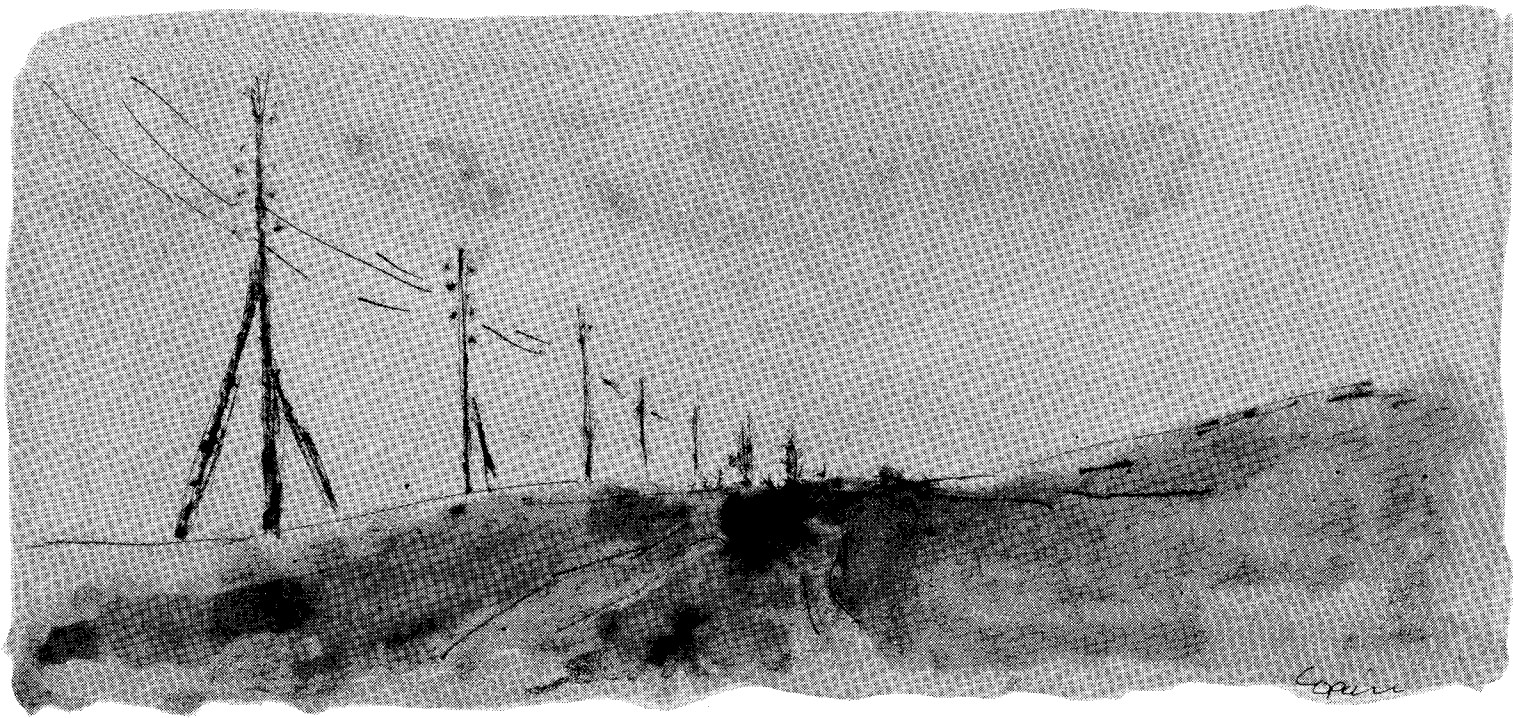
A year in advance, the value of a "workday" is systematically estimated in both money and grain; in the middle of the month each kolkhoz worker receives half the wages to which he is entitled from the work he performed during the previous month. At the end of the year the accounts are calculated and wages still due are paid out in money and grain.

Last year, for example, a workday worth sixty kopeks [at the official exchange rate, \$.60—*IP*] and a kilogram of grain was planned. Each month the peasants of the kolkhoz received corresponding advances of thirty kopeks for each workday. In summer they accumulated forty to sixty days [per month] and in winter twenty to thirty. But then at the end of the year the peasants received, instead of the thirty kopeks still due, only fifteen kopeks and a kilogram of wheat for each workday, because the plan had not been fulfilled.

This year the advances were again planned at thirty kopeks a day, so for each workday I could obtain from the commissary a liter of milk and one egg. I worked sixty days in July and forty in August, and that without a single Sunday free; on the average, the other kolkhoz workers earned the same.

Living from these earnings was extremely difficult. For example, I bought from the commissary a kilogram of butter for 3.6 rubles, that is, for the advance on twelve "workdays." Thus I worked almost an entire week, ten hours per day, in order to be able to buy a kilo of butter. But because we never received meat, and only one liter of milk daily, my hard physical labor made me absolutely dependent on the butter. The daily liter of milk cost me six rubles per month, that is, a third, if not half, of my monthly earnings.

The already low wages lost still more in buying power, because all provisions in the supply center, as well as those which the commissary drew from the center, were sold with a regional premium added. With these premiums



the cost of individual purchases of provisions also rises. In the rural areas there is yet an additional charge for transport.

What way out was there for the exiles in this situation? Quite simply, they joined forces with local women and lived with them in extralegal marriages. This was not only approved, but even recommended, by the militia, because even they recognized that the exiles could simply not exist in the kolkhozes in any other manner. In addition to Lyova and me, there were in the village four other exiles who lived with women.

To my good fortune, digging holes proved to be remunerative work—for each pole placed, I was credited with one and a half workdays. But in the end the whole work was in vain, since there wasn't any wire in the kolkhoz.

A few years ago in Guryevka they began building a garage for the tractors; the unfinished wooden scaffolding still stands and in winter is gradually being carried off and burned as firewood. In the summer, when I arrived, the foundation for a day nursery had been erected; a year later it was still under construction, and I believe it will share the fate of the garage, although both structures have cost the kolkhoz no small sum.

Even though the day nursery was not finished, they began to put up a new silo. The next summer the silo stood unfinished while nearby they leveled the ground for a kiln. I know many other examples of such waste of human labor power. This waste is, I believe, chiefly attributable to the fact that work is wretchedly paid. Why be thrifty with something that costs nothing?

Aside from that, the consciousness of the kolkhoz peasant also comes into play—the employment of a hybrid who has ceased to be a peasant but has also not become a worker, and who doesn't care what is done with the fruits of his labor.

The next job I learned was the preparation of silage. Five or six wagons were loaded per day, at which we worked from nine in the morning until ten at night, with

two hours' rest, and without any days off. Sunday, it was explained, was a "voluntary" workday: it was assumed that on this day we were not forced to work but did so from enthusiasm. Workdays were calculated according to the number of wagons loaded and were equally distributed among those who had mowed, piled, or loaded, so that everyone accomplished about two "workdays" per day.

This led to continuous quarreling: one person had worked more, the other less. I once overheard a conversation between the brigade leader and the accounting head, from which it clearly emerged that the kolkhoz directors continually attempted to undervalue the work of the peasants in order to be able to save on wages—which were already minimal.

I was surprised that a job which a machine could have finished in a day was here done by hand over two or three weeks. If the kolkhoz had possessed a reaper, many days of human labor would have been saved. But one runs up against the consideration: why buy a reaper when labor power can be had for almost nothing?

The "mechanized workers"—tractor and harvester operators, drivers, and blacksmiths—are the aristocrats of the kolkhoz. For each workday they receive not thirty, but sixty kopeks in advance, and in the final calculation not one, but two kilos of grain. Because of this, from the beginning of the planting until the end of the harvest work they have a very high income for kolkhoz workers, in some cases as high as 100 rubles per month. However, in the winter their income falls sharply.

Although the earnings of the peasants in the kolkhoz rose during the last year, they still are not high enough to live on. The main source of income is still small private farming.

Every peasant in the kolkhoz keeps a cow, larger families even two cows and some sheep. The sheep are kept for their meat, but they also provide wool, although of a very short type which can be made only into socks and



gloves. Similarly, all the peasants have pigs, and almost all of them keep chickens.

Here the private farming did not face the painful problem of providing fodder which I would later see in Central Russia. After the hay has been mown, the peasants are permitted to mow for their own use.

In the regions of Tula or Moscow, for example, things are quite different. In the village on the Oka in which I relax at times, in more than thirty farms there are only five privately owned cows. Also, for a long time not every house has had a pig. Seen in this way, Siberia is essentially better off.

The peasants farm their private plots [maximum legal size: two acres—*IP*] just as irrationally as they do the land belonging to the kolkhoz. They do not have the slightest inkling of how much an egg, a liter of milk, or a kilogram of pork costs them. Because they don't have to pay money for these items, they lull themselves with the comfortable illusion that they are getting something for nothing. Of course they do not go hungry, but they are condemned to serve their own cattle ceaselessly. As soon as they have finished work in the kolkhoz, they again have to milk the cows, feed the pigs, or dig potatoes for the pigs.

I was interested in discovering what those who could still remember private agriculture thought of the kolkhozes, and I received various answers. A few praised the times in which "everyone was his own master."

