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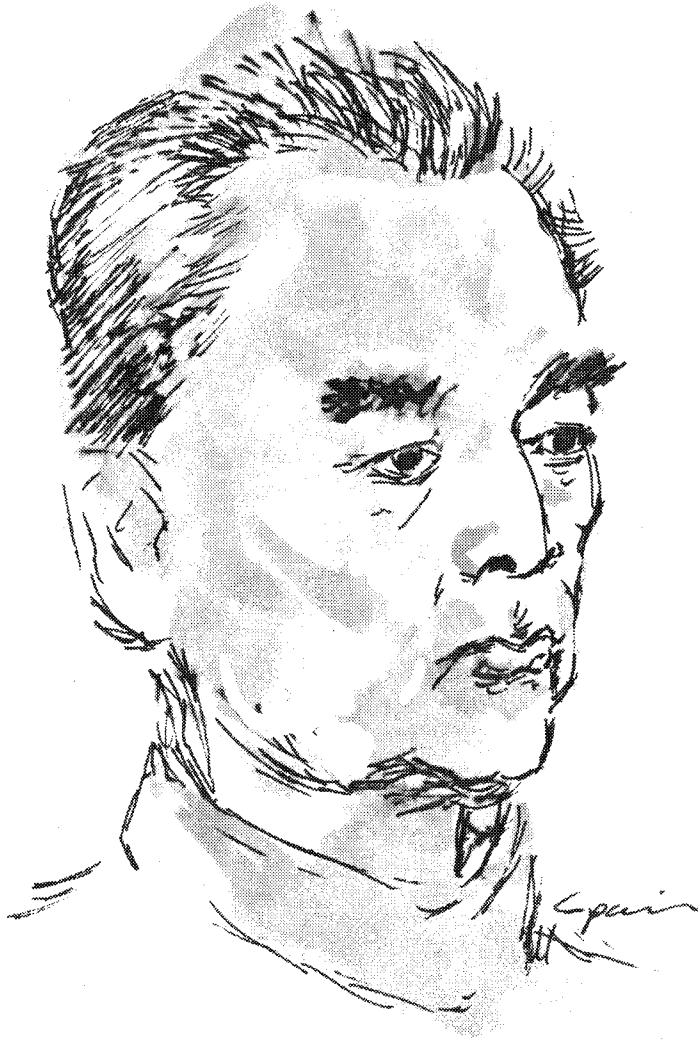
the Americas

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CHOU: "Unexpected" news of UN vote arrived between sessions with Nixon's top adviser.

UN Expulsion of Chiang:

## Nixon's 'Devastating Diplomatic Defeat'

From Dublin:

**Conor Cruise O'Brien Defends  
Failure of Labour Party**

**November 6 Sets Stage for Future Antiwar Actions**

## West Germany

### It's New: 'Stagflation'

When West Germany's Central Bank Council lowered the discount rate October 13, this amounted to formal acknowledgment that the prolonged economic boom in that country has come to an end, Joe Alex Morris, Jr., reported in a special article from Bonn published in the October 14 *Los Angeles Times*.

Besides lowering the discount rate, the minimum bank reserve requirements for domestic business were reduced by 10 percent.

"The cuts in the key interest rates were clearly designed to encourage more economic activity. The changes in reserve requirements were also expected to free up needed cash and spur spending," Morris wrote.

It appears that Nixon had a hand in bringing about the turn in the economic situation, at least in helping to determine its date. "The German moves," reported Morris, "reflected the sharply changed economic outlook, brought on by the floating of the mark earlier this year in the face of massive speculative runs, and by the U. S. restrictions imposed by President Nixon in August. Both hit West German exports sharply."

Unemployment is beginning to rise, and the "first signs of industrial unrest are appearing on the scene. Steelworkers demonstrated in Hagen last week at the prospect of short-time working and possible plant shut-downs."

According to Morris, unemployment compensation payments are up ten times this year over 1970, "which was the last full year of the boom."

One bright feature in the situation is the novel name being used in "industrial and economic circles" to label it: "stagflation." This is a stagnant economy plus inflation, spreading from the United States and Britain to Germany. □

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# Nixon's 'Devastating Diplomatic Defeat'

By Allen Myers

"The General Assembly . . .

"Recognizing that the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China are the only lawful representatives of China to the United Nations and that the People's Republic of China is one of the five permanent members of the Security Council,

"Decides to restore all its rights to the People's Republic of China and to recognize the representatives of its Government as the only legitimate representatives of China to the United Nations, and to expel forthwith the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from the place which they unlawfully occupy at the United Nations and in all the organizations affiliated to it."

The adoption of the above resolution by the United Nations General Assembly on October 25 was the *coup de grâce* to American imperialism's twenty-two-year effort to maintain a diplomatic blockade of the People's Republic of China. As such, it was a historic event, acknowledging China's rise to the status of a world power under the impetus provided by a planned economy.

Richard Nixon's acceptance of Mao Tsetung's table-tennis overtures in July was, in effect, a similar acknowledgment. Ironically, Nixon's decision to visit Peking contributed to the outcome of the United Nations vote—an outcome that the *New York Times* called a "devastating diplomatic defeat" for the United States government.

Nixon's dispatch of his adviser Henry Kissinger on a second trip to Peking at the very moment the General Assembly was debating the China issue indicated to many governments that the U.S. rulers considered possible diplomatic agreements with Mao as more important than Chiang's UN seat.

At the same time, however, it was clear that Nixon wanted to have his cake and eat it too. His UN ambassador, George Bush, led an all-out effort to win backing for a resolution that would have admitted China to the Security Council and General Assembly while maintaining a General

Assembly seat for Chiang. This campaign was waged with weapons considerably more persuasive than mere words. In the October 27 *New York Times*, Henry Tanner described a story that characterized the atmosphere created by Bush's efforts:

"One of the stories making the round of the delegates lounge was about the

campaign came, not on the substantive resolution, which was sponsored by Albania and twenty other governments, but on a procedural motion introduced by Bush and backed by Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and a number of U.S. client-states. This resolution would have made any move to expel Chiang an "important question" requiring a two-thirds majority for approval—the same device that prevented Peking's admission last year.

When the result of the roll-call vote on this motion—55 in favor, 59 against, 15 abstaining—was flashed on the electric board, there was an almost unprecedented uproar. Delegates of countries supporting China's admission rose in thundering applause. There was rhythmic clapping, and the *New York Times* reporter even claimed to have seen Tanzanian representatives dancing a "victory jig."

With the defeat of the "two-thirds resolution," the adoption of the Albanian motion was a foregone conclusion; when the vote was finally taken after two hours of stalling by Bush and the Saudi Arabian delegate, the margin surpassed the two-thirds majority that the United States had tried to impose: 76 in favor, 35 opposed, and 17 abstentions.

Chiang's representatives, led by their chief delegate, Liu Chieh, had already left the hall. Before their departure, Liu spoke briefly, condemning the action that was about to be taken. It was symbolic that although Chinese is one of the official languages of the United Nations, Liu made his last remarks before the body in English.

Chinese Premier Chou En-lai and Kissinger seem to have agreed that the General Assembly vote, whatever its outcome, would not affect their talks. Kissinger was still in Peking when the Chinese victory was announced. At a reception October 26, Chou reportedly told one diplomat that the UN's decision had been "unexpected."

The defeat also appeared to be a



KISSINGER: Trip may have hurt Chiang.

hapless delegate who had just switched his vote in favor of the United States.

"The Albanian delegate, the story goes, went up to him. 'What did they offer you, my friend?' he said. 'Maybe I can match it.'

"'They didn't offer us anything,' the delegate replied sadly. 'They just told us what they were going to take away from us.'"

One State Department official quoted by Terence Smith in the October 30 *New York Times* said of the Nixon administration's efforts to retain a place for Chiang, "We've used every kind of currency, from funds to build a new dam in one country to trade-off promises of political support in another."

The dramatic climax of this cam-

surprise to the Nixon administration, which had been predicting victory by a few votes. Secretary of State William Rogers was quoted by Anthony Astrachan in the October 27 *Washington Post* as complaining that several governments had changed their minds without informing him: "We'll make it clear to the nations that told us one thing and did another—that we don't particularly like that."

Nixon himself was moved by the setback to a peevish display of bad temper. At an October 27 briefing for reporters, his press secretary, Ronald Ziegler, said that Nixon regarded the exuberance of the pro-China UN delegates as a "shocking demonstration."

"Mr. Ziegler," the *New York Times* reported, "said the Administration did not intend to retaliate against the nations involved, but he said the President feared that the 'spectacle' might 'affect foreign aid allocations.' Mr. Ziegler noted pointedly that 'some of the delegates who conducted themselves in this manner' were from countries to which the United States has been 'quite generous.'"

Nixon's views found a reflection in the Senate, where Republican leader Hugh Scott commented, "I think we are going to wipe off some of the smiles from the faces we saw on television during the United Nations voting the other night."

He added in an accurate *non sequitur*, "They showed that it is easier to laugh at than to love the United States."

True to these predictions, the Senate on October 29 voted forty-one to twenty-seven to kill an administration bill authorizing \$3,300,000,000 in foreign "aid."

This was a more extreme reaction than Nixon had wanted to encourage, since the measure would have provided economic or military assistance for such stalwart "allies" as Cambodia and Israel. Some funds for UN agencies will be affected unless the Senate is persuaded to reverse its decision, but the \$341,000,000 that the measure included just for Cambodia amounts to more than the total U. S. contribution to the United Nations.

"Pruning some aid programs," Anthony Austin observed in the October 31 *New York Times*, "so as to lend credence to possible arm-twisting in the future might be in Mr. Nixon's game plan, but ending foreign aid and gutting international agencies like UNESCO and the World Health Organization obviously is not. Foreign aid will be extended—though . . . in perhaps somewhat different quantities and forms."

What could no longer be extended, despite all the antics in Washington, was the carefully cultivated myth that Chiang Kai-shek and his freebooters represented something more than the reactionary hopes of the U. S. ruling class. □



Herblock in the Washington Post

'Roll those U. N. shots again, and let's get the names of the guys that are smiling.'

### Pompidou Aiding Yahya?

On October 19 the Paris daily *Le Monde* featured an exclusive interview with Yahya Khan conducted by its correspondent Gérard Vitratelle. Although generally uninformative, it contained the following interesting paragraph:

"Finally, the Pakistani chief of state stressed that the position of the French government on the crisis in Pakistan, at least as it is expressed and felt in Islamabad, is 'categorically clear, correct, and honorable. France has been giving us full cooperation and assistance, and we are grateful to her for the armaments delivered—planes, helicopters, submarines, military equipment of excellent quality, even though it has been very expensive.'"

## Unprecedented Number of Endorsements

### Support for November 6 Sets Stage for Future Antiwar Actions

"There is no more looking at a demonstration as something kooky. Mass actions are just looked at as a regular part of the American scene."

Derrel Myers, Trade Union Task Force coordinator of the New York Peace Action Coalition, thus summed up the change in rank-and-file unionists' attitudes that has occurred since Nixon declared his wage freeze. This change, combined with the record number of unions officially endorsing the November 6 mass demonstrations against the Indochina war, promises to produce the most significant participation of labor ever seen in an antiwar demonstration in the United States.

On October 30 Rachel Towne, labor coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), said that the number of union officers, locals, and official bodies endorsing the action was close to 300, "and they are still coming in every day." Regional and district officers, about a dozen metropolitan central labor councils, and the Colorado State AFL-CIO are among the endorsers. In many of the seventeen cities scheduled to be focal points for the actions, unions will march under their own banners denouncing both the war and the wage freeze.

Atlanta Mayor Sam Massell and New York City Mayor John Lindsay added their cities (on October 27 and November 1 respectively) to the list of those that have declared November 6 "Peace Action Day."

On October 23-24, a national conference of Latinos, organized by several U.S. congressmen, was held in Washington, D.C. To the consternation of the "politicos," militant youth showed up at the gathering and forced passage of a number of radical resolutions. Among them was one that read: "That this conference take a position against the war in Vietnam, against the draft, and demand the immediate withdrawal from Vietnam and further support the nationwide antiwar demonstrations planned for Nov. 6."

Within the ranks of the armed for-

ces, support for the November 6 actions is also considerable, despite intense harassment of antiwar GIs by the authorities. On October 25, officially Veterans Day in the United States, more than 100 GIs were arrested in Killeen, Texas, when they tried to hold a peaceful antiwar march. Mayor James Lindley had attempted to prevent the demonstration by denying the GIs a parade permit. Despite this interference, about 800 to 1,000 GIs and civilian supporters decided to march on the sidewalk. Normally this requires no permit, but the mayor declared the action to be an unlawful parade, on the specious ground that the marchers were carrying signs. Cops carrying batons and shotguns assaulted the GIs and arrested as many as they could get their hands on.

