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Free Angela Davis!

Beginning of the End for 'Socialist' Egypt

President Anwar el-Sadat on December 28 ordered the return of nationalized property to its former Egyptian owners. Raymond H. Anderson reported from Cairo in the December 29 *New York Times* that it was "doubtful" the decree would apply to foreigners.

Under a practice known as sequestration, introduced in Egypt under Nasser, land and businesses were nationalized and the owners were paid a monthly stipend as compensation. Some of the property that is to be returned has been nationalized for nearly a decade.

Sadat's decree ordered the creation of legal committees to study each particular case and decide whether the property should be restored. Anderson indicated that this procedure was owing to the fact that in some cases "property was seized as a means of curbing or punishing dissent in the country."

Sadat also instructed Premier Mahmoud Fawzi to prepare a law governing future nationalizations. The law would require that property seizures be approved by special courts on which ordinary citizens were represented. Nationalizations would be carried out only for reasons of national security or "to protect the people's socialist gains."

Anderson wrote that the retreat from nationalization was intended to encourage private investment:

"The threat of confiscation has been a restraint on private investment in the economy of Egypt. Recently, the so-called private sector has been receiving assurances of a secure place in a largely socialized society." □

Haiti to Become Monarchy?

Haitian dictator Francois Duvalier has hinted his twenty-year-old son Jean Claude will succeed him as president.

Other than parentage, the only known qualification of the heir apparent is his legal training. (He is a first-year law student.)

The Haitian constitution requires that the president be at least forty years old.

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International Protest over California Political Trial

By Allen Myers

"I now declare publicly," Angela Davis announced at her arraignment January 5 in San Rafael, California, "before this court and before the people of this country, that I am innocent of all charges which have been leveled against me by the state of California.

"I am innocent, therefore I maintain that my presence in this courtroom today is unrelated to any criminal act. I stand before the court as the target of a political frame-up which, far from pointing to my culpability, implicates the state of California as an agent of political repression."

In fact, there were forces more powerful than the government of California involved in the upcoming trial of the Black militant on charges of murder, kidnapping, and conspiracy. On December 27, President Nixon himself had intervened by inviting fourteen Soviet scientists to observe the trial.

The events that finally led to the arrest of Angela Davis began a year and a half earlier, in the summer of 1969, when she was hired as an assistant professor of philosophy at the University of California at Los Angeles.

Her credentials for the position were impressive. Davis had graduated magna cum laude from Brandeis University in 1965. As an undergraduate, she had spent a year studying in Paris at the Sorbonne. From 1965 to 1967, she studied at Johann Wolfgang von Goethe University in Frankfurt, Germany, and she received her master's degree in philosophy from the University of California at San Diego in 1968.

"As a teacher," the *New York Times* reported August 17, 1970, "Miss Davis . . . received excellent grades from her superiors at U.C.L.A., the faculty and students."

But in spite of her obvious qualifications, Davis was fired by the University of California regents on September 19, 1969. The admitted reason for the firing was her membership in the Communist party.

This blatant attack upon academic freedom was condemned by faculty and students alike. On October 3, the faculty, by a vote of 539 to 12, denounced the regents' decision. Three days later, the students demonstrated their solidarity when 2,000 attended Davis' first lecture of the semester. On October 20, her firing was ruled unconstitutional by the courts and she was reinstated.

The regents had not yet abandoned their attempts to rid themselves of Angela Davis, however. They waited until June 8, 1970, when school had recessed for the summer, and then fired her again. The reason given for the second firing was her "extramural activities"—all of them completely legal—in defense of the Black Panther party and the Soledad Brothers [three Black convicts accused of murdering a white prison guard]. A regent who disagreed with the majority called this explanation a "most transparently improvised cover" to circumvent the earlier court ruling.

Then on August 7, Jonathon Jackson, the seventeen-year-old brother of one of the Soledad defendants, entered the San Rafael courthouse. He handed weapons to three prisoners in the courtroom and together the group took five persons, including a judge, hostage. As they attempted to escape in a truck van, police opened fire. Jackson, two of his accomplices, and the judge were killed.

The police claimed the judge had been shot with a sawed-off shotgun supplied by Jackson, thus laying the basis for murder charges against anyone who had aided the kidnapping attempt.

On August 15 the county prosecutor announced that the four weapons used in the courtroom kidnapping belonged to Angela Davis. On this basis, he obtained a warrant for her arrest. Davis fled California because, as her attorney said later, she "was in fear of her life because of the atmosphere of hatred which had been generated against her by California public officials."

The next day the Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI] joined the hunt for Davis, alleged to be "possibly armed and dangerous." The December 26 issue of the *New York Daily World*, which reflects the views of the Communist party, commented later on this action:

". . . J. Edgar Hoover put Miss Davis on the FBI's '10-most-wanted list,' making her a target for any racist with a gun, so that she would never live to see the fictitious charges against her exposed in an open court."

Arrested in New York City October 13, Davis was given "special" treatment designed to convince the public that she was extremely dangerous. While her attorneys fought attempts to extradite her to California, she was held in solitary confinement until a federal judge ruled this illegal. Appeals against the extradition order went all the way to the Supreme Court, where they were rejected, in less than two months, probably a new speed record in legal proceedings.

Davis was then flown to California December 22 aboard a military plane rather than by commercial airline, the normal way of transferring prisoners. In the December 23 *New York Times*, Linda Charlton described the cloak-and-dagger atmosphere deliberately created by the authorities:

"At 3:20 A.M. yesterday, less than 24 hours after Justice Harlan rejected her plea for a stay of extradition, Miss Davis was taken from her cell at the Women's House of Detention . . . and was placed in a Department of Corrections van.

"The van joined a nine-vehicle motorcade that split up, apparently to confuse and elude any pursuers, after leaving the prison . . . Miss Davis was driven to the Tombs [the name of a jail] . . . where she was transferred to an automobile.

"Miss Davis was then driven to New Jersey through the Holland Tunnel. The westbound lanes of the tunnel were cleared of other traffic and closed before the van arrived.

"At the New Jersey end of the tun-

nel, the escort of New York City police cars was superseded by the New Jersey State Police, who continued their escort duty to McGuire Air Force Base, 12 miles from Trenton. At McGuire, Miss Davis was placed aboard a four-engine propeller plane of the California Air National Guard, which took off at 5:30 A.M."

At her January 5 arraignment, Davis told the court that the "substantive issues at stake in my case" are "my political beliefs, affiliations and my day-to-day efforts to fight all the conditions which have economically and politically paralyzed Black America."

At a defense rally in Cleveland, her brother Reginald gave a description of what these conditions were like in Birmingham, where the Davis children grew up:

"Angela and I were born to the sound of bombings. There have been over 50 bombings in that city during our time, and no one has ever been arrested.

"In the Birmingham church that was bombed in 1963 two of her best friends were among the four little girls who were killed." (*Daily World*, December 19.)

The political nature of the case has been recognized by a large number of organizations and individuals, who have issued statements protesting the charges and the way in which the proceedings have been handled.

Support for Davis has come from such varied sources as the Federation of Cuban Women; Floyd McKissick, former director of the Congress on Racial Equality; the World Federation

of Teachers Unions; several Democratic party members of the New York state legislature; the French Young Communist League; Julian Bond, a Black state representative in Georgia; and the Japan Council Against A and H Bombs; in addition to revolutionary and radical groups in the United States.

In the Soviet Union, the ruling bureaucrats apparently see the Davis case as providing an ideal opportunity to distract world attention from their own attempts to suppress domestic opposition. Thus while a trial with anti-Semitic overtones was proceeding against eleven persons accused of attempted hijacking [see *Intercontinental Press*, January 7, page 19], various Soviet organizations were sending demands for clemency in the Davis case to Nixon and California Governor Ronald Reagan.

On December 25, Nixon received a cablegram from fourteen members of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, including physicist Pyotr L. Kapitsa and Igor Y. Tamm, who won the Nobel Prize for physics in 1958. According to Tad Szulc in the January 4 *New York Times*, ". . . Kapitsa and several others [of the signers] have also been active in protesting repression in the Soviet Union . . ." Kapitsa and Vladimir A. Englehardt, another signer of the appeal, joined other scientists last June in protesting the arrest of biologist Jaures A. Medvedev. [See *Intercontinental Press*, June 22, 1970, page 598.]

The December 25 appeal said in part:

"We . . . see in Angela Davis a selfless fighter for progressive social ideas both in science and in social matters.

"We feel it our duty to safeguard the right of the individual to fight for progress. Therefore, we appeal to you as the President of the United States to . . . safeguard the life of Angela Davis and give her an opportunity of continuing her scientific work."

A U.S. assistant secretary of state responded two days later with an invitation to the fourteen scientists to observe the trial. The offer, according to Szulc, was "authorized personally by President Nixon." The letter went on to suggest that Soviet trials should be opened to foreign observers.

Nixon evidently considered that he had thus scored a propaganda coup, although in doing so he thus inadvertently admitted the political nature of the case. His offer, moreover, avoided the demand raised by the Soviet scientists, which was that Davis be treated fairly, not that they be allowed to see her convicted. As one of Davis' attorneys, Howard Moore Jr., put it at a defense rally in San Rafael:

"It is an obvious ploy. The Russians would observe procedural fairness but they would not see substantive fairness because it is a political trial."

Davis and her attorneys have made clear that they intend to expose the political basis of the charges in the course of the trial, which is expected to begin in early March. Their success or failure could mean life or death for Angela Davis. □

Confirm Establishment of Commune in Szczecin

Ferment Continues Among Polish Workers

By Gerry Foley

More than two weeks after a wave of violent strikes brought down the government in Warsaw, reports of continuing worker militancy are coming out of Poland. Three thousand workers staged a sit-down January 5-6 in the Gdansk shipyards, according to the Stockholm daily *Aftonbladet*.

The strikers refused to return to work, a dispatch in the January 7 issue of the Swedish paper said, un-

til two conditions were met. They demanded the release of 200 of their comrades arrested as a result of the fighting December 14-15. They demanded that the new party chief Edward Gierek come to discuss the situation in the country with them personally.

In a dispatch from Gdansk January 7, *Washington Post* correspondent Dan Morgan reported that workers

in that city were threatening a resumption of the strikes that triggered the near revolution before Christmas. "Here began the Polish December that shook the country's Communist Party, toppled a leadership in Warsaw and left dozens dead along the Baltic coast," Morgan wrote.

"And here, say Gdansk workers, it would begin again if the regime of party leader Edward Gierek is unable

to act fast enough to allay the grievances of the shipbuilders.

"Nobody, from party officials to students, knows how much time Gierek has."

Morgan also cited evidence that the December 14-15 outbreak in the coastal city had gone deeper and been more directly political than reports at the time indicated: "In a remarkably frank hour-by-hour account of the demonstrations, the local paper *Glos Wyrzeza* revealed last week that the workers had at one point almost taken over the Gdansk radio station."

Throughout the first week in January new reports appeared, giving a fuller picture of the extent, depth, and power of the Polish workers' uprising. In particular, early accounts of a revolutionary workers' commune developing in Szczecin December 17 were confirmed and supplemented.

Risko Bajalski, the correspondent of the Yugoslav weekly *Politika*, wrote December 31 that the Szczecin workers had "established a strike committee that assumed full power in the city, taking over all the responsibilities of the party and municipal government organs." A workers' militia was also formed, according to Bajalski, to guard the machines in the yards.

The British engineer Norbert Dienes, who lives in Szczecin with his Polish wife and children, told a UPI reporter, "I was struck by the discipline that prevailed in the shipyards while 10,000 workers were occupying them. . . ."

The strikers had the support of the population, according to Dienes: "The restaurants sent them hot food. The doctors and nurses in the shipyards stayed at their posts.

"Everybody observed the strike, even the manager. He had to promise to behave before the workers would let him in."

An important new fact that came out in Dienes' story was that the Szczecin workers did not return to work until Christmas Eve, or four days after the fall of Gomulka. This point was confirmed by Bajalski, who reported that the workers agreed to go back to work only after they got a guarantee of immunity for all those participating in the uprising.

The same UPI report, long excerpts of which were published in the January 2 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*,

gave this explanation of the explosion by a Szczecin worker: "A lot of years have gone by since the war and things are no better. The workers aren't imbeciles. We know that we build ships every year. And instead of seeing our wages go up, they tell us to tighten our belts."

In the wake of the December rebellion, Western correspondents in Poland noticed a deepgoing process at work in the Polish proletariat. "Grass-roots activity among Polish workers, which bypasses official channels, is alarming the establishment," Paul Wohl wrote in the *Christian Science Monitor* of January 6.

A workers' underground is the new force making itself felt in Poland.

"Factory workers are sending couriers from one factory to another to consult directly with each other over the head of the party-controlled factory committees.

"The Baltic shipyard workers are in contact with the workers of the big Ursus tractor factory, with the textile plants in Zyrardow, with the Polish FIAT works, and with the rolling-stock workers in Poznan where the 1956 strikes started. Factories in Warsaw and Praga are also in the circuit."