Others said they thought the work was easier now, and—an interesting argument—one no longer had to observe Lent. But everyone was agreed that there could be no return to the old way, that the peasants did not wish the reintroduction of private farming, and, above all,

that they would not be able to get on at it because they had been "spoiled" for it.

Clearly the lack of private property, together with the uncertain future—today you have property, tomorrow they'll take it away from you—has changed the peasant consciousness. Because they are permitted to keep a cow, because they receive a minimal wage in money and grain, because they have been freed of taxes on their small plots and freed from the obligation to perform work in the forest—now the peasants of the kolkhoz are thoroughly satisfied with their life. With one voice they explain that now one can finally begin to live—and at the same time they start to complain about their lives, the hard work, and the low pay.

On the whole, I think anything can be demanded of these people. If, for some political or economic reason the government decided tomorrow to reintroduce private agriculture, each peasant would take his allotment of land without complaining and would begin to plant wheat and flax on it. If, on the other hand, the regime should decide to confiscate all private plots and cottages, to house the peasants in barracks and feed them in canteens, then that could also be accomplished without difficulty.

In my opinion, only one experiment will meet with success: the creation of a working man who respects himself and his work and who has no patience with people who play fast and loose with him; only a man like that will work rationally.

Considered in its essentials, a system of forced labor, in which the peasants have no rights, now rules the kolkhozes. The peasants do not have the right to leave the kolkhozes, even to go to another one. Their passports are kept in the office and not given out. At best the managers allow the sick, cripples, or single women—who are of no use anyway—to leave.

For the youth there are only two possible ways to escape the kolkhoz: not to return home after military service, which is what most do, or attend a secondary school.

A person who has finished primary school and is able to get admitted to a technical school or academy receives his passport.

This lack of rights also has its reverse side. The peasant knows that although he cannot leave the kolkhoz, on the other hand he cannot be thrown out, no matter what he might do. No matter how much damage he might cause, he will only be assigned to another job—or perhaps even left at his old one.

There are few families that count as well-off by kolkhoz standards; primarily they are the families of the tractor drivers. In the worst situation are the single women, of whom there were fourteen in our thirty-two farms. Eight lived with children; the others were old, their children no longer at home. Some were widows, others divorced, a few had never married because many men of their generation died in the war.

As far as children are concerned, the exiles produced their share, just as did the various officials who promised, during the time of the Stalinist taxes, the reduction of taxes or freedom from the obligation to supply wood in exchange for the sharing of a bed.

Where abortions are permitted, women under forty today have fewer children than used to be the custom in the villages; usually they have only two to four. In the

village, where everyone knows everyone else, no abortion remains hidden, but is the subject of lively comment in village society. When a woman travels to the district hospital at Krivosheino for an abortion, the villagers call it "going to the festival" or "going to the songfest." In the village itself the only medical care is provided by an army surgeon who lives in a neighboring village and visits Guryevka once a week in the summer and once a month in the winter.

In the village, obscene curses are heard all over the place. All the men and nearly all the women are incapable of saying two words without one of them being a "mother curse" [i.e., equivalents of the current U.S. epithet "mother fucker"—*IP*]. With only a few exceptions they curse the same way in the presence of their children, no matter whether the latter are three years or sixteen years old. A four-year-old boy, who has just learned to talk, already uses expressions more appropriate to the worst drunkard. No one stops him. Equally coarse, though often more clever, are the curses of the fifteen- and sixteen-year-old girls.

In the village there are only two establishments for children: a kindergarten and a primary school. The kindergarten, which is attended by all children of preschool age, is open only during planting and harvest time. Its staff consists of an attendant and a headmistress who also cooks.

During the summer in which I arrived, the kindergarten was under the direction of a fifty-year-old woman called Aunt Prosochka who had formerly had the job of caring for calves. She fervently cursed her work and asserted that it was a thousand times better to care for calves than for children; she herself was childless. But she was a good woman and never said "mother fucker" in the presence of the children. The attendant was the hunchbacked Polya, about sixty years old, who in a thin voice continuously heaped mother curses on the heads of the children.

From September onward, twenty-two children attended the primary school, which consisted of four grades. In all the classes, instruction was provided by a tall lean man of about forty years who was also director of the school.

The teacher had graduated from a pedagogical technical school. After Shapovalov, he was the second party member in the village. During the winter, a young girl who had just finished high school in Krivosheino also taught. Most children learned very slowly and didn't pass; some had to repeat the same grade two or three times.

About two-thirds of the children subsequently attended the primary school of eight grades in Novokrivosheino, where board was provided. Some of them later returned home without having graduated. There was an intermediate school of ten grades in Krivosheino which also provided board; only one girl from Guryevka attended it.

The kolkhoz peasants had few good wishes for the teacher, because he stood outside the coercive system on which they were dependent and because in their view he had easier work, received more money for it, and still had a small private plot like theirs. For the same reasons they disliked the saleswoman in the store, who was the wife of the teacher; she was also director of the club.



Generally the attitude of the peasants toward city dwellers was conditioned by an unconscious envy. It seemed to the kolkhoz peasants that in the cities people did almost nothing but lead a carefree existence, while the peasants had to grub in dung—a kind of social inferiority complex. In the village nearly everyone was related, but there was nevertheless constant enmity toward one another. They carefully observed their neighbors' incomes and suffered more from another's success than from their own failures.

Although the peasants of the kolkhoz eat rather well, their life is still uncommonly wretched; almost the entire time remaining to them after their work in the kolkhoz, they are busy with their own plots of land.

But there are small distractions, above all drinking. In summer they drink little but in winter nearly every day. They drink vodka on especially solemn occasions, at other times usually *samogon* (a brandy which they distill themselves) and homemade beer. With these drinks they pay for the most varied services: woodchopping, sawing, mowing, etc.

Three cups of the homemade beer are enough to get them completely soused; for this reason they would rather brew a bucket of beer than buy half a liter of vodka from the store for the same price. This is also the reason that the preparation of *samogon* and beer is prosecuted and threatened with a fine of one hundred rubles and several years' imprisonment. Many of the peasants of our kolkhoz have had to pay fines, and one sat out a one-year prison sentence, but this restrains no one.

For the youth there is the club. During the summer they

have a dance at the club almost every evening. In the winter there is a movie once a week. In spring and fall, when the paths turn to mud, there is nothing at all.

Older people, even the very old, also attend the movies occasionally and comment aloud about them. For example, during a film that pictured the horror of the emigration from Bukhara, an old man, quite interested, observed: "Look at that, a film about the old days when everyone was his own master."

After the movie the dance begins. They dance only three dances: waltzes, the Charleston, and a sweeping, apparently native dance with leaping and clapping. There is no phonograph or recordings, and the resident accordion player knows only these three dances.

The entire club consists of a large room forty meters square in a former office, and is provided with four rough benches for movies; before the dance starts the benches are pushed against the wall. The women of the kolkhoz quarreled a great deal over the right to clean the club. The cleaning woman receives twenty-six rubles and is freed from other work in the kolkhoz.

The director of the club had nothing to do with these pleasures and almost never visited the club. Her activity

consisted of producing slogans like the following in accordance with the recommendations of the district party committee: "Mechanics! Fight for the timely and complete bringing in of the harvest!"

She drew these slogans with chalk in clumsy letters on pieces of red cloth and hung them all over the village to spur on the peasants. She also produced "battle bulletins," special printed leaflets which showed a peasant man and woman in profile against the background of a sputnik. For example, the brigade leader might say to her that during the hay harvest this person or that had worked well, and she would immediately write in her bulletin: "Honor and fame to the kolkhoz peasants Maria Kabanova and Anna Gorbachova, who have worked well in the hay harvest!"

Or the brigade leader would say to her that some herder was doing a poor job of watching the cattle and must be criticized. Then she wrote: "In our kolkhoz, which bears the name of Kalinin, works a certain Michail Kritski, who is doing a poor job taking care of the cattle and who frequently gets lit up on vodka!"—or something similar to that, and always with twisted names and numerous grammatical errors.

REVIEWS

Antiwar Ferment in the U.S. Armed Forces

By Allen Myers

GIs Speak Out Against the War by Fred Halstead. Pathfinder Press, New York, N.Y. 128 pp. \$1.75. 1970.

March 13, 1969, may have seen one of the most unusual programs in the history of American television. A news film recorded that night showed scenes that to most viewers must have seemed impossible: soldiers at the army base at Fort Jackson, South Carolina, holding an open, public meeting on post to protest the war in Vietnam.

The group of antiwar GIs, organized under the name "GIs United Against the War in Vietnam," reflected a profound mood within the U. S. military, as events soon proved. The transfer of a leading member to Fort Bragg, North Carolina, resulted in the establishment of a second organization rather than the demise of the first.

When the Pentagon then moved to destroy the Fort Jackson GIs United by arresting eight of its leaders on frame-up charges, the civilian antiwar movement responded with a defense campaign which made the "Fort Jackson Eight" the subject of almost daily articles in the *New York Times* and

the source of tremendous embarrassment to the U. S. government.