### Yahya's Reign of Terror Continues

### Bengali Refugees Still Pouring Into India

Despite Yahya Khan's demagogic blustering about Pakistan's impending return to civilian rule, his occupation army in Bangla Desh has not ceased its atrocities against the Bengali people. According to *Washington Post* correspondent Jim Hoagland, refugees continue to pour across the border into India at a rate of about 15,000-20,000 a day. Mostly Moslem (virtually the entire Hindu population of East Bengal has already been driven out), they report that looting, burning, murder, and kidnapping still constitute the *modus operandi* of the army and the razakars, the small but active corps of Bengali collaborators.

Lee Lescaze reported in the October 28 *Washington Post* that "well-informed sources" estimate that 30 percent of the population of nearly every town in East Bengal is missing. Journalistic inquiries into conditions in the occupied territory are less than welcome. One reporter was warned not to visit a friend in a "quiet" town.

In other parts of the country, GI and veteran antiwar activities pierced the usual chauvinist ceremonies. In East Meadow, New York, Nixon did not show up at the rally he was scheduled to address, but 500 members of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War did, outnumbering the prowar audience attracted by the U.S. Veterans Day Committee.

In Chicago an estimated 10,000 shoppers and spectators cheered and flashed the peace sign as about 500 antiwar veterans marched down the street.

Sailors of the aircraft carrier U. S. S. *Coral Sea*, 1,000 of whom signed a petition protesting the impending sailing of the ship to Indochina, plan a *Coral Sea* contingent in the San Francisco demonstration.

Already looking beyond the November 6 action, NPAC wrote the national coordinators of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice on October 16, proposing that the two organizations hold a joint conference in December to unite into a single antiwar coalition to organize continued and larger antiwar activities. □

that claim is belied, at least in some cases, by his own military reports. The town of Comilla, for example, has been hit by two-inch mortars, whose range is not great enough to reach the town from the Indian side of the border.

The political and economic effect on India of the more than 9,000,000 refugees has prompted the Gandhi regime to consider drastic means of eliminating them from the country. V. K. Sinha, a high-ranking administrator in the ministry of rehabilitation, has said that India is spending about \$3,000,000 a day on the refugees. (If the Indian figure on the number of refugees is accurate, this amounts to about \$.33 per refugee per day.) "We have received and spent only about \$40 million in foreign aid so far," Sinha told Hoagland, "and only

about \$100 million more has been promised." This would provide for the refugees for about one month.

To the economic burden can be added the political impact of the struggle of the Mukti Bahini on the Indian province of West Bengal. The Indian government has reason to fear that the movement for an independent Bangla Desh could expand into a fight for a united Bangla Desh—including both East and West Bengal.

The Indian army has massed troops on the East-West Bengal border. "Some Indian officials have argued strongly in private," Hoagland wrote in the October 26 *Washington Post*, "that Indian forces must move into East Pakistan and secure an area to which the refugees can return in the next few weeks." □

## Seize Auto Complex

# Spanish Workers Battle Cops in Barcelona

For four hours on October 18, some 4,000 autoworkers battled police who were trying to oust them from a Barcelona factory they had occupied. The workers' resistance triggered one of the most serious conflicts in recent years between the Spanish labor movement and the Franco regime.

Events leading to the battle started at the beginning of this year, when the management of the Sociedad Española de Automóviles de Turismo (SEAT) introduced compulsory nightwork. SEAT, a state-run corporation producing cars under contract from Fiat, employs 20,000 workers. It is the largest industrial concern in the province of Catalonia. The workers protested that obligatory nightwork was illegal, but the management persisted in its order.

A series of work stoppages ensued, and during the summer twenty-three workers were fired as an example to the others. (The real basis of the dismissals is illustrated by the seriousness of the offense allegedly committed by two of the discharged workers: going to the toilet without permission.) The case was taken to a labor court, which, after workers demonstrated during its sessions, unexpectedly ordered SEAT to reinstate the workers.

The company directors did not do so.

On the morning of October 18, nine of the fired workers managed to slip into the plant, where they assumed their old work stations. Management demanded that they leave. They refused, and before the bosses could intervene, the 7,000 day-shift workers seized control of the factory.

SEAT directors called the police, who arrived, armed and on horseback, at 1:00 p.m. More than half the strikers refused to vacate the building and the cops then launched tear-gas canisters and opened fire.

The workers fought back with drums of flaming gasoline, iron bars, hammers, and other improvised weapons.

At about 5:00 p.m. the plant was retaken. Many workers were wounded, three seriously. Five cops were reported hurt. About fifty workers, according to authorities, were arrested. Some will be tried before military tribunals, some before civil courts.

The SEAT strikers were supported by workers and students throughout the Barcelona area. During the battle itself, several thousand workers marched through the center of the city, demanding support from the provin-

cial trade union. They were dispersed by cops.

According to the October 21 *Le Monde*, strikes occurred in two other Barcelona-area factories on October 20 in support of the SEAT strikers.

The auto complex remained closed for three days. It was scheduled to reopen on October 22, but workers again refused to work, and for the second time police were called to evict them from the premises.

On October 24 several thousand students and SEAT nightworkers demonstrated in Barcelona and were attacked by the police. The same day there were actions in Badolona and Santa Coloma de Gramanet, suburbs of Barcelona. A Molotov cocktail was reportedly thrown into a SEAT warehouse during one of the demonstrations. Solidarity activities spread to Madrid, where workers of the national railway system walked off their jobs.

Despite the vigorous police repression, conflict again erupted at the SEAT plant on the afternoon of October 25. Day-shift workers showed up for work in the morning, but several hours later metalworkers sat down, paralyzing production in many of the complex's shops. Management threatened to close the factory for one week if the job actions did not cease.

The following day the threat was carried out. The plant will remain closed until November 2, leaving 10,400 (more than half of SEAT's personnel) on strike against the government repression. According to the October 28 *Le Monde*, about a thousand shipyard workers in Bilbao, Vizcaya province, held a work stoppage on October 26 in solidarity with the SEAT workers and the Asturian miners, who have been on strike since the beginning of October. □

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## 'Rouge' Editor Indicts Marcellin in 'Libel' Trial

By Jon Rothschild

On October 19 the trial of Charles Michaloux, executive editor of *Rouge*, weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste (Communist League, French section of the Fourth International), reopened in Paris. Minister of the Interior Raymond Marcellin intended the proceedings to be a devastating blow to the revolutionary journal and a test of his latest tactic of repression. Rather than try to suppress the far-left press through decree, he charged *Rouge* with defaming the police, hoping to cripple the paper financially with heavy court costs and fines.

But the testimony of defense witnesses, some of them speaking for trade unions and political parties with thousands of members, transformed the courtroom into a tribunal for indicting the police and the regime they serve.

Testimony opened with a statement by Michaloux on behalf of himself and Patrick Rotman, author of two of the five indicted articles. Reaffirming his and Rotman's responsibility for the articles, Michaloux said that Marcellin was well aware of their truth and therefore dared not challenge their content, but only their form—the vigorous language used to describe police behavior.

He charged Marcellin with responsibility for the collective activities of the police:

"Since 1942, when he sat in the Vichy government's Office of Vocational Guidance, Raymond Marcellin has believed himself invested with a sacred mission to combat worldwide subversion. In a caricature of a book (which was not a great literary success), he vigorously stigmatized the international plot against the Republic of which he is one of the masters.

"There is no semblance of truth in this 'plot,' and to see it as the underlying cause of every protest movement by the people is rather ridiculous. On the other hand, the measures devised by the minister of the interior to fight against this phantom plot are, unfortunately, more real."

Michaloux detailed the repressive ac-

tivities of the police: breaking into apartments of militants (as they did in the case of Rotman), following people they suspect of being threats to the regime (as they did to the journalist Claude Angeli), tapping telephones, etc.

When police efforts at intimidation fail, Michaloux charged, armed groups of ultraright thugs like the CDR [Comités de Défense de la République—Committees for the Defense of the Republic] and the CFT are used against the left and against the workers.

"The evidence is overwhelming: the policies of the minister of the interior are dangerous—dangerous to the revolutionary organizations, to the workers' organizations, to the workers themselves, and to all ideological currents that believe in the fundamental liberties of holding political opinions, of expressing them, and of organizing to defend them.

"The present regime fears these liberties; it is afraid that the workers will use them against the regime.

"Like all unpopular regimes—imperialist or Stalinist—it seeks to silence the voices of those who oppose the established order."

After Michaloux's declaration to the court, defense witnesses began testifying, some to the truth of particular articles for which *Rouge* was indicted, some to express solidarity with the paper and to describe their own experiences at the hands of the cops.

The court tried to prevent Denis Langlois, member of the League for the Defense of Human Rights and author of *The Black Dossier of the French Police*, from testifying. Langlois himself faces three indictments because of his exposés of police practices, and the presiding justice, Simone Rozès, did not want to allow him to speak of the incidents relating to his indictment, on the grounds that a secret preliminary investigation is being conducted.

After *Rouge* attorney Yves Jouffa sarcastically observed that Marcellin

could indict all journalists and then prevent them from speaking about anything in order to "protect the secret investigation," Langlois was permitted to take the stand. He called the *Rouge* articles "prudent and objective," and detailed his view of the Thévenin affair. (Thévenin was a young worker who died while in police custody. One of the counts against *Rouge* was that it expressed doubts about the police claim that Thévenin had killed himself.)

Langlois noted that other papers, *l'Aurore* for example, had been considerably more violent in their language than *Rouge*, but had not been indicted. The presiding justice then remarked that Marcellin didn't have to indict everyone; he could choose whomever he wanted.

Professor Laurent Schwartz, a well-known mathematician, supported *Rouge's* account of the handing over of Spanish refugees to Franco's police. Citing the specific case of Angel Campillo Fernandez, who was turned over to Franco in 1969 and then tortured and thrown into prison for ten years, he asked, "When *Rouge* speaks of complicity, can this be an exaggeration?"

Actor Michel Piccoli and journalist Claude Angeli both testified that they had witnessed an assault on antifascist demonstrators at a March 19 meeting of the neofascist *Ordre Nouveau* (New Order). They confirmed the truth of the charge *Rouge* made in one of its indicted articles: the cops had cooperated with the fascists in the attack.

Expressions of solidarity with *Rouge* came from Pierre-Edouard Weill, attorney for the CFDT (Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor, the country's second largest trade-union federation); Jean-Pierre Chevènement, speaking for François Mitterand of the Socialist party; Daniel Gentot, secretary general of the National Organization of Journalists' Unions; Armand Capocci, secretary of Force Ouvrière (a federation



of trade unions); and Louis Astre, secretary of the 500,000-member Fédération de l'Education Nationale (FEN—National Educational Federation). A message of solidarity with *Rouge* from Michel Rocard of the United Socialist party was read to the court. Written messages were also received from actress Delphine Seyrig and from Yves Boisset, producer of the movie "Un Condé." (The film, severely critical of the police, had been censored by the government. One of the articles for which *Rouge* was indicted was a favorable review of "Un Condé," which printed some of the forbidden dialogue.)

Prosecutor Galiber d'Auque was apparently somewhat disturbed by the fact that the Communist League had successfully used the trial as a forum to denounce the regime's repression.

In his summation he claimed that all the testimony had been given not for the benefit of the court, but for the friends and sympathizers of the accused. He denounced the "anti-flic [cop] racism" of *Rouge*, which he had read during the month of June "for professional reasons."

The huge number of letters sent to the court expressing support for *Rouge* were, according to d'Auque, "coarse, menacing, obscene, and sometimes evangelical." "They must have swelled the pocketbook of the weekly, as well as that of the postal service," he declared.

On the subject of the Spanish deportees, d'Auque said he did not want to pronounce judgment on government policies, but suggested that perhaps the regime felt that France has enough revolutionists of its own, without allowing foreigners to intervene.

Attacking *Rouge* for not understanding the "democratic principle" that "freedom is not a privilege, it is a test," he added: "The police have the right to be regarded, if not with love, then at least with respect—indeed with admiration."

Jouffa took two hours to deliver his summation. He picked apart the prosecution's case piece by piece, noting, for example, that *Rouge* was under indictment for using the word "flic," but the prosecutor used the word in his own summation; that *Rouge* had been charged with calling the cops "thieves," but de Gaulle had first used the epithet against the workers and students during May 1968; that *Rouge* was indicted for defaming the police,

but René Tomasini, secretary general of the Gaullist Union pour la Défense de la République (Union for the Defense of the Republic), had defamed the judges and was never indicted.

*Rouge's* violent language, he said, was but a reflection of the real violence of the Gaullist repression.

The verdict is scheduled to be announced November 9. Despite the fact that the government's case was exposed as a fraud, the Communist League is preparing itself in case the court levies a heavy fine against *Rouge*. A subscription and fundraising drive has neared its goal. The October 23 *Rouge* reported that 9,259,172 old francs have been raised out of a target of 10,000,000 [one old franc equals US\$.0018] set for the end of December.

