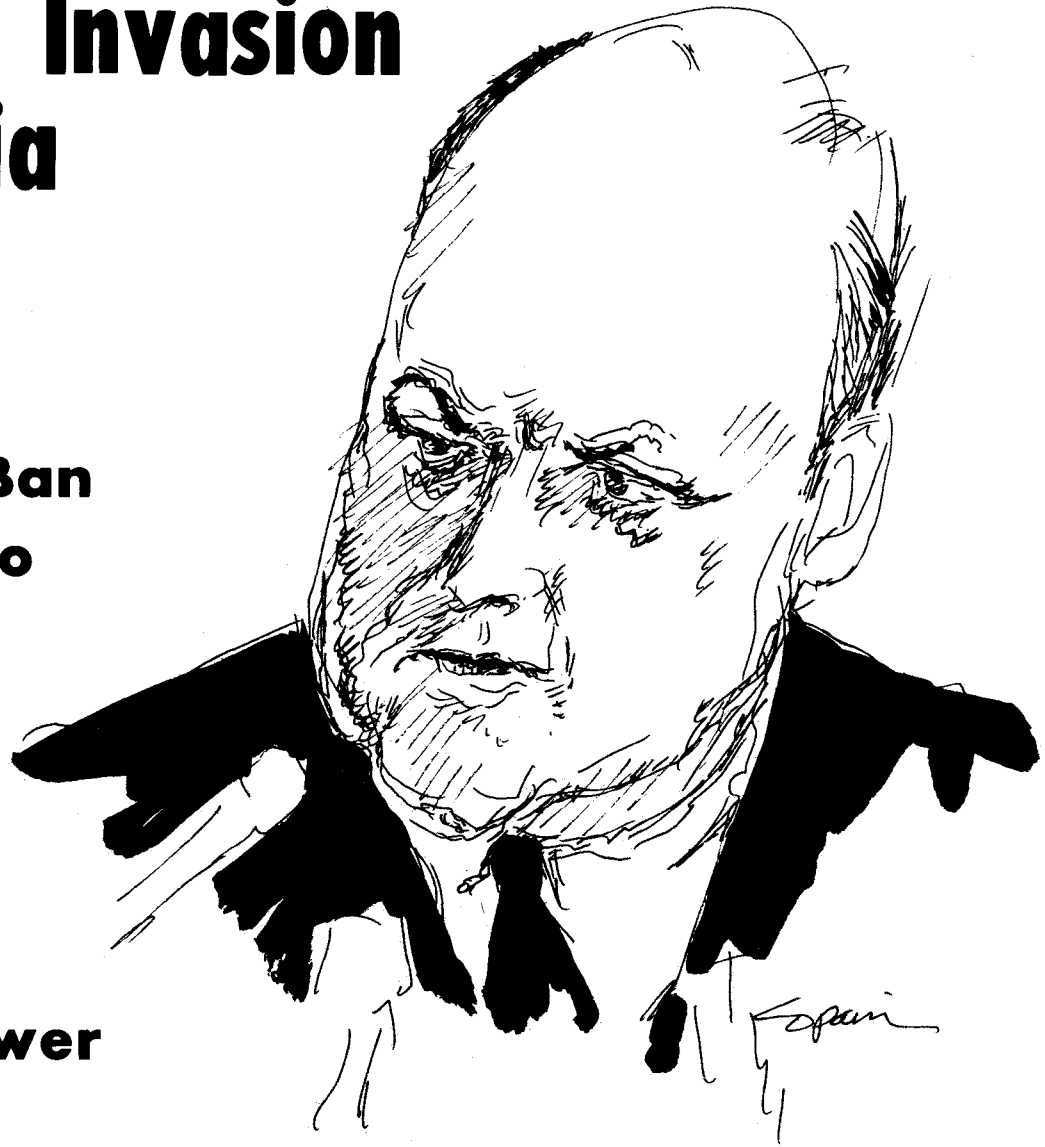


Nixon's Air Invasion of Cambodia

**Peru Imposes Ban
on Hugo Blanco**



**A Taste
of Workers Power
in Poland**

LAIRD: Nothing wrong with a little killing in Cambodia that a good dose of "semantics" won't cover up. See page 75.

Eduardo Creus Freed in Peru

9,000 Frauds, 17 Valid Ballots

[The following item is reprinted from the December 25 issue of *Laging Una*, "The Voice of the Filipino People," published in Los Angeles, California.]

* * *

Fraudulent elections in the Philippines are an old and familiar story. So how honest, or dishonest, was the election Nov. 10 for 320 delegates to the convention that six months from now will rewrite the country's constitution?

In Manila on Dec. 28 a fingerprint expert testified that he found only 17 valid votes among nearly 9,000 cast in the Mindanao town of Karomantan.

As a safeguard against fraud, voters were required to put a fingerprint on their ballots. But the expert told the Commission on Elections that 6,300 of the ballots were fake, 2,500 had prints smudged beyond recognition, and 36 more ballots were cast than the town had registered voters.

Whether the fraud uncovered in Mindanao was typical of the country as a whole has still to be determined.

Two former presidents, Carlos P. Garcia, a Nacionalista, and Diosdado Macapagal, a Liberal, were among the candidates who won seats at the constitutional convention. □

North Vietnam Stronger

"In the judgment of many United States economic specialists," Tad Szulc wrote in the January 18 *New York Times*, "North Vietnam is . . . capable of sustaining indefinitely the war effort."

Szulc reported that the rice harvest in 1970 is estimated at 4,000,000 to 4,500,000 metric tons, compared to 3,000,000 per year during the height of the bombing raids.

Most highways and railroads are believed fully repaired. The Haiphong cement industry is reported operating normally, but the iron and steel complex north of Hanoi is still out of production. Electric power is at 60 percent of its capacity before the bombing.

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Nixon's Air Invasion of Cambodia

By Allen Myers

"I would expect that the South Vietnamese would come out [of Cambodia] approximately at the same time that we do, because when we come out our logistical support and air support will also come out with them."
— Richard Nixon, May 8, 1970.