As the extent and implications of the Polish workers' victory became increasingly apparent, at least one well-known Sovietologist expressed a rather distinct sympathy for the viewpoint of the bureaucracy now on the defensive. In the January 10 issue of the *New York Times*, Harry Schwartz

wrote that the December rebellion threatened to encourage laziness and inefficiency on the part of the workers.

"Observers have pointed out that the shipyard workers in Gdansk who began the recent Polish disorders were upset at least as much by proposals to change the complex regulations governing their wages as by the higher prices announced for food, fuel, and other essentials. The workers feared that the wage changes would lower their weekly earnings, while the economic reformers were hoping that precisely this fear would induce Polish workers to increase their efforts. . . ." The old system, in Schwartz' view, has been "a lazy man's delight, a bargain in which many workers have gladly exchanged minimal effort for minimal, but secure wages."

"These disturbances [in December] were touched off directly by efforts to reform the Polish economy to provide incentives and prods for greater worker productivity. Mr. Gomulka's fall seems likely to discourage other proponents of economic reform in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union because it demonstrates the serious political consequences that can result. . . ."

"Given the wide prevalence of egalitarian feeling in the area, many workers view the incentive features of the reform with great suspicion. Why should some workers earn more than others, they ask. Isn't that a return to the dog-eat-dog competition of capitalism, which socialism was supposed to abolish?" □

Lieutenant Sentenced in Hijack Case

Leningrad Trial of Jews Halted

A twelfth defendant charged with attempting to hijack a Soviet airplane last June was convicted and sentenced to ten years in a labor camp January 7. Lieutenant Vulf I. Zalmanson, like nine of the eleven defendants sentenced December 24, is Jewish. [See *Intercontinental Press*, January 11, page 19.] He was tried separately, by court-martial, because of his membership in the armed forces.

The day before Zalmanson was sentenced, a third trial of Soviet Jews was reported to have opened in Leningrad and to have then been ad-

journal. Bernard Gwertzman reported in the January 7 *New York Times*:

"The [Jewish] sources said the trial had been adjourned because one of the defendants, Lev N. Yagman, a 30-year-old engineer, was said to have influenza.

"But Western Communist correspondents in Moscow, who have contacts with the Soviet party machinery, said the trial had either been postponed indefinitely or permanently halted."

L'Humanité and *L'Unità*, the newspapers of the French and Italian Communist parties respectively, both re-

ported that the Soviet government had decided to halt the trial.

Six of the nine defendants in this third trial were arrested last June 15, the same day the attempted hijacking was blocked. The other three, Gwertzman said, "were arrested with another dozen or so Jews in subsequent weeks. A total of about 21 Jews are awaiting trial, including the nine in Lenin-grad."

But in spite of the timing of their arrests, none of the nine is believed to be charged with complicity in the hijackings. They are reportedly accused under Articles 70 and 72 of the criminal code, which outlaw "anti-Soviet" propaganda.

Gwertzman wrote that the Western

Communist correspondents with whom he spoke thought the postponement or cancellation of the trial represented an attempt by the Soviet government "to avoid another outcry abroad" like the one that followed the first trial.

The "outcry" even involved West European Communist parties. The usually subservient French CP condemned the severity of the verdict and the British party appealed for commutation of the death sentences. In Italy, the January 7 *L'Unità* called on the Soviet CP to condemn anti-Semitism under Stalin and said that a "lack of understanding" today caused difficulties for Soviet Jews.

The question of commuting the two death sentences in the first trial — they

were reduced to fifteen years' imprisonment December 31 — may have caused disputes within the Soviet government, according to the January 2 *Washington Post*. The paper based this conclusion on the manner in which the government paper, *Izvestia*, reported the outcome of the trial.

In a lengthy article, *Izvestia* said that the death sentences were justified. It reported the commutations only in the latter part of the article.

Whatever else it may or may not indicate, the *Izvestia* report clearly warns Jews and other oppressed national minorities in the Soviet Union of the lengths to which the bureaucracy is prepared to go in denying their rights to autonomous development. □

As Trial of Enlisted Man Opens

Mylai Charges Against Three Officers Dismissed

The third trial of a soldier accused of participating in the massacre of civilians at Mylai opened at Fort McPherson, Georgia, January 5.* Sergeant Charles E. Hutto is charged with assault with intent to murder, and could be sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment if convicted.

The prosecution's case, which was completed January 8, added little if anything to what was already known of the details of the massacre.

Three witnesses testified that Captain Ernest Medina, the commander of the company involved in the assault on Mylai, had ordered his troops to kill everyone in the hamlet. They also said that they had seen American troops fire on unarmed men, women, and children, but none of the witnesses identified Hutto as being among them.

The prosecutor closed by reading a statement Hutto had given to an army investigator on November 17, 1969. In the statement, Hutto admitted firing into a group of ten to fifteen persons.

Hutto also said at that time that on the day of the massacre "orders came down to kill all the people, destroy the food and kill all the animals. . . . I don't remember who gave the order, but I guess it came from headquarters."

The process of selecting a jury was more informative than the trial itself. The military judge rejected an officer who called the massacre "shameful" and said that it "can be explained but not excused."

At the same time, the judge accepted, over prosecution objections, two jurors who seemed to regard the murder of civilians as justifiable.

Lieutenant Colonel Donald Laffoon observed that "in almost any combat operation, there is unnecessary killing." According to the January 6 *New York Times*, "He also said that he believed soldiers should obey even illegal orders from an officer on the ground that 'a soldier is an unreasoning agent of a superior.'" The *Washington Post* of the same day quoted Laffoon as saying that the events at Mylai were "a matter of poor judgment rather than a criminal action."

The latter article also described the views of another officer accepted as

a member of the jury, Lieutenant Colonel Robert H. Daine:

"Daine told the court he placed an American's life above that of a Vietnamese, but denied his feeling was the result of racial prejudice. He said he placed the lives of Americans above those of French or Germans, too."

The judge also ruled that Colonel Robert A. Koob was qualified to sit on the jury, but the prosecution removed him with its single peremptory challenge. The January 7 *New York Times* described the questioning of Koob:

"Asked by Captain Wurtzel [the prosecutor] if an enlisted man should be prosecuted if he shot an unresisting prisoner of war at the order of an officer, Colonel Koob said, 'Since the time I entered the service I was taught that a soldier was trained to shoot and kill. Haven't we trained soldiers to be responsive to orders?'"

"He then went on to say that he could understand an order to execute a prisoner of war in Vietnam. 'This is not a conventional war,' said the colonel. . . . 'We have to forget propriety.'"

Although it is difficult to imagine Colonel Koob agreeing with such an interpretation, the logic of his remarks

* One trial resulted in the acquittal of Staff Sergeant David Mitchell. The other, that of Lieutenant William Calley, is still going on.

is that the army is trying the wrong persons. Instead of prosecuting the GIs who carried out orders at Mylai, it ought to be moving against the commanders responsible for those orders.

The army, however, takes a different view. While the Hutto trial was in progress, it dismissed charges against four of the high-ranking officers accused of concealing information about the Mylai massacre.

Last March 17, fourteen officers, ranging in rank from captain to major general, were accused of participating in the cover-up. Charges against eleven of them have subsequently been dropped. The three who still, at least in theory, face the possibility of a court-martial are Major General Samuel Koster, Colonel Oran K. Henderson, and Captain Dennis H. Johnson, but the captain is the only one low enough in the military hierarchy to have any cause for worry.

The highest-ranking officer who still faces charges of responsibility for the massacre itself is Captain Ernest Medina. With the U. S. government having demonstrated that it is unwilling to prosecute even the less serious crimes of concealment, it is clear that there is no chance whatsoever of those really responsible for Mylai being brought to trial. □

Peru

Free All the Political Prisoners!

Despite the general amnesty declared December 21 by the "reformist" military dictatorship ruling Peru, fifteen political prisoners have not yet been released, according to the CODDEH (Comité de Defensa de los Derechos Humanos — Committee for the Defense of Human Rights).

In a statement issued December 26 in Lima, the committee listed the prisoners and the names of those held in them:

Carcel del Callao: Eduardo Creus Gonzáles.

El Sexto: Eduardo Durand Herrera.

Carcel de Lurigancho: Eduardo Espinoza, Ernesto Alvarez, Mario Cossi

'The Victories Are Only Beginning'

British Daily on Debray, Blanco Amnesties

In reporting the release of political prisoners in Bolivia and Peru, the British daily *Guardian* emphasized that the amnesties represented an important victory for the revolutionary movement. Christopher Roper wrote in the December 24 issue of the paper:

"Apart from Debray, all the men who are being released this Christmas fought for fairer distribution of land, the abolition of feudal conditions of servitude, and basic justice for the rural population of Peru and Bolivia.

"The military Governments, which have declared the amnesties, have in effect recognised the justice of these demands, and the need for drastic reforms. In that sense the apparently fruitless, tragic battles which were fought in almost every Latin American country by small bands of guerrilla revolutionaries during the past 15 years have not been in vain; the victories are only beginning."

Roper said that Debray had been troubled during his imprisonment by "stories put out by both Bolivian and US intelligence sources that he had betrayed the guerrilla movement and

had behaved in a cowardly fashion." Roper confirms that these stories were slanders.

Much of the article was devoted to Hugo Blanco, who is less well known in England but "just as famous as Debray in Latin America." The *Guardian* described him in a photo as "the best known of the Peruvian political prisoners."

Roper distorted Blanco's history by accusing him of leading a rebellion against the Peruvian government when in fact the peasant unions he led resorted to arms only in self-defense:

"Blanco is a Trotskyist, a member of the fourth international, who organised peasant union[s] in the late 1950s and became involved in an armed uprising in 1962 in Southern Peru. He was arrested in 1963 and sentenced to 25 years in prison . . ."

Recognizing Blanco's importance in the peasant movement and giving credence to the Peruvian military government's reformist promises, Roper went so far as to recommend that Blanco be taken into the government:

"In Peru, Hugo Blanco could, if he and the Government were willing, be of enormous assistance to the military Government in helping organise their ambitious land reform. A leading US specialist on land reform recommended to the Government a year ago that he should be put in charge of Peruvian land reform. He only turned to violence when his peasant unions were outlawed and persecuted by the landowners and the civil authorities of the La Convencion Valley in Southern Peru.

"Those who have studied the peasant unions of La Convencion have paid tribute to Blanco's organising skill and the influence he had over the peasants . . ."

Unfortunately for the Peruvian government and U. S. specialists, however, Blanco's revolutionary program is aimed at overturning capitalism in Peru, not in reforming it. That's why he was put in prison in the first place. □

Expecting A Boom in Tobacco?

A West German firm is selling cigarette lighters shaped like grenades.

'Guardian' Asks Latin-American Amnesty

[The following editorial appeared in the December 24 issue of the London *Guardian*. Its call to keep up the pressure on other governments to follow the example set by the recent amnesties of political prisoners in Peru and Bolivia contributes to the worldwide efforts in behalf of the victims of injustice in Latin America.]

* * *

The amnesty of political prisoners in Peru and Bolivia is welcome, although expected. The Christmas amnesty is an established feature of Latin-American life, as well it might be

in a continent with so many political prisoners. In both countries the Governments have been subject to strong pressure from public opinion to open the political gaols. Both Governments are also made up of Left-army leaders who need the continuing indulgence, if not support, of the left wing. This is understandable when one recalls the strength of the extreme Right in both countries—as the succession of attempted coups and counter coups in Bolivia earlier in the year demonstrated. The prisoners are, for the most part, veterans of the rural guerrilla movements or, in the case of Régis Debray, among its theoreticians. But

the guerrillas for some time have posed no serious threat to either the Peruvian or the Bolivian Governments.

International public opinion, which can claim much of the credit for the release of men like Debray in Bolivia and Hugo Blanco in Peru, should not be lulled into complacency. On the other side of the Andes the gaols are steadily filling with political prisoners. There can be few countries with as many political prisoners as Brazil, or with such an unpleasant reputation for the use of torture in its gaols. The evidence suggests that mass internment of political prisoners creates more problems for Latin-American governments than it solves. Even so, imprisonment goes on. The pressure on other Latin-American governments to follow the example of Peru and Bolivia must be maintained. □

Quebec

Repression Continues Under New Law

On December 2 the operation of Canada's notorious War Measures Act was suspended. In its place, the Trudeau government passed a "Public Order Act," which, it was claimed, would do away with the worst excesses of the former.

Predictably, however, there has been no change in police practices under the new law. The Public Order Act, like the War Measures Act before it, is being used as a club against revolutionary organizations and the independentist sentiment of the Québécois population. Raids without warrants continue to be the normal practice in Montréal.