This book tells the story of GIs United at Fort Jackson and Fort Bragg in the words of the participants themselves. It consists of a series of interviews, conducted immediately after the events they describe, by Fred Halstead. Those interviewed include four of the Fort Jackson Eight—Andrew Pulley, Joe Cole, Jose Rudder and Tommie Woodfin—plus Robert Mall, a Vietnam veteran and paratrooper who was one of the first members of GIs United at Fort Bragg, and Joe Miles, the black militant and revolutionary socialist who more than anyone else was responsible for the existence of the organizations.

It is interesting to note that GIs United began as a black nationalist group under the influence of Malcolm X. As Andrew Pulley explains it:

"It started when Joe Miles suggested to some of us in the barracks . . . that we listen to some Malcolm X tapes. It started as all black and Puerto Rican just listening to the tapes and talking about it afterward. . . .

"And listening to the Malcolm X tapes we took it this way: that not only

were the black people oppressed but so were the Puerto Ricans, so were the poor whites, so were the Indians. . . . And by realizing this we suggested that the meetings would be open to any person who dug what we dug.

"We explained to the white GIs that if they wanted to come they had to accept black power, the demolishing of racism. They had to believe in equality and self-determination for all people . . . And the majority of the people in the barracks, they agreed."

That was how GIs United began. Where the movement will end is a story yet to be written, for GI antiwar organizations continue to spring up all over the world. There are, to take just one indication of the activity, more than sixty antiwar papers being produced by GIs today.

GIs Speak Out Against the War is indispensable to anyone who wants to understand this movement and where it is going. In addition to the interviews, the book contains an introduction by Michael Smith, one of the lawyers for the Fort Jackson Eight. He explains the background of the case and how it was won.

Looking Back on the 'Prague Spring'

By Allen Myers

Like many prominent officials in the Czechoslovak Communist party, Eduard Goldstuecker fled the country following the Soviet invasion of August 1968. Now a visiting professor at Sussex University in England, he was recently interviewed by the *Los Angeles Times*.

The interview, published in the August 30 issue of the *Times*, contains Goldstuecker's observations of what was actually occurring during the "Prague spring" as well as his assessment of the future of the democratization movement in the aftermath of the invasion.

"We were trying in 1968," he says, "to bring about what I call the second phase of our socialist revolution. That means a transition from the dictatorial period of our revolution, in which the basic rights and liberties of the citizen would be brought into the structure of our society . . . No revolution in the past has solved this problem successfully . . ."

Goldstuecker is now in a position where he could, if he so desired, make a lucrative career for himself as a professional anticommunist for the bourgeois press. In light of this, and of the frequent charges in the Soviet and Eastern European press that the Czechoslovak movement and its leaders were "counterrevolutionary," it is interesting to consider the following passage from the interview:

Question. Could the now famous Prague spring of 1968, the Dubcek period, have gone so far, so fast, that from the Soviet point of view you really could have weakened the alliance [with the Soviet Union]?

Answer. No. No. It was absolutely impossible . . . We had, between February and August, 1968, a freedom of opinion that hardly any other country in the world could boast at that moment. Everybody could voice publicly their views and opinions no matter what they were . . . I call that period a constant referendum, lasting over half a year. The conspicuous thing about it is that during all this time no serious voices were raised asking for



DUBCEK: Surprised by Soviet invasion.

the reversal of our socialist development. Nobody seriously pleaded for the return of industrial enterprises to private ownership. What is even more interesting is that nobody seriously proposed the return of collectivized land to private owners. You remember in 1956 in Hungary and Poland that was one of the first things that the peasants wanted, to claim their own land as private. In Czechoslovakia this did not happen. In other words the socialist organization of our society was accepted by everybody as the basis for our further national development."

At the time of the invasion, Goldstuecker was a member of parliament

and chairman of the Writers' Union. He was also a favorite object for attack by spokesmen of the Soviet and Eastern European regimes—not for the first time in his political life.

In 1952, he was sentenced to life imprisonment in the purge trials which resulted in the execution of Rudolf Slánsky and other leaders of the Communist party on charges of "Zionism" and "cosmopolitanism." In the Stalinist usage of the period, the former term meant 'Jewish' and the latter was used to cover both "Jewish" and "internationalist."

The frame-up nature of the 1952 trials is indicated by the fact that in March 1969—six months after the Soviet invasion!—the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry recommended the rehabilitation of Goldstuecker along with 200 other diplomats purged during the fifties. (Goldstuecker had been ambassador to Israel and Sweden.)

None of this, however, restrained Goldstuecker's opponents in 1968 from again equating his Jewish ancestry with Zionism, as remarks in the press of that period indicate:

" . . . the so-called writers, Goldstuecker, Prochazka, Vatsulik and others, who have reached the point that in essence they have become the assistants of world imperialism and of militant Zionism." (*Pravda Ukrainy*, Kiev daily, August 23, 1968.)

" . . . precisely the Zionist forces in Czechoslovakia have most ardently and most passionately come out during the March events . . . the chairman of the Writers' Union, Goldstuecker and his ideological allies, like the philosopher Svitak, Prochazka, Kohout and a number of others linked with Zionism." (*Trybuna Ludu*, Warsaw daily, September 2, 1968.)

Goldstuecker, on the other hand, uses the sounding board of the *Los Angeles Times* to speak out in favor of socialist democracy, not Zionism. He defends the rights of the small workers states of Eastern Europe against the Great Russian chauvinism of the Kremlin bureaucrats:

"When you try to weld together a number of nations without guaranteeing them their equality in that new formation you build into that new formation elements of its future disruption. And that is what to my mind is the great danger for the future, that the nations of the socialist community of Eastern Europe, with the exception of Yugoslavia and Albania, are welded together not as equals with full rights but under the domination of one of the superpowers of our world. This cannot work in the future; it is absolutely impossible. It can work only on condition that you annihilate the national characteristics of the weaker nations, which of course is a prospect without any rational or reasonable chance to success."

He sees similar questions involved on the level of individual rights within each workers state: "You cannot build a successful socialist society without taking into account that certain types of society, of economic organization, presuppose for their successful functioning a certain level of freedom for the citizens. There is a contradiction which the perpetuation of the dictatorial phase of the socialist revolution breeds. You cannot develop a socialist society if you look upon the citizen as the private property of the ruler."

But it is interesting to note that Goldstuecker's demand for equality among the Eastern European nations did not mean that he opposed a military alliance with the Soviet Union against imperialist attack:

"We were aware of the fact that we could realize our aim of democratic socialism only under the condition that we are shielded from foreign interference from the West by our alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries."

He is also convinced that this attitude was shared by the population. "I am absolutely certain that if the Soviet Union had found some sort of *modus vivendi* with Czechoslovakia, we would have been prepared to do much not to irritate the Soviet Union. If the Soviet Union had found the possibility of such *modus vivendi*, we would have been its most faithful ally out of the free will of the whole nation."

At one point Goldstuecker even appears to give qualified support to the "Brezhnev Doctrine":

"I do not take an anti-Soviet posi-

tion . . . I am aware of the legitimate security considerations of the Soviet Union so far as the Czechoslovak territory is concerned and the territories of the socialist countries also."

However, he adds: "What I see is the danger that the present Soviet leadership is conducting a policy harmful, in the long run, to the interests of socialism. If you shift to pure great power considerations you distort the aims of socialism . . ."

Goldstuecker's apparent ambiguity on the Kremlin's "right" to intervene in internal Czechoslovak affairs seems to flow from a rather naïve faith in the good intentions of the Soviet bureaucracy, a faith that was shared by Dubcek. Goldstuecker says:

"The greatest disappointment connected with the invasion for us Communists is epitomized very briefly and clearly in the sentence Dubcek is reported to have said when he heard the news of the invasion. He said, 'They did this to me.' That means that he was terribly disappointed because he believed the Soviet Union was serious about the basic principles of socialism. And what they did was to shift from socialist positions of principle to positions of pure power consideration. In other words, in their minds the power interests of the Soviet Union are identified with the interests of socialism, which, after what has happened, I deny."

Opposition to the invasion within Czechoslovak society has been visible in a variety of forms, from the difficulty on the part of the Soviet bureaucrats in finding suitable puppets to rule for them—let alone to take responsibility for "inviting" the intervention—to acts of open protest such as the self-immolation of Jan Palach and others.

The backbone of this resistance has been the youth, both within and outside the Communist party. This is indicated, for example, by the change in the composition of the party. Between August 1968 and May 1970, 620,000 members were dropped from the party's rolls, and at the same time the average age of party members has jumped from forty-three to fifty-five years old.

The exodus of youth from the party can be explained by Goldstuecker's description of the attitude of the young toward the reform movement:

"Basically the young generation is terrified about the discrepancy between the words and the deeds of society, between the preached ideals and the reality. They want to do whatever they can to narrow that gap. As they realize that they can't do it, they react bitterly, violently, destructively. That was the case basically with Czechoslovakian youth in the years of the Novotny regime before 1968. As the change came, with the election of Dubcek and the democratization movement, our young generation suddenly realized that there was a possibility of narrowing the gap and reacted absolutely positively. They seized it and took it as their own affair. The affair of their generation. You didn't see the first of May, 1968, in Prague. Well, there were huge groups of hippies marching past Dubcek and Svoboda shouting, smiling, making jokes, throwing flowers, giving them their sandwiches to eat because they were standing there for several hours. It was moving proof of what the first ray of hope for freedom means to people, especially young people. We saw in those short few months so many talents appearing among the young, talents in statesmanship. That is all crushed. Now imagine the young generation, of which each member is now required to recant everything he believed with the whole enthusiasm of his young soul two years ago. It is utterly rejectable, utterly nasty, treacherous, criminal . . ."