Whatever the verdict may be, *Rouge* has assured its continued publication. The Marcellin repression has been exposed, and a broad front in defense of civil liberties has been forged. Virtually the only political force on the left that has abstained from defending

*Rouge* has been the Communist party and the CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor), which it dominates. In a *Rouge* article entitled "Marcellin's Trial," Michaloux said on October 23:

"Because he believed he could isolate the revolutionary organizations, Marcellin thought he had a clear field for a crackdown. With the Communist League, with the trial of its newspaper, *Rouge*, Marcellin has lost.

"Despite the numerous disagreements with them expressed in these pages every week, we can march together with the FEN, CFDT, the Socialist party, and tomorrow, we must hope, with the CP and the CGT, to defend each other's ability to speak, write, and act.

"In any case, since October 19 the front has taken form and assembled itself. This is an immediate result that concerns all the workers, and will be to their benefit.

"We are happy to have initiated this front and to take our place in the first ranks of this battle—a battle that can now be fought and won." □

## France

# CP Betrays Paris Subway Strike

By Ruth Schein

"They betrayed us. Our strike was led by a bunch of imbeciles. We're going to do a thorough sweep-up job on our union leaders. Just wait and see!"

If the Paris subway motormen quoted above (*Nouvel Observateur*, October 18-24) were angry, they had every right to be. After a ten-day strike (October 5-14), they were forced back to work, empty-handed—not by government decree but by the leaders of the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor, the Communist party-dominated labor federation] and the leaders of their autonomous union.

It was the union leaders who, in fact, pulled the government's chestnuts out of the fire. The government's hands were literally tied. It wouldn't grant the motormen's demands. The needs of international competition forbade that, in the government's view,

because a spectacular victory for the motormen would have set off a chain reaction, from corporation to corporation, from one branch of industry to another. But to force the motormen back by government decree? That would entail the risk of solidifying the entire working class with the strikers in a defensive reaction to antistrike measures. Graver still, it would mean taking the risk that the strikers might flout the decree, refusing to be impressed into service, as did the miners in 1963.

So the CGT—and the CP—came to the rescue. Only by extending the strike to include all categories of subway workers could the motormen have won. And this the CGT failed to do.

It could have been done. On October 5, for instance, the first day of the motormen's strike, the majority of the conductors (*chefs de train*), who



belong to the CGT, voted to walk out. The union, however, gave them no strike order. In the next two days, all the conductors at the Balard terminal refused to work. Still the union did nothing.

Worse yet, early in the second week of the strike, the leaders began to call on the motormen to return. The pressure was too much. Isolated and betrayed, the motormen straggled back to work.

Strangely enough, it seems that the motormen were sold out in the name of "class solidarity"! As a mealy-mouthed apologist put it, in the Communist party's *l'Humanité*:

"It is certain that there can no longer be any major movement for demands, today more than ever, without the support and backing of public opinion. No matter how just a cause may be, it needs allies. In emphasizing this, the CGT bureau has given the motormen proof of that profound solidarity which bears the name of class solidarity. In pointing out that there are more appropriate forms of struggle, the CGT bureau has spoken to all in the name of all."

Actually, "public opinion" was not against the striking motormen. In the *Nouvel Observateur* article mentioned above, Michel Bosquet remarked that that was exactly what the government was hoping for—that subway users, the workers of Paris, would turn against the motormen. But it didn't happen.

"Popular discontent did not crystallize; the CDR's [Comités de Défense de la République—ultraright gangs] attempts at provoking it did not catch on. Nevertheless, millions of workers had real reason to complain. They had to walk one, two, three hours a day; they spent their evenings bottled up in traffic jams; they lost sleep. . . . But to the fat gentleman in a double-breasted suit who (this is one example out of a thousand) stormed against 'this inadmissible strike,' calling on the people as witness, a worker retorted, to the general amusement, 'I sure would like to see you behind a machine.'

"In short, class instinct was in operation. The mass of workers found this strike hard on them. . . . they were annoyed; but from that to condemning it and adding their voice to that of a regime that has given them 'this nauseating subway—and so expen-

sive,' was a step they refused to take. Instinctively, they sniffed the trap: 'If we let them attack the motormen's right to strike, some day that will boomerang disastrously against us.'"

*L'Humanité's* apologist was right about one thing: the striking motormen needed allies. But the CGT leaders were the very ones who denied

them this—by failing to call out the other subway workers.

Extending the strike, however, did not fit in with the CGT's (and the CP's) line, which is to act as a "responsible" power, privileged holders-of-dialogue with the regime, and, perhaps tomorrow, part of a "left" government. □

## Frame-Up, Torture, and Murder

# Witch-Hunt Trials Continue in South Africa

Testimony in two South African political trials has exposed the Vorster regime as an organizer of frame-ups, practitioner of torture, and murderer of prisoners.

In the Pretoria trial of the Very Reverend Gonville French-Beytagh, Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, the prosecution's case, according to the October 14 *London Times*, has been largely demolished. The dean is charged with ten counts under the notorious Terrorism Act. (See *Intercontinental Press*, October 4, p. 835.)

But the state has been unable to produce any evidence to support most of its charges. For example, one of the major counts against French-Beytagh is that antigovernment leaflets were found in his apartment. He claimed they had been planted there. Defense attorney Sidney Kentridge pointed out that the leaflets had been confiscated by police for examination and that no evidence that the dean's fingerprints had been found on them was introduced during the presentation of the case for the prosecution. This would strongly suggest that none were found.

Furthermore, Kentridge said that the dean had been warned by a member of his staff last January that the police were planning a raid. French-Beytagh advised her to see a lawyer, but made no attempt to dispose of the incriminating literature—strange behavior for a supposedly seasoned conspirator.

The *Times* also reported that the state has not brought forth any witnesses who could testify to having received any revolutionary material from the dean.

Although the indictment charges him with having formed an underground

organization, the notoriously thorough political police have been unable to find out anything about the alleged group, or to identify any members of it. There is, in fact, no evidence that the dean's organizational activities ever went beyond distributing money at his cathedral.

The September *Anti-Apartheid News*, published in London, carried a detailed report of the trial. According to that account, the charge that the dean had incited to violent action Louis Henry Jordaan, an undercover agent who was a member of his congregation, was effectively destroyed when cross-examination revealed that Jordaan had attempted to provoke French-Beytagh into suggesting he commit sabotage, but the dean had not responded.

Another serious count—that French-Beytagh was party to a plan to commit sabotage—was shown to be a fabrication when the only evidence the prosecution could produce to support it was Jordaan's statement that he heard a tape recording in which the dean stated that his duties required him to make night journeys during which he observed street lighting, buildings, and hospitals. The "journeys" turned out to be part of a cathedral program to assist derelicts.

Still another charge against the dean is that during a South African Council of Churches conference in February 1969, he incited participants to engage in violent revolution. Actually, the dean was answering another speaker who had urged revolution. French-Beytagh objected, saying that such a course of action would be "bloody and violent."

The government has offered evidence to substantiate only one of its

charges: that French-Beytagh paid out money to the dependents of some political prisoners. The state listed 130

persons who received cash from him. Only thirty-four got amounts exceeding \$280.

The payments were for rent, food, clothing, school fees, legal fees, fares for wives to visit their husbands on Robben Island (the country's largest penal colony), a passport deposit and an exit permit, a passage to Canada, and passage for four people to England.

Supposedly, assisting families of political prisoners is not a crime, but the regime has charged that the money came from the illegal Defence and Aid Fund. French-Beytagh has denied that allegation.

The fate of prisoners in the land of apartheid was revealed August 16 when the trial of thirteen members of the Unity Movement opened in Pietermaritzburg. Twelve of the accused submitted affidavits stating that they had been tortured by the security police. *Anti-Apartheid News* reported the treatment described in the affidavits: the prisoners were "given electric shock treatment, handcuffed to trees all night, forced to sit on imaginary chairs until their muscles collapsed, made to hold weights above their heads for long periods, and doused with hot and cold water."

Mthayeni Cutshela, who was arrested in December 1970 and originally named in the same indictment, was tortured to death by the secret police. His son has said that Cutshela was brought back to his village in a coffin last February. Other prisoners report that he died under electric shock torture.

The thirteen prisoners are charged with seeking to overthrow the government by force of arms, collecting money to send people abroad for military training, and inciting at least thirty-two persons to undergo military training. They were seized by police in nationwide raids conducted by the Vorster regime last February 10. (See *Intercontinental Press*, March 22, p. 254, and July 19, p. 683.)

Charges against Joseph Maleka, one of those arrested at the time, have been dropped, but he is being held in detention pending further charges.

The thirteen now standing trial are Kader Hassim, Joseph Bransby Vusani, Mogami Josiah Moeng, Mfolwane Mbele, Pindiso Zimambane, Dan Gideon Mahanjana, Ncikwa Nagi Vimba, Max Bantwini Tabata, Frank Anthony, Robert Cedric Wilcox, Albert Kwenzi Tshangana, Montford



DEMONSTRATION AT EMBASSY of South Africa in London protested opening of trial of Dean of Johannesburg, and trial of thirteen in Pietermaritzburg.

Anti-Apartheid News

Mzoli Mabuto, and Surinarayan Kala Venkatrathnam.

Besides those charged, an unknown number of others have been detained and tortured to force them to testify for the prosecution.

Some of the detentions have been carried out under the Terrorism Act, others under Proclamation R400, which decrees a permanent state of emergency in the Transkei, one of South Africa's Bantustans. Under the terms of the proclamation, any person considered likely to commit a political offense can be indefinitely detained without trial.

The National Union of South African Students has launched a campaign to raise \$72,000 to pay for the legal defense of the accused.

Despite the vicious repression in the country, Black resistance to apartheid rule continues. The trial of the Unity Movement members is one stage in a long series of persecutions of revolutionists. But with the French-Beytagh trial, South Africa's rulers have demonstrated that if they cannot liquidate revolutionary activity, they can at least try to condemn the families of political prisoners to starvation. □

preventing the orators from mounting the speakers' platform to begin the rally. This attempt to sabotage the demonstration was organized by a group of ultraleft Maoists who, in the weeks prior to the demonstration, had campaigned against the struggle for a French Québec, claiming that the Québécois' demand for the right to speak their own language only served to divide the working class.

After about ten minutes the marshals were able to restore order and the rally began. Michel Chartrand, president of the Montréal Central Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, who was the first speaker, hit out at the social and economic oppression of the Québécois at the hands of American and Anglo-Canadian imperialism. He also condemned the Maoists, declaring "you make a revolution with the people, you don't make a revolution with a little gang of stone-throwers."

Reggie Chartrand of the Chevaliers de l'Indépendance [Champions of Independence], Robert Lemieux, lawyer for many of the victims of the War Measures, Alain Beiner, national organizer of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes [Young Socialist League], and Raymond Lemieux of the Ligue pour l'Intégration Scolaire [League for Educational Integration], who is presently under indictment for "inciting a riot" while he led a demonstration in St-Leonard for French-language rights in 1969, were among the speakers.

Raymond Lemieux ended the rally by declaring that this was only the first step in a massive campaign to win a French Québec.

As the vast majority of the demonstrators dispersed, a group of about 200 ultralefts, led by the Maoists, marched through the downtown area smashing windows, and ended up in a fighting match with the police. Nine arrests were made.

Despite these incidents, the demonstration was a big victory and is proof that thousands of Québécois are once again willing to come into the streets, to continue the struggle until a French Québec is won. □

#### His Advisers Counselled Moderation

The vote of 94.3% that Nguyen Van Thieu claimed for his reelection was quite modest. The *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported a rumor that Thieu originally planned to claim 106%.

## On Anniversary of War Measures Act

# 8,000 March for a French Quebec

By Marilyn Raphael

[The following article is reprinted from the October 25 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist biweekly published in Toronto.]

\* \* \*

### Montréal

A week of meetings and teach-ins on campuses in Montréal, Hull, Sherbrooke and Trois-Rivières, organized by the United Front for the Defense of the French Language, was climaxed when over 8,000 people marched through the streets of Montréal on October 16. The demonstration commemorated the first anniversary of the invocation of the War Measures Act by launching a mass campaign for a French Québec.

October 15 was organized as a day of teach-ins in the schools against Bills 28 and 63. Both are aimed at maintaining the privileged status of the English language at the expense of the French-speaking Québécois. Bill 28 is presently before the National Assembly. Bill 63, which was passed in October 1969 by the provincial government, provoked the most massive protest demonstrations in Québec since the struggle against conscription in the second world war.

Thousands of high school and college students in Montréal boycotted classes on the 15th, and representa-

tives of the United Front visited dozens of schools to rally support for the demonstration the following day. Day-long teach-ins were held in four CEGEPs (community colleges) in Montréal. At one high school, Philippe Aubert de Gaspé, over 1,000 students (practically the entire school) attended a rally to hear speakers from the United Front. At two other high schools, over 800 students left their classes and began a protest march but were turned back by the police.

The demonstration, about 4,000 strong when it departed from Parc Lafontaine, was joined by over 4,000 more people along the six-mile route. Thousands of spectators in the working-class district which the demonstrators marched through enthusiastically expressed their solidarity.