On December 2, the same day the new measure was passed by parliament, police raided the Montréal homes of four members of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière [LSO—Socialist Workers League] and the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes [LJS—Young Socialist League]. Penny Simpson reported in the December 21 issue of the revolutionary-socialist biweekly *Labor Challenge*, published in Toronto:

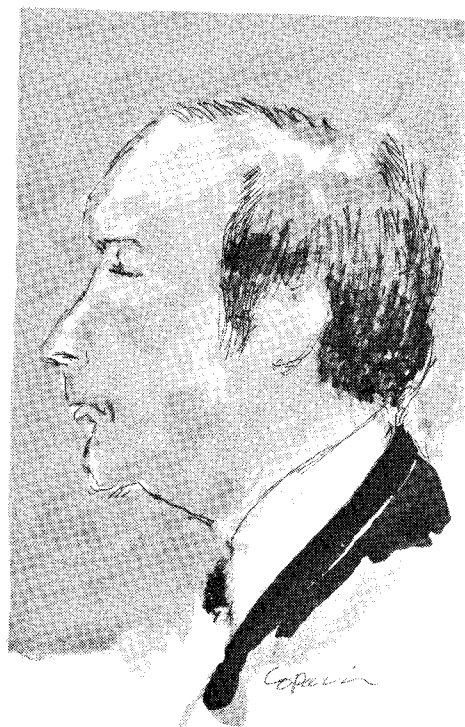
"The police didn't seize anything, even after a twice-over search in one apartment. But one LJS member, John Lejderman, was threatened with hav-

ing his head beaten against the wall, and in another case, the cops threatened to smash the door in if the building superintendent refused to let them enter an LSO member's apartment."

Two days later, Manon Léger, the LSO's candidate in the October mayoral election in Montréal, her campaign manager, and two other members of the LSO and LJS were arraigned in municipal court on a charge of "carrying placards, banners, cockades or similar identifying symbols." The four had been arrested while peacefully picketing the day before the election. If convicted when brought to trial January 14, they could be sentenced to \$200 fines and six months in prison.

The attacks on the LSO and LJS are due to the fact that these organizations are the only radical groups that have continued to function openly in Montréal. Simpson wrote of the Trudeau government's strategy:

"The capitalist authorities hope to prolong and even institutionalize the repressive atmosphere the FLQ [Front de Libération du Québec—Québec Liberation Front] kidnappings crisis has enabled them to whip up against the



TRUDEAU: Seeks to keep up a good thing.

left. Now that Cross is free, the police have declared that they will be able to use more ruthless methods than were possible while the diplomat remained in his kidnappers' hands."

Part of the Trudeau government's attempt to institutionalize repression involves the prosecution of ten Québécois leaders on a charge of "seditious conspiracy." [See *Intercontinental*

Press, November 30, 1970, page 1032.] Their trial is scheduled to open February 15.

Trudeau has gone so far as to allow one of his cabinet members to slander publicly one of the defendants, Michel Chartrand, president of the Montréal Central Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions [CNTU]. Dick Fidler reported in *Labor Challenge*:

"Michel Chartrand, turned down in a bid for bail, has launched a \$25,000 lawsuit against Jean Marchand, one of Trudeau's ministers, who recently suggested in a public speech that Chartrand might want to kidnap his rival,

CNTU president Marcel Pépin. A motion by Chartrand to cite Marchand for contempt of court was turned down by the judge, who described Marchand's slanderous remark as a 'joke.'"

The Québec provincial government of Premier Robert Bourassa, meanwhile, is attempting to launch a witch-hunt in the schools. Bourassa's administration has appointed a commissioner to investigate teachers "who take advantage of their positions to indoctrinate youths." The Québec teachers' union has denounced this move as "a permanent extension of the war measures." □

of the Ministry of the Interior, Licenciado Joaquín García Luna y Cana, had pointed out that there was no convincing evidence to assign responsibilities in the commission of these acts. As a result of this fact, the defendants were accused only of complicity."

The political prisoners' statement stressed that the effect of the mid-December sentences was completely opposite from clemency.

"The persons whose names are cleverly used by the dailies have been out on bail since 1968. Their situation has not been changed in the least. The fact that after this time they have still been subjected to sentencing reveals yet another violation of the constitution, whose provisions require that sentence be pronounced within twelve months after the initiation of court cases."

President Echeverría, who was inaugurated December 1, is under pressure to dissociate himself from the ferocious political repression of his predecessor Díaz Ordaz.

It remains to be seen whether the pressure will build up strongly enough to compel him in the near future to release the political prisoners jamming the jails of Mexico.

Appeals on behalf of the political prisoners can be sent to President Luis Echeverría, Palacio Nacional, Mexico 1, D. F., Mexico. □

Denounce Press Lies About 'Release'

Mexican Political Prisoners Still Held

An attempt to weaken the campaign to free Mexico's political prisoners was denounced December 17 by the political prisoners confined in Ward M of Lecumberri prison in the Federal District. In a statement to the public, they accused the Mexico City yellow press of trying to create the impression that fifty-six persons accused of "crimes" related to the 1968 student and popular movement had been released. "This report is totally misleading," the prisoners declared. "Not a single one of the 162 political prisoners has been released in recent months."

A banner headline appeared in the daily *Ultimas Noticias* December 16 announcing that "Fifty-Six of Those Jailed for Their Part in the 1968 Disturbances Can Get Out: Eight Acquitted and Forty-Eight Given Suspended Sentences."

The following day *Novedades* ran the headline: "Fifty-Six of Those Tried in Relation to the 1968 Riots Will Not Have to Serve Prison Sentences."

The *Novedades* article reported that forty-eight persons given suspended sentences of one to two years were also fined 500 pesos (12.49 pesos equal US\$1) for damage allegedly done to four buses during the 1968 student demonstrations. They were also charged 2,000 pesos to cover bail for the period of their sentences.

A paragraph further on in the story

gave an indication of the sort of practices continuing in political trials under the new president Luis Echeverría.

"Eighteenth Penal District Judge, Licenciado Rafael Millán Martínez, the investigating judge in this trial, pointed out in pronouncing sentence that commission of the alleged acts had been fully proved. This was true, he noted, even though the representative

France

Thousands Protest Verdict in Burgos Trial

Some 20,000 persons demonstrated in Paris December 29 to protest the death sentences handed down by a Spanish military tribunal against six Basque nationalists the previous day. (The sentences were commuted to thirty years in prison by General Franco on December 30.)

A wide range of organizations joined the Paris march sponsored by Secours Rouge [Red Help], including the Parti Socialiste Unifié [United Socialist party], the Paris federation of the Socialist party, and the Ligue Communiste [Communist League—the French section of the Fourth International].

The marchers assembled at the Place de Clichy at 6:30 p. m. and walked to the Place de la Bastille. According to the December 31 *Le Monde*, the parade was led by Alain Krivine, the presidential candidate of the Ligue Communiste in the 1969 elections.

"The demonstration was initially scheduled to protest both the sentences at Bur-

gos and at Leningrad," *Le Monde* said. "But the banners and slogans concentrated exclusively on the sentences given to the Spanish Basques of the ETA: 'Franco, assassin!', 'Free Izco and his comrades!', and 'Franco, the people will take your hide!'"

On December 30 the Ligue Communiste issued a statement congratulating Secours Rouge on the success of the demonstration and expressing indignation at the Communist party's refusal to participate. "It's not surprising," the Ligue said, "that a Stalinist party is greatly embarrassed by the Leningrad trial."

Other demonstrations in defense of the Basque prisoners were held throughout France December 29. The largest was in Bayonne, near the Spanish border, where 10,000 persons marched. There were rallies of several thousand persons in Toulouse, Marseille, Bordeaux, Pau, Mauleon, Nice, Ajaccio, Carcassonne, Limoges, Le Mans, and Brest.

After the Elections What Next?

By Tariq Ali

For the feudal landlords, the big bourgeoisie, and the Pakistan army, the result of the December 7 general election is a much bigger shock than the cyclone that left nearly a million dead Bengali bodies in its wake.

It was widely expected that Sheikh Mujibur Rehman and his Awami League would win an overwhelming majority in East Pakistan. In the circumstances, the Awami League has won nearly *all* the seats in the East.

This gives it an overall majority in the new Constituent Assembly.

However, what must have come as an even graver surprise to the ruling class is the election results in West Pakistan, where Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's PPP [People's Party of Pakistan] has won an overwhelming majority and has virtually destroyed the Muslim League (the party that established Pakistan) as a political force in West Pakistan.

The general election result represents, as far as the masses are concerned, a crushing defeat for the reactionaries in West Pakistan and a tremendous victory for Bengali nationalism in East Pakistan.

But while there is no doubt that the masses overwhelmingly rejected the reactionaries, at the same time no socialist can afford to have any illusions regarding the Awami League and the PPP. They are both thoroughly bourgeois parties and will be unable to implement even the most modest reforms as promised in their preelection rhetoric.

The rise of the Awami League is undoubtedly due to the inability of the left to understand the importance of the national question in Bengal. By the time socialists had begun to come to grips with the fact that East Pakistan was a neocolony of the Western part of the country, they were a bit too late.

Mujib had already spent some time in prison because of his agitation on this precise question. The six-point charter of demands on which he has been campaigning represents the programme of the Bengali bourgeoisie; and as such visualized the central gov-

ernment dealing only with defence and foreign affairs.

It demands "two separate but freely convertible currencies for the two parts of the country," the right of the provinces to taxation and revenue collection, the separate accounting of foreign exchange earnings for the two different parts of the country, and the setting up of a militia or paramilitary force for East Pakistan.

What Mujibur Rehman is demanding on behalf of the aspirant bourgeoisie of East Bengal is an equal share of the capitalist cake.

Will the Pakistan army and the capitalist barons of West Pakistan allow these demands to go through? The answer is quite clearly no.

What will probably happen is that in the short term, Mujibur Rehman will be allowed to increase East Pakistan's percentage of import and export licenses, and will be allocated a larger share of foreign capital investment. These are the "concessions" the army will be prepared to make in the coming few months.

If Rehman accepts them he will be allowed to stay in power. If not, it will be back to business as usual—in the shape of the army.

Of course, there is no doubt that in the event of another military coup there will be no holding back the immense grievances of Bengal, and the desire for an independent Bengal will increase a hundredfold. What happens then will depend on whether Bengali revolutionaries succeed in building a revolutionary organization to pose the question of state power.

If the political leadership remains in the hands of the Awami League, the result will be yet another betrayal.

The Awami League and its leader are guided first by the global interests of American imperialism and secondly by the urge to replace West Pakistani capitalists by Bengali capitalists. And a change in oppressors is not exactly what the East Pakistani masses need at this particular moment.

While the Awami League's victory represents a slap in the face of the

ruling class by the Bengali masses, the latter will soon discover that (a) one slap alone is not sufficient, and (b) they will have to kick the Awami League as well.

The new period unfolding in Pakistan today could be the most vital period in its history; and in this history the role of Bengal is pivotal. An independent socialist Bengal, recognised by China, could be the spark which could set alight the whole Indian subcontinent and pave the way to a period of protracted though uneven struggles throughout South Asia.

This process the United States will try to prevent from the very beginning. They will try to ensure a period of elected government in Pakistan in an effort to stem the tide. They will even try to press the Pakistan army to make concessions to the Bengali bourgeoisie, but they will not succeed. They will not be able to interrupt the march of history, as the Indo-chinese people have demonstrated quite clearly.

The lack of any real leftist opposition to the Ayub regime and the inability of both the pro-Peking and the pro-Moscow factions of the National Awami party to oppose the dictatorship were among the main reasons for the meteoric rise of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto as an oppositionist.

For seven years he had served Ayub faithfully; and the fact that he could emerge as the strongest oppositionist in West Pakistan, despite being tarred with Ayub's brush, shows clearly the bankruptcy of the traditional left parties.

The victory of Bhutto's People's party is in reality a sign of the fact that the masses in West Pakistan are determined not to go on living in the same old way as before. In his rhetoric, Bhutto offered them a new deal. He promised an end to oppression, poverty, and misery. He even talked in vague terms of land reform, of social equality, etc., etc. His "left" face, his "left" voice swept him to power in the cities of West Pakistan, and in doing so smashed to smithereens the

right-wing and semifascist parties, which with their talk of Islam and their acts of terrorism had petrified a section of the left into virtual impotence.

But West Pakistan is not only changing in the cities. In the countryside, too, there is a feeling of change in the air. That is one of the reasons why many landlords climbed onto the Bhutto bandwagon and have now been elected to the Constituent Assembly.

The leftists inside Bhutto's party are now coming forward and beginning to make serious allegations of treachery and betrayal semipublicly. Evidently a large number of socialists belonging to the PPP were encouraged by Bhutto to court arrest by openly attacking the military dictatorship of Yahya Khan. He assured them that he would get them out before the general election.

Soon after they were arrested, Bhutto made pacts with leading landlords and distributed the seats accordingly.