"We will use air power, and as long as I am serving in this job, I will recommend that we use air power to supplement the South Vietnamese forces, as far as the air campaign in South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia."— Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird, January 20, 1971.

The contrast between Nixon's promises in May and Laird's threats in January was a measure of the gains made by the liberation forces in Indochina during the past eight months.

Even as thousands of South Vietnamese troops, closely supported by U.S. helicopter gunships, fought to reopen a tenuous link along Highway 4 between Pnompenh and the port of Kompong Som, National Liberation Front troops destroyed the Pnompenh airport January 22, apparently meeting no more than token resistance.

In an attempt to save the tottering regime of Lon Nol—who even in his best days was known as "the mayor of Pnompenh"—Nixon ordered massive air raids and the use of combat helicopters in the critical battle for Highway 4.

This new escalation of the war was accompanied by the usual cynical claims of the Nixon administration that nothing was really happening and even if it was, it was nothing new. The official version changed almost daily as report after report described American helicopters ferrying South Vietnamese troops into battle and engaging in combat with the insurgent forces.

Chalmers M. Roberts, writing in the January 16 *Washington Post*, depicted the opening of the fight for control of Pich Nil Pass and Stung Chhay Pass on Highway 4:

"There have been reports that American B-52 heavy bombers had tried



"Mayor of Pnompenh" getting jittery?

to soften up the Communist positions Wednesday. But U.S. officials refused to confirm or deny this while Brig. Gen. Sosthene Fernandez, commander of the Cambodian forces advancing on Pich Nil from the north, said that 'I didn't hear them or feel them' and that 'as far as I know it was just talk.' . . .

"Other sources in Washington said U.S. pilots and planes have not been used thus far in the Highway 4 operation."

George Esper wrote in the same paper two days later:

"Associated Press Photographer Henri Huet reported from Stung Chhay that he observed two U.S. Cobra helicopter gunships flying in the region. Officers on the scene told Huet the gunships have been supporting the 13,000-man South Vietnamese-Cambodian operation for several days. . . .

"Informants said several 7th Fleet ships had moved into position off Cambodia, including the helicopter carrier from which American aircraft

are operating. The sources said other ships are providing ship-to-plane communications for U. S. aircraft supporting the operation . . ."

The January 17 *New York Times* reported an official denial of Esper's description:

". . . the United States command in Saigon said the helicopters were flying 'interdiction missions.' Col. Robert W. Leonard, the command's top information official, denied that United States combat support aircraft were taking part in the Cambodian operation."

The paper went on to quote a January 16 United Press International dispatch:

"American F-4 Phantom jets dropped napalm near Pich Nil Pass in support of Cambodian troops seeking to clear Route 4."

Although the Nixon administration attempted to hide its new escalation of the war behind old phrases, no one was fooled. Hedrick Smith neatly summarized the government's twists and turns in the January 22 *New York Times*:

"For months, Administration spokesmen had been saying that the United States was not going to provide direct combat air support for operations in Cambodia.

"Last June 30, President Nixon himself had said there would be 'no United States air or logistics support' for continuing South Vietnamese operations in Cambodia, but only 'interdiction' missions. That same day, a White House official added that American aircraft were 'not assigned the task of close air support' in Cambodia.

"During a controversy last August over reports by witnesses that American planes were providing close tactical support for Cambodian units, Mr. Laird went before the press personally on Aug. 6 to deny that American aircraft engaged in such missions.

"At his news conference yesterday [January 20] Mr. Laird brushed aside such distinctions as 'semantics,' affirming that American planes provid-

ed both 'some airlift' and some 'air support' for Cambodian and South Vietnamese units fighting in Cambodia."

"Semantics," in fact, would be a good characterization of all the administration's attempts to convince the public it is ending the war—"Nixon doctrine," "Vietnamization," "withdrawal," etc. But if the defense secretary thought that admitting that his own and his boss's past statements were just so many words was going to get them off the hook, he was mistaken. The bourgeois press, conspicuously silent on the war question for some time, recovered its voice. The *Washington Post*, for example, said in a January 19 editorial:

"Let us state the matter baldly: Mr. Nixon promised the Congress—and through it, the country—to limit American participation in the war in Cambodia. . . .

"Surely Mr. Nixon does not have to be reminded that the more he expands the American military role in Cambodia (and the more furtively) the more his vaunted Nixon Doctrine will be regarded as a fraud, both in terms of operations on the ground in Southeast Asia and of public perception back here in the United States. These are the real stakes of the administration's Cambodia policy, and if Mr. Nixon chooses not to recognize them as such, then he can be sure—and it must be to his sorrow—that the public will."

The administration's credibility was not increased any by the distribution of an Associated Press photograph that showed an American soldier in a camouflage uniform boarding a helicopter near the scene of the fighting in Cambodia. Some reporters assumed, not unreasonably, that in order to board the helicopter the soldier must have first been standing on Cambodian soil. Was this not a violation of legal prohibitions and Nixon's own pledges not to send ground troops into Cambodia?

Not at all, administration spokesmen maintained. "There are no United States ground troops or advisers" in Cambodia, the White House press secretary declared. The Pentagon suggested that the soldier was really an embassy official in Phnompenh. Over the next few days, the incident was variously described as an "unauthorized" landing, an emergency stop to repair the helicopter, and an innocent

case of a logistics officer stepping out of a helicopter "to hand somebody batteries or something." An officer at the base from which the aircraft took off denied that that particular helicopter had ever been in Cambodia.

Eventually it was decided to dismiss the embarrassing photograph by announcing that the U.S. helicopters fighting in Cambodia were really only carrying "airborne coordinators," a "semantic" decision worthy of Melvin Laird himself. Ralph Blumenthal reported in the January 23 *New York Times*:

"The command spokesman who used the term 'airborne coordinator' at the daily Saigon war briefing today conceded that he had never heard of it before in his 19 years in the Air Force."

One week after the battle for Highway 4 opened, Peter Osnos summarized the new situation in the January 21 *Washington Post*:

"The United States is now waging a full dress air war across Cambodia that includes a wide array of fixed-wing aircraft and helicopters for bombing, combat support and supply missions.