At one point the demonstration passed by the Parthenais jail, where the 500 political prisoners were taken after the invocation of the War Measures last October. The jail was heavily guarded with provincial police armed with standard riot equipment such as helmets and clubs, but there were no major incidents.

However, when the demonstration reached the Hydro-Québec building, the Montréal office of Premier Bourassa, a few individuals among the demonstrators let fly a volley of rocks and bottles, smashing windows and

# Conor Cruise O'Brien Defends Failure of Labour Party

By Gerry Foley

Dublin

The debate that took place here October 23\* between Labour party MP Conor Cruise O'Brien and Tomás Mac Giolla, president of the militant nationalist and socialist party Sinn Féin, covered many of the most acute political and theoretical questions raised for the Irish left by the explosions in the British-ruled enclave of Northern Ireland. The problems discussed and the arguments used by both men give a fair indication of the complexities of the relationship between socialism and nationalism in the country.

It is symptomatic, for example, that in making a virulent denunciation of the militant tradition of Irish nationalism, a denunciation whose witch-hunting technique is clear despite its professorial polish, O'Brien stressed the need for equal opposition to native and foreign capitalism. But, while the internationally known Irish Social Democrat has taken a strong position on some civil-liberties issues, he has yet to distinguish himself in fighting *any* kind of capitalism.

It is worth noting in this connection that O'Brien won his reputation for anti-imperialism in Ireland by his protests against the collusion between the United Nations forces and Belgian imperialism in the Congo. As a member of the Dublin parliament, however, O'Brien has proved one of the most prominent advocates of taking an understanding attitude toward the forces of imperialism at work in the six northeastern Irish counties.

It is symptomatic also that to defend an "evolutionary" alternative in the Irish crisis, O'Brien had to repeat some of the key doctrines of the Irish Communist Organisation (ICO), a small group of ex-Maoist doctrinaires. By trying to create a consistent theoretical framework out of the dogmatic lucubrations of "the universal ge-

nus," the ICO has become perhaps the most peculiar formation in the entire spectrum of the international left.

The ICO developed as a Maoist grouplet but began to denounce the Peking regime when it seemed to them that the Mao government was not following a consistent Stalinist line. After first accepting the Maoist characterization of the Soviet Union as a capitalist state, the ICO went on to extend the same characterization to the Chinese People's Republic itself. From this it concluded that capitalism had entered a new phase of expansion.

Although this position is held openly only by scattered sectarian groups, it coincides entirely with the historic theory of revolution by stages proposed by the Mensheviks in Russia and revived by the Stalinists. According to the stages theory, capitalism in effect must first develop to a higher stage, spread itself more evenly over the world before socialist revolutions will become possible. In fact, the theory of revolution by stages with its postulate of democratic capitalist revolutions in the colonial countries and "advanced democracy" in the imperialist countries can only really be made logically consistent by positing a theory such as that developed by the ICO. And logical consistency is the great virtue of these Stalin-worshipping Irish scholastics, as it is of O'Brien.

The theory of revolution by stages has been associated most prominently with the Stalinist parties in the last decades, since by and large all other reformist workers' parties have long ago lost all credibility as revolutionary forces. However, in one form or another this theory is shared today by all currents that seek to present themselves as opponents of the status quo and yet remain within the general context of the prevailing system. Although Marx and Engels used the concept of stages to explain the laws of history, in the period of the decline of capitalism this idea has been dis-

torted to serve as a means for holding out long-term revolutionary perspectives while confining action in the here and now to narrow trade-union and electoral wheeling-and-dealing.

The explosion of violent struggles by large masses of the nationalist people in Northern Ireland, struggles which challenged the political basis of bourgeois rule in both parts of the island, represented a danger to any reformist perspective in the country as a whole.

The fight of the oppressed nationalist people had the effect also of showing the incapacity of the labor movement and its Social Democratic parties for producing a solution to the basic dilemma of the Irish people. Trying to avoid alienating the more highly unionized Protestant workers in the North, the trade-union movement has held back from supporting the struggles of the nationalist, Catholic community, the most exploited section of the population. Likewise, the Irish Labour party has tried to present itself as a more "practical" advocate of the aspirations of the Irish people, orienting in fact toward forming an alliance with the historically pro-imperialist party Fine Gael.

The ICO offered the most consistent solution to this political dilemma. It argued that the Protestants constituted a separate nation and that the obstacle to reforms in the country was the stubborn refusal of the "Catholic nationalists" to recognize the Protestants' right of self-determination. The reason for the oppression of the Catholic minority in the North was the Protestants' need to protect themselves from subversion of their national rights. From the concessions Britain made to the civil-rights movement, the ICO concluded, in accordance with their theory of capitalist expansion, that Westminster was carrying out a democratic revolution in the North. The benevolence of the British government was shown, according to the ICO, by the fact that it ordered its troops to fire rubber bullets instead of lead ones.

Despite the brutality of the British troops in the North, the ICO theory has had some appeal for both reformists and workerist sectarians who can only see the narrowly economic side of the class struggle. The ingrained reactionary reflexes of the Protestant workers have been the great stumbling block to such perspectives in Ireland.

\* Excerpts from the debate appear on page 966 of this issue.

Reformists and sectarians can hope that by abandoning all defense of the nationalist population in the North and the national aspirations of the Irish people, they can talk to the Protestant workers about "class issues" such as wages and conditions. And while agitation on issues of this type might not have the same impact as dealing with the explosive national question in Ireland, it can be expected to be safer.

As a scholar with an international reputation and one of the most "left" Labour TD's [Teachtaí Dála—Members of Parliament], O'Brien evidently hopes to be able to discredit Irish nationalism intellectually and thereby stem the flow of young Labour party members into Sinn Féin, particularly the university students, whom the Labour party needs if it is to hold an important place in the politics of the country.

However, a new youth radicalization was very much in evidence in the crowd of over 600 that filled the Aula Maxima of University College Dublin to hear the debate. The British pressmen with whom I was sitting did seem to appreciate O'Brien's donnish eloquence and elaborate defense of "moderation." The youth in the hall appeared considerably less impressed. The crowd was infuriated by O'Brien's claim that it was the Irish Republican Army that was responsible for the repression in the North.

The republican spokesman Mac Giolla also seemed to score some telling points in denouncing the record of the Labour party, in particular its failure to struggle concretely to defend the interests of the most exploited people of the community. He called on O'Brien to say whether "asking questions in the House" was the only way of fighting specific victimizations of the poor, such as evictions. His concept of democracy, in contrast to O'Brien's parliamentarianism, Mac Giolla said, was that the people should decide directly and in action how to run their own lives and the society they lived in.

Against Mac Giolla's radical democratic line, O'Brien had nothing to offer but the traditional Social Democratic arguments that have been rejected by the new generation of politically aware youth all over the world and that seem peculiarly exotic in the present Irish context. □

## The Case of Seamus Lynch

### Torture Continues in Northern Ireland

Dublin

After the mass arrests and internment of suspected Irish republicans touched off a virtual insurrection in the Catholic areas throughout Northern Ireland in the early morning of August 9, the British army resorted to a sustained campaign of terror to intimidate and wear down the nationalist population. Any man or boy found on the streets in the early morning hours in the nationalist districts is liable to immediate arrest and is almost certain to be badly beaten before finally being turned over to the prison authorities. The arrests seem sometimes to be made almost at random, without even a close look at those arrested. For example, a youngster about twelve who was guiding me through the maze of housing developments on the Upper Falls Road in Belfast told of being picked up by the soldiers and released only after complaining "I'm a wee girl."

Patrols repeatedly break into homes in the nationalist areas, smashing doors and furniture and dragging off whatever men they find at home. These men can be held indefinitely without charge or trial and days may elapse before their relatives and friends can even find out where they are being held. Many of these missing men, moreover, finally turn up seriously injured in the "military" wards of hospitals. This was the case, for example, of Seamus Lynch, whose father made a statement on October 18 to the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association about his son's treatment. The statement is printed below. During the time I was in Belfast October 20-22, the Civil Rights Office was filled continually with parents seeking help in finding out what the military had done with their sons.

\* \* \*

The father of Seamus Lynch, a 26-year-old docker from the New Lodge Road area of Belfast, today discovered his son in the Royal Victoria Hospital, suffering from a dislocated shoulder and numerous bruises on his back and other parts of his body.

Seamus Lynch told his father and mother today that he had been arrest-

ed by the Army in Carrickfergus on Sunday 17th October at 9.30 p.m. and taken to the local police station with eight other of his friends who had also been arrested with him. From there he was taken in a military convoy to Belfast to the Military Barracks at Girdwood Park. En route to Belfast in the armoured car, the soldiers beat and kicked him so severely that his shoulder was dislocated. On arrival at Girdwood he was dragged over the rough ground bodily and his clothes were ripped to shreds.

The soldiers attempted to put Mr. Lynch through the usual torture routine, of being spread-eagled up against the wall—but the pain of his shoulder was so severe that he collapsed and when he was lying on the ground he was kicked by the military-booted soldiers in the stomach, pelvis, and the lumbar region of his back. A military doctor was then called and upon examination the doctor recommended that Seamus Lynch be taken immediately to the Casualty Department of the Royal Victoria Hospital.

Before he was removed to the hospital, Mr. Lynch was physically forced to sign a statement that his injuries were sustained whilst he "accidentally fell out of a lorry"! When his parents saw him this morning he was in agony and had bruises on his face. In full view of his parents he was lifted and half-carried, half-dragged from his bed in the hospital to a waiting car, driven by a special branch policeman with a military escort, and his parents were told he was being taken to the Military Wing of the Musgrave Park Hospital. When his parents inquired there they were told initially that Seamus was not there and then the authorities admitted that he was there and was in fine health and not injured at all. One would wonder in that case why he was there at all.

The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association demands that Mr. Faulkner [the Northern Ireland Prime minister] retract his lying statement over the weekend that the allegations of brutality were unfounded and we challenge Mr. Faulkner to disprove these undisputable facts. □

# Parliament Overrules Public, Votes for EEC

On October 28 the British House of Commons overruled popular sentiment and voted 356 to 244 in favor of approving the country's entry into the European Economic Community (EEC, the Common Market). A Louis Harris poll published in the October 27 *Daily Express* showed 30% in favor of entry, 49% opposed, and 21% undecided. But the poll also showed that the British people understand that Prime Minister Edward Heath believes in the "principle" of rule by Parliament, not by referendum: 84% said they expected Britain to join.

The most significant facet of the parliamentary decision was the unexpectedly large defection of nearly one-third of the parliamentary Labour party from the anti-entry position adopted overwhelmingly (5,073,000 to 1,032,000) at the October 4-8 Brighton conference of the party. Out of 287 Labour MPs, 69 voted with the Tories and 20 abstained. Labour defections thus accounted for the Heath victory.

The Labour party's official anti-entry position and the relatively recent decision by party chief Harold Wilson to lead a parliamentary fight on the question is explained by the pressure exerted by the British trade-union movement. The terms of British entry are designed to integrate Great Britain into the more competitive EEC in face of the declining position of British imperialism and the worldwide economic crisis. The British working class will be called upon to foot the bill for the change in policy.

For example, the EEC maintains artificially high agricultural prices through protectionist charges against imports of foods. The amount any country takes in from the levies is added to the EEC agricultural fund. When Britain joins the EEC, these measures will deprive the British working class of the relatively cheap Australian and New Zealand agricultural imports.

With prices already rising at a rate of about 10 percent per year, and with unemployment standing at its

highest level since 1940 (3.9 percent in Britain, 8.8 percent in Northern Ireland), the British workers can ill afford the further austerity measures that will be imposed to facilitate Britain's adaptation to the Common Market.

Britain's economic satellites, Ireland, Denmark, and Norway, have also applied for Common Market membership. When the British bloc enters, the EEC countries will have a combined population of 290,000,000 and a total gross national product valued at \$650,000,000,000, second only to the United States. The countries of this bloc together will account for nearly 40 percent of capitalist world trade. It is at this market that the British bourgeoisie is aiming.

Already, London has acted as a *de facto* member of the EEC in the aftermath of Nixon's announcement of the end of the Bretton Woods world monetary system and the imposition of the U. S. 10 percent surcharge on imports.

## New Zealand

# Youth Backed Auckland Socialist Campaign

By David Withers

Despite an almost complete press blackout, the Socialist Action League's campaign for the Auckland mayoralty received significant support. Mike Goodger, the league's twenty-two-year-old candidate and a leader of the Auckland antiwar movement, succeeded in polling 1,312 votes or 4.7 percent of the total cast. Goodger entered the mayoralty contest following the Labour party's refusal to run against the incumbent mayor, Sir Dove-Myer Robinson. A key plank in Goodger's election platform was unconditional support for the Labour slate for city council.

The press almost totally ignored Goodger's campaign. In protest against this, supporters organized a

The House of Commons vote was only the first step of the complicated procedure of British entry. A treaty of accession must be drafted, the proposed membership must be unanimously approved by the present EEC countries, and the British Parliament must pass a series of laws to bring Britain into conformity with Common Market rules.