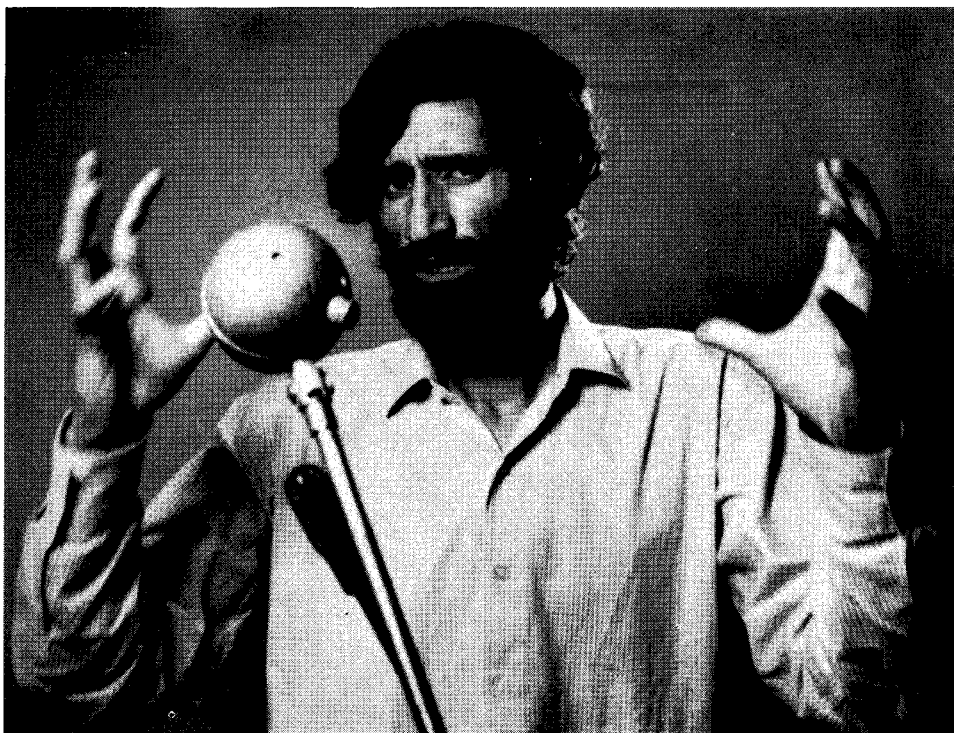
Socialists like Mairaj Mohammed Khan and Pervez Rashid still languish in prison, while their "leader" prepares to negotiate with the Awami League and the Pakistan army.

It is acts like this that cause many militants to remark that Bhutto is a gravedigger of socialism and socialists rather than feudalism and the landlords.

The change in the countryside is reflected by the fact that in Northwest Pakistan, near the city of Mardan in northern Hasht Nagar, the peasants have been engaged in armed conflict with the landlords. The peasants have resisted all attempts to evict them, and have had to face Sten guns and light machine guns of the landlords. In some battles they have routed the police on several occasions and have suffered some casualties themselves. Over a hundred peasants have been arrested.

What is interesting is that one of the landlords, Nisar Ahmed Khan, is a leading light of Mr Bhutto's PPP. Small wonder then that the PPP newspaper *Musseawat* has ignored the Hasht Nagar battles completely as has a bulk of both the government and the opposition press. Only *Sanober*, the organ of the militant Kissan Mazdoor party (Worker-Peasant party), has published detailed reports.

The Hasht Nagar episode is likely to multiply in the near future as the



RAJA ANWAR: Revolutionary socialist leader still in prison.

more "advanced" landlords are today attempting to "modernize" their part of the countryside by evicting the peasant-proprietors and replacing them with tractors and agricultural labourers. The next period is therefore going to see an intensification of struggles in the countryside against the landlords no matter which political party they have aligned themselves with.

While Bhutto and Sheikh Mujibur Rehman celebrate their pyrrhic victories, they prefer to forget that there are many socialist militants in prison in both East and West Pakistan.

Raja Anwar in West Pakistan and Mahbubullah in East Pakistan in their prison cells understand better than most the real meaning of the general election. The trades-union leaders who are in prison for leading strikes will no doubt be better prepared to struggle against the capitalist class with added fervour once they are released.

We will see whether or not the new government releases the political prisoners, guarantees trades-union freedoms, allows the establishment of a Communist party, removes the curbs on the press, and takes out of the statute books all the repressive regulations that have existed since the days of British imperialism and that have been improved upon by the Pakistan army.

The new Constituent Assembly has been given 120 days to frame a new constitution. But it has to be approved by General Yahya Khan before it is allowed to operate, and if it is against "the interests or the ideology of Pakistan" then, of course, the general can refuse to approve the new constitution, dissolve the Assembly, and call a new general election.

With Mujibur Rehman having won a complete majority of the seats, it is clear that he will try to reach some sort of an "understanding" with Yahya Khan and maybe even with Bhutto. This "understanding," whatever it is, will sound the death knell of any hopes the Bengali masses may have placed in their leader.

The general election has shown quite unambiguously that the objective conditions in both parts of Pakistan are rotten ripe for socialism. The task of creating the necessary subjective factor — a revolutionary party of the urban and rural proletariat — confronts the socialist left as a stark necessity. If the United States should decide to pressure the army to allow a period of bourgeois-democratic government (in order to try to prevent a mobilization of the masses), then clearly this period should be utilized to try to create the necessary subjective conditions. □

The Koza 'Riot' and the Fight Against U.S. Occupation

By Wataru Yakushiji

Osaka

Before dawn on December 20, a spontaneous outburst of indignation swept the town of Koza, Okinawa. People burned military cars, clashed with armed American troops, and attacked the U.S.-operated Kadena Air Base, breaking through the gate. It was, however, not merely an "anti-American riot," as the U.S. military authorities claimed. In fact, it was not a riot at all, as there was no wanton destruction—even the car burnings were carried out in a disciplined manner. The outburst was antiwar, antimilitary, and anti-imperialist.

The incident was touched off by a traffic accident on the night of December 19. An Okinawan worker at the Kadena base was run down by a car driven by an American soldier just before midnight. The worker was not badly injured, but a crowd gathered.

Irate citizens surrounded the driver and refused to turn him over to American MPs. Several people shouted: "Let's not have another Itoman case!"¹

One MP drew his pistol and began firing into the air to disperse the crowd. This further angered the citizens, who overturned the MP's car and set it on fire. Soon there were more than 5,000 people in the street shouting "Yankee, go home!"

The demonstrators burned more than sixty cars that had yellow military license plates. Every military vehicle that entered the street was stopped and its driver beaten. Civilian cars were not disturbed. The burning automobiles were rolled into the middle of the street so as not to endanger nearby houses.

1. A fifty-one-year-old woman was killed by an allegedly drunken American driver on September 18 in the town of Itoman, Okinawa. There were demonstrations demanding a public trial, an official apology from the American commander, and adequate compensation for the victim's family. The American authorities refused to allow the driver to be tried by an Okinawan court and on December 11 he was found "not guilty" by a U.S. court-martial.

The December 21 *Yomiuri Shimbun* reported that Black soldiers were not attacked. (People were quoted as saying, "They are suppressed just as we are.")

Several hundred armed U.S. troops finally cleared the street, but the demonstrators then marched to Kadena Air Base, about a mile away. There the crowd overwhelmed the guards and set fire to three houses and two military structures, as well as destroying some eleven army cars. The crowd fought back with stones against the 800 American troops who were called out (along with 700 Ryukyu police). The clashes lasted until after three in the morning.

Newspapers in Okinawa and in mainland Japan were sympathetic to the demonstrators. Okinawan papers refused to use the word "mobs." Headlines declared: "There Is Always a Limit to People's Patience," and "People Say: 'Well Done, Good!'"

The Koza incident was only the latest of countless outrages by the Amer-

ican occupation forces, many of which have been met with mass protests.

On May 30, 1970, a woman high-school student in Gushikawa was reportedly raped by an American soldier. The following day some 2,000 students held a rally in front of the Gushikawa Senior High School, demanding that all U.S. bases be removed from Okinawa.

The alleged rapist was found "not guilty" by an American court-martial, as was another soldier accused of raping two women base workers.

On June 10 an American air force man, reputedly drunk, was said to have attacked an Okinawan taxi driver after a car crash. Some 300 people came to the taxi driver's aid.

American servicemen have been accused in a whole series of other crimes as well: Robbery of a taxi driver on July 7; five similar robberies on July 22; arson at a hotel, August 30; the shooting of an eighteen-year-old boy, September 18; a hold-up at a jewelry store, October 7; hand grenades thrown into people's homes on November 3; and a hand grenade thrown into a taxi, November 12; another robbery, December 12. The ground was well prepared for the Koza explosion.

Demonstrations in solidarity with the citizens of Koza were held throughout Japan. A mass rally was held in Osaka December 20. Militant workers and students staged demonstrations in Tokyo and Osaka December 24.

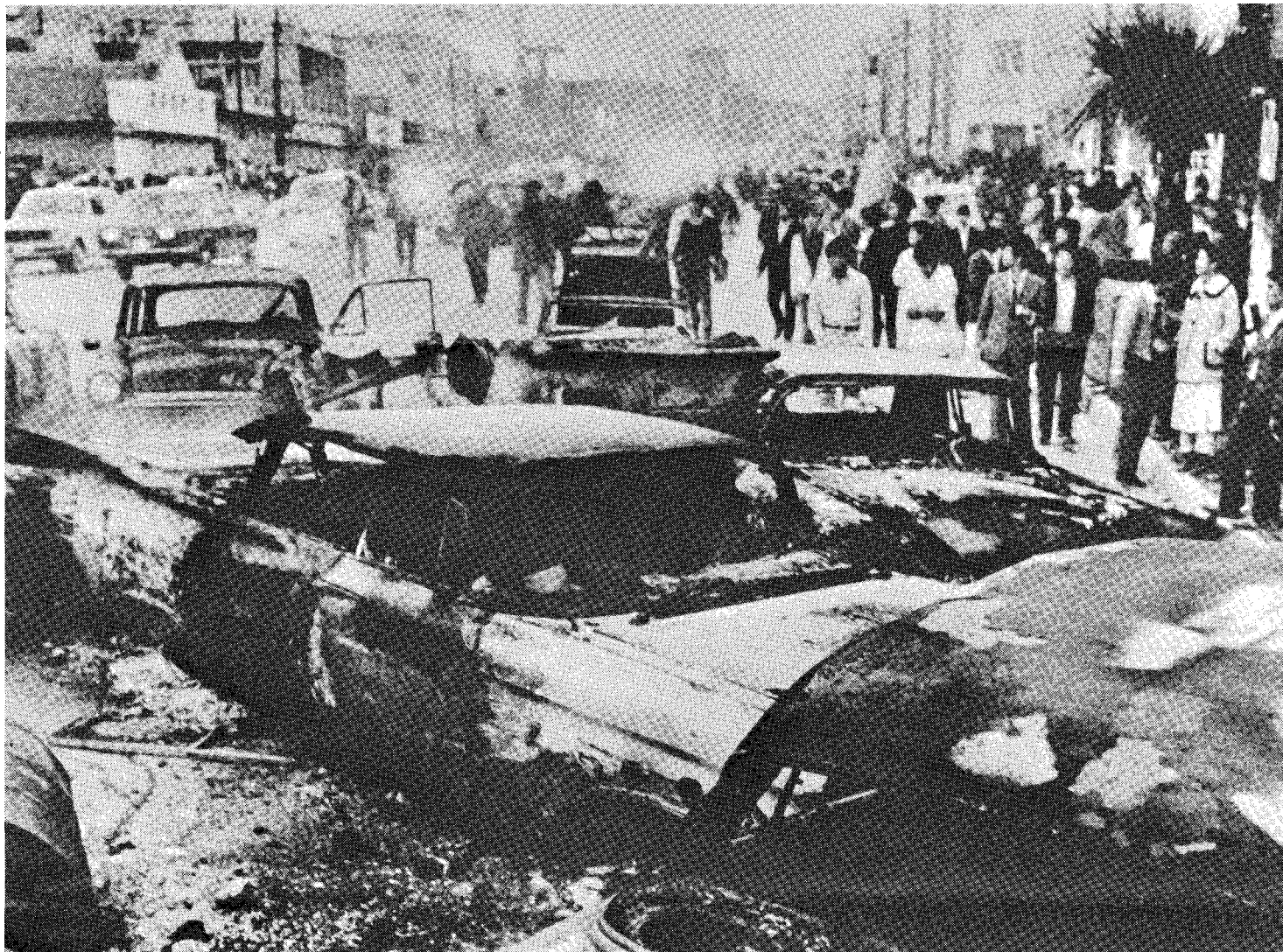
The Socialist and Communist parties and the Ryukyu civil government headed by Chobyō Yara are trying to give the protest a strictly legalistic character, negotiating with the Sato government on the question of police jurisdiction.