"The scale of the air effort has risen sharply in recent weeks until it now rivals in scope, although not in intensity, the air war in Laos and in past years, Vietnam."

Nixon's escalation in Cambodia was matched by stepped-up attacks against North Vietnam and Laos. On January 20, Hanoi published a detailed list of U.S. raids against villages in North Vietnam during the period January 4-17. It charged that American planes had attacked with missiles, bombs, and toxic chemicals on an almost daily basis.

The charges were immediately denied by the Defense Department, which admitted only "protective reactions" by U.S. aircraft—another of Laird's "semantic" distinctions.

In Laos, meanwhile, an Associated Press dispatch printed in the January 20 *New York Times* reported:

". . . official sources said American helicopter gunships were flying combat missions in Laos in direct support of Laotian ground troops.

"The informants said Army, Air Force and Marine helicopter gunships had been supporting the Laotian troops for some time and had been attacking enemy troops and supplies along the Ho Chi Minh Trail through

southeastern Laos. . . .

"The informants here said the United States was conducting one of the biggest aerial campaigns of the war in Laos, using B-52 bombers, tactical fighter-bombers, gunships and reconnaissance aircraft with special secret equipment."

The next day, Michael Getler reported in the *Washington Post* that 1,000 Thai troops had been moved into the Laotian panhandle and were being supported in combat by U.S. aircraft. Administration officials "said they could neither confirm nor deny" the report.

Nixon clearly expected the escalated air operations to continue for some time. Daniel Southerland disclosed in the January 18 *Christian Science Monitor* that a halt had been called to any withdrawals of Air Force squadrons from Indochina:

"The United States has about 1,400 aircraft in the area.

"Washington has apparently decided it needs to maintain this level of air power, at least for the immediate future, to back up the South Vietnamese, support Cambodia, and keep up the current heavy bombing of the Ho Chi Minh supply and infiltration routes in Laos. In addition to all this, there are expected to be more of the so-called 'protective reaction' air strikes over North Vietnam."

The dangerous direction in which Nixon is riding was indicated by Murrey Marder in the January 21 *Washington Post*:

"Laird [read: Nixon] appears to be operating on the belief that the American public will tolerate extensive air and sea operations as long as ground troops are being reduced. In a strategic sense this can be a reversion to the post-Korean war concepts of 'surgical' and 'immaculate' warfare, relying on air, sea and nuclear power." (Emphasis added.)

As long as Nixon continues to spread the Indochina war the threat of the use of nuclear weapons remains a pressing danger for all of mankind. Nixon hopes his latest aggression will provoke no great outrage from a world public opinion numbed by years of unending war. The appropriate answer to this cold-blooded calculating machine sitting in the White House should be a massive turnout in all the capitals of the world April 24 to demand the immediate withdrawal of American troops from Indochina! □

Eduardo Creus Released in Peru

[The following statement was released January 26 by the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.]

* * *

The United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has confirmed through direct communication with the Comité de Defensa de los Derechos Humanos [CODDEH—Committee for the Defense of Human Rights] in Peru that Eduardo Creus, political prisoner held on the island prison of El Fron-

tón, has been released by the Peruvian government and deported to his native Argentina. Reports from Argentina confirm that he has arrived safely.

Creus was released at 11:30 a.m. on January 20, turned over to security police, and deported to Argentina that afternoon.

Peruvian President Velasco has also announced that seventy-one peasants, held for activities in defense of their rights, have been freed. Velasco said that there may be other political prisoners still in jail, but that all will soon be freed.

In December, Hugo Blanco, Héctor Béjar, and Ricardo Gadea, along with other political prisoners, were freed under an Amnesty and Pardon Decree-Law. Others, however, including Creus, remained behind bars. The prisoners who were released launched a campaign to free those still incarcerated [see *Intercontinental Press*, January 25, page 53], and the USLA Justice Committee responded by organizing a supporting campaign in the United States. The newly announced amnesties represent a victory for this defense effort. □

Eduardo Creus Gonzales

A Life of Struggle Against Injustice

The life of forty-three-year-old Eduardo Creus Gonzáles, friend and comrade of the Peruvian revolutionary leader Hugo Blanco, exemplifies more than two decades of struggle by the Latin-American working class and the Latin-American Trotskyist movement.

Creus's revolutionary career, a long one in terms of the young Marxist movement in Latin America, was reviewed in a statement issued December 31 by the Comité pro Libertad de Eduardo Creus (Committee for the Release of Eduardo Creus) in Lima.

Creus began earning his living, the committee statement noted, when he was eight years old, working successively as a newspaper boy; a baker's apprentice; a candy maker; a fruit peddler; a shoe salesman; a dock worker; a clerk; a laboratory technician; a textile, meat-packing, and construction laborer; and as a painter.

Also at a very early age, Creus began his fight against capitalist exploitation. He became active in the workers movement in his native Argentina in its heroic period, before the Peronista regime conceded the right for workers to organize, when the proletariat was atomized and had little defense against the tyranny of the bosses and their state apparatus.

"In 1945," the committee statement continued, Creus "went to work in a

state-owned warehouse company. In the same year he found himself involved in a strike to demand payment of back wages, a strike which compelled the government to intervene in favor of the workers and which served to create the trade-union organization that had been sadly lacking on the docks."

Working as a laboratory technician in 1950, Creus was able to learn about Marxism. He joined the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Revolutionary Workers party), the name at that time of the Argentinian affiliate of the Fourth International.

In his union, the ATE (Asociación de Trabajadores del Estado—Government Workers Association), Creus formed an antibureaucratic opposition caucus. He was forced to leave his job, which he had held for six years, after refusing to sign a manifesto calling for Peron's reelection. The union leadership had arbitrarily imposed this manifesto on the rank and file. Creus demanded a democratic vote.

After being hounded out of his laboratory job, Creus went to work as a laborer in a textile factory. But at the urging of the bureaucratic leadership of the AOT (Asociación Obrera Textil—Textile Workers Association) he was quickly fired.

Next Creus went to work in one of

the meat-packing houses in Bahía Blanca. He was elected a shop steward in the meat-packers union and organized a strong fight against the Peronista bureaucracy running the organization. Creus succeeded in building an antibureaucratic militant caucus in his union.