Goldstuecker has little use for the view that the Husák regime maintains some independence from the Kremlin: "All important decisions concerning Czechoslovakia are today made not in Prague but in Moscow. You see, the problem in the Communist party in Czechoslovakia, and not only in Czechoslovakia, has been an acute one for a long time. You cannot have a party where the hangmen and their victims are comrades in the same party."

The contradiction between ideals and practice of which Goldstuecker speaks might be better expressed as a contradiction between the socialized means of production and the special interests of the privileged bureaucracies which have usurped political power in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Goldstuecker does not explicitly call

for a political revolution by the working class to depose the bureaucrats and institute proletarian democracy. He does imply such a solution, however, and he insists that the bureaucratic regimes cannot be a viable and permanent feature of "socialist" society:

"Well, it is difficult to prophesy, although I know that those who are defeated, as we were, tend to the consolation of prophecy. But what seems sure to me — what I'm firmly convinced of — is that socialism has the alternative of either finding the transition toward a genuine democratic socialism, which we tried to find in 1968,

which we would have successfully found, or it will enter into a phase of internal strife which could bring about the disappearance of this great first attempt at building a socialist society, which was started with Lenin's revolution in 1917. I am sure that the effort toward the establishment of democratic socialism will come up again and again and again, not necessarily in Prague, because Prague is downtrodden and held very severely down on the ground. But it will crop up within the socialist camp. It is there latently in all countries, and it will appear sooner or later in force."

Goldstuecker now believes that to be successful the antibureaucratic struggle must go beyond the borders of a single country:

"And nobody has succeeded yet in either changing or stopping historical development. The element of hope lies in the fact that socialism necessarily has to develop toward democratization. As long as it is a healthy organism, it doesn't commit suicide . . . Probably the next stage of the effort toward democratization of the socialist societies will have to come from a broader basis than from one small country."

France

Garaudy Answers Kremlin on 'Varga Testament'

On the first page of its second section August 26, the Soviet Writers' Union weekly *Literaturnaya Gazeta* featured attacks on the authenticity of the "Varga Testament," the late Soviet economist Evgenii Varga's denunciation of Stalinism.*

The real author of the "testament," according to an article reprinted from the French CP organ *l'Humanité*, was supposed to be Roger Garaudy, the French party's former intellectual spokesman.

(As a result of his denunciation of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, Garaudy came under fire from the French CP leadership and was finally expelled from the party. In the period following the suppression of the Czech experiment, he was the target of attacks in the Soviet press apparently intended to smear all the opponents of the invasion in the Western CPs.)

The superloyal American CP was quick to repeat the latest Soviet accusations against Garaudy. The August 27 issue of its organ, the *Daily World*, quoted the *Literaturnaya Gazeta* article, adding a few jibes of its own: "'The so-called 'Testament of Varga' put out by the Paris publishing house of Grasset, with a preface by Roger Garaudy, is an anti-Soviet and anti-Com-



ROGER GARAUDY

munist fraud,' the Soviet newspaper *Literaturnaya Gazeta* (Literary Gazette) said on Tuesday. Soviet Academician Yevgeni Varga (1879-1964), was a well-known economist, many of whose writings have appeared in English.

"Soviet professors Aboltin, Dalin, Kaplan and other personal friends and colleagues of Varga told the Soviet newspaper that the so-called 'testament' could not be a work of Varga's. The newspaper also published a letter

from Varga's wife, Charlotte, and his daughter, Marie, written to the Paris newspaper, *Le Monde*, which reviewed the alleged 'testament.'

"We state that Yevgeni Varga left no 'testament,' and that the text published in *Le Monde* is a malevolent fraud,' the wife and daughter of Varga wrote in their letter.

"The Soviet newspaper also quoted the French Communist daily, *L'Humanité*, on the incident. *L'Humanité* wrote that — strangely enough — the theses in 'Varga's testament' seem to coincide with those of the revisionist Garaudy himself, who was recently kicked out of the French Communist party."

The Soviet professors' statement argued, among other things, that the "Varga Testament" was obviously a forgery because: "It reveals an ignorance of the elementary principles of economics, claiming that there will always be surplus value and mixing up laws belonging to two different phases, socialism and communism, etc." It denounced the document for "attributing to Varga references to a 'Russian road of transition to socialism' and distorting 'the moral countenance of the Soviet people.'"

The statement by *l'Humanité* ridiculed Garaudy for accepting a "type-written" document as an authentic production of the noted Soviet academician.

Defending the authenticity of the

* For an English translation see "Varga's Secret Testament Condemning Stalinism," in *Intercontinental Press*, June 1, 1970, page 530.

Varga "testament" and thus its own action in publishing long extracts from it, the Paris daily *Le Monde* quoted Garaudy's reply to the Soviet charges at length in its August 13 issue:

"This document was published for the first time in the Soviet Union in the typewritten clandestine magazine *Phoenix* put out by Galanskov," Garaudy wrote. "But Galanskov appeared before the court in the same trial as Ginzburg in January 1968. He was accused of every crime under the sun for publishing these texts but at no time was he accused of having published a *false* testament by Varga. [Emphasis in the original.] Nor did the Soviet police or the Soviet courts ever denounce this document as a forgery when it was seized in General Grigorenko's home.

"It was only years after this document had been published in the USSR — during which time the leaders, their police, and their judges never challenged its authenticity — that the falsification charge was raised. When the testament was published in Vienna in March 1970 by Franz Marek, Brezhnev's agents stirred up the pro-Soviet faction of the Austrian party, a party split and virtually liquidated by direct intervention by the Soviet leaders in 1969, to make a feeble protest.

"Three months after the publication of the French edition, this protest was backed up in *l'Humanité* by the personal testimonies communicated by the Novosti news agency.

"Why deny abroad through the statements of individuals (and we know from London's *l'Aveu* [The Confession] how under certain systems such testimonies are obtained), what they could not officially deny in the USSR at the time of the Galanskov trial and the arrest of General Grigorenko? Because they had at all cost to avoid a discussion on the substance of it (. . .).

"But the problem of the substance remains. *L'Humanité's* interjection even exacerbated this question. Accusing me of relying on a 'type-written copy' is marvelous! They too ingenuously 'forget' the fact that in the neo-Stalinist system any literary work that displeases the Brezhnev group, or its police, or its censors doesn't get past the stage of being a 'type-written copy.' This is the only form in which great novels like Solzhenitsyn's could be read, when the manuscripts were not stolen from his home by the police,

as he himself has said. The stories of Sinyavsky were in this form before he was sent to prison. The academician Sakharov was able to publish his studies only in 'type-written' copies. It would, then, be better for the Marchais group [the leadership of the French CP] not to speak with such disdain of 'type-written copies' when it comes to Soviet literature today. That is 'talking about the rope in the house of the hanged.'

"Such arguments could be used to demonstrate the 'falseness' of any document not to the liking of Brezhnev

Ceylon

Nationalization 'Not Advisable' — Perera

"We have agitated for the nationalisation of the tea estates for 40 years," said N. M. Perera, leader of the Lanka Sama Samaja party [LSSP]* and a minister in Ceylon's "United Front" government. "But today, after assuming office as minister of finance, I realise it is not advisable to do so now."

Perera is not the first "socialist" to have his opinion of what is "advisable" changed by participation in a bourgeois government. Neither do his explanations offer anything new in the field of political theory.

"We have no power or mandate to act in violation of the laws of the land," Perera is quoted in the September 19 issue of the weekly *Far Eastern Economic Review*, published in Hong Kong. He apparently offered no explanation as to why the "United Front," with an overwhelming majority in parliament, could not change laws that stood in the way rather than worrying about violating them.

Perera went on to lecture those who might be dissatisfied with his concept of what is advisable: "One should realise that achieving socialism is not as

* This party was expelled from the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization, in 1964 for joining the previous Bandaranaike government. A minority of the LSSP refused to follow Perera into a coalition with a bourgeois party, choosing instead to form the Lanka Sama Samaja party (Revolutionary) [LSSP(R)], which is today the Ceylon section of the Fourth International.

and his police (just as any critique of the bureaucratic degeneration of the neo-Stalinist apparatus is called 'anti-Sovieteering').

"I might suggest a more appropriate term to Marchais and Fajon, one which has been tried and tested. When Khrushchev denounced the crimes of Stalin at the Twentieth Party Congress, his report was read by all the members of the French delegation. Nevertheless, it was always referred to in *l'Humanité* as the "report attributed to Khrushchev."

simple as having a meal in a tea kiosk. People should appreciate how difficult it is to proceed along the gruelling track to socialism. Some people want us to run. In fact we too wish to run fast but how can we do so if the track is strewn with obstacles?"