People in Okinawa remain unconvinced that even such elementary rights can be won through politicians' speeches. In contrast to the parliamentary reformists, the Okinawan movement is ready to rely on mass action. There is widespread support for the actions taken by the citizens of Koza.

Various organizations representing



YARA: Against "illegal" protests.



KOZA: Burned automobiles litter street December 20 after angry protest.

a broad spectrum of views have begun to work for the unconditional release of those arrested during the incident. These include Fukkikyo [Okinawa Conference for Return to the Homeland] and Kyoshokuin-kai [Okinawa Teachers Association].

The popular reaction was deepened by the high-handed attitude of General James Lampert, U. S. high commissioner of the Ryukyus. He threatened to postpone the promised removal of stored poison gas until he received guarantees against the repetition of such an incident. He called the people of Koza "mobs." Local assemblies throughout the Ryukyus, including those of Koza and Naha, responded by passing resolutions condemning the American military authorities and defending the Koza citizens.

Kyoshokuin-kai decided December 22 to boycott all future U. S.-spon-

sored "America-Okinawa friendship" events.

Kenrokyo [Okinawa Prefectural Council of Labor Unions] demanded that General Lampert leave Okinawa.

Surprised at the scope of the repercussions, Lampert announced December 23 that there had been a "mis-translation" of his statement, adding that there would be no change in the schedule for removing poison-gas weapons from Okinawa.

The people of Koza even received support from inside the U. S. army. The December 23 issue of *Asahi Shimbun* reported that about thirty anti-war Black soldiers at Kadena Air Base had drafted an "Appeal from the Black People Inside the Base to the People of Okinawa."

"The people of Okinawa have been suffering unjustifiable discrimination just like Black soldiers have been in

the U. S. military forces,"² the appeal said. "The action of the people at Koza is quite justifiable, and we ardently support it."

The Okinawan masses have remained mobilized after the events at Koza. When U. S. authorities scheduled target practice with live shells at Kunigami village December 31, virtually the whole population of the village staged a sit-in on the practice range. The local citizens were joined by revolutionists from other parts of Okinawa. The January 1 *Asahi Shimbun* reported that the military maneuvers were suspended, at least temporarily. □

2. Some 300 Black soldiers used stones and bottles in a fight with armed MPs in Koza on April 20, 1970. The Blacks were trying to rescue two of their comrades who had been arrested by white MPs after a quarrel.

Laird Brings Gifts to Thai Dictator

U.S. Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird flew into Bangkok January 7, bearing promises of increased military aid for the Thai regime. Laird indicated the aid would cover a period of ten years. This was not an indication that Nixon plans to extend his administration beyond its legal limit, but an admission that both the Republican and Democratic parties are committed to the goals of American imperialism.

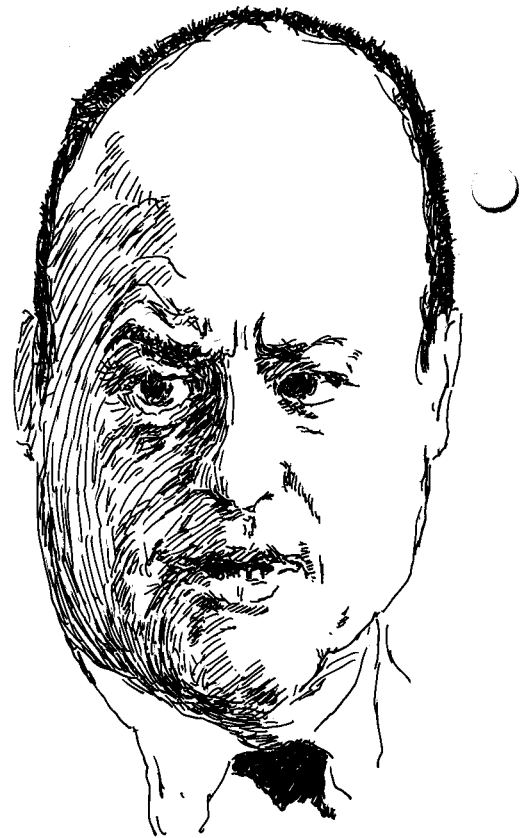
The increased military supplies promised to the Thai government do not mean that Bangkok has been neglected up till now. The U.S. is currently supplying weapons valued at \$75,000,000 a year.

The January 8 *New York Times* reported that Laird had said increased military aid could be supplied from "excess" stocks of equipment.

The Thai government claims it is planning to withdraw all its troops from Vietnam by February 1972, but neither Laird nor his host, Premier Thanom Kittikachorn, expressed any apprehension that there would be no use for the increased weaponry. The *New York Times* report indicated one way in which the problem of "excess" equipment is already being solved:

"The Defense Department has set up an Advanced Research Projects Agency to help the Thais in counterinsurgency activities."

Unfortunately, the problem of excess weaponry has a way of recurring, sometimes to the extent that a small nation like Thailand can't absorb the entire oversupply. We wonder if Laird was considerate enough to promise that U.S. troops would be available to help use up the equipment if that should prove necessary. □



LAIRD: Promises more millions to Kittikachorn.

1936 Letter Published for First Time

Trotsky Sought Fighting Front Against Franco

[A previously unpublished letter by Leon Trotsky appeared in the December 5, 1970, issue of *Le Monde*. The Paris daily did not indicate the exact date of the letter. However, *Le Monde* reported that it was addressed to Jean Rous, the representative of the Trotskyist movement in Barcelona in 1936. The message was intended for the leaders of the Spanish militant left. Trotsky's apparent objective was to encourage joint action by the Marxist and anarcho-syndicalist currents fighting against the fascist counterrevolution. The letter never reached its destination, however, having been intercepted by Mussolini's agents in Barcelona. It was discovered recently in the archives of the Italian police by the Italian historian Paolo Spriano, and is to be included in the third volume of his *History of the Italian Communist Party*, which will be subtitled *Popular Fronts, Stalin, and the*

War. Our translation of the letter, which was originally written in French, follows.]

* * *

Dear Comrades,

I got your unexpected telegram. Unfortunately, it could be interpreted here as evidence of direct interference by me in Spanish affairs at this time when the question is pending—so far as I know—of my being able to get a visa to return to Barcelona. Needless to say, I would be very happy to do so. Is this possible?

You are aware of the situation I have been subjected to here—the fascist attack on the one hand and the infamous TASS statement on the other.¹ I do not know what attitude the

government will take. It doesn't have the slightest notion of the criminal

by members of the fascist Nacional Samling [National Union], the formation headed by Major Vidkun Quisling. The Norwegian Nazis carried off some of Trotsky's papers in an attempt to prove that he was carrying on "Bolshevik agitation" in Norway. On the morning of August 6, 1936, the Norwegian radio broadcast the statement of the prosecution in the Moscow trials accusing Trotsky of directing a "terrorist" campaign against the Soviet Union from Norway.

On August 29 the Soviet ambassador handed the Oslo government a note threatening that "continued harboring of Trotsky" would lead to a break in diplomatic and trade relations between the USSR and Norway.

In response to this pressure, the Norwegian government placed Trotsky under virtual house arrest. For a time it was feared that he would be handed over to Stalin. The Cardenas government then granted Trotsky asylum in Mexico.

1. During the night of August 4, 1936, Trotsky's home in Norway was raided

infamy of the Stalin-Yagoda clique.

N.² and I would be completely ready to go at once to Barcelona. The matter—to succeed—must be approached with the greatest possible discretion.

You well understand that I cannot give you any advice from here. Direct armed struggle is now under way and the situation shifts from day to day. The level of information reaching me stands at zero. People are talking about the disappearance of Maurin? What does it mean? I hope he hasn't been killed. As for Nin, Andrade, and the others, it would be criminal to let ourselves be guided now in this great struggle by memories of the preceding period. Even after the experiences we have had, if there are differences in program and method, these divergences must in no way impede a sincere and lasting rapprochement. Further experience would do the rest. As for me personally, I would be entirely ready to aid in the battle, if only as a mere observer from afar.

The question most on my mind concerns relations between the POUM [Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista—United Marxist Workers party] and the syndicalists. It would, it seems to me, be extremely dangerous to let oneself be guided *exclusively* or even *primarily* by doctrinal considerations. At all costs, it is necessary to improve relations with the syndicalists, despite all their prejudices. The common enemy must be defeated. The confidence of the best syndicalists must be won in the course of the struggle. These considerations may certainly seem commonplace to you and I apologize in advance. I am not sufficiently familiar with the situation to offer any concrete advice. I would only like to note that before October we made every effort to work together even with the purest anarchists.

The Kerensky government often tried to use the Bolsheviks against the anarchists. Lenin resolutely opposed this. In that situation, he said, one anarchist militant was worth more than a hundred hesitating Mensheviks. During the civil war forced on you by the fascists, the greatest danger is lack of decisiveness, a spirit of equivocation, in a word—Menshevism. Again

2. Natalia, Trotsky's companion.

all this is too vague. I am willing to do everything to make my suggestions as precise as possible. But in order to do that, the distance separating us must be overcome . . . For my part, I can pledge the sincerest desire to reach a mutual understanding with the comrades in struggle, in spite of all possible differences. It would be shameful pettiness to turn toward the past if the present and the future open the way for common struggle.

With the help of a dictionary I will try to follow the course of battle at close range. But I will not be back home for four or five days.

My warmest greetings to all our

Great Britain

Secret Court Orders Dutschke Deported

A special immigration tribunal ruled January 8 that German socialist student leader Rudi Dutschke will not be allowed to remain in England. The decision came after secret hearings in which Dutschke was not permitted to hear the "evidence" against him and thus had no opportunity to refute it.

Dutschke went to England in 1968 to recover from wounds suffered when an ultrarightist in Berlin attempted to assassinate him. He has lost 50 percent of his vision and is under treatment for epilepsy.

Last September, in an apparent attempt to create a "law and order" image for the new Tory government, Home Secretary Reginald Maudling ordered Dutschke's expulsion. [See *Intercontinental Press*, October 5, page 820.]

At the time, Maudling made no claim that Dutschke had violated his agreement not to engage in political activities while in England. In fact, the home secretary claimed that Dutschke had to be deported because it was unfair to impose such a condition upon him.

The public outcry at such cynical "justification" caused Maudling to change his story and claim that "security" reasons dictated the expulsion. This argument offered the additional advantage of permitting him to conduct the proceedings in secret.

In spite of the procedural advantages enjoyed by the prosecution, the

friends and also and especially for those who feel they have reason to be dissatisfied with me.

[The following note was attached to the letter.]

My dear Rous,

You can show the attached letter—if you consider it useful—to Nin and the others. What I say in the letter is not at all a diplomatic maneuver. Once again flexibility must be combined with firmness. I feel bound hand and foot. Best wishes from N. and me.

Sincerely,
L. T.

tribunal needed some tortured logic to explain its ruling. Anthony Lewis reported in the January 9 *New York Times*:

"The tribunal found that Mr. Dutschke's presence here had *not* 'constituted any appreciable danger to national security.' But if he stayed on as a full-time student, it said, 'there must without doubt be risk.'" [Emphasis added.]

The same logic would justify the imprisonment of every British citizen, including Maudling, on murder charges since "there must without doubt be risk" that every Briton is capable of murder.

Presumably because it recognized the flimsiness of the "security" charge, the tribunal went on to convict Dutschke of violating the restrictions on his political activity—an accusation that Maudling himself had denied. The tribunal did not offer any evidence to support the charge, beyond the claim that it had heard secret testimony.

(Besides the already mentioned reason for conducting most of the tribunal's hearings secretly, the government may have had other reasons to keep the proceedings out of the public eye. Lewis wrote that "There were indications . . . that some of the adverse testimony came from extensive wiretapping and shadowing of Mr. Dutschke since he came to England.")

Dutschke commented on the ruling

against him that it "should now be clear to every foreigner that even the ability to think critically and discuss politics is a risk in the eyes of the present government."

The decision was also condemned by Michael Foot, a Labour party member of parliament, and by Tony Smythe, secretary of the National Council for Civil Liberties, who said: "I don't believe the institutions and traditions of this country are so weak that they cannot withstand the pres-

ence of one sick man and his ideas."

Even the conservative London *Times* called the tribunal's ruling unjustified.

Virtually the only public support for the government's action came from a right-wing Conservative university group, which called on Maudling to carry his position to its logical conclusion and launch a full-blown witch-hunt without any pretense of judicial fairness:

"There are too many subversive elements in the United Kingdom today

without adding to the problems by importing aliens. Certainly money should not be wasted on tribunals and appeals procedures. Good riddance to Dutschke. What about the others?"