In 1954 Creus waged a campaign in the meat-packers union, warning against a reactionary coup d'état that was in the works to oust the Peron regime. Creus explained that the plot was not aimed primarily at Peron but at the workers movement which had grown enormously under the nationalist regime. He called for arming the workers to defeat the military "gorillas."

It was while working at the Frigorífico La Negra packing plant in Bahía Blanca that Creus first came to know the young Peruvian Trotskyist Hugo Blanco. Blanco had already distinguished himself as a union militant at the Swift packing plant in La Plata.

In 1956 the Peron regime crumbled in the face of a military uprising, surrendering almost without a fight. The "liberating" dictatorship presided over by General Pedro Aramburú dealt heavy blows to the labor movement. Creus was one of the outstanding fighters against the antiunion offensive of

the "liberators." As a member of the Bahía Blanca trade-union unity committee, he resisted the dictatorship's policy of removing labor leaders they did not like, defending the right of the workers to select their own officials.

Also in 1956 Creus was elected to the national negotiating committee of the meat-packers union. From that position he combatted the military directors imposed on the organization, exposing an attempt by the dictatorship to buy off union leaders after it had failed to tame the labor movement by brute force.

As a result of this fight, Creus was suspended from the union and fired from his job, along with the majority of the members of his caucus and those whose names had appeared with his on lists in union elections. The bosses and the military overlords of the union blacklisted him.

Barred from employment in the meat-packing industry, Creus found a job as a construction laborer. In the building workers union he organized the opposition to the naval officers who were serving as "guardians" of the organization. He was elected to the committee formed to lead a key strike. But the union bureaucracy annulled the elections and expelled him.

Still in 1956, Creus's old employers in the meat-packing industry accused him of committing acts of sabotage. He was imprisoned. In 1958 he went to jail again as a result of his defense of the democratic rights of the Peronista movement, which had been outlawed by the military regime.

In 1961 Creus went to Peru along with Daniel Pereyra and José Martorell Soto to work in the revolutionary movement in that country.

In Peru, Creus decided to take part in a guerrilla group called Tupac Amarú, named after the famous Inca resistance fighter. This organization carried out several bank expropriations aimed at financing resistance to the repressive regime.

Creus was captured in 1963, after the police succeeded in breaking up the Tupac Amarú organization.

Despite the fact that the Lima government insisted the Tupac Amarú fighters were common criminals, it postponed their trial for over four years because of its obviously political character. When this group of revolutionists finally came before the courts in September 1967, all but three were given prison terms equal to the time

they had already spent in prison, and consequently released.

Creus, Pedro Candela, and Adalberto Fonkén received long additional terms on charges relating to their revolutionary activity.

During his long captivity, Creus was subjected to torture and intimidation by the venal and degenerate repressive forces of the Peruvian regime. But his revolutionary morale and fighting spirit remained intact.

Together with Hugo Blanco, he fearlessly denounced the brutalities and crimes of the guards and police. The last sentences of a statement issued by Creus and Blanco, as well as Juvenal

Zamallon and Vicente Dandado, on December 13, 1968, were representative of the Argentinian revolutionist's entire history:

"We do not ask for justice; that would be absurd. We know that killers do not win promotions by displaying 'love of justice.'

"Our duty is to inform our people of another side to the regime's 'morality campaign.'

"We repeat our assurances that no 'campaign of massing political prisoners' can break us.

"We know that the liberation of our people is a cause worthy of these sacrifices and many more." □

Trotskyist Leader Confined to Lima

Generals Impose Ban on Hugo Blanco

[A further report from the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners details new threats by the military junta to the freedom of Trotskyist peasant leader Hugo Blanco, released December 22 after more than seven years in prison. Following is the committee's press release.]

* * *

The USLA Justice Committee has also learned of an ominous development concerning the rights of Hugo Blanco. On January 16 the Ministry of the Interior called Blanco in, and forbade him to travel to the city of Cuzco. This city is in the region where Hugo Blanco led the organization of peasant unions, the work for which he was arrested in 1963. Blanco was also told that he is being watched, and that he must get permission from the Ministry of the Interior to travel outside of Lima. He had previously publicly announced his intention of visiting Cuzco, and told the ministry that "all my actions are completely open and public."

Newspapers in Lima on January 21 carried an interview with General Armando Artola of the Ministry of the Interior. The interviewer asked General Artola why Hugo Blanco could not go to Cuzco. He replied that Blanco could travel "anywhere," but "not if he is going to interfere with the agrarian reform." This refers to the fact that peasants in the Cuzco region are dis-

satisfied with aspects of the new agrarian reform law, which attempts to impose upon the peasants the necessity of paying for land they seized during the movement organized by Hugo Blanco.

The USLA Justice Committee urges that supporters of civil liberties wire the Peruvian government immediately, expressing concern about this attempt to intimidate Hugo Blanco, and requesting that the government place no restrictions on his movements.

Messages can be addressed to: Presidente de la Republica del Perú, Gral. Juan Velasco Alvarado, Palacio Gobierno, Lima, Peru. □

China's Economy Improves

Prospects for growth of the Chinese economy are better than they have been in a decade, according to a report in the January 18 *New York Times*. Industrial production in 1970 is believed to have reached the level of 1959, the highest previous year. The grain harvest, which surpassed 210,000,000 metric tons, was more than 10 percent larger than in 1969.

Affluence No Problem in India

A recent survey by the Indian government revealed that the country has 289,000,000 persons who consume less than 18 cents worth of food a day, the *New York Times* reported January 18.

Four out of five Indian children suffer retarded growth, primarily because of vitamin deficiencies.

FOTOS SECRETAS DE HUGO BLANCO



INSIDE EL FRONTON. Hugo Blanco (right) and Eduardo Creus (center) in a photo taken secretly in 1969 by Carlos Dominguez of the Lima magazine *Caretas* and featured by that journal, from which we have reproduced it.

Blanco is holding a tray, one of the handcraft items made by the prisoners to earn a few soles to help feed their families or to buy supplementary food for themselves from the prison canteen.