The sole Communist party member of the cabinet, minister of housing Pieter Keuneman, has also had no difficulty in establishing harmonious relations with the Ceylonese bourgeoisie since he took office. The *Far Eastern Economic Review* reports Keuneman saying: "I do not like the private sector. But if in the process of making money the private sector will help to build houses the people want, I am prepared to go with them."

Hired Guns Well Paid

The censored transcript of testimony before a U. S. Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee reveals that the U. S. government has spent more than \$1,000,000,000 over the last five years in order to obtain the services of 50,000 South Korean soldiers in South Vietnam.

According to the September 13 *New York Times*, ". . . that sum . . . covered direct support for the troops, such as overseas allowances, arms, equipment and rations.

"It further covered a wide range of other assistance, including modernization of South Korean forces in their own country, procurement of military goods in South Korea for United States forces in South Vietnam, expanded work for South Korean contractors in South Vietnam, and financial aid."

What I Saw in Belfast and Derry City

By Gerry Foley

The first weekend of August the city of Belfast seemed quiet, on the surface. The weather was warm (for Ireland) and sunny. The city is rather like a middle-sized midwestern American city, reminiscent in some ways of Indianapolis, Indiana, or Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The ugly Victorian architecture of much of the town is softened by the lovely green Antrim hills that surround it and never let you forget that you are in Ireland.

A few minutes out of the train station of Great Victoria Street, near the city hall, I began to notice British troops. Military vehicles were circling the area carrying soldiers with their guns at the ready. An occasional armored car drove past.

I went back to the railroad station to get some sixpence pieces for the telephone. The woman at the station newsstand refused to give change. "I sent the cash to the bank early. If there were another bomb scare, I might not be able to keep the money safe." She seemed very pleased at the thought that her florins, shillings, sixpences, threepences, twopences, and coppers were already safely locked up under the protection of "Her Majesty."

At 10:00 that night in a pub near Queens University, the barmen were trying to clear the crowd out. "The military are setting up a barricade outside," one said.

Outside, groups of soldiers stationed along the street had their rifles aimed across the sidewalk at chest level.

I looked right down the barrel of an automatic weapon. The muzzle shone an oily blue in the glow of the street lights; the center of the barrel was a black hole. Suddenly the city seemed much tenser than it first appeared.

I was not reassured by some local people who talked about cases of soldiers' guns going off accidentally. I wondered what the effect of a high-powered bullet would be at the range of two feet.

The next day, August 2, a women's

march was scheduled in the New Lodge Road ghetto to protest the shooting of nineteen-year-old Daniel O'Hagan by British troops. Approaching the area, you could hear the crowd singing the "Soldiers' Song," the anthem of the Irish Republic. ("Soldiers are we whose lives are pledged to Ireland . . . We're children of the fighting race that never yet has known disgrace.")

The demonstration seemed at first to consist largely of very young children gathered in carefully supervised flocks, like primary school classes brought out to march for some national holiday. Many of the children carried the orange, white, and green flag of the Irish Republic (orange for the Protestants, green for the Catholics, and white for peace between them).

Some of the women were carrying black flags. I thought they might belong to the English anarchists the English papers talk about, so I asked one what the flag stood for. "It's a flag of mourning for the wee boy who was killed," she said in the purest Ulster accent. I didn't see any foreign sympathizers of the Irish struggle there that day.

A considerable number of the marchers carried picket signs. The most common slogans were "British Murderers Get Out" and "Remember O'Hagan." But one woman carried a sign with the simple practical demand "Fix My Toilet!"

A large crowd of men and boys hung at the edge of the march, kept to the sidelines by male and female marshals. The men were obviously ready for a fight if the soldiers attacked the women.

The women confronted the troops wherever they found them with amazing courage, considering that the British army had already given sufficient demonstration of its willingness to kill and brutalize the people of the nationalist ghettos.

The demonstrators chanted slogans like "If you hit a British soldier, clap

your hands" (at least that's what it sounded like; it is hard to distinguish the vowels in the Ulster dialect of Irish English) and sang the jingle "Go home, you bums, go home," to the tune of "Old Lang Syne."

Troops Attack Women

The soldiers seemed, if anything, more frightened than the women, but in a much uglier mood. Many of them made obscene gestures and raised their guns when the demonstrators got too close. At one point the soldiers did attack the women, beating a number of them. But crowds in the neighborhood watched the confrontations very calmly.

Near the gates of the British military base, there was a fairly tense moment. The front line of the women moved within a few feet of a troop carrier, berating the soldiers inside, who had their guns raised. There was a baby in a carriage directly in the line of fire, but no one thought it necessary to move it out of the way.

I felt a tug on my trouser leg. A little boy and girl, both about four years old, wanted to be lifted up on the wall so that they could see what was going on.

In order to avoid clashes, the organizers of the march turned it away from the British base toward a more open and empty area, where it eventually dispersed. At the point where the demonstration ended up, there was a big cigarette factory, which, I was told, discriminated against Catholics in its hiring policy.

The next morning I walked into the Lower Falls Road Catholic ghetto, which is about fifteen minutes' walk from the Belfast city hall. The Unionist working-class neighborhood runs parallel to the Falls Road to the north on the slopes of a hill. There is a thin industrial strip in between for part of the distance. Some of the factories and mills in this no man's land

were burned in the clashes last August. Damaged factories and abandoned houses can still be seen in this belt.

Barbed Wire Barricades

All the cross streets connecting the two ghettos are blocked by barbed-wire barricades. Sentries are posted at some of them. A big military depot is located at the east end of the Falls Road. A couple of dozen armored cars and troop carriers are parked there. Sandbagged military emplacements surround the area. Soldiers stand with their rifles pointed into the air.

Just above the depot is a large housing project which dominates the area, the Divis Towers.

The Falls Road ghetto is a compact, densely populated neighborhood encircled by the Falls Road to the north and the Grosvenor Road to the south. The interior is a maze of narrow streets. Tiny two-story houses, built in the 1850s to house the linen-mill workers, are lined up against each other in miniature tenements. Every house has two rooms about twelve by twelve above and below, with a privy in the backyard. A cold-water tap in the hall completes the amenities. From the front they all look the same. Every window has lace curtains with a vase of artificial flowers in the middle.

Despite the cramped living conditions and minimal facilities, the area is quite clean and generally well cared for. The people are cheerful and friendly. The community is obviously close-knit. After staying there a few days, I found that sometimes when I asked directions strangers would say things like "the place you're staying is the fifth door on the right."

If it were politically conscious, united, and confident of final victory, a community of this type could offer formidable resistance to any repressive force. It is the decisive nationalist ghetto in Belfast.

"Wrap the Green Flag Around Me"

Monday afternoon, August 3, I watched the funeral procession for Daniel O'Hagan. Thousands of people lined the sidewalks. Five thousand, mostly men and boys, marched silently behind the hearse as it moved slowly up the Falls Road. Rumors spread that the cortege had been stoned by

the Protestants on the other side of the road.

The papers said that the coffin was draped with the republican flag and that the bagpiper following the hearse played "Wrap the Green Flag Around Me." I couldn't see the coffin and the piper carried his pipes silently as he passed me. But there did not seem to be much doubt that for the people of that area Daniel O'Hagan was another nationalist martyr.

That night I went to a meeting of the Falls Housing Action Committee, which was held in a small building that also apparently served as a republican headquarters and a citizens advice bureau. It was a bright, freshly painted two-story building but in rather a shambles. The place was badly damaged when the British troops occupied the Falls July 3-4, I was told, and repairs had not been completed.

The chairman announced that the Shankhill Redevelopment Association had answered a letter appealing for cooperation in housing agitation. (The republicans hope to unite Catholics and Protestants on the basis of economic agitation like that carried on by the Falls Housing Action Committee.) The chairman explained that although the letter from the Shankhill group did not really say anything, at least it was an answer. They had been sending the group letters for months without getting a response.

A Blanket of CS Gas

After the meeting I walked through the area in tow of a young republican activist. He thought he could smell CS gas. I couldn't smell anything. But suddenly my throat dried up and my eyes started to burn. My companion stopped to talk to some people and warned them to get their dachshund inside. The gas smothers small animals.

We went deeper into the gas-covered area. I could see girls being led out of the area by their boy friends. The young women seemed nearly overcome by the gas. Some people seemed to panic. I could understand why. CS gas is suffocating and invisible. On a still day it can blanket a large area. You feel as if you might be overcome and you can't tell how far you might have to go to get out of the gas. Also if you try to move away, you might

run into military patrols beating up everybody on the street.

The center of the gas-blanketed area was the Divis Towers multistory housing project. There was a terrible racket in front of the building. At the rear a crowd was beginning to gather. As we moved in under the building, we could hear the British officers giving orders over some kind of amplification system: "Adjust gas masks."

Troops Occupy Building

My companion went into the building to see how the IRA people inside were organizing the people to defend themselves. I went back into the crowd and watched.