The exact nature of the inevitable attack on the British workers will not become clear until this legislative process develops further. Also unclear is the attitude that will be taken by the Labour MPs who voted for entry. Some, such as Roy Jenkins, the party's deputy leader and head of its pro-EEC bloc, have indicated that they may abstain from voting on, or even oppose, some aspects of the Tory plan. Jenkins plans to run again for the deputy leadership; the initial election for this post will occur on November 10. At that time there will be some indication of the reaction of the party's so-called left wing to the mass defection. □

lunch-time picket outside the offices of the Auckland daily *New Zealand Herald* on October 1. The October 8 *Socialist Action* reported:

"The most important Auckland newspaper, the *New Zealand Herald*, 'has ignored every single statement I have issued, except the first,' said Goodger. 'While Robinson gets press coverage every day, the editor of the *N. Z. Herald* says that 'no serious contest arises' for the Auckland mayoralty. I would like to know how a 'serious contest' can possibly arise when only one candidate gets all the publicity."

Another glaring example of media bias against the opponents of Robinson concerned a radio talk show on which he regularly appears. With



this program at his disposal, Robinson was obviously at an advantage over his opponents. A question was raised in parliament concerning the fairness of this, and following a vigorous protest from Goodger, the socialist candidate was invited to meet Robinson on the program.

However, the radio management subsequently canceled the invitation on the pretext, later found to have been fabricated, that the Broadcasting Authority had ruled Goodger's appearance on the program illegal.

Following the announcement of the election results, Robinson told the *Herald* that he had regarded his victory as "a foregone conclusion." He added: "A boy should not offer himself for a man's job."

While Robinson finds Goodger's youth something to scoff at, many of Auckland's young people identified strongly with the socialist campaign. Dozens of high-school and university students and other youth distributed campaign leaflets and posters, and sold the election newspaper, *Socialist Action*.

Goodger's main campaign rally,

held at Auckland University on October 5, was the largest election meeting of any of the mayoralty candidates. Present on the platform with Goodger, in support of his campaign or some aspects of his election policy, were a broad range of speakers from the developing mass movements. They were David Pa'apa'a, the Samoan chairman of the High School Student Action Committee; Peter Purdue, secretary of the Auckland Carpenters Union; Hana Jackson, Tamatoa Council; Tom Paki, Labour candidate for Auckland City Council; Ngahua Volkerling, a gay feminist from the Auckland Women's Liberation Movement; and George Fyson, National Secretary of the Socialist Action League.

Goodger was quoted in the October 11 *Herald* as describing his campaign as "an important milestone for socialism."

"Even though the news media didn't cover my campaign, I still managed to get 5 per cent of the vote," he said. "I ran on a revolutionary socialist ticket, and still got 1300 votes." □

## Lanusse Ousts Argentine Union Leaders

The Lanusse regime has ousted the leadership of two of Argentina's most militant trade unions in an attempt to crush renewed labor struggles in the city of Córdoba, the center of the country's automotive industry.

The local affiliate of the General Confederation of Labor (Confederación General del Trabajo—CGT) staged a fourteen-hour general strike on October 22 "to support the struggle of Córdoba public employees and to demand the release of political, trade union, and student prisoners," United Press International reported in the October 24 *El Diario*, a New York Spanish-language daily.

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The following Monday, October 25, the Public Employees' Union (Sindicato de Empleados Públicos) began a second, forty-eight-hour strike. On October 26, the government announced it was "intervening" in the two unions representing workers at the Fiat-Concord automotive complex, SITRAC (Sindicato de Trabajadores de Concord—Concord Workers' Union) and SITRAM (Sindicato de Trabajadores de Materfer—Materfer Workers' Union).

When Fiat-Concord workers held a shop meeting to discuss the regime's action, "national police troops equipped with tear-gas rifles and pistols broke into the plant to put an end to the meeting," according to an Associated Press story in the October 27 *El Diario*.

"Simultaneously with this measure, . . . the government ordered the dismissal of 180 leaders and activists of the Public Employees' Union," AP added. □

## France

### Ligue Communiste Leaders Released

The thirteen members of the Ligue Communiste [Communist League, French section of the Fourth International] who were seized by the police at 6:00 a.m. October 21 (see *Intercontinental Press*, November 1, p. 927) were released at 8:00 p.m. the same day. No charges were filed against any of them.

The Ligue issued a statement saying that the release was "in part the result of the immediate response of numerous workers' and democratic organizations, which demonstrated their solidarity with the arrested militants and their refusal to tolerate any longer the repressive initiatives of [Minister of the Interior Raymond] Marcellin."

Among the organizations that supported the Ligue were the Parti Socialiste Unifié [United Socialist party], the Socialist party, the Fédération de l'Education Nationale [National Education Federation], Lutte Ouvrière [Workers Struggle], and the League for the Defense of Human Rights.

Conspicuous by its absence from this united front was the Communist party, whose newspaper *l'Humanité* wrote: "In regard to the Trotskyist groups aimed at [in the government attack], there is no need to give a lengthy explanation of our attitude, which has not changed. It is out of the question for us to accept any form of common action with them. Our disagreement with the objectives they pursue and the methods they employ is total. Thus, all the less would we come to their aid, since, for us, their activities play the game of the government they claim to be fighting." □

### Where Else?

A couple of days before Vice President Spiro Agnew's scheduled visit to the Greek town of Gargalianoi, birthplace of his father, it was reported that amid a general flurry of refurbishing, "bulldozers and steamrollers have just put the finishing touches on the new entrance to the town cemetery. . . ."

To enable him to visit opponents of the military junta, we presume.



### Velasco Meets Hostility on Tour of South

Lima

Immediately following the teachers' strike, President Juan Velasco Alvarado began a tour through the south of the country, organizing progovernment demonstrations in the most important areas. Here is some information on the demonstrations:

#### CUZCO:

A month before the demonstration in this city, planes loaded with police agents arrived. These agents infiltrated themselves everywhere among the people.

Nevertheless, the walls were covered with painted slogans reading "Velasco, You Can't Fool Us," and "Cops Go Home."

Those who shouted any slogans at the meeting, denouncing the government or asking for Hugo Blanco's repatriation, were immediately suppressed.

Many peasant unions had been threatened to make them turn out for the pro-Velasco demonstration. And most of the spectators were from Anta (one of the provinces of Cuzco, where the state government recently implemented its agrarian reform).

On the same day, there was an anti-government meeting held in La Convención that the police didn't dare to break up.

The political prisoners in Cuzco's jail staged a hunger strike demanding the repatriation of Hugo.

#### PUNO:

Here the government came out the strongest, with the greatest number of demonstrators.

#### AREQUIPA:

This was the last department Velasco visited on his tour through the south. (It was in the south, especially in Arequipa, that the teachers' strike was the strongest.) I learned from reliable sources that the plaza was practically deserted during the meeting, and everyone was hissing. Velasco himself now views it as a town in rebellion.

#### LIMA:

Back from the south, the regime

carried out a demonstration in Lima on October 7. That day several of our comrades were seized for handing out leaflets demanding Hugo's repatriation. Relatives of Hugo who were arrested were Mariano Blanco Huamán, Hugo's brother, who was beaten three times and held for fifty-two hours, and myself. We were both accused of leafleting.

Many were also arrested on various charges: for hissing, for leafleting, for suspicious behavior, even for laughing.

### Peru

### Peasants Demand End to Repression

[The following press communiqués were released in Peru on October 11 and 12 respectively. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

The General Assembly of delegates of the La Convención and Lares Provincial Peasants' Federation has resolved to make known to public opinion the following:

1. We strongly protest the arbitrary arrest of Comrade Gabriel Montoya Peralta, which took place last September 10. This comrade is a peasant active in the Lares Valley District Peasants' Federation, and is Coordinator of the Cuzco Departmental Peasants' Federation. We demand his immediate release, as well as that of the other political prisoners being held in Cuzco and in the rest of the country.

2. We likewise protest the deportation of Comrade Hugo Blanco Galdós, of Julio Pedro Armancanqui, and of the other trade-union and student leaders. We call on all labor and professional organizations to speak out to demand the repatriation of the aforementioned persons, and to close ranks in defense of trade-union and

On the Plaza de Armas, which was expected to be filled with people on that day, I can report firsthand that it was only filled to one-third of its capacity. There were some observers, a group of Velasco supporters, and a lot of people brought in by truck from the slum districts. They disguised city folk as peasants, bribed people to attend, and coerced some unions into showing up. But they couldn't fill the plaza or get an enthusiastic demonstration. There had been a circuslike propaganda campaign, with posters bearing Velasco's photo all over Lima; but soon it was unusual to find an intact poster — which meant that a lot of the defacers of the Velasco posters came from within the ranks of the State Security forces. □

individual rights, which are continually being violated by the present government.

3. We invite all the people of La Convención to the Great Meeting that will take place October 12 at 9:00 p.m., in the Quillabamba Plaza de Armas.

Quillabamba, October 11, 1971

\* \* \*

The Pintobamba Chico Peasants' Union has resolved to make known to public opinion the following:

1. We protest the deportation of Comrade Hugo Blanco Galdós, of Julio Pedro Armancanqui, and of the other trade-union and student leaders. We call on labor, student, and professional organizations to speak out to demand the repatriation of the aforementioned persons, and to close ranks in defense of trade-union and individual rights, which are continually being violated by the present government.

2. We likewise protest the arrest of Comrade Gabriel Montoya Peralta, a peasant active in the Lares Valley District Peasants' Federation, and Co-

ordinator of the Cuzco Departmental Peasants' Federation. We demand his immediate release, as well as that of the other political prisoners being held in the dungeons—so-called "jails"—of Cuzco and the rest of the country.

3. We demand of the government authorities the total expropriation of the estates of Pintobamba Chico, since we peasants presently face economic

hardships, and the land should belong to those who work it. We likewise demand that sufficient lands be allotted to the village of Pintobamba Chico, so that we do not continue undergoing hardships such as not having water for domestic use, and others.

Pintobamba Chico, October 12, 1971  
For Land and National Liberation!

## Letter to Hugo Blanco

## Prisoner Tells of Torture in Mexico

[The following letter was sent by Hugo David Uriarte B., a political prisoner in Mexico City's Lecumberri prison, on September 26. Addressed to Hugo Blanco, the letter was apparently written before Uriarte had learned of Blanco's deportation from Peru.]

\* \* \*

Comrade Hugo:

We have had a difficult situation here in the Lecumberri jail, and I am calling upon you as a fellow revolutionist, as well as upon various comrades in sister countries to solicit your solidarity and your help in having messages sent to the Mexican embassies in your own countries, as this is one of the most readily available means for protesting on an international scale.

On Monday, the 20th of the current month, comrades Pablo Alvarado and Florentino Jaimez, political prisoners, on being called to the prison office on the pretext of getting authorization for a visitor and receipt of an electrical appliance, were seized by agents from the Federal Security Agency (the Mexican political police) and transferred to Military Camp No. 1, where they were savagely tortured while supposedly being interrogated regarding the country's most recent land expropriations. Comrade Pablo has spent more than four years in jail, Comrade Florentino more than two years. The regime is obviously grasping at any shred of evidence in its quest for convictions.

This antidemocratic action by the Mexican bourgeoisie, which in an ob-

vious state of crisis is forced to talk about democracy while it unleashes the right wing, reveals its inherent despotism and once more makes it clear to the whole world—as though the June 10 massacre were insufficient—that the Echevarría regime merely seeks to consolidate capitalism, a consolidation that can only be illusory in capitalism's final, imperialist stage. The regime has come out with verbally democratic positions and has impressed some people on the left, even in the provinces; it must be exposed.

The comrades remained hostages for five days without our receiving any word from them, despite the efforts of our lawyers and friends, until we received indirect word of their whereabouts on the 25th of the month. Florentino had been beaten but was all right physically, and was in cell-block "O," "put away" (locked up for punishment). Pablo Alvarado was in the prison hospital with serious injuries from his "interrogation." The latter comrade suffers from hepatitis and is missing a kidney that had to be removed as a result of injuries he sustained when he was arrested in July of 1967. We have no further word as of yet, but we know that they are both recuperating. They are obviously liable to be "interrogated" again at any moment.

We, the rest of the political prisoner population, are under a constant threat, and cannot go out to the infirmary, to the recreation field, or anywhere. General Arcaute Franco, the idiotic prison director (redundancy is appropriate here), has threatened to kidnap all of us one by one, and has said that this jail is like a con-

centration camp and that we are subject to any whim that might occur to him.

Our jailer, Señor Arcaute, has oozed cynicism from his very pores when we have sent delegations to speak to him about having the aforementioned comrades returned to the ward, and to show him our disgust at this cowardly act. Faced with this attitude, and having no power to act from inside, we turn to you to appeal for international solidarity. An act such as this cannot be allowed to pass unnoticed, as it may soon be repeated, constantly, on the rest of the political prisoner comrades.