Hugo Blanco himself made hand-painted postcards which various committees distributed in collecting funds in the long and

hard-fought struggle to win freedom for the political prisoner who was the most popular revolutionary leader of the land-hungry Peruvian peasant masses.

Inside El Fronton, both Blanco and Creus did not hesitate to defend the rights of other prisoners. On December 13, 1968, for instance, they issued a public denunciation of the murder of several prisoners even though they themselves risked savage reprisals, if not death, at the hands of the sadistic prison guards for such an audacious protest.

How Illinois Politician Made Millions

When he ran for reelection as Illinois secretary of state, Paul Powell used the campaign slogan, "The world's richest person is the one who can say 'I am an American.'" In private conversation, Powell had another slogan: "There's only one thing worse than a defeated politician, and that's a broke politician."

It must be said that in a thirty-six-year career as a legislator and secretary of state, Powell showed himself able to combine his maxims, proving, at least, that among the world's richest persons must be counted those who can say, "I am an American politician."

Shortly after his death October 10, some \$800,000 in cash was found in Powell's hotel suite. His total estate is now estimated at \$3,000,000. Not bad for a man whose highest salary was \$30,000 a year.

In the January 15 *New York Times*, John Kifner reported some of the sources of Powell's wealth. These included gifts from lobbyists representing the racing, trucking, banking and insurance industries; campaign contributions; kickbacks from state employees and businessmen who obtained contracts with the state; and possible theft of state funds. Kifner described one typical operation:

"As a legislator, he assiduously aided the horse racing tracks, keeping state taxes low and profits high. His estate showed more than 23,000 shares of stock in various race tracks—not available to the general public—much of which he had purchased for 10 cents a share. The value of one such block—15,400 shares of the Chicago Downs Association—is now put at around \$600,000, almost \$4 a share."

The Chicago Downs paid Powell an additional \$20,000 a year as a "consultant."

The Better Government Association, an organization independent of the state government, accused Powell of taking bribes from the trucking industry to overlook weight regulations. The federal government is investigat-

ing the possibility that trucking companies were pressured to buy expensive tires from businesses in which Powell had an interest.

He also threw frequent testimonial dinners for himself, at which lobbyists paid high prices for tickets. A single dinner last fall netted \$100,000. In addition, Kifner reported, investigators found \$420,000 in campaign con-

Prosecutor Says Black Leader Was Framed

Charges Against Rap Brown Called Phony

A Maryland prosecutor charged January 15 that accusations against Black militant H. Rap Brown had been deliberately "fabricated" by another prosecutor.

Richard J. Kinlein said that Dorchester County state's attorney William B. Yates 2d had admitted securing a felony indictment against Brown solely to permit an FBI manhunt if Brown failed to appear for trial.

The indictment arose from a speech Brown made in Cambridge, Maryland, on July 24, 1967. Following Brown's talk, white racists fired on the crowd, and the crowd's reaction to this attack was termed a "riot" by the police.

Brown was indicted a month later on charges that he had incited a riot and "counseled" arson. The first charge is a misdemeanor, the second a felony. Four days later, Brown was accused of transporting a rifle across state lines while under indictment for a felony. At a hearing on this charge, he was accused of attempting to intimidate an FBI agent. Thus all the major charges against Brown stem from the arson indictment.

Brown has been on the FBI's "most wanted" list since last April 20, when he failed to appear for trial in the city where two of his friends had been killed in a mysterious explosion a month earlier.

Kinlein said Yates' admission that

contributions illegally converted to Powell's personal use.

Even the coins in soda vending machines in the capitol building went the secretary of state, bringing him an estimated \$20,000 in five years.

None of this should lead one to conclude that Powell was an immoral person, however. On the contrary, in his speeches he often defended public morality against the danger of "hippies, yippies, dippies and all other long-haired animals." Convincing proof of any politician's morality—unless Powell was getting kickbacks from a barbershop. □



H. RAP BROWN

the arson charge was fraudulent was made during a dinner conversation last May. The January 16 *Washington Post* reported:

"Kinlein said that Yates . . . said that 'he put . . . the arson count in there [the indictment] so that in the event Brown didn't show up for trial he would be able to get a federal fugitive warrant. . . .'" □

Soviet CP Congress to 'Rehabilitate' Stalin?

The Soviet bureaucracy may be preparing officially to "rehabilitate" Stalin, according to a report by Amber Bousoglou in the January 13 English-language edition of *Le Monde*. The action would be taken at the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Soviet Communist party, scheduled to open March 30.

Bousoglou based his report on comments said to have been made by the Soviet ambassador to Prague. "The statement, just revealed," Bousoglou wrote, "was made by Mr. Starikov [the ambassador] on November 18 at a function attended by forty ultra-conservative Czechoslovak Communists."

Starikov was said to believe that the Twenty-fourth Congress would formally rescind the Twentieth Congress' denunciation of Stalin and would stamp out "the poison" of Khrushchevism.

"The extent to which the struggle against the personality cult had harmed the international Communist movement in Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia had yet to be realized, Mr. Starikov added.

"He charged that former Soviet Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchev's attack on Stalin had paved the way for this and said: 'Khrushchevism is a poison in the bloodstream of the international Communist movement, and if the movement is to regain its health this poison must be eliminated. The past fourteen years have proved the rightness of Stalin's thesis on the aggravation of the class struggle in conditions of socialism, and the penetration of the class enemy into the party. When the XX Congress rejected this thesis it was opening the way for enemy penetration into the ranks of Communist parties. The XXIV Congress must repair this damage.'"

Starikov has been cooperating closely with Czechoslovak ultra-Stalinists, among them Josef Plojhar, one of the signers of the infamous 1968 letter that appealed for the intervention of Soviet troops to halt the movement for socialist democracy. (Plojhar, a

Roman Catholic priest, who was excommunicated in the 1950s, would seem to be a perfect example of "the penetration of the class enemy into the party.")

The same day that he made the remarks quoted above, Starikov attended a rally sponsored by the Soviet-Czechoslovak Friendship Society. Bousoglou reported that Plojhar spoke at the rally and criticized some of the supporters of the Czechoslovak CP first secretary, Gustav Husak. Bousoglou noted an additional interesting feature of the occasion:

"Though Mr. Plojhar was not pro-

Alaskan Oil Pipeline

Damn the Environment! Full Speed Ahead!