There was pandemonium in the building. People called out of the lower-floor windows that the soldiers were ransacking the place. Some shouted that the soldiers were taking men out of the apartments. The troops appeared to be slowly occupying the building, banging on doors, walls, and stair railings in order to terrorize the people. Some parents yelled from the upper-floor windows that their children were on the floors below and they could not get to them.

The old people living in the neighborhood around the Divis Towers were terrified, the adults quiet and bitter, the youth tense. Recognizing that I was an outsider, people began spontaneously to explain to me the way they felt, to present their case against the system.

"If it's not the Protestants, it's the British army," one woman said. "We have to live through this every night and then face the Protestants on the shop floor cursing us for what we are."

Some of the young people were suspicious. They assumed I was a reporter since I had a notebook in my hand.

"Let's hope what you write won't be *censored*," one said.

"There's no danger of that," I answered. "I work for a socialist magazine." He seemed somewhat reassured, it seemed to me.

Several times when I moved too close to the military lines, youths pulled me back and gave me careful instructions about where and where not to go. There was a warm feeling of solidarity in the crowd. Whenever I asked for directions from the old-

er people, I always got a very friendly response. The people of the ghetto knew their cause was just and they were willing to talk freely to anybody who would listen.

It is quite a different matter in the Protestant neighborhoods. There, any stranger is watched with the greatest suspicion. Newsmen walking alone through these areas are likely to be attacked and beaten. I was to see a particularly horrifying example of this attitude in Derry during the Orange celebration August 12.

The Protestants' privileges are being threatened. Deep down, they know that their historical privileges cannot be defended morally and in the long run cannot be maintained. The result is a savage rage that is vented at every opportunity.

Refugees Pour Out

After a couple of hours' siege, the local defense committee began evacuating the building. It seemed like a well-organized job. A stream of refugees poured out of the rear of the housing project — women carrying babies in their shawls or leading small children, all with tears streaming down their faces.

The scene looked like pictures of British atrocities during the 1916-22 war of independence, except that the refugees were coming from a modern steel-and-glass apartment building and not slate-roofed cottages or ruined turn-of-the-century slums.

Crowds of youths gathered on street corners all through the area, standing sullenly and tensely. They moved reluctantly away as British squads ordered them to disperse.

If the youths offered any resistance they could be hauled off to jail for an automatic six-month sentence and would probably be badly beaten before they ever saw the inside of "Her Majesty's court of justice." The neighborhood people talked about one lad who was so brutally clubbed that it required sixty-five stitches to close his wounds.

A woman tried to argue with a squad of troops. They were all English boys. Most of them looked no more than seventeen. "How would you like this to happen to your own wives and children?" she said, referring to the terror to which the neighborhood had been subjected.

"I have a wife and kids of my own," a soldier said, hardly more than a boy himself. "And I didn't want to leave them for *this!*"

He seemed almost in tears. The woman started to light up a cigarette, but couldn't find a match. The young soldier fumbled in the pockets of his fatigue jacket and pulled out a lighter. She refused to take it. He seemed hurt.

"We beat you in 1920," she said. "We drove youse out of most of our country. And we didn't have anything then. There wasn't even a Free State then." The soldier looked still unhappier.

Problem of the Troops

Some of the Belfast republicans had doubts about doing political work aimed at influencing the troops. "At first we tried to talk to them," one said. "But after they're here a while they start to come up with a master-race outlook. They start saying things like 'You can't run this country. You never could. You'd wreck it in no time if it weren't for us.'"

Another problem that was raised was the discipline of the British army, that soldiers would be court-martialed if they listened to any arguments against the occupation, and especially if they repeated them. The person who made this argument agreed, however, that if there were a powerful anti-imperialist movement in Britain that could defend the rights of dissenting soldiers, propaganda directed at the troops might be effective.

The republican movement in the Falls area seemed capable of winning substantial community support for campaigns against the British occupation forces. Its leaders appeared well known and respected. There was a steady stream of serious young people through the home of the local republican chief.

The Falls was the only area I saw in Ireland where a radical and potentially revolutionary movement showed signs of being deeply rooted. It was clear, unfortunately, that the republicans did not have this kind of base in Derry City, the other main nationalist center in Northern Ireland.

In Derry City

I arrived in Derry City a few days before the Twelfth of August, the second most important date on the Orange

calendar. It is the anniversary of the lifting of the siege of Derry, which was surrounded in 1689 by the armies of King James II and his Irish Catholic allies. The original city was a fortified British settlement on a hill between a river and a bog. It was surrounded by a low wall designed only to keep out loosely organized Celtic tribesmen.

At dusk the Celtic Irish were driven out of the city to the native encampment outside the walls. The main Catholic ghetto, the Bogside, is on the site of this old Celtic camp. The walls are carefully maintained as a symbol of the impregnability of the British settlement in Ireland.

The Protestant neighborhoods are on a high hill inside the walls. The steep, winding streets are covered with red, white, and blue bunting. Pictures of King William of Orange mounted on a white horse decorate nearly every corner. On one street there is an evangelical hall of some kind. It has a huge Bible in front with a crown on top.

The Orange decorations are more elaborate than in Belfast, probably indicating even greater fanaticism. The Protestants are a minority in Derry.

The town is surrounded by steeply rolling green hills. They spread out before you suddenly as you turn the corners of the twisting streets of the walled city.

The new business district of Derry borders the Bogside at the base of the hill on which the walled city is built. The Foyle River divides the Catholic ghetto from the Protestant Waterside district. The Craigavon Bridge across the river has two sand-bagged emplacements on each side. Underneath the bridge is a military depot. Fortified military posts and barbed-wire barricades block the entrances to the Catholic ghetto.

The Bogside is not a compact area like the Falls. It is a sprawling expanse of half-demolished old buildings with housing projects rising up here and there like mushrooms. The focal point of the neighborhood is the Rossville Flats, a high-rise housing project. On the side of a wrecked building across from the Rossville Flats is an enormous sign: "You Are Now Entering Free Derry."

On other walls are slogans such as "British Murderers" and "Remember O' Hagan."

The second Catholic ghetto, the Creggan, is a scattering of bungalows

and housing developments on the slopes of the hill lying northwest from the Bogside.

Unlike the Falls, the British army has not attempted to maintain a permanent occupation of the Bogside. Only occasional patrols venture into the area.

Try to Head Off Clashes

On the night of August 8, I toured the ghetto along with some civil-rights leaders. They were patrolling the area to try to head off any clashes between the young people and the troops. If any clashes did occur, they would act as observers to try to minimize army brutality.

At about 9:00 small groups of youths began gathering here and there in front of the Rossville Flats and at the corner of Rossville and William streets on the way toward the downtown area. It does not get dark in Northern Ireland this time of year until almost 11:00, when the clashes usually start.

About 30 percent of the ghetto population are unemployed. There are few recreational facilities. Even the pubs had to close at 8:00 p.m. in the period leading up to the Twelfth. There is nothing much for the youth to do but collect on street corners and talk and horse around.

"Get Ye Home, Wee Boys"

But tonight there are only a few scattered groups of youths, until a "peacekeeping" team shows up. The group is composed of "respectable" adult Catholics — beady-eyed, stiff-jawed middle-aged men; muttonish-looking priests with pale, fat faces stuffed under their black hats; and shrill fortyish women. The women are the most numerous. They start trying to drive the youths off the street: "Get ye home, wee boys."

But the kids won't be pushed. Some of them argue fiercely with the old people. "We beat the RUC [Royal Ulster Constabulary], we beat the troops. If we hadn't fought nothing would have changed." "What did you do in the last fifty years?" "Where was your John Hume [the moderate civil-rights leader] when the fighting was on? Bernadette [Devlin] was the only one who came down then."

There is some strong language be-

ing used pretty close to the sacred ears of the clergy. Five years ago this would have been unthinkable, one of the civil-rights leaders tells me.

By now a crowd of several hundred youths has gathered at the end of William Street. Some of them are picking up stones and bricks from the rubble lying around. Occasional bricks are tossed toward the military lines. Suddenly a boiling point is reached. Something like a rebel yell goes up. About twenty or thirty youths run forward throwing stones. But the troops don't respond. They stay in their fortified positions just outside the area. The storm evaporates. The crowd quickly begins to break up and wander away.

The "respectable" Catholic mothers and the priests are sure that they are the ones who prevented "trouble." They congratulate themselves for a "good night's work."

Two Groups Meet Together

Sunday, August 9, I went to a joint meeting of the Derry Labour party and the James Connolly Republican club. The Derry branch of the Northern Ireland Labour party is led by Eamon McCann. Many people consider it a left grouping quite distinct from the rest of the ultra-opportunist NILP.

At the meeting McCann argued that the main task for the left was to head off any clashes that might be provoked by the Orange celebrations August 12. He wanted to direct the energy of the Catholic youth in economic agitation, which, in his opinion, offered the prospect of uniting Protestant and Catholic workers and overcoming the religious split in the community.

All of the speakers at this meeting seemed convinced that if the nationalist feeling of the Catholic youth could only be channeled into "legitimate" forms of proletarian activity, that is, economic agitation, all the problems could be solved. The republicans present did not offer a different perspective.