It is not known where Dutschke and his family will go when they are expelled from Britain. The Irish writer Conor Cruise O'Brien has offered to take them into his home. It was also reported that Dutschke was considering a teaching position at Aarhus University in Denmark. □

A New Relation of Forces

Fifty Years of the French Communist Party

By Alain Krivine

[On the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the French Communist party, the Paris daily *Le Monde* devoted three full pages to assessments of the organization born a half century ago out of the split with the Social Democracy at the Congress of Tours. These pages included articles by the Social Democratic leader Guy Mollet, Deputy General Secretary Georges Marchais of the Communist party, as well as students of the history of the French Stalinist movement. In an apparent nod to the increasingly important challenge to the French CP from young forces on its left, the special supplement also included an analysis of the role and perspectives of the Communist movement by Alain Krivine, the 1968 presidential candidate of the Ligue Communiste (Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International). Our translation of Krivine's article follows.]

* * *

The French Communist party has very few points in common with the young French section of the Communist International that emerged from the Tours split. We need only reread a few of the celebrated twenty-one conditions for joining the Third International—for example, on the role of parliaments, internationalism, or working within the army—to realize that in its half-century of history the

Communist party has certainly changed.

The PCF [Parti Communiste Français — French Communist party] was created at the time of the triumphant October revolution, the revolution of Lenin and Trotsky. Its objective was to bring out of the great postwar upheaval a social revolution that, in the minds of the Bolsheviks, could only be an integral part of a world revolution. But this party, in Brezhnev's time, has become a national party, a champion of national independence. For years it has been fighting "responsibly" for a democratic France in the framework of peaceful coexistence.

Holding a position of dominance in the workers movement, the PCF plays a considerable role in the country's political and social life. This role has a certain consistency to it if you look at the different attitudes the party has adopted during the great social crises that have marked contemporary France. In 1936 the PCF maintained that you had to "know when to end a strike." In 1945 we had to rebuild the national economy and have "only one police force and one army," strikes being considered a "weapon of the trusts." In 1968 what the party considered necessary was to "avoid adventures" after the Grenelle agreement.* And for this reason it ran the

* In the Rue de Grenelle negotiations during the May-June 1968 revolutionary up-

headline in *l'Humanité*: "The Bosses and the Government Are Prolonging the Strike"! Thus on three occasions the PCF leadership has used its power to maintain the existing social order.

It has become a commonplace on the far left to say that the PCF is no longer a revolutionary party. But too often verbal one-upmanship in denouncing the "social fascists" or "collaborators" takes the place of analysis. For us, designating the PCF as Stalinist describes at once its political strategy, the interests underlying it, and the party's organizational functioning.

The PCF's policy is clearly defined. Its objective is, by means of multi-class alliances, to coalesce the broadest possible layers of the population against a common enemy. In succession, the PCF leadership has advocated unity against fascism, against the 200 families, against the "Krauts," the trusts, personal power [of de Gaulle], and the monopolies. It has done this in the framework of popular, French, national, republican, and other fronts. The political formulas have been variations on the theme of

surge in France, the government and the employers offered concessions to strengthen the hand of the reformist labor leaders, primarily the heads of the CP-controlled CGT [Confederation Generale du Travail — General Confederation of Labor], so that they could get the 9,000,000 strikers back to work. — IP

true, renewed, or advanced democracy.

In this type of combination, strikes may serve as a means of pressure but the goal is to catch votes. In this conception, identification with the USSR remains indispensable. Next, this strategy requires assembling several preconditions.

First of all, this line requires the existence of a parliamentary system sufficiently democratic to permit an effective policy of pressure. Secondly, it demands the existence of a Social Democratic or "republican" intermediary that accepts playing the role of partner. Finally, it depends on a foreign and domestic policy by the USSR sufficiently attractive to win support and to serve as a model. The progressive disappearance of these three prerequisites and the appearance of the new phenomenon of radicalization of the social struggle are provoking a real crisis in the PCF today.

In view of the disappearance of classical parliamentary democracy and the establishment in 1958 of a "strong state," the program of "advanced democracy" is losing its impact. Gradual limitation of the power of the monopolies, democratization of the ORTF [Office de Radiodiffusion et Télévision Française — French Radio and Television Broadcasting Organization], the police and the army, along with extending the nationalizations, might seem attractive if, under the pressure of a landslide vote for the united left, the bourgeoisie were capable of accepting such reforms.

Unfortunately for this strategy, it is evident that the monopolies running the country are not a structure separable from the overall political and economic complex of the existing system. Quite the contrary, the monopolies breathe life into the entire mechanism of development. They form a network pervading the bourgeois social fabric. They are the nervous system of bourgeois society. Coups d'état have become an accepted part of life, as well as arresting communists in their beds at the crack of dawn.

But the PCF's "gradualist" strategy has been put in question all the more by the slow disappearance since 1958 of structures such as local assemblies, parliament, etc., mediating between the state and the wage earners. This prevents putting pressure on these bodies with the aim of devitalizing class conflicts. Now, to make themselves heard

by the central government, the workers are forced to use more radical forms of struggle not encompassed by



ALAIN KRIVINE

the legality instituted by the leaderships of the workers organizations.

As for the perspective of uniting the left, which the PCF has sought to realize in relation to currents with no following in the plants or anywhere else except at the polls, the party's successes reflect only the febrile enthusiasms of the electoral game. May 1968 blew up this orientation.

But another obstacle for the PCF leadership is developing out of the prolonged death agony of its favored ally, the Socialist party. Despite the CP's continual efforts to preserve a measure of respectability for the Social Democracy against the storms of time, this party is suffering attrition and strangulation — to the great despair of the PCF leadership. These chiefs correctly fear that a new reformist formation, including François Mitterrand, would be more reluctant to play the infernal, ceaselessly renewed game of advanced democracy.

Finally, the last pillar of this strategy — the element that many militants regarded as the touchstone of orthodoxy, that is, the Soviet model — is today the source of difficulties and uneasiness. The revelations in Khrushchev's report to the Twentieth Congress, the intervention in Czechoslovakia, the universal crisis of the Stalinist system — given new immediacy recently by the events in Poland — cannot help but be cause for disillusion.

Since 1968 a new relationship of

forces has emerged in the workers movement. The development is now irreversible of a force to the left of the PCF which, while still organizationally divided, is rallying and influencing an entire generation that has come to political awareness recently outside the party channels. In all street demonstrations, the CP leadership is forced to accept a contingent of revolutionists, in Paris as well as in the provinces.

For some time it has been possible to organize full-scale national campaigns outside the PCF framework (the Comité National Vietnam [National Vietnam Committee], the campaigns in transport, in the army, for nondiscriminatory wage increases, the Secours Rouge [Red Aid, a united front to oppose repression]).

While still in a minority, the far left organizations like the Ligue Communiste have gone beyond the stage of mere propaganda. Today they are moving into the stage of organizing struggles — with all the exemplary impact this can have on Communist activists, especially the youth, or, to the contrary, some older militants, who after repeated unhappy experiences no longer feel at home in their party.

In the present period of radicalization of struggles, the PCF faces a complex and contradictory situation. Retaining its hegemony over the working class as a whole, it is cutting itself off from the most combative strata. More than in the past, it is recruiting in petty-bourgeois left circles attracted by its consistent and "reasonable" positions, as well as in certain layers of the working class becoming politically conscious for the first time. At the same time, because of its entire history, its education, and its way of operating, this party is unsalvageable and can only move in the direction of more consistent reformism.

Already I can see some CPers accusing me again of anti-Communism. Let's get this straight. The real anti-Communists are those who oppose building socialism in France. And in this sense, our criticisms have nothing in common with those of Bergeron, Mitterrand, or Savary.

Fifty years after the Congress of Tours, the task of the Fourth Internationalists is clear. In France and throughout the world, we must make every effort to rebuild real communist parties. □

Is the Spanish CP Headed Toward an Open Split?

By Paco Robs

[We have translated the following article from the October 19 issue of *Rouge*, the weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste (Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International)].

* * *

"As for the parties that criticize us, we have the means to reduce them to the level of splinter groups." (Brezhnev.)¹

"I accuse Carrillo of conducting factional activities, factional activities begun years ago, which in the recent period have led to political and ideological division within the party, a division that today threatens to become an organizational division."

This is the charge Lister² wanted to hurl at the general secretary of the PCE [Partido Comunista de España—Communist party of Spain] at the expanded plenum of the Central Committee in September. He did not get the chance. The majority of the Central Committee rejected his proposed agenda; he left the hall, and found himself expelled from the party, just like Celestino Uriatrete, José Barzana, Luis Balaguer, and Jesús Saiz, who followed him.

This was only the most recent episode in the interbureaucratic struggle touched off by the intervention of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia in August 1968. The leadership of the PCE firmly condemned the intervention, offering its support to Dubcek. On this

question, two members of the Executive Committee, Eduardo García and Agustín Gómez, who had lined up behind the Soviet positions, have been bureaucratically expelled. This heavy-handed action revealed Carrillo's need to put an end to the factional campaign carried on by García and Gómez since 1968, which has been denounced repeatedly in the pages of *Mundo Obrero*, the organ of the PCE.

Today the confrontation between the pro-Soviet and Carrillo factions has broken out into the open, probably foreshadowing the breakup of the PCE itself.

The García-Lister faction is launching an oppositionist *Mundo Obrero*, the first issue of which has just appeared. This grouping seeks to reappropriate the party central organ "usurped" by Carrillo, for use in a public factional war against him.

Carrillo has replied to Lister's violent accusations in an article entitled "The Lingering Odor of Beria," denouncing "slander of the party probably never equaled by Franco's propaganda."

It is true that Lister has always acted as a superloyal flunky of the Soviet bureaucracy and that he is still unequivocally on the side of the Red Army cliques. But in the interbureaucratic conflict within the PCE, it is not true that the Stalinists have chosen his camp.

It is nonetheless paradoxical to see Lister attacking the Carrillo group in these terms: "I accuse Carrillo of transforming the administrative apparatus into a party within the party." Still more: "For years great discontent has been accumulating in our party as a result of right and left opportunist deviations in the orientations and positions of Santiago Carrillo, and of a systematic violation of democratic centralism."

Tactical considerations alone cannot explain this denunciation of the bureaucratization of the party by a thoroughgoing Stalinist. Lister is, of course, seeking to draw behind him a

section of the PCE apparatus and to win a minimum activist base in Spain itself. In his conflict with the Carrillo bureaucracy, which has centrifugal tendencies, Lister is fundamentally defending the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy. But he is also expressing the resentment of PCE members, who since 1939 have taken refuge in the East European countries, especially the Soviet Union.

In opposition to this element, Carrillo has rebuilt the party apparatus and raised himself to the post of general secretary, where he has reigned like a Bonaparte since 1956.

Thus, Lister decided to expose Carrillo's rather uninspiring role in the 1950s and 1960s.

"I accuse Carrillo of forming a tribunal to interrogate and pass judgment on the comrades returning from the Nazi concentration camps in Germany. The fact that they were alive made each of them a suspected traitor. Carrillo maintained that all those who had escaped owed their success to holding the position of 'kapo,' or hangman of their comrades . . .

"Carrillo in fact did not forgive these comrades for having escaped death. What Carrillo wanted was dead Communists whom he could use as a symbol. At the same time he wanted to get rid of as many as possible of those who might be able to testify to the baseness of the leaders of the party and the JSU [Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas—United Socialist Youth, the CP youth group],³ who abandoned their comrades to their fate in 1939-40, first in Spain and later in France."

Carrillo has not replied to these accusations. One faction is infected with the lingering odor of Beria, but his shadow falls on the other, too . . .

The present split in the PCE cannot be understood simply as the result of the crisis that has rocked the international Communist movement since the invasion of Czechoslovakia. This international crisis, in fact, com-

1. Quoted by *Unir-Debat*, No. 46, October 10, 1970. [This is the organ of the opposition faction in the French CP.]

2. Lister, a construction worker and union head, joined the PCE in 1930. He spent three years in the USSR, from 1932 to 1935, where he underwent intensive political and military training. He gained enormous military prestige for his exploits at the head of the Quinto Regimiento [Fifth Regiment]. After the fall of Madrid, he returned to Moscow, where he was commissioned as a general in the Red Army fighting against the Hitlerite Germans. Since then he has lived in the USSR.

3. Carrillo was the general secretary of the JSU.

bines with a crisis of the PCE in the Spanish context. The unprecedented upsurge of workers struggles over the last year has sounded the death knell of the PCE's policy of operating as a pressure group and making unprincipled alliances. This policy, represented as a strategy for overthrowing the Franco dictatorship and replacing it with a bourgeois-democratic regime supposed to be the first step toward socialism, is no longer tenable.

The allies that Carrillo sought in the "evolving" sectors of the bourgeoisie are in the government today. The workers' commissions have fallen into decay; their legalistic policy has been superseded by the present form of the struggles. The PCE is even finding its leadership challenged by Catholic trade-unionist currents. Moreover, the situation on the revolutionary far left is really beginning to be clarified.

The PCE has never been a mass party. But today it is losing even its basic organization in the working-class centers. Its opportunism is being combined with an irresponsible and often criminal adventurism.