The most important thing for now is to demand that comrades Pablo Alvarado and Florentino Jaimez be returned to their normal situation, and to clearly repudiate these actions that violate laws that the bourgeoisie itself claims to respect and enforce. Secondly, the responsibility for the lives of the kidnapped comrades and the rest of the political prisoners must be placed on the Mexican bourgeoisie, and personally on our idiotic jailer—who is in the final analysis an agent of Echevarría.

I take this opportunity to thank you for sending me your organ, *Revolución Peruana*, which I am receiving, reading, discussing, and circulating here among various comrades on ward "M."

With a firm revolutionary embrace,  
*Hugo David*



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## Georg Lukacs on the Invasion of Czechoslovakia

[The following interview, granted by Georg Lukacs to Bernie Taft in 1968, appeared in the September 1971 issue of the *Australian Left Review*, a monthly magazine sponsored by the Communist party of Australia. We are republishing it because of its historic interest. On many points, of course, we disagree with the views of Lukacs. For all his revulsion over Stalinism, it is clear that he did not understand its social roots — the bureaucratic caste that usurped power and destroyed the Bolshevik party. Thus even in 1968, Lukacs could still consider that Stalin must be credited with "great historic achievements."

[In a footnote, the editors of the *Australian Left Review* write: "George Lukacs, the controversial Marxist thinker and theorist of literature and aesthetics, died in Budapest early in June this year. Bernie Taft, member of the National executive of the CPA, interviewed him in Budapest late in 1968. Lukacs spoke frankly to him on some problems of the socialist movement on the understanding that this would not be published while Lukacs was still alive."]

\* \* \*

It was only six weeks after the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the five Warsaw Pact countries. A second preparatory meeting of communist and workers' parties had been assembled in Budapest to attempt to organise the planned international meeting. The immediate impact of the military intervention on the European communist parties was such that all that could be agreed on at this gathering was to meet again in six weeks.

It was in this atmosphere that I rang George Lukacs at his home in Budapest to ask him if I could have a talk with him. I explained that I was a delegate from Australia to the gathering of communist parties assembled at the Gelert Hotel, and mentioned a common friend who was at the time a leader of a West European communist party. "Certainly," he replied. "I'll be pleased to see you. What about tomorrow morning?"

The next morning, October 3rd, 1968, I spent with George Lukacs at his study which overlooks the Danube. He was relieved when he discovered that I could speak German, the language in which he has written most of his works. He explained that he felt less at home in English. Lukacs was extremely interested in the attitude of the representatives at the preparatory meeting to the Czechoslovak situation, and questioned me about it.

I took detailed notes of the interview. Lukacs sought my promise that I would not publish this interview during his life. He explained that he had only recently been readmitted into the Communist Party (Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party) after his expulsion following his part in the 1956 events in Hungary. "They know my views, but I don't want to oppose party policy publicly."

The intervention in Czechoslovakia had upset him greatly. He kept coming back to it during the course of the meeting. "I am strongly opposed to the intervention," he said, "but I don't want to be associated with the anti-socialist hysteria. At the same time I also don't want to do anything which will endanger the economic reforms in Czechoslovakia. However, as a theoretician I reserve the right to express my views. I don't want to participate in the shouting but to clarify the theoretical questions involved."

He saw the intervention as a tragedy, but also as a symptom of the crisis of the socialist countries. "The Stalin era and its aftermath have reduced the attraction of communism. Compare the attraction of the Soviet Union today with that of Russia after 1917 when the country was starving. It will take a decade of a correct policy to restore the attraction of communism. Unfortunately the big process of decay of the capitalist system has been counteracted by negative developments in the USSR. As a result of the intervention in Czechoslovakia, Brezhnev has made Nixon President of the USA."

Lukacs was critical of some trends

in Czechoslovakia during the Dubcek period. He spoke specifically about the cult of Masaryk and of freedom of the press.

"I regard the complete freedom of the press and the establishment of a number of parties as false. To approach bourgeois democracy as the alternative to Stalinism is false. This is not the alternative. We can't go back to the heroic period of bourgeois democracy. Such tendencies existed in Czechoslovakia. They must be overcome. The real alternative to Stalinism is the return to the principles of the Paris Commune, to 1905 and to 1917-1921, to workers' councils built from below. These questions need to be clarified. But I don't want to criticise the Czechs at the present moment when they are in great difficulties."

I asked him for his views on the prospects of policy changes in the Soviet Union. He replied: "The future of anti-Stalinist development is very unclear. I must confess that I overestimated the intelligence of the present leaders, I did not expect the intervention. Much depends on whether there is a group inside the leadership which will recognise the danger that the present trend constitutes to the USSR as well as to socialism. But we don't know the internal situation well enough. These Soviet leaders are apparatchiks, managers. Khrushchev was a politician, even if a bad one. But they are not politicians. The intervention has reduced my opinion of them still further. They acted like the most stupid amateurs (die blödesten Dilettanten waren sie). To this day they have not been able to produce one single person who says 'I invited the Russians into the country.'"

In reply to the question as to what he regarded as the main reasons for the intervention, Lukacs said: "The main motive for the invasion was to destroy any opposition. After Stalin's death it became clear that the economic system could not survive without democratic reforms. This is still the big task at the moment. The Russians fear that they will be confronted with

a reform opposition. As long as the opposition is confined to artists and writers they can cope with it—they can be locked up. But Sakharov's letter shows that the technical intelligentsia is beginning to rebel. Yet the USSR depends for its position as a world power on the technical intelligentsia. They can't be locked up. The commissars could deal with the old working class, but they can't cope with these people. Let me illustrate this with an example from the last war. Why did the USA succeed in producing an atomic bomb whilst Germany failed? There were two reasons. One, they obtained as migrants from Germany some of their best scientists. Two, in many cases Germany's own scientists did not have their heart in their work. This is nothing new. The USSR can't escape this problem."

Speaking about himself and about some contemporary Marxist writers, Lukacs had this to say: "Official Soviet circles treat me still with great reserve. Generally I am not attacked, but simply ignored. In the German Democratic Republic I am a dead person since 1957."

"I disagree with Kolakovsky but respect him. I don't believe that Marxism itself is in need of revision. Marxist methods must be understood and applied especially in spheres where we are lagging behind, such as political economy. Marcuse and Bloch are utopians, I am a Marxist. Isaac Deutscher was a very intelligent man, but he is very partial to Trotsky. He distorts the relations between Lenin and Trotsky."

In reply to a question about the lag of Marxism in the sphere of economic theory, he said: "In 1929 it seemed to me that we were witnessing the last general cyclical crisis. They will not recur. It is a new stage. This problem requires to be studied and solved. This has not yet been done. The reason for the new stage—which should also be a new stage in Marxist analysis—is that Marx dealt with machine capitalism. In his time most articles of consumption were not produced in capitalist factories. What little personal consumption there was by the working class was supplied by handicraftsmen. In addition to this we have the growth of the service industries. These things constitute a structural change in capitalism. Now capitalism depends on the consumption of the working class. It is inter-

ested in the worker as a consumer, not merely as a source of exploitation as in Marx's time."

In reply to the question about the prospect for the communist movement in the West, Lukacs said: "I am pessimistic. The fact is that the USSR remains the model no matter what we do."

About the new left he said: "I view it with great sympathy, as the beginning of the opposition to the manipulated society. In 1945 it looked as if the manipulated society would win through. But present development is only the *beginning* of an opposition, which may take decades to unfold. It is similar to the earlier smashing of machines. It was progressive, yet real development was only possible when a new stage had been reached. The real prospects lie in the long-term effect and developments. Here I am critical of the negative attitude of the French Communist Party to these developments. The Italian Communist Party is much less embedded in Stalinism. This is in part a tribute to Togliatti."

I asked him about his views on the earlier hopes and current prospects for destalinisation in the Soviet Union.

His reply was: "I was pessimistic from the start. I said that they wanted to overcome Stalinism by Stalinist methods. They held this against me. But it was true. Stalin reversed the relation between theory and tactics. He put tactics ahead of theory, and created theories to justify tactical needs. Unless we overcome this, destalinisation remains a phrase. Whether one man or whether a collective acts bureaucratically is not the question. The question is whether tactics or theory is primary. Take as an example Stalin's theory of the sharpening of the class struggle. Why did he put this forward? Because of tactical needs at the time of the trials. This is the essential question. As long as tactics are primary, we remain Stalinist. Therefore I believe that the return to Marxism is a very important practical question and not only a theoretical question. The Soviet leaders handled the question of Czechoslovakia on the basis of their tactical consideration. This was primary, they produced theories to fit the tactical needs."

I asked Lukacs why in his view the Soviet leaders can't free themselves

from placing tactical considerations first.

He replied: "They have been brought up this way. Thirty years of Stalinism, that is what those who are fifty today have had in their life."

He went on to say: "We have lost the real socialist perspective of freedom. We have capitulated before the manipulated society. It is an illusion to believe that the economic advance of the USSR will win us support. Many workers get this under capitalism too. I am all for economic development, but greater consumption does not yet mean greater socialist perspectives. If we don't admit that we are in a crisis, we won't get out of it. We are going through a period of the darkening of the socialist ideal. Compare Bernstein's view that the movement is everything, the aim nothing. It is really similar today. We have left socialist perspectives to Marcuse and Bloch. Manipulation is not only a feature of capitalism, there is also manipulation under socialism. Those opposed to manipulation don't look to the existing socialism as a model. And with justice. It was Lenin who said a long time ago that you can't deceive classes.

"The return to Marx is an ideological revolution. It is my view that the Czech comrades were not sufficiently critical of non-Marxist views. Take for instance the idea of absolute freedom. This can't exist. It is simple to say we all need freedom. I go a long way with this. But if there is propaganda for racism, should we allow this? I would use administrative methods in such instances. To say that there is complete equality is nonsense. In 1956 some students asked me to arrange to translate some works of Western philosophers. I said we will not translate indiscriminately. Learn German, if you want to read Heidegger."

Talking about himself, he told me that he was arrested by the Russians in 1941. "I spent two months in jail. It was through Dimitrov's personal intervention that I was released."

Discussing the situation in the communist movement, Lukacs said: "The way out of this terrible crisis is for more parties to return to Marxism. That may yet lead to overcoming of Stalinism. In the Soviet Union itself Yevtushenko and Solzhenitsyn reflect

a movement of the people. It can't be otherwise."

Lukacs was bitter about manifestations of anti-semitism in socialist countries. He recalled that Engels had called it "the socialism of fools." He added: "The influence of Israel and Zionism is terribly exaggerated. This too is connected to the priority of tactics. It comes back to this. It serves some tactical needs. But a Marxist would not do this. It is this false priority that leads bureaucrats to do it."

I asked about his view of the long-term prospects in the development of the socialist countries. "It took over 800 years for feudalism to establish itself. It is now just over 50 years since the socialist revolution took place. It may take 100 or even 300 years for socialism to develop. We must expect a relatively longer period of transition than we had expected. It will depend to a considerable degree on us, on what Lenin called the subjective factors. I want to contribute all I can to help theoretically in the renaissance of Marxism. On the other hand it may not take so long. We must not forget that history takes some big jumps. I saw the collapse of the Hapsburg and Romanoff empires; they looked stable and seemed everlasting in their time. Much depends on every communist being conscious of his task. The reform movement against Stalinism will be victorious in the long run. The real danger today is passivity. Revolutionary cadres exist latently. The Communist Parties must concentrate on these tasks. We must not make the least concession to Western bourgeois ideology for fear of being considered Stalinists. I do not make such concessions."

About what could happen in the socialist countries if necessary reforms were not introduced, Lukacs said: "The restoration of capitalism is very difficult, in fact impossible. Even in Hungary the basis for restoring capitalism is gone; 1917 can't be destroyed. A type of state capitalist system is possible, but we lack historical experience. I think the transition will take a long time—it is a sphere where little theoretical work has been done. What the movement needs today is a common perspective but different tactics. But the Russians believe that they can continue to lead the movement, as in Lenin's day, under their leadership. They suffer from bureaucratic illusions. The Russians had

enormous authority in the days of 1917. They do not have it today. Just as the Pope can't prevent the use of the pill, so Brezhnev can't restore the relation that Lenin had with the Communist movement in 1917."

This is how Lukacs summed up Stalin's role in history. "He had three great historic achievements. One, he brought about the industrialisation of the Soviet Union. Two, he achieved victory in the Second World War and thereby prevented a Hitler-dominated

Europe. Three, he prepared the conditions for breaking the American monopoly of atomic weapons and prevented the American domination of the post-war world. These three things give him a lasting place in history. At the same time he destroyed for half a century the effectiveness of Marxism and socialist perspectives."

When I said at the end, "Comrade Lukacs, you seem rather pessimistic," he replied: "No, I am optimistic for the 21st century." □

## REVIEWS

### Will the Real Tricky Please Stand Up?

*Our Gang* by Philip Roth. Random House, New York, N. Y. 200 pp. \$5.95. 1971.

Once upon a time there was a president of the United States named Trick E. Dixon who believed in the "sanctity of human life—including the life of the yet unborn."