A crowd of several hundred showed up at the rally the next evening. The main speakers were McCann for the Derry Labour party and Malachy McGurran from the republican movement.

McCann argued that spontaneous clashes with the troops led nowhere and that they were dividing the community. The continual disruption was

making the older people hostile to the youth. The workers had to have a government of their own, he said.

McCann raised what was probably the most important question for the republicans participating in the meeting. He attacked the Blaney-Boland-Haughey wing of the ruling Fianna Fáil party as "Green Tories."

These three former Dublin ministers are popular in the Bogside. Their alleged involvement in an abortive "plot" to import guns for shipment to picked groups of conservative nationalists in the North; and their occasional belligerent statements about defending the minority in the North have given them a militant luster.

McCann argued that Fianna Fáil rule would bring no material improvement for the ordinary people of Derry City. To prove this he cited the unemployment and emigration figures for County Donegal, where Neil Blaney's constituency is located.

McCann seemed concerned, primarily over the possibility that saber-rattling by Blaney and his local supporters would block the economic unity between Catholic and Protestant workers which is his main objective.

The republicans seemed to view the problem in a somewhat different focus. They believe that the Southern bourgeoisie wants to eliminate the radicalization in the North, which exposes the hypocrisy of its nationalist pretensions. They were concerned primarily about provocations teledirected from Dublin splitting the nationalist population and providing an excuse for repression.

To counter this threat, McGurran appealed to the class consciousness of the ghetto youth. He echoed McCann's economic arguments, developing the additional point that the youth would have to organize militarily to defeat the British army.

Speaking openly as a representative of the outlawed Irish Republican Army, McGurran had a lot of authority for the militant youth. He told them that the previous generations of nationalist fighters had failed for two reasons: (1) they did not have a social program that could win the active support of the people; (2) they did not have a clear ideology as a guide so that they would know when they were being betrayed.

McGurran got an attentive hearing. But the audience seemed unmoved. Did his line of attack on Blaney seem



Photo by Eamon Melaugh

IN DERRY CITY. Occupying British troops man barbed-wire barricades during demonstration by jobless workers. Unemployed

Action Committee banner reads: "Our Goal - No Dole." Another sign demands: "Time Now for Workers Control."

too factional, as if he were criticizing him just for not being a socialist or a supporter of the IRA? Did McGurran fail to combat the illusion that Blaney would support the Northern minority at least on a nationalist basis? Did the perspective of winning over the Protestant workers by economic agitation seem too remote and utopian for the youth?

Socialist Action Rally

One of the main objectives of the rally was to draw people to the organizing meeting of a socialist action group the next night. This was the third attempt to organize the ghetto youth in such a formation.

About forty-five to sixty people showed up. The audience declined considerably by the time the meeting was over.

The organizers of the meeting projected two immediate actions—paint-

ing up economic slogans on the night of the eleventh and stationing pickets near military emplacements to denounce army brutality. The aim of posting economic slogans was presumably to appeal to the Protestant workers on issues they would understand. McCann offered the slogan "Industrial Training for All Youth" in contrast to nationalist slogans like, as he said, "Fuck the Queen!"

Only one slogan was actually put up—"Industrial Training for All Youth"—painted on a housing project wall near Free Derry Corner. No pickets appeared. It was not clear, however, whether this failure was the result of a temporary organizational weakness or an ineffective political line.

The Twelfth of August

The morning of the Twelfth, the town filled with troops. Squads were sta-

tioned on top of the walls, at the gates leading in and out of the walled city, and at practically every street corner. All the shops in the Protestant Diamond area at the top of the hill were closed, many of them boarded up. The streets were virtually empty.

Some impromptu Orange marches took place during the night. There were a few brawls between Protestants and soldiers. But the Orangemen evidently did not want to stage any major demonstration within the walls of the city.

The big rally of the day was to be in the Waterside district on the other side of the Foyle. At 11:30 in the morning I could already see crowds of Orangemen moving across the bridge. A group of four Orange leaders, dressed in bowler hats, wearing sashes and badges, ceremonial swords buckled at their sides, walked down

the steep hill that leads out of town through the main gateway.

The rally site was a mile or two on the other side of the bridge. Taxis could not get through the jammed road. I followed the crowd another half mile or so down to a natural amphitheater overlooking the river.

"It is like a carnival," I wrote in my notebook. "Everywhere there are little pushcarts with Orange badges, 'No Surrender' badges, Paisley badges, pictures of King William of Orange, the colors of the House of Hanover.

"Very little propaganda is being sold. A pamphlet on Lord Edward Carson, a founder of the Orange regime, just about exhausts the literature available.

"The crowd fills only a small section of the amphitheater. There can not be more than 4,000 people here, a tenth the normal crowd for the Twelfth. A steady drizzle makes the crowd look even more forlorn. I watch the ceremony from the shelter of trees high up on the grassy slopes overlooking the speakers' stand. I can look right across the river over the floor of the amphitheater into the Bog-side."

The star of the day was William Craig, the right-wing Unionist leader. Craig was home secretary of the Belfast government when police and Orangemen combined in brutal attacks on the first civil-rights marches. He was dismissed as a concession to public opinion. As a result he has become something of a right-wing "martyr" and a rallying point for reactionary Unionist-party faithful.

"Law and Order" Rhetoric

The speakers used "law and order" rhetoric similar to that prevalent in the United States, but with some peculiar British imperialist and anti-Catholic decorations. Craig called for the rearming of the police and the restoration of the B Specials, a quasi-fascist Protestant militia disbanded as a concession to the Catholics.

The speakers dwelt on the case of two young policemen who were killed when they tried to tow away a booby-trapped car left in a border area. They blamed this crime on the IRA. Over and over again, they referred to "this dastardly rebel deed." One speaker referred to "rebel dastards" who were trying to detach Northern Ireland

from the United Kingdom, "indeed from Her Majesty's dominions."

Another speaker called on the crowd to shout "No Surrender!" so that the "rebels" across the river in the Bogside would know that their "dastardly deeds" would not be tolerated by "the loyal servants of Her Majesty."

The crowd gave a fair response to this appeal. But when the rally was dismissed, it could not muster up more than a rather weak and mournful rendition of "God Save the Queen."

"Give Us the Rebel!"

On the way out, I noticed a crowd surrounding an ambulance, trying to pull open the rear doors. I heard the shout, "Give us the rebel!" Then dozens of youths began to rock the ambulance, threatening to overturn it.

A couple of policemen pressed through and helped the orderlies close the doors. The ambulance began slowly to move out of the area. Hundreds of youths heaved rocks at it. Fortunately, at that point, it reached an open stretch of road, speeded up, and managed to outdistance the crowd.

The rumor was going around that the victim in the ambulance was "an IRA man from Dublin." The papers that evening said he was a cameraman who made some remark displeasing to the crowd.

One man turned to me and said, "We should have gotten that Fenian bastard, huh." I said nothing.

One elderly woman was horribly disappointed: "Wasn't it terrible how they let that rebel get away? How could they do such a thing? They should have torn that ambulance apart and hanged him on the spot."

The crowd formed up behind a fife-and-drum band headed by a big embroidered banner and marched back toward town. It was clearly defying the ban on marches. For about a quarter of a mile it ran into no resistance. Then, as the procession came to a military base, it encountered a roadblock. British troops were drawn up in formation behind a barbed-wire barrier. Tanks pulled across the road. I could see the cannon of one huge tank swinging around high over the heads of the crowd.

"A Disgrace to Her Majesty"

Violent protests began. "You're help-

ing the rebels, you traitors; you're a disgrace to Her Majesty."

The Orangemen began to chant the same jingle I heard a week and a half before in the New Lodge Road Catholic ghetto of Belfast: "Go home, you bums, go home."

Facing the martial music, the colorful banners, and the furious abuse, the British soldiers stood with smirks on their faces. It was obvious that "the loyal servants of Her Majesty" were just another breed of "natives" to them. They raised their guns to strike at marchers who came too close.

"You think you've had trouble," one woman yelled to the troops, "wait until the Protestant people start."

Marshals wearing fancy sashes came scurrying, warning the people not to antagonize the troops. "The rebels want to turn the soldiers against us," they said.

Suddenly, the soldiers withdrew to the center of the road and let the marchers pass around them. A huge cheer went up. "The soldiers are on our side," someone shouted.

The sun came out briefly. The crowd seemed to become spirited for the first time. Some of the women started to dance, singing:

*"Here I am an Orangeman,
Just come across the sea,
For singing and for dancing,
I hope I will please thee.
I can sing or dance with any man,
As I did in days of yore,
And on the Twelfth I love to wear
The sash my father wore."*

*"It's old, but it is beautiful,
Its colours they are fine—
It was wore at Derry, Aghrim,
Enniskillen and the Boyne,
My father wore it when a youth,
In bygone days of yore,
And it's on the Twelfth I love
to wear
The sash my father wore."*

At two or three more places, the crowd ran into barricades, and the same scenes were repeated. At one point a number of people were almost trampled. The front ranks were pressed against the barbed wire by the weight of those behind. The thrust was abruptly reversed. I was pushed against a rough concrete wall; the barbed wire cannot have been much worse.