The U. S. Department of the Interior recommended January 13 that a consortium of seven oil companies be permitted to build an 800-mile oil pipeline across the state of Alaska. The recommendation was made in spite of the department's admission that the pipeline would inevitably cause environmental damage.

The companies plan eventually to move 2,000,000 barrels of oil per day through the pipe from Alaska's North Slope oil field to an ice-free port at Valdez.

David E. Rosenbaum wrote in the January 14 *New York Times* that a staff report prepared for the Interior Department after two years of study "listed dozens of different ways that the . . . project would disturb the ecology of the vast Alaskan wilderness."

"It is clearly recognized," the report admitted, "that no stipulation [i. e., precautions imposed upon the construction of the pipeline] can alter the fundamental change that development would bring to this area." The report also acknowledged that "the original character of this corridor in northern Alaska would be lost forever."

One of the greatest dangers is from

moted in this month's government reshuffle, he was introduced at the rally as a future first vice-premier."

Thus it would appear that Starikov is already at work applying pressure in the Czechoslovak CP to bring it more into line with the decisions expected from the Twenty-fourth Congress.

It is possible, of course, that Starikov is mistaken in his anticipation of the actions to be taken by the upcoming congress. The Brezhnev-Kosygin team, however, have given ample evidence of their desire to force the Soviet people back into the Stalinist straitjacket (in many cases, literally, by imprisoning political dissenters in mental institutions). Just how far the Kremlin will dare to go in refurbishing the image of the hated dictator remains to be seen. □

oil spills. The Interior Department study commented: ". . . there is a probability that some oil spills will occur even under the most stringent enforcement [of safety regulations]."

The consortium planning to build the pipeline originally proposed putting 90 to 95 percent of it underground, in the permafrost—a frozen layer of ice, sand, and gravel. Since oil in the pipe has a temperature of 180 degrees Fahrenheit, it will melt the permafrost, causing severe erosion. The Interior Department therefore recommended that "only" 52 percent of the pipeline be laid underground.

The department brushed aside its own objections because of the "need" for the oil. Rosenbaum wrote:

"The oil on the North Slope is vital to the country if it is not to become overly dependent on oil from the politically unstable Middle East, the report said."

There is an alternative method of obtaining oil, even from "politically unstable" countries: paying a reasonable price for it. But this is not a method likely to appeal to the oil companies or their representatives in

Washington, especially when the Alaskan oil offers them a chance to cut costs even below their present level.

The oil companies and Washington, in shrugging off the damage to the environment that will be caused by the pipeline, were equally willing to ignore another fact: The land across which the pipeline will be laid does not belong to them, but to the native

Indian and Eskimo inhabitants.

Lawrence E. Davies recalled in the January 15 *New York Times* that their demands for legal recognition of their ownership have been "held in abeyance" since 1867, the year in which the U.S. government purchased Alaska from the Czar. He went on to quote Joe Upicksoun, president of the Arctic Slope Native Association:

"My people are not concerned about a phony economy like the Caucasians. We have our land and it has been good to us. . . . The Bureau of Indian Affairs has given us enough education to read about what has happened in the lower 48 [states], what they have done to our land. Now they want to come up here and rape our land." □

France

What the Basque Solidarity Demonstrations Showed

Brussels

In at least one important area of politics, the demonstrations that took place in France all through December 1970 in support of the Basque revolutionists facing a Francoist military tribunal in Burgos proved an important test of the changing relationship of forces in the French workers movement. These mobilizations indicated how many activists each faction of the movement could get out on the streets.

The most striking thing was that for the first time since May 1968 the revolutionary left was able to take political initiative in the streets and reconquer the de facto right to organize mass demonstrations. The initiating organization was the *Secours Rouge* [Red Help], a united-front formation including the *Ligue Communiste* [Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International], the *PSU* [Parti Socialiste Unifié—United Socialist party], the *Lutte Ouvrière* [Workers Struggle] group, and various Maoist, anarchist, and other groupings.

It was clear, however, that all through December it was the *Ligue Communiste* that constantly pushed the issue of solidarity with the anti-Francoist fighters inside *Secours Rouge*.

The first major demonstration of solidarity with the Burgos prisoners took place in Paris December 1 in response to a call issued by *Secours Rouge*. Some 10,000 persons participated. Demonstrations of hundreds and sometimes thousands of people had occurred in many French cities.

The December 1 action was the culmination of a campaign of mobilizations, mass meetings, and marches held throughout the country.

Pressured by this striking success, the PCF [Parti Communiste Français—French Communist party] and the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor, the CP-dominated union] were compelled to go into action in their turn. Within a few hours after the success of the December 1 demonstration, the PCF and the trade-union confederations called a national demonstration in Paris for December 3, although they had previously refused to participate in the initial demonstrations or to organize any themselves.

The December 3 demonstration drew 25,000 to 30,000 participants. Having brought about a change in the relationship of forces, *Secours Rouge* and the *Ligue Communiste* won the de facto right for revolutionary organizations to participate under their own banners in the "united" marches led by the Stalinists.

A second "united" demonstration was held in Paris December 10. It was more militant than the first, although it was about the same size.

Later, the verdict, awaited with anxiety and anger, was announced. [Francisco] Izco and five of his comrades were condemned to death; there was a danger that they would be executed immediately. Once again, *Secours Rouge* and the *Ligue Communiste* decided on an emergency demonstration and sought to reach an agreement with the PCF, the Socialist

party, the CGT, and the other trade-union organizations.

Once again the PCF refused. At a time when the lives of our Basque brothers were in danger, the PCF reserved the day the demonstration was to be held for "fraternal banquets" in celebration of its fiftieth anniversary!

Despite the abstention of the CP (and the Lambertistes*), 20,000 persons demonstrated in Paris on December 30. This time, the slogan of unity in action backfired against the Stalinist bureaucrats. Under strong pressure from their rank and file, the CFDT [Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor, an independent union of Catholic origin] and the Seine [Paris region] federation of the Socialist party decided to support the *Secours Rouge* demonstration.