Unfortunately for this idealistic president, various subversive interests attempted to capitalize on his efforts to put this humane belief into practice. Reporters expressed skepticism at the plan to extend the vote to the fetus "in time for the '72 elections." A troubled citizen brought up the terrifying possibility that in carrying out an otherwise admirable massacre, Lieutenant Calley might have performed an abortion if a pregnant woman had been among his victims.

Worst of all, the Boy Scouts, misled by dangerous enemies, interpreted the president's statements in defense of the "yet unborn" as approval of the activity that creates fetuses. The Boy Scouts demonstrated their disgust with this sensualism, in the streets of Washington, forcing Tricky to implement his "Justice in the Streets Program," in which "sentencing and punishment, for capital crimes as well as felonies and misdemeanors, is delivered on the spot at the very moment the crime is committed, or even appears to have been committed."

Finally, after the nuclear destruction of Copenhagen and the invasion of Denmark, the government of which had demonstrated its aggressive designs on North America through the

expeditions of Eric the Red, peace returned and was only slightly disturbed by Dixon's assassination and his replacement by Vice President What's-his-name.

Philip Roth's hilarious satire on the Nixon administration is the sort of book that should be read aloud in a group, so that every line can be savored. It is an almost perfect parody—no matter how outrageous Dixon's remarks, there is scarcely a one that can't be imagined as actually coming from the mouth of Nixon. Much of the book is, in fact, based on actual statements by the original Tricky Dick, with only minor changes in phrasing.

As the story ends with Dixon's campaign speech in hell ("... the time has come to stop appeasing the God of Peace"), readers may have a moment of indecision as to which is the real Tricky and which the satire.

—David Burton

### 'Making It' in White America

*Up From Within* by George R. Metcalf. McGraw-Hill, New York, N. Y. 302 pp. \$7.95. 1971.

George R. Metcalf, a former New York state senator who now teaches Black Studies at Auburn (New York) Community College, believes that the United States is now witnessing "a third stage of the Negro Revolution."

Intercontinental Press

(The first two stages were the civil-rights movement and the development of nationalist or "Black power" consciousness.)

This third stage, as it turns out, is not really a revolution but rather the old liberal dream of Blacks being accepted on equal terms into white capitalist society. "Can blacks compete in the public market within a system that is white-oriented?" he asks. "My answer is an unqualified *yes*. . . ."

Metcalf's book, supposedly the evidence to back his contention, consists of brief biographies of eight Blacks who have "made it," as he continually stresses, by "working within the system."

The exhibits for the defense are four politicians, a psychiatrist, an economist, an educator, and a professional football player.

Metcalf's biographical sketches are neither particularly well written nor relevant to the thesis he wants to prove. No one has denied that there are some Blacks who manage to achieve an above-average income and personal distinction in their professions despite the obstacles imposed upon them by a racist system.

When I was a schoolboy, the textbooks cited George Washington Carver as alleged proof that if other Blacks didn't achieve his success it was their own fault. The argument gains nothing in sophistication by substitution of the name of Congressman John Conyers or Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson for that of Carver. Citing the exceptionally fortunate individual still does not disprove the statistics on Black unemployment, income, health, education, etc.

In the biographies of the four politicians, Metcalf would clearly like to show that working within the two major capitalist parties has enabled them to improve the lot of those Blacks who are the worst victims of the society. The most he can come up with, however, is the fact that Conyers introduced such-or-such bill that had no chance of passing or that Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm made such-or-such angry speech.

For Metcalf's contention to be true, he would have to be able to point to the biographies of 25,000,000 Black people, not eight. Before he can do that there will have to be a revolution very different from the one he thinks he has written about.

— David Burton

## Trotsky Featured in London 'Sunday Times Magazine'

The life of Leon Trotsky was the subject of two features in the September 19 issue of the London *Sunday Times Magazine*. The magazine carried a twelve-page pictorial biography of the man it called "the Permanent Revolutionary" and an article by Tamar Deutscher, "Trotsky: His Relevance Today."

The photos cover the entire period of Trotsky's life from his first activities as a revolutionist to his assassination forty-three years later by an agent of Stalin. They include a num-

ber of shots that, if previously published at all, have not been widely distributed.

In her article, Deutscher provides a brief sketch of Trotsky's life and work. She singles out as his most relevant contributions to revolutionists today the theory of permanent revolution and his analysis of fascism.

Copies of the September 19 *Sunday Times Magazine* are available for \$1.00 by air mail or \$0.35 by sea mail from Pathfinder Press, 28 Poland Street, London, W1V 3 DB, England.

## Phase I, Phase II, and Phase Out

### Deflation of 'Nixon Bull Market'

Nixon's August 15 decree freezing wages in the United States, devaluing the almighty dollar, and imposing stiffer restrictions on certain imports was received with elation in the counting houses of Manhattan. The stock market soared so swiftly as to be at once dubbed the "Nixon bull market."

The elation, however, has already worn off. The stock market has dropped, and some of the Wall Street pundits are wondering if that August take-off wasn't simply the opening phase of a swan dive.

*Business Week*, which is justly famous in U.S. management circles for its alertness to trends that might affect profits, is distinctly worried. The sages who follow the stock market for *Business Week* wrote in the October 23 issue that the market has slipped into "uncertainty" and that "Wall Street is clearly ailing."

Among the reasons for this state of affairs is fear that Nixon "may have kicked a horse that was already in bad shape by imposing the 10% surcharge on imports."

Both Western Europe and Japan appear to be entering a recession. Further worsening of the economic situation in other capitalist countries could hurt the U.S.

To begin with, "earnings of the big

U.S. multinational corporations would begin to decline."

Equally ominous, "if Japan and Western Europe were hurt badly enough by the U.S. import restrictions, there would be a serious threat of retaliatory measures, which would touch off a bruising international trade war. This argument gained some credence this week when the Danes announced a 10% surcharge on imports."

There was good news for Wall Street when Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, and Hong Kong knuckled under to U.S. pressure and agreed to limit exports of textiles to the United States. But the stock market gamblers were not much impressed. The market continued to go down.

*Business Week* finds it hard to tell what will happen next. The "uncertainty" surrounding "Phase II" of Nixon's wage freeze makes forecasting difficult. What does seem operative, in the opinion of *Business Week*, is an old saying on Wall Street: "When there is uncertainty, the market operates as if the worst has happened." □

#### Privilege Restricted to Old-Timers?

"Police Rookies Warned Against Accepting Bribes"—Headline in the *New York Times*.



## Irish Republicanism and the Struggle for Socialism

[Following are major excerpts from a debate in Dublin October 23 between Tomas Mac Giolla of Sinn Fein and Conor Cruise O'Brien of the Irish Labour party. The text is taken from the October 25 *Irish Times*, a daily newspaper published in Dublin.]

\* \* \*

Opening the debate, Dr. O'Brien said that Mr. Mac Giolla was the president of Sinn Fein.

"But what does it mean to be president of Sinn Fein?

"It would be impossible, I believe, in any other country in Western Europe to find a parallel for what it means.

"Sinn Fein is the open, civilian, legal expression of a secret and illegal army.

"Mr. Mac Giolla appears as head of an organisation, but he is not really the head of it. The real head is Mr. Cathal Goulding, Chief of Staff of the Official I. R. A. [ . . . ]

"I speak here for a party which accepts normal democratic process. That acceptance includes recognition of the legitimate authority of an elected Government which one does not like, and which one seeks to replace by democratic process. We wish Mr. Jack Lynch were not Taoiseach [prime minister], but we recognise that he is Taoiseach, because the people of this State—living, breathing Irish people, making marks on pieces of paper—decided in 1969 that in terms of Dail [parliament] Deputies elected it was Mr. Lynch they wanted.

"Mr. Mac Giolla, on the other hand, speaks for a movement which recognises no validity in that transaction. [ . . . ]

"Under democracy, civilians, not soldiers, have supreme power. And literally all sorts of people join in the choice of those civilians. The man who likes greyhound racing and reads the *Daily Mirror* has the same vote as a dedicated patriot who reads the *United Irishman*. People who value peace above national unification have votes. The military elite for which Mr. Mac Giolla speaks decides that these votes don't count. For us, who accept democracy, all the votes count, and the dead [i.e., those who died in the struggle against Britain] don't vote. [ . . . ]

"For us, socialism is not only something to be striven for through democratic process; it is also itself an extension of democratic process, the placing of the essential resources and skills of a country—and eventually of the world—under public control, responsible to the people as a whole. Sinn Fein might agree with much of that, verbally. But they would not mean the same things we mean. By 'the people' we mean something precise, measurable, even humdrum. [ . . . ]

"I accept that Mr. Tomas Mac Giolla

is sincere in his adherence to his concept of socialism, and in his abhorrence of Fascism. I understand that Mr. Cathal Goulding shares these views and feelings. Unfortunately the subjective aspirations and intentions of individual leaders have little importance in comparison with the objective momentum of the private army, the logic of the gun. You may be as benevolent as you like in your ultimate intentions, the society to which you aspire may be just, socialist and democratic and altogether more admirable than the society in which we actually live.

"But if you set out to bring the society you want into existence through denying the validity of democratic process in the society you actually have, through a private army withdrawn from democratic control, by exploiting the latent forces of romantic nationalism and hatred of foreigners, and if you hope to control these forces by authoritarian methods in your Republic within a Republic—if you set out in this way, then I say to you that the forces you hope to use and control will use and control *you*. Your movement will *not* move in the direction of socialism, not if we accept the idea that socialism must have a democratic base and content. In certain conditions, a movement like yours could perhaps move in the direction of authoritarian State socialism, a kind of Stalinism. But in a country like ours, with its great weight of social conservatism and profound distrust of Communism, it is not in that direction either that your movement can hope to succeed. It is not in the direction of any kind of socialism, even authoritarian socialism, that your movement will go. Where it is going is towards Fascism. It is going in that direction because Fascism is the natural destination of an anti-democratic, militarist, authoritarian, ultra-nationalist movement, whose ultimate appeal is a mystique inaccessible to reason. These elements are in fact among the principal distinguishing marks of Fascism, and all of them are abundantly present already in your movement.

"This is not speculation. We know what has *already* happened to your movement. We know that, before August 1969, some of you tried to take the emphasis off the gun and the bomb, although you never finally disavowed these. You tried, to your credit, to put the emphasis on social objectives. The emphasis is now back on the gun and the bomb. There is nothing surprising about that, because the gun and the bomb are what your movement is about.

"The I. R. A. is now waging sectarian civil war in Northern Ireland. Not us you tell us—the Provisionals. Maybe so. What difference does it make? Have not the Provisionals as good a right to call

themselves the I. R. A. as you have? Is not their right to take life just as good or bad as yours? We deny that right to both of you, not just to them. You tell us that you were in the majority, they in a minority, at a certain meeting. Majority—minority! How can you talk to us of majorities and minorities, those democratic concepts for which the whole history of your movement shows such a sovereign contempt? [ . . . ]

"Many people who dislike I. R. A. operations in the 26 Counties, approve its operations in the North. 'They are defending our people.' But who are 'our people'? Do they include the Ulster Protestants, or don't they? If they do, it would be hard to convince Ulster Protestants that they are being defended by the I. R. A. In fact, I. R. A. elements are using random terror methods against the Protestant population. These are Provisional tactics, you will tell me. No doubt, but it doesn't matter much to Protestants who are killed or injured, or to their friends, which particular Catholic private army did which particular job. In fact, the process whereby, after each new horror, some private army issues its solemn claim to the deed, or its repudiation, or even condemnation, has become nauseatingly familiar as a kind of bureaucratic aftermath of murder.

"To the Protestant population—almost without exception—the I. R. A., in all its varieties, is seen both as a cruel and deadly enemy, and as the expression of the hostility of the Catholic community towards Protestants. That is what your latter-day Republicans have succeeded in doing with Wolfe Tone's ideal of the common name of Irishman.

"I am not defending or extenuating British Army brutalities, nor the violence of Protestant extremists, nor am I saying that the I. R. A. has a monopoly of violence. But I. R. A. violence must concern us here, not only because this debate is with the President of Sinn Fein, but because this is the form of violence now on the offensive and because it is a form of violence which derives its emotional sustenance from the community to which most of us here belong—the Irish Catholic community—and therefore something with which our responsibility is especially engaged. I am here to deny that it has a mandate for what it is doing, and to deny also that any good can come from its activities.