At the bridge leading into the town,

the army finally halted the march. CS gas was used on a group of youths, who tried to rush over the lower tier of the bridge. They came streaming back up the hill, screaming about "those fucking bastards," meaning, of course, the British troops of "Her Majesty." The army allowed those who lived in the city to cross in twos and threes.

Impressions of a Watersider

Later in the afternoon I heard a Catholic from the Waterside give his impressions of the march. He had listened to the British army radio throughout the day and contemptuously mocked the British mispronunciations of the names of different Orange bands.

The collisions between the army and the "loyalists" was a huge joke to him. He was beside himself with delight telling anecdotes about the super-British loyalists running from the troops. But he was clearly on the side of the Orangemen against the British army.

It was clear, too, that he rather enjoyed the color of the march, although "it would make your blood boil to hear them cursing the pope." The festivities appealed to his Irish imagination and he recognized them as thoroughly un-English, as did the British troops themselves.

The Catholic Watersider, however, seemed impressed by the lack of solidarity among the Orangemen and the selfish spirit of the loyalists in his neighborhood. When the crowd was threatened with attack by the army, the local people would not let the marchers from the country take refuge in their homes.

He thought the Protestants basically had low morale: "If we [the Catholics] only rise up every fifty years, we are not slaves, but they [the Protestants] have to do what the British army tells them to and like it."

The television showed a reporter trying to interview an Orange leader. "No, I am not going to talk to you, and get that fucking camera out of here," the grim-looking old man in a bowler hat said. You could see him kicking at something.

The first question of the day had been answered. There would be no major clash between the army and the Orangemen. The next question was, what would the reaction of the

Catholics be to the provocative Orange display?

In the Bogside

Entering the Bogside at about 7:00 p.m., I could see a British patrol standing in the middle of William Street, near the corner of Rossville. They had apparently received orders to fraternize with the population. The soldiers were talking with people and letting small children look at their riot gear, even play with some things.

One youth seemed to be doing a good job arguing with the commander of the British unit. "It's not just something that's been drummed into my head," I heard him say. "I saw with my own eyes how the police used to come in here and beat up the people."

As dusk began to deepen, the troops pulled out of the area. Large crowds of youths began gathering. They had been blockaded in their neighborhood all day; many of those who did have jobs had been unable to leave.

Stones were thrown. This time the troops responded. They turned a brilliant searchlight on the crowd. The light was supposed to make it impossible to see the soldiers behind it and to permit army photographers to photograph the leaders of the crowd.

About twenty to thirty youths were actually throwing stones. Behind them were a couple of hundred onlookers and supporters. I stayed in back of the front line. Whenever the troops charged, most of the crowd ran as fast as it could. The stone-throwers would retreat ten or twenty yards and then re-form their line. They were very daring, or very desperate youths.

The *Daily Mirror* showed an excellent photo the next day of a youth of about sixteen advancing to within a few feet of a British soldier in full riot gear. With a look of innocent delight on his face, the boy was aiming a brick right at the soldier's visor.

Fighting the troops and police must be an important outlet for the Catholic youth of Derry. At least a third of them are unemployed. There are men of retirement age in the Catholic neighborhoods of the city who have never had a job. The Catholics have been led to rot in their ghettos.

The troops played a cat-and-mouse game with the youths for hours. The people on the top floors of the Rossville Flats called down to the people on the street warning them of the soldiers' movements.

Tear-gas grenades were fired but were completely ineffective because a strong wind was blowing. The wind blew the gas back into the faces of the troops. The soldiers used the latest addition to their "crowd control" arsenal—rubber bullets. These are fired from gas-cartridge guns. The discharge makes a loud bang and a brilliant flash resembling lightning. The bullet is made out of hard rubber and is about three or four inches long.

One youth about fifteen showed me a rubber bullet that hit him when the troops made another charge. Knowing what could happen to him if the troops caught him, he became nervous over the length of time I held the bullet. He asked me very politely for the bullet and ran off into a jungle of half-built houses. He obviously prized his memento.

The high point came when the army made a flanking maneuver, trapping a good part of the crowd, including me. I hid in the alcove of a housing project waiting for the troops to mop up the area. I could see the army trucks drive up from around a corner. But the military withdrew without making any mass arrests.

The youths re-formed and marched up Rossville Street. The front row started to sing the "Soldiers Song," but quickly fell silent. The troops did not attack again and eventually the crowd dispersed.

The next day two youths were arrested by the army at the Labour Exchange, where they were collecting their unemployment benefits. The military claimed that it had identified them from pictures taken of the confrontations the night before. Jeeps cruised through the Bogside looking for other youths.

Soldiers claimed to have identified one boy as a stone-thrower on the basis of his red hair, not the most distinguishing characteristic in an Irish population.

The army's tactic seemed to be to keep up a steady pressure on the community, victimizing youths at random, but without making any large-scale arrests that could unite the oppressed population and touch off big new explosions.

Two important aspects of the situation in Derry were clear enough from the relatively small-scale skirmishing I saw in August.

On the one hand, there is an ex-

tremely volatile stratum of permanently unemployed and thwarted youth never subjected to the discipline of a job or of union membership. Unlike the ghettoized youth of some oppressed areas, however, this youth has a relatively high morale. It is very combative and proud of its traditions.

Secondly there is a democratic dynamic in the Bogside which would be difficult to achieve in an area completely occupied by the military like the Falls. The confrontations between the troops and the nationalist youth that I saw were preceded by a buildup of several hours in which very intense discussions took place among the growing groups of youth.

During that time civil-rights and radical leaders could go around and ar-

gue with the young vanguard of the community. Some of the youth posed very acute political and social issues. One gave a pretty strong reply to an argument by Eamon McCann that the Protestant workers were the natural allies of the Bogside:

"But Eamon, you don't understand. They're the employed working class. We're the unemployed working class."

Reports in the Irish papers since August indicate that the situation remains tense in Northern Ireland. The various Irish radical groupings have an excellent opportunity in this period to test their orientations. By the end of the year it should be clear whether any of them have developed a strategy that can tap the revolutionary potential that exists in Ireland.

Bureaucratic Dinosaurs Against Dragons

East Germans Ban Wolf Bierman Musical

Wolf Bierman's new play is not going to be performed in East Germany, even though it was written at the request of a director of the East Berlin German Theater.

This is not really a new experience for Bierman, East Germany's most famous protest singer, whose songs have been forbidden ever since they occasioned his expulsion from the Communist party in 1963.

Bierman is a communist—he was brought up in Hamburg but moved to East Germany in 1954 because of his beliefs—but in his writing he commits the unforgivable sin of refusing to identify the socialist revolution with the leaders of the Communist party.

His new play was commissioned as an adaptation of the fairy tale *The Dragon* by the Soviet author Evgenii Shvartz. Shvartz's play was banned by Stalin's censors in 1943, but was finally published in the Soviet Union in 1960. It tells the story of Sir Lancelot saving a city ruled by a dictatorial dragon.

From this, Bierman wrote a satirical play called *Der Dra-Dra*, subtitled "A Great Dragon-Slayer Show in Eight Acts with Music."

In Bierman's play the tyrant dragon Dra-Dra is slain by a hero named

Hans Folk (in German, pronounced in the same way as *Volk*, meaning "people"). The citizens of the city refuse to give Folk any help against the dragon, so the hero is forced to rely on a guerrilla army of animals.

The September 21 issue of the West German weekly *Der Spiegel* quotes Bierman as saying the dragon is "a symbol for parasitic power, for exploitation, arbitrariness and counter-revolutionary terror."

In the preface to *Der Dra-Dra*, Bierman wrote: "Revolutionary artists will not be content to perform this play against all the possible dragons of the world, but will stage it against their own particular dragon."

The particular dragons Bierman appears to have in mind for East Germany are indicated in a passage which also explains why the bureaucracy will not allow *Der Dra-Dra* to be published:

The governor of the city, who "rules" as the dragon's puppet, at one point accuses Folk of being "an agent of our foreign enemies." He then goes on to list three aliases which he says Folk uses. The aliases are "Spart-a-Kus," "Ho Chi" and "Bron-Stein."*

* Leon Trotsky's real family name was Bronstein.

British Promise Inquiry

Hong Kong Students Raise Language Issue

Students in Hong Kong have begun a campaign to win for Chinese the status of one of the colony's official languages. At present, persons who speak only Chinese are at an extreme disadvantage in applying for jobs in government or business. Since court proceedings are not translated into Chinese, a defendant may not understand the testimony against him if witnesses speak English.

The movement has adopted the symbol of a red clenched fist similar in design to the one used by Black militants in the United States. So far the British administration has granted only verbal concessions. The September 26 *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported:

"The authorities have been forced to backtrack rapidly, promising to set up a committee to inquire into the use of Chinese in government. The administration carefully omitted to let the public know this will be the second inquiry of its kind since 1968."

North Korean Wages Up

The North Korean government has announced average wage increases of 31.5 percent for all workers, beginning in September. The bulk of the increase goes to the lowest-paid levels.

The announcement called for increased production of consumer goods. Achieving this quickly would be necessary to prevent the wage rise from causing inflation.

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