In the provinces the trend was still more pronounced. In Bordeaux, the *Secours Rouge* demonstration drew 1,000 persons. They were joined by another 600 persons who came out in response to the appeal of the PCF and whom the bureaucrats had wanted to keep away from the revolutionists. In Montpellier on December 9, because the CP rejected unity in action, two separate processions marched through the city—1,000 persons demonstrated with *Secours Rouge*; 1,000 with the PCF. In Marseille the PCF march drew 6,000 persons on December 10; the revolution-

* The French cothinkers and counterpart of the sectarian Socialist Labour League of Britain.—IP

ists' march, 2,000. In Caen, the Secours Rouge demonstration drew 2,000 participants; the PCF demonstration, 400. In Tours 500 revolutionists demonstrated; the PCF refused to come out.

In Brest, disgusted by the PCF's sectarian attitude, the workers went over en masse to the Secours Rouge procession, breaking up the PCF one. In Dijon there was a united demonstration of Secours Rouge, the CFDT, and the Syndicat de l'Enseignement [Teachers Union]. The PCF refused to participate in the united front and remained isolated.

Thus the ability of the revolutionary vanguard in France to take the initiative, the most important result of the growing strength of the Ligue Communiste, has begun to alter the situation inside the workers movement. The fact that six weeks of mobilization culminated in an important political victory and that Izko and

his five comrades have been saved can only increase the political weight of the revolutionary vanguard.

Of course, this change in the relationship of forces only affects the vanguard of highly politicalized activists. The shift has not yet affected the relationship of forces in the plants and unions nor the voting behavior of the masses, who are still passive. The bureaucratic apparatuses, first of all the CP machine, continue to exercise a greatly preponderant influence in the working class.

But the fact that in the streets the relationship of forces is changing gives the revolutionary minorities in the factories and trade-union organizations renewed confidence. It means that the work of building the revolutionary party, of winning the leadership of the working class away from the Stalinists and reformists, can be carried forward with much greater chances of success than before. □

You Only Think You're Dead

"Many of the children are pale. They vomit and complain of aches in their legs. A 39-year-old man, who looks 60, has pains in his lungs and chest. A muscular 29-year-old welder is drowsy all the time and has deep chest pains. Whole families are hospitalized from time to time."

These mysteriously sick persons, John Hanrahan wrote in the December 9 *Montreal Star*, all have one thing in common: They live "within smelling distance" of the Galaxy Chemical Company plant in Little Old Valley, Maryland. Most of the valley's residents believe that odors from the plant are the cause of their illnesses, which at times have required hospitalization.

In 1970 an expert on environmental medicine from the state department of health described the situation in the valley as an "epidemic." The department filed suit against the company.

In his decision, handed down in September, the judge noted that Galaxy processed twenty-three different chemicals. More than half of them "by skin absorption, inhalation or ingestion may cause death or permanent injury even after short exposure to small quantities." According to doctors, the injuries could include irreversible brain damage.

The judge gave Galaxy six months to reduce the noxious fumes escaping from its plant. So far, residents have noticed little improvement. Hanrahan reported that the company still disputes its responsibility:

"Paul Mraz, one of the plant's owners, last month told a reporter that there are 'strong psychological factors' at work in the valley that cause people to blame his plant for their illnesses."

Said one woman who has been hospitalized because of liver and pancreas trouble: "It looks like we're all going to be dead before they do anything about it."

Porno Over Politics

"While censorship [in France] for obscenity has eased considerably, political censorship goes on—usually unannounced, but with a vigor worthy of wartime emergency . . .

"Even respected Editions du Seuil had a political book banned early this year by the Interior Minister, 'Pour la liberation du Bresil,' by the late guerrilla warfare theoretician Carlos Marighela. In protest, 23 other leading publishers . . . joined Le Seuil in publishing a second edition of the work. The names of all 24 appear on the cover. Their joint statement notes that their imprint doesn't mean they all approve the positions taken in the book, but 'they cannot accept that in a democratic country the administration can ban, under a May 6, 1939, decree taken for national defense requirements, the distribution of any foreign book without giving the reasons to author or publisher, and without first asking court authorization.'"—Herbert R. Lottman in the September 21 *Publishers' Weekly*.

Uruguay

'Special Police Powers' Handed to Pacheco

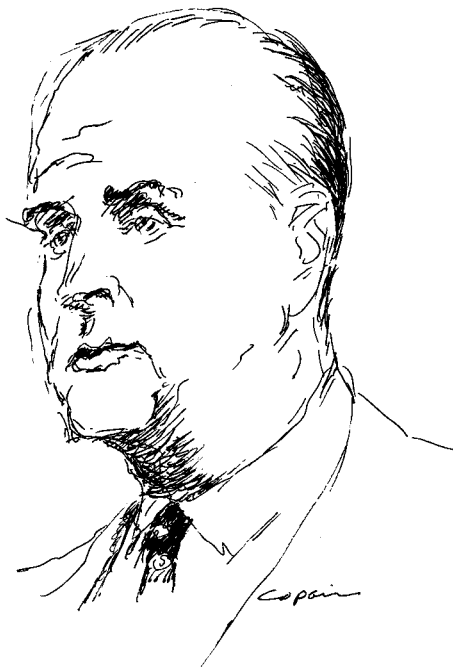
Constitutional rights were suspended in Uruguay January 11 at the request of President Jorge Pacheco Areco. The suspension will run for forty days.

The action was approved by an eleven-member commission acting for the congress during its recess. The commission reduced the length of the suspension from the ninety days asked for by Pacheco.

The measure, which followed the kidnapping of British ambassador Geoffrey Jackson by Tupamaro guerrillas January 8, permits the police to make arrests and searches without warrants. Persons arrested can be held without charge, and the right of habeas corpus is suspended.

An identical abrogation of civil liberties was enacted for twenty days last August following the kidnapping of Dan A. Mitrione, an American adviser to the police; Claude L. Fly, an American agronomist; and Aloysio Dias Gomides, the Brazilian consul. Mitrione was later executed. Fly and Gomides are still being held by the Tupamaros.