"The claim of the I. R. A. to be the defenders of the minority—the Catholics—is unfounded. When that minority was in serious danger at the hands of Protestant extremists, in August 1969, the I. R. A. was not much in evidence. It became a significant force only *after* the British Army had been deployed to pro-



tect the minority. And what the I. R. A. set itself to do was to break the fraternisation which then existed between the Catholic people and the British troops and which was unacceptable in terms of I. R. A. doctrine. So the I. R. A. encouraged provocations against the troops, and then 'defended' the Catholics from the troops who had been provoked. The defence involved the killing of troops, and turned the army altogether against the Catholics. The combinations of killings of soldiers and killings of Protestants have brought about a situation whereby, in Belfast, a Catholic minority is being protected by British forces which detest it, and which it detests, against the elemental wrath of a Protestant majority which would wipe out the Catholics, and the I. R. A. along with them, if the troops were withdrawn. [ . . . ]

"The Northern Catholic Bishops have asked the appropriate question: 'Who in their sane senses wants to bomb a million Protestants into a United Ireland?' Who wants to—and also, who in their sane senses thinks they can do it. The attempt can not result in unity. It could, if persisted in, result in U. D. I. [Unilateral Declaration of Independence] in the North, in civil war, in the liquidation of the Catholic minority in the Belfast region, in a new border, and in two Fascist states, Orange and Green. That is the maximum extent of the kind of 'success' which this movement, and this campaign, can achieve. And to achieve even that would cost tens of thousands of lives. The campaign has only recently entered its second hundred. [ . . . ]

"Those who had the idea of drawing Sinn Fein-minded people into the Labour movement and Labour Party were right, in the sense that Labour needs people with that kind of energy and dedication. We need them, that is, provided they are prepared to abandon the shortcut, to make a clear and final break with the politics of the secret army, and commit themselves unreservedly to working for socialism by democratic means and those alone. We have in our ranks already a certain number of people who have passed through these fires, who have made that painful and courageous break, and entered into that unreserved commitment. It is no exaggeration to say that on such choices, now being weighed in many minds, the future of our country, and the survival of democracy among us, now depend."

Mr. Mac Giolla said he was amazed at the extraordinary, virulent attack of Dr. O'Brien on Sinn Fein. He understood that the basis of the debate was clear. They had had controversial statements and counter statements and he understood that the debate was on the basis of the anti-national policies put forward by Dr. O'Brien, on behalf of the Labour movement and his (Mr. Mac Giolla's) challenge to prove to the people that the Labour movement stood behind him in these statements. Dr. O'Brien, he said, had made a vicious attack on a completely false premise, on a misunderstanding of the policies of Sinn Fein.

"The controversy between Dr. O'Brien and myself began in March of this year following the Labour Party conference when Dr. O'Brien, in a Seven Days programme, advocated that 'we should recognise the right of the Unionist people to opt out of the nation and that full *de jure* recognition should be given to the Stormont regime.' Sinn Fein then asked the Labour Party leadership whether Dr. O'Brien was expressing his own views or official Labour Party policy. Although this request was repeated during the summer we got no answer. [ . . . ]

"After eight months of silence, Mr. Corish [a Labour party leader] last week committed the Labour Party officially to this disastrous policy. He issued a statement on 14th October saying that Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, T. D. [Teachtai Dála—member of parliament], is the official spokesman of the Labour Party for foreign affairs and Northern Ireland and as such speaks with full authority for the party on any matter appertaining to foreign affairs and Northern Ireland. You will note that in the minds of the leadership of the Labour Party, Northern Ireland is almost foreign affairs and if Dr. O'Brien's policies were to be adopted it would be finally relegated to that position.

"In the absence of withdrawal of O'Brien's statements we can, therefore, assume that Dr. O'Brien and at least a number of other Labour Party leaders including Mr. Corish believe: That the Unionists have a right to opt out of the Irish nation and this should be recognised and accepted; that the Stormont Government should be accorded full *de jure* recognition in the non-diplomatic meaning of the phrase; that there are in fact two nations in Ireland, presumably a Catholic nation and a Protestant nation. [ . . . ]

"Dr. O'Brien himself was very prominently identified with the United Nations intervention in the Congo to prevent the secession of Katanga and protect the integrity of the Congolese nation. The Katanganese could and did claim differences in race, language, cultural and educational standards and economic development from the rest of the Congo and could prove that the people of Katanga would be economically better off on their own as they would not have to assist and subsidise the poorer areas of the Congo. Nevertheless, Dr. O'Brien and the U. N. very rightly refused to accept such arguments as valid reasons for secession.

"If a few counties in Ulster were to be accorded the right to opt out of the Irish Nation because of religious difference or because they believed they would have higher living standards as part of the British nation how could you prevent a few counties in Connacht from opting out of the nation because of language and cultural differences and because they would have higher living standards as part of the American nation where most of their kith and kin are already settled. [ . . . ]

"*De jure* recognition of Stormont: At a time when the *de facto* existence of Stormont is ever in doubt this idea is clearly absurd but it is necessary to give it some

attention to get a further insight into the mind and thinking of Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien. Dr. O'Brien would not use this phrase or formula about '*de jure* recognition' because it has no meaning in diplomacy or international law. The formula he would use is 'we should abandon the claim to the Six Counties as part of the national territory of Ireland.' He repeated this clearly and unequivocally in Leinster House on Thursday last October 21st when he said:—"The claim made in Article 2 of the Constitution was at the root of the violence in the North. It was that claim which enabled the gunmen in good conscience to feel that they were shooting and bombing on behalf of those whom the deputies represented.' I don't know how many of you know what Article 2 of Mr. de Valera's masterpiece says, but you can search the length and breadth of the North and not find one person who knows or cares what it claims. They know what they claim—the rights of free men in their own land—and that's enough for their consciences. It is typical of the remoteness of Dr. O'Brien and of his constitutional, diplomatic and consular approach to people's problems that he thinks men study constitutional claims before grabbing a rifle or Thompson gun to assert these claims.

"It is Dr. O'Brien's contention that incitement by claims such as in Article 2 of the 1937 Constitution puts the gun into young people's hands. Therefore, he says, and we must assume Mr. Corish and the leadership of the Labour Party says, we should eliminate the claim in Article 2. Article 2 reads as follows: '*The National territory consists of the whole island of Ireland, its islands and the territorial seas.*' That's all. It is not a claim—it is simply a statement of fact. Dr. O'Brien and Mr. Corish are proposing that we alter this fact—that we surrender part of the national territory to Britain. They do not say that Britain's claims to Irish territory puts guns into young people's hands and they do not dare suggest that Britain should abandon her claim to part of Irish territory. Yet this is in fact the demand which should now be made on Britain as a first priority:—That she renounce all claims to jurisdiction over Northern Ireland. We do not want Britain to say she believes in the eventual unity of Ireland. That has nothing to do with Britain. It is a matter for the Irish people whether they want to remain divided or united. But it is Britain's unwarranted claim to jurisdiction in Ireland which incites violence in Ireland. It always did and it always will.

"'There are two nations in Ireland': This theory has been put forward by the Irish Communist Organisation and was supported by Mr. Desmond Fennell [of the Provisional IRA] and Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien. [ . . . ]

"They simply state that between Ulster Protestant and Catholic communities there is no common identity, no common culture and no common economic history. Where is the common identity, culture or economic history between Dublin and Connemara? Is the Gaeltacht a separate

nation? Is there a Gaelic nation, an Anglo-Hibernian nation and an Orange nation or are there simply three cultural traditions in one nation? It is quite easy to prove that the Orange tradition is closer to the Gaelic tradition than the Anglo-Hibernian. [ . . . ]

"The Protestants, or the Unionists or the Orangemen in the North have never claimed to be a different nation. They recognise that they are Irishmen and part of the Irish nation but they believe their interests can be best served by preserving the Union with Britain—they want all of Ireland to be united with Britain. They have a different political perspective in regard to the role of the Irish nation, a perspective carefully fostered by British imperial interests during the past century and enormously strengthened by the narrow, bigoted, sectarian, clerical-dominated society created by de Valera in the name of Republicanism during the past 50 years.

"It should be clear to all that there are not two nations but two classes in Ireland—the oppressed and the oppressors—the exploited and the exploiters. There is a common identity, common culture and common economic history in the Falls and the Shankill. But there is no such common bond between the Paisleyite working class and the O'Neillite landed gentry or the Faulknerite big business class.

"No Republican ever regarded the Protestant workers or small farmers as planters or *colons*. It has always been clearly recognised that the only *colons* were the ascendancy class who still survive in about equal numbers North and South. [Brendan] Behan classified them as 'Horse-Protestants.' Their day is almost done but they are being replaced by the new native capitalist class; a ruthless profit-seeking, power-grabbing group ably represented in politics by Brian Faulkner in the North and Charles Haughey in the South. [ . . . ]

"If the British Tory Government were to try to get acceptance of the theory that there are two nations in Ireland, that the Protestants in the North should have the right to self-determination and that the Irish people should renounce all claim to the North as part of the nation they would opt for the *Sunday Times* solution, i.e. a new frontier to create a smaller all-Protestant enclave. This would be the only logical and feasible way to put Dr. O'Brien's theories into effect. But to create such an area it would be necessary to have huge transfers of population. Over a hundred and twenty thousand Catholics would have to be got out of Belfast. There is only one way by which Heath could arrange this and that is by playing the Orange card and having a massive pogrom in Belfast which would send forty or fifty thousand Catholic refugees fleeing west or south. With suitable monetary assistance and compensation from an apparently humane Mr. Heath the remainder could then be easily persuaded to leave voluntarily. There is no other way for him to get a massive

transfer of population and without such a transfer O'Brien's two-nation secession theories could [not] be translated into practical working policies. [ . . . ]

"Dr. O'Brien's own 'bloodbath' theory has been hawked all over America, Britain and the Continent. It is repeated almost daily by the *New York Times* and is used by Mr. Heath every time there is a political pressure exerted on him in regard to the brutality and oppressive measures being enforced by the British Army. Dr. O'Brien by insisting there would be a bloodbath if British troops are withdrawn is handing the British Government their greatest crutch. This they continually trot out as their moral justification for remaining in Ireland. It is now their only one.

"I now challenge Dr. O'Brien to tell the world what basis he has for this assertion. Does he think the British Army are still in their 1969 role and that their presence is preventing another Orange pogrom? All the evidence is to the contrary. There is ample evidence in Belfast to prove that no alone [only] are the British Army not trying to prevent sectarian conflict but they are doing all they can to encourage it. How else can you explain their present practice of bringing arrested men for display into what they consider to be extreme Protestant areas and inviting the locals to have a go at 'the Fenian bastard'. Pogroms don't just happen. They are organised and sanctioned at the highest levels as is clear from 1969, 1935 and 1920. They are the Orange trump cards and when the decision is made to play them you can be quite sure the British Army will not intervene to prevent them until such time as the death and destruction has created the desired political effect. Those who give the impression that all the Protestant peo-

ple are waiting impatiently for the opportunity to kill and burn out their Catholic neighbours are inciting sectarianism and casting the most monstrous slur on the Protestant people. [ . . . ]

"I say therefore, that having renounced all claim to jurisdiction over any part of Ireland, Britain's second step should be to announce a phased withdrawal of British troops. This would set the stage for discussions between Irishmen and the best political solution in the interests of the Irish people. Meantime the Civil Rights demands in regard to democracy, repression and sectarianism should be the basis of all present discussions.

"The basis of Dr. O'Brien's and the Labour Party policies, are therefore obviously biased against the interests of the Irish people. We must renounce our claim to part of our own country and surrender at last to the British conquest. We must renounce the use of force and allow British forces a free hand to terrorise, imprison, torture and kill." [ . . . ]

The failure of the Labour Party for 50 years was that they had no policies for fighting imperialism. They abandoned the national struggle on the death of Connolly. The leadership had led the movement down the blind alley of 50 years' impotence by their obsession with parliamentarism.

"The Labour movement has a tremendous role to play North and South and must take its place now. It is nonsense for Dr. O'Brien to say that we are concentrating on the dead. The whole basis of the split in the Republican movement was the question of the elimination of militarism, elitism and glorification of the dead against the rights of the living which are being denied every day of the week." [ . . . ] □

## Iranian Prisoners Threatened With Death

More than 4,000 Iranians were arrested by the shah during the month preceding his \$100,000,000 extravaganza celebrating 2,500 years of the Persian monarchy.

According to a press release issued on October 25 by the Iranian Students Association in the United States (ISAUS), six of the prisoners have already been sentenced by a military tribunal. Because of the shah's predilection for secret trials and executions of political prisoners, it is not known whether the sentences have been carried out as yet. The prisoners are Nasser Kalimi, Nasser Madani, Bahram Taheri, Homayoon Katiraii, Hooshang Targole, all condemned to death, and Hassan Mast Bahavandi, whose sentence is unknown.

In addition the prosecutor has asked for the death penalty against thirty-

seven others. *Intercontinental Press* (October 11, p. 859, and October 18, p. 880) reported the names of thirty of these prisoners when their arrest was first announced.

The other seven are: Mahmoud Ahmadi, Abas Davoudi, Hossein Madani, Hamid Bahrami, Mohamad Tashayode, Ali Safaii, and Morteza Rahimi.

The ISAUS release, in the name of the World Confederation of Iranian Students (National Union), demanded an immediate halt to the closed-door proceedings: "We demand open trials, based on the human rights provisions of the U. N. Charter, the presence of an international observer at the trials, and acknowledgment by the Iranian Government of the fate of all these political prisoners." □