In view of the PCE's glaringly obvious incapacity for extending its hold over the Spanish working class, the Soviet bureaucracy has taken the offensive on the basis of the following cold and cynical calculation: Since the PCE cannot serve as a serious card in the peaceful coexistence policy in Europe, it must be reduced to the role of a docile appendage. In this way, the Kremlin bureaucrats propose to put a halt to the notions the European CPs have today about freeing themselves from the domination of Moscow.

A complete split is very probable when the crisis reaches its peak, but all the cards have not been played yet. Carrillo still has a few aces, which he is capable of using skillfully. First of all, although he lacks a mass network, he does have an underground apparatus in Spain, and probably the critical support of the rank-and-file activists, who have had little political indoctrination and are receptive to his "independent" positions. He apparently removed Eduardo García from his post as organizational secretary of the party in time before García was able to build a solid faction inside Spain. This enables Carrillo now to bluff about the important recruitment the

party is supposed to be experiencing at the present time.

Next, Carrillo proposes to play his international cards. At the conference of European CPs which was held last September 29 Carrillo was doubtlessly isolated on the Czechoslovak question. He can, however, boast of the support of the English CP, the only one that responded to the expulsion of Lister, which was reported in its organ the *Morning Star*. He can rely, to a certain extent, on the Italian CP. In recent issues of *Mundo Obrero*, Carrillo has played up his very fraternal conversations with Nicolas Ceaucescu, and his efforts to reestablish fraternal relations with the Chinese CP. In the latter respect, he anticipated the turn recently taken by the USSR and the European CPs.

Furthermore, Carrillo is still well regarded in Cuba, and he makes a point of this.

However, these arguments do not have decisive weight. Carrillo's best trump is doubtlessly the crisis which is now deepening in the European CPs and which the radical measures of the Soviet bureaucracy are more likely to aggravate than to quell.

A split in the PCE in the present situation would have a different order of importance from the one that occurred a year ago in the Finnish CP, or the expulsion of Ernst Fischer from the Austrian CP.

Carrillo has close relations with the Greek CP inside Greece. He recently had a meeting with Theodorakis in which he proposed coordinating the struggle against the dictatorships in power in both their respective countries. He does not conceal his sympathy for Garaudy; their standard themes at present converge, from the line of many models of socialism to the peaceful national strike, including the concept of a new historic bloc, or the alliance of labor and culture.

Along with this, there is the ardor of the Marchais team in its work of undermining the PCE. Since the realignment that followed the—verbal—outburst of condemning the intervention in Czechoslovakia, the PCF [Parti Communiste Français—French Communist party] has unquestionably become the Soviet bureaucracy's principal pawn on the European chessboard.

More monolithic than the Italian CP, the PCF proved itself in practice by

damming up a revolutionary situation in May 1968. With Garaudy expelled and Marchais in power, this party is directly managing the interests of the Kremlin bureaucracy. And it is doing this enthusiastically. It no doubt has turned its hand to the work of putting out the oppositionist *Mundo Obrero*. And it has presumed to organize PCE activists factionally in order to draw up a plan of campaign against Carrillo. (Cf. *Unir-Débat*, No. 46, October 10, 1970.)

But the PCF cannot long play the role of junior policeman without paying the price. It is well known that behind the artificially quiet facade, the cleavages are deepening.

Excluded from the Kremlin orbit, what trajectory will the PCE assume? A classical Social Democracy is even less conceivable in Spain than anywhere else. The Carrillist bureaucracy remains Stalinist. On the fringes of the pro-Moscow camp, the oscillations of its policy will probably increase dangerously.

From this standpoint, an International built on the Garaudy line is just as inconceivable. In the last analysis, it is the dialectical relationship between the international crisis of Stalinism and the building of the revolutionary International that will determine the Spanish party's trajectory.

The emergence of a revolutionary Marxist organization in Spain will be the decisive factor. □

Chicken with Arsenic Sauce

The United States Department of Agriculture found illegal concentrations of organic arsenic in 17 percent of the poultry it tested in 1969, according to an Associated Press dispatch published in the January 7 *Washington Post*. The previous year, 27.5 percent of the birds tested had too much arsenic. The department said it did not yet have figures for 1970.

The report attempted to reassure poultry eaters by pointing out that organic arsenic—also called arsenical—is not as poisonous as inorganic arsenic.

Arsenical is deliberately fed to poultry because it makes the birds grow faster.

'Full Employment'

Nixon's economic advisers have invented a novel "cure" for unemployment. According to Edwin L. Dale Jr., writing in the November 8 *New York Times*, the administration now defines "full employment" as an unemployment rate of 4 percent.

Letter Smuggled from Robben Island

The text of a letter written by prisoners at South Africa's notorious Robben Island prison has become available in England. The writers are Namibian [South West African] members of SWAPO [South West Africa People's Organization].

Robben Island is used by the South African regime to imprison not only Namibians fighting for their country's independence but also such South African opponents of apartheid as Dr. Neville Alexander. Alexander, a Black scholar well known in Germany, where he studied, was framed-up in 1964 on charges of "sabotage" for organizing discussion groups on ways of opposing apartheid and was sentenced to ten years in Robben Island.

Excerpts from the letter were printed in the December 18 issue of the weekly *Peace News*, published in London, after it had been smuggled out of Robben Island and read to a press conference by Sam Nujoma, president of SWAPO.

The authors speak of themselves as "amongst the 38 Namibians who were illegally persecuted, arrested, detained, 'tried' and imprisoned by the South African Government." Most appear to have been held since 1966.

The prisoners in Robben Island, and particularly the Namibians, are almost totally isolated from the outside world because of the difficulty that would be involved for their families in traveling the long distance to the prison. They are permitted only two letters per month, and these are heavily censored.

"Normal" conditions in Robben Island include the imposition of hard physical labor on an insufficient diet:

"We are forced to do hard manual labour, irrespective of the physical conditions of those concerned. We are working at the lime quarry. This type of work is not creative but is sapping out our energy, and we feel that this type of work is another type of additional sentence. We had trouble with the authorities last year because they claimed that our work at the quarry was not satisfactory.

"This led to our meals being suspended. We are also convinced that no human being can do this type

of work for years without losing his self-respect and interest in life. Although the work is hard, the diet given is not sufficient and the food does not contain enough proteins to keep the body fit for the hard and tiring work. We are not served with bread and were told that it is a contravention of the South African Prison Regulations to serve Africans with bread. The main diet for Africans is mealie porridge and black coffee."

Medical attention for the sick is all but unavailable. The letter mentions the case of one prisoner whose leg had been injured when he was assaulted at the time of his arrest. Before it had recovered, he reinjured his leg while working in the quarry. Although he was in great pain, he was denied medical attention and was forced to continue working for a

Best Divining Rod Is Mao Tsetung Thought

A layman might assume that finding underground water involves nothing more than studying geological formations and then drilling in likely spots. This, however, is not the case, according to an article by "the Party Committee of the Second Hydro-geological Group" in the December 18 issue of *Peking Review*, bearing the well-chosen title: "Using Chairman Mao's Philosophical Thinking to Find Subterranean Water."

The search, say the authors, is a process "of making subjective knowledge correspond with objective reality." This involves mastering such concepts as "Consciousness turns into matter."

Once having mastered the profundities of Mao Tsetung Thought, the Second Hydro-geological Group "adhered to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and criticized Liu Shao-chi's counterrevolutionary revisionist line."

Daring to struggle, the group studied geological formations, drilled in likely spots, and found water.

In one important case, however, it didn't work. No subterranean water was found despite the similarity of the surface features to those where Mao Tsetung Thought had proved its reliability as a divining rod. "A few comrades became discouraged." What to do?

"After again studying Chairman Mao's philosophical works, we came to understand the truth: Though the essence of a thing is reflected through certain phe-

month, until his condition became so bad that the leg had to be amputated.

Another prisoner has a broken arm, which has not healed since it was injured in 1967.

The letter also appeals for other Namibians who have been arrested and who have disappeared in South African jails:

"We are gravely concerned about the fate of our beloved comrades who were arrested with us, and some of them who were arrested in recent times whom we left in detention in Pretoria. We do not know of their whereabouts and we have reasons to fear for their safety as it is common practice for prisoners in South African prisons to 'commit suicide'.

"We have also reasons to believe that their relatives have not been notified about their arrests and detention. We believe that those Namibians are held, if they are still alive, under the notorious Terrorism Act whereby prisons are made to detain people without notifying their relatives. □

nomena, these phenomena do not necessarily reveal the essence."

So they discarded "the dross," went to the peasants, got some promising indications from them on the lay of hill slopes where springs occasionally flowed "when rain fell," and where a "fish cave" once discharged water containing "a type of fish that had never been seen before . . ."

If there's fish, there must be water. They're interrelated. Selecting a new spot, they began drilling.

At "51 metres," they struck "a solution cavity" and "water began gushing out at the rate of 100 tons an hour." Not only that. "A shoal of round, red-tailed fish rushed out in the foaming water."

Once again they had proved that by properly understanding Chairman Mao's teaching that "There can be no knowledge apart from practice," you can strike water of the fishiest kind.

U. S. Unemployment Still Climbing

Unemployment in the United States increased to 6 percent of the labor force in December, the highest rate in nine years. The state of Alaska had an unemployment rate of 12 percent.

Wage Discrimination in France

Women workers in France receive an average of 33.6 percent less pay than men performing the same jobs.

Malthus as Fiction

1989: *Population Doomsday* by Don Pendleton. Bee-Line Books, New York, N. Y. 192 pp. \$.95. 1970.

In 1989, on a clear day in New York City, visibility is twenty feet. In every major city in the United States, it is impossible to breathe without a gas mask. Agricultural production has been declining for the past seven years and the country faces a famine. In the rest of the world, conditions are only slightly better, and in some cases worse.

Enter the hero, Royall Hackett—newly elected president of the United States and environmental defender par excellence. Bang! Smash! Zowie! In four months, Hackett rids the world of the internal combustion engine, industrial production, medical care for the aged and infirm, and—with the aid of nuclear explosions—atmospheric pollution. As the sun sets—visibly for the first time in a decade—the world is offered a new chance at the Golden Age, provided only that

people can learn to get along without transportation, physical comforts, children, and similar frills.

Novels of doomsday are nothing new in American literature, though they generally tend to center on the theme of nuclear destruction. Pendleton's novel is a reminder of the fact that capitalism knows more than one way of abolishing the human race, although he himself does not see it in those terms.

For Pendleton, the problem is not an anarchic system of production, but too many people. At one point, his hero declaims:

"Our basic problem is not pollution, Senator. Our problem is *people*. Too damn many people! That may sound callous and politically naive to you, Senator, but it's a hard truth that must be faced by 390 million Americans. We have *doubled* in just twenty-five years. . . . Now you know very well . . . through the simple facts of basic mathematics, that you cannot double the population of an affluent

nation without also doubling housing, classrooms, services, food production and processing, manufacturing, gimmicks and gadgets and all the fripperies of an affluent society—not if you want to maintain that same level of affluence."

This rehash of long-ago-refuted Malthusian theories is so shallow that at times one almost suspects Pendleton of writing with tongue in cheek—as, for example, when Hackett orders secondary schools torn down and the land on which they stood planted with crops.

Air is polluted not because there are too many people driving automobiles, but because General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, etc., see no profit in producing a car that doesn't pollute the atmosphere. The industrial poisons in our rivers are put there by capitalists who find it cheaper than disposing of them safely.

Ridding the world of pollution requires neither the elimination of people, an end to the production of consumer goods, nor the existence of superheroes to take things in hand. It does require a planned economy controlled by the producers—something we will have, hopefully, long before the arrival of Pendleton's 1989.

—Allen Myers

Documents

Two French Trotskyist Groups in Unification Move

[The following is the text of an agreement reached between the Ligue Communiste (Communist League—the French section of the Fourth International) and Lutte Ouvrière (Workers Struggle), which was published in the January 4 issue of *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.

[Elsewhere we are publishing comments on the document by Daniel Bensaïd, one of the leaders of the Ligue Communiste, which likewise appeared in the January 4 issue of *Rouge*.

[Also see our report on the account of the agreement published by *Le Monde*.]

* * *

The May-June 1968 crisis once again demonstrated the crying need

for a revolutionary workers party capable of offering the workers a different perspective than the reformist policy of the traditional political and trade-union organizations of the French working class.

Realizing that the unification of their two tendencies could constitute an important step toward building such a party and conscious also of their responsibility in this period, the Ligue Communiste and Lutte Ouvrière have for six months been engaged in discussions aimed at examining possibilities, ways, and means of uniting on the basis of their common theoretical heritage—the program of the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky and of the left opposition to Stalinism as summed up in the Tran-

sitional Program of the Fourth International.

In view of the current differences on certain questions existing between the Ligue Communiste and Lutte Ouvrière, the respective leaderships of these two tendencies agreed to proceed in three stages.