Even before the congressional commission had approved the special police powers, the Pacheco government



PACHECO: Suspending liberties, the better to preserve "democracy."

was reported to have deployed thousands of soldiers and police in searching for the ambassador. □

Shah Trying to Suppress Growing Student Unrest

Three persons were sentenced to life imprisonment by a military court in Teheran December 31 while fifteen others were given sentences ranging from three to fifteen years. The prisoners, including ten students, were arrested in April, 1970, while crossing the Iran-Iraq border in an attempt to join the Palestinian liberation organization Fateh [see *Intercontinental Press*, December 14, 1970, page 1079].

The trial was held in the midst of massive student protests that were met by fierce government repression. This was undoubtedly a factor in the government's decision to play down the defendants' links with the widely popular Palestinian resistance movement. The prosecution instead accused the eighteen of "plotting against the internal and external security of the state" and of promoting Kurdish and Khuzistani separatism. The prosecution had originally demanded the death penalty for five of the defendants. The atmosphere of crisis in Iran in mid-December may have prompted the shah to reduce the savagery of the sentences.

The University of Teheran was closed the first week in December, after law students launched a strike to protest the scheduling of examinations so close together. Police were called out after other students joined the strike and attacked university buildings. Several students were said to have been arrested on the orders of Dean Ali Khani.

Meanwhile in Europe, Iranian students abroad opened a campaign to draw world attention to the current wave of repression in their homeland. The December 12 *Le Monde* reported that on December 9, forty-six Iranian students occupied the Iranian embassy in Vienna. The demonstrators were driven out by local firemen and arrested. At the University of Mainz in West Germany, more than 100 Iranian students carried out a hunger strike for over a week. Eighteen of them had to be hospitalized.

The Mainz demonstrators were protesting in particular the expulsion from Iran of Dr. Hans Heldmann, a representative of Amnesty International,

and the arrest October 20 of Dr. Heldmann's interpreter, Hossein Rezai, a student at the University of Mainz.

The Mainz hunger strikers demanded that the shah permit a delegation of independent observers to investigate the condition of political prisoners. Similar fasts were held in Rome, Paris, and Vienna.

The Paris hunger strike, involving fifty students, concluded December 12 with a rally of 300 persons at Iran House. Two of the strikers were hospitalized because of their weakened physical condition.

The Union of Iranian Students in France issued a communiqué denouncing the "inhuman tortures" inflicted on political prisoners in Iran. The association demanded the immediate release of Hossein Rezai and asked that international observers be allowed to attend the then forthcoming trial of the eighteen Fateh supporters. The December 17 *Le Monde* said the Iranian students in France had announced that 120 Labour members of Parliament in Britain had signed a resolution protesting the repression in Iran, as had thirty Austrian deputies.

The shah moved rapidly to suppress the student agitation. On December 21 police occupied the University of Teheran, closing the entire campus. Large numbers of students were threatened with permanent expulsion if they were identified as participants in the previous weeks' demonstrations. The students had moved beyond demands concerning examinations and were carrying signs attacking the government directly. Furthermore, the protests had spread to the Teheran Polytechnic School and to other academic centers.

The shah reinforced his police assault with a political witch-hunt. Javad Alamir, writing from Teheran in the December 23 *Le Monde*, described the government's campaign:

"Monday [December 21], for the first time in twenty days, the local press took note of the student troubles, denouncing them in identical terms. According to these newspapers, the 'ring-

leaders' are said to have connections with the Confederation of Iranian Students Abroad, which is said to have been subverted by East Germany and Iraq. Again according to the Teheran press, 'traitors' and 'reactionaries' are reported to be among the agitators. The demonstrations are accused of having been timed to coincide with the negotiations Iran is carrying on with the International Consortium for an increase in oil revenues. The press consequently advocates an even severer repression.

"As 'proof' of the 'treason' of some elements, the press makes the most of the fact that the demonstrators have used slogans such as, 'The white revolution must give way to the red revolution!' [The shah's program of "reforms" has been carried out under the phrase "white revolution."—IP] 'Down with the established order!' and 'Long live Khomeini [an exiled religious leader] and Rezai!'"

The semiofficial Teheran daily *Ettelaat* devoted a column in its December 29 issue to a red-baiting attack on Dr. Heldmann. The newspaper accused Heldmann of using his visits to the country to "transmit orders" to opposition groups. *Ettelaat* inconsistently accused the doctor of being "pro-Marxist" and of "contacting the reactionary elements in the country." *Ettelaat* did not once mention Heldmann's connection with Amnesty International.

It was under these circumstances that the Iranian secret police [SAVAK] "discovered" a massive "arms cache," which was shown to the press December 23. The "find" included more than 3,000 rifles and submachine guns, hundreds of side arms, a million bullets, and large quantities of hand grenades, all of Soviet manufacture. According to the secret police, the arms had been sent from Iraq to foment guerrilla war against the shah.

The Iranian government claimed the existence of a conspiracy uniting virtually every opposition organization in the country from the far right to the far left. Javad Alamir reported in the December 24 *Le Monde*:

"According to the authorities, three groups have been created since 1968, in Teheran, in Azerbaijan, and in Khuzistan. These groupings, affiliated to the Iranian National Movement, * were said to have their own mimeographed journals and to be composed of a number of cells. Representatives of diverse tendencies were said to collaborate within them:

"The right wing, religious opposition; the National Front; the Front for the Liberation of Khuzistan [which favors autonomy for the Iranian province of Khuzistan]; the Kurds who want autonomy; the pro-Moscow Communists of the Tudeh party; the pro-Chinese revolutionary Tudeh party; members of the Toufan movement (Marxist-Leninist-Castroist) ** and even the Confederation of Iranian Students Abroad."

The secret police also produced what they claimed was a list of buildings to be dynamited and individuals to be assassinated that was allegedly agreed upon by the whole gamut of organizations supposedly involved in the "plot." SAVAK added a few more sophisticated touches as well, such as films of a purported Iraqi agent using a secret radio transmitter hidden in a television set in a Teheran hotel. How the films were obtained remained