The exploratory stage, concluded by the drafting of this joint document, enabled us to make an inventory of all the differences, both in political outlook and actual practice, existing between the two tendencies. While these differences cannot be underestimated or passed over in silence, the Ligue Communiste and Lutte Ouvrière consider that they can be tolerated or even reconciled within the framework of a common organization.

The second stage now opening is

to test things out in practice and determine the possibility for joint action between the Ligue Communiste and Lutte Ouvrière, and thus the viability of a united organization.

As a first step toward this end, the Ligue Communiste and Lutte Ouvrière have decided to coordinate an area of their activity in order to conduct a certain number of joint campaigns.

Together they called for participation in the international rally of revolutionists in Brussels November 21-22 under the slogan: "For a Red Europe and Against the Europe of the Capitalists." They jointly organized campaigns among the workers for nondiscriminatory wage rises in opposition to the big unions' policy of "defending the wage pyramid" and in opposition to bad working conditions and lack of safety in the big plants, as well as the scandalous state of public transport in the Paris region.

The leading bodies of the Ligue Communiste and Lutte Ouvrière at all levels will cooperate in implementing these agreements.

Secondly, as soon as the process of common activity makes it feasible, in the opinion of both sides, the Ligue Communiste and Lutte Ouvrière project merging their respective weekly papers, *Rouge* and *Lutte Ouvrière*. This is intended to test, several months before final unification, the possibility for different tendencies to find expression in a single newspaper. Such preliminary collaboration for a sufficient time is the only way of testing concretely what the Ligue Communiste and Lutte Ouvrière mean by the rights and limits of public expression of tendencies.

Parallel to these joint activities, the Ligue Communiste and Lutte Ouvrière will continue their discussions with the aim of formulating a common program of unification dealing with the French and international political situation, as well as statutes governing the functioning of the united organization.

These discussions will be public, conducted in the form of meetings, debates, joint pamphlets, exchanges of articles, or any other means jointly agreed upon. Of course, each tendency will be able to advance its position in this discussion in its own independent press (the weeklies, as long as they are separate; magazines, pamphlets, etc.). If this test of joint ac-

tivity shows positive results, if publishing a single press permitting the cooperation of the two tendencies proves possible, and if the unification program wins the support of the members of both tendencies, the third stage will be opened within a period jointly agreed upon. In this stage the organizational merger of the two tendencies will be begun, with a unification congress to be called.

From the discussions conducted during the exploratory phases, it appears that the following points can be considered as broadly outlining the functioning and activity of the united organization that will then arise.

I. The united organization would be the French section of the Fourth International. The members of the two merged organizations would participate in formulating policy in the leading bodies of the Fourth International (world congresses, the International Executive Committee, the United Secretariat), in international discussion with the constituent organizations of the Fourth International, and in building the International.

On the basis of this agreement, the United Secretariat would pledge not to alter the leadership of the French section democratically elected at congresses. It would also pledge to respect the orientation adopted by the majority at congresses and in the leading bodies of the united organization. The representative of the Fourth International to the unification congress would make a statement to this effect. This pledge would be published as an appendix to the constitution of the united organization.

II. The functioning of the united organization would be governed by the rules of democratic centralism — unity in action and free expression of tendencies. The constitution of the united organization would provide for the representation of minority tendencies in the leading bodies. Specifically, the unification congress would determine the proportional representation of the Lutte Ouvrière and Ligue Communiste tendencies at all levels. This clause would be extended so long as the two currents persisted as separate tendencies within the organization. The congress of the united organization would decide and vote on orientations according to areas of work that would be binding on the entire organization.

The tendencies would express themselves through the publications of the

united organization, which would have demonstrated in the preceding period its ability to guarantee their free expression. On the matter of the public expression of tendencies in the press, a political board of the journal would be formed. It would be elected on the basis of proportional representation of the two tendencies, placed under the supervision of the Central Committee of the united organization, and be empowered to assure democratic functioning of the press. The minority would automatically have a certain number of pages in each issue of the weekly to do with as it pleased each week. Furthermore, the board of the newspaper would be responsible for bringing in collaborators desirable for the good functioning of a regular revolutionary press. It would be empowered to form an editorial committee free from any consideration of tendency — this would, however, require participation of members of both tendencies.

The same procedure would apply to the organization's magazine or magazines. For example, the minority would automatically have the right to four or five pages, or an article in every issue.

Added to these normal opportunities for discussion guaranteed in the terms stated, which the minority could avail itself of or not as it chose, there would be national discussions of the entire organization without any prior restrictions as to the tendencies that could arise. Such discussions would take place in discussion columns whose size would depend on the circumstances (specific political questions, preparation for conferences or congresses, and so forth).

At the public level, when the subjects dealt with require more extensive treatment, discussion bulletins would be published without any set limitation as to timing. Subject to the free choice of the two tendencies participating in the merger, these bulletins could take the form either of debates between the two tendencies or of the presentation of a single point of view. They would be sold publicly.

As for the internal bulletin, which would be regularly distributed inside the united organization, a parity board with equal representation of the two tendencies would be in charge of distributing it and deciding what material goes into it.

III. The central axis of the activity

of the united organization would be to gain a political and trade-union base in the working class. This would imply that the bulk of the organization's resources would be devoted to this work.

However, the united organization would operate in all sectors of the population. In each stratum (workers, youth, peasants, teachers, and others), the allotment of forces would be up to the leading bodies at all levels in implementing the orientations set at the congress and the priorities established pursuant to them.

IV. The cell would be the basic unit of the united organization. In their respective areas of activity, the cells would operate in accordance with the orientations set by the leading bodies. In congresses, the cells would elect the section, city, and regional leaderships that would supervise their activity.

Acceptance of new members would be decided ultimately by the competent leading bodies, after consulting the member and cell involved. Members of the two merged organizations would not be shifted from the areas of work in which they were active

prior to the merger, except with the agreement of the two tendencies.

V. The development of a revolutionary base in the factories will require both the projection of an independent policy by the united organization through regular activity of its worker cells; and regular work by revolutionary worker militants in the unions, particularly in the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor, the CP-led union organization].

The Ligue Communiste and Lutte Ouvrière are conscious of the fact that they have often conducted differing experiments in this field. But they consider that their political agreement on the main lines of this penetration work would make it possible to achieve a synthesis of these different viewpoints so as to advance and strengthen the united organization.

Signed for Lutte Ouvrière: François Duburg, Jean Lievin, Jacques Morand.

Signed for the Ligue Communiste (French Section of the Fourth International): Pierre Frank, Charles Michaloux, Henri Weber. □

tical significance of this protocol, we must point out its larger political implications.

First of all, this document marks a reversal of the trend in the far left. Forced on the defensive in the epoch of triumphant Stalinism, often subjected to physical repression, and confined essentially to a literary and propagandistic existence, the far left was often reduced to maintaining a revolutionary theoretical tradition. This tradition was made all the more open to different interpretations because the practical consequences of these differing views were not always immediate. The result—as the far left's detractors, the passive elements and capitulationists, saw it—was a "vogue" of break-aways and splits . . . This was the period of extreme fragmentation of the vanguard, of sects and chapels.

Today the radicalization of the worker and student youth and the international revolutionary rise permit genuinely anti-Stalinist currents to participate in struggles once again and to collaborate in action. And this trend runs counter to the already dead past. *The result of this has been not only reinforcement of the groups engaging in regroupment but renewed hope and confidence for a large number of new and old militants whom the present fragmented organizations did not offer sufficient power and promise to draw back to the revolutionary struggle.*

Moreover, the domination of the working class by Stalinist organizations in part determined the character of some of the far-left formations. We have often criticized Lutte Ouvrière for the fact that some of its positions have been more moralistic or moralizing than political. This moralistic sectarianism can be regarded as one of the means of self-defense of minority organizations against Stalinism. As a result of this also, it is understandable that such moralizing organizations have captured and channeled authentic revolutionary energies, especially among the youth. The fact that today, in contemplating merger and unification with another left formation, one of these organizations has agreed to lift a portcullis is additional proof of the new relationship of forces in the workers movement nationally and internationally. Revolutionists can no longer continue on the basis of organizational and theoretical self-

One Stage Completed

By Daniel Bensaid

[The following article has been translated by *Intercontinental Press* from the January 4 issue of *Rouge*. The agreement referred to by the author appears elsewhere in this issue of *IP*.]

* * *

We are publishing below the text of the agreement signed by the representatives of Lutte Ouvrière and the Ligue Communiste. This protocol concludes the first stage of discussions between the two organizations and opens up a new period in the process of unification.

The problem up till now was to define the organizational framework of the future formation. What both organizations had to do was not offer each other formal guarantees but require practical proof and convince themselves of the possibilities for uniting.

Now we can take on a dual task.

On the one hand, we can *open discussion on all levels* between the members and leaderships of the two organizations *on questions of orientation and program*. On the other hand, we must as often as possible conduct joint actions and *campaigns* that will enable us to make a practical test of the unification contemplated and evaluate the difficulties we are yet to encounter.

Joint work is the decisive practical test for the coming months. In the campaigns for trade-union democracy and against repression, and in support of anti-imperialist struggles, the members of our two organizations must meet together and get to know each other. But not only this. They must discuss the bases of their activity, gain an understanding of its place in a broader context, and clarify the line of the future organization on the testing ground of action.

Over and above the immediate prac-

preservation. They must integrate themselves into the struggles taking place and assume the role that belongs to them. The result is that politics is again rising above moralizing.

It is significant, finally, that as early as the preliminary discussions between *Lutte Ouvrière* and the *Ligue Communiste* it was accepted that any merger would take place within the framework of the Fourth International. This is added proof that today the problem of building a revolutionary par-

ty in France cannot be considered apart from the task of building an International that transmits to us the living legacy of the October revolution and the Left Opposition to Stalinism. In the stage of clarification through which we are passing in the international vanguard, this idea must be defended more vigorously than ever. It is encouraging that in our case we have already reached the stage of putting this conviction into practice. □

Socialism—the Lambertist group affiliated with the British Healyites], Mr. Krivine merely said that 'like every sect, it can still live a long time in its splendid isolation.'

Both Jacques Morand and Alain Krivine dealt with the situation facing the French Communist party. "If it is not undergoing an actual crisis, it has at least been badly affected, according to the two, by the attitude it took in May and June 1968 and by the evolution of its relations with the Communist parties holding power in Eastern Europe."

In connection with this, Alain Krivine was quoted as speaking of "the crisis of Stalinism visible at present in the Polish events and the Lenin-grad trial."

"The leaders of the two Trotskyist groups," said *Le Monde*, "believe that the facts show that the Communist party has opened a favorable position for them to the left of it." □

'Le Monde' Reports Trotskyist Agreement

The January 7 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported that two of the biggest Trotskyist organizations in France, the *Ligue Communiste* and *Lutte Ouvrière*, have signed a joint agreement pointing toward fusion.

The document was made public January 5 by Alain Krivine, a member of the Political Bureau of the *Ligue Communiste* and Jacques Morand, one of the leaders of *Lutte Ouvrière*.

It was agreed, reported *Le Monde*, "that the new movement will be the French section of the Fourth International, which is already the case with the *Ligue Communiste*. For its side, *Lutte Ouvrière* [the name of the group's weekly newspaper] was assured, first, that the future statutes will include provisions for the representation of minority tendencies, and secondly, that the United Secretariat of the Fourth International will not have the power to alter either the leadership elected by the majority of the French section or the political orientation adopted by a majority at a congress. The object of these precautions, as stated by Mr. Morand, was to prevent any resumption of 'the sectarian and opportunist practices' of the past twenty years."

While continuing their discussions on a program for the revolutionary far left, based particularly on Trotsky's *Transition Program*, the Paris daily continued, the two organizations have decided to broaden their common activities. "They have already projected combining their weeklies, *Rouge* and *Lutte Ouvrière*, into a single weekly with a circulation of about 30,000 copies."

They also project common work in a number of fields, including the com-

ing municipal elections. They are already active in five or six hundred plants, and *Lutte Ouvrière*, in addition to its weekly, publishes "around 170 factory bulletins."

Above all, the two Trotskyist groups hope "by their rapprochement, to begin the clarification required by the revolutionary far left."

Le Monde quoted Alain Krivine as saying that the Maoist current in France had disintegrated because of its "adventurist line" as well as its victimization under police repression.

He also said that the centrist *Parti Socialiste Unifié* [United Socialist party] was undergoing a deep crisis because "its leadership did not make the requisite political decisions," thus engendering a decline in the PSU's militancy.

"As for the third large Trotskyist movement, the *Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme* [Youth Alliance for

Antiwar Officers in Portugal

Opposition to the Portuguese government's colonial wars in Africa appears to be on the rise in the ranks of the armed forces.

In a December 30 speech, the minister of defense "warned . . . against attempts at subversion of the armed forces by new officer recruits from universities," according to the December 31 *New York Times*.

The minister went on to describe many universities as "veritable centers of subversion."

He also threatened that if the "subversion" continued the government might retaliate by ending draft deferments for students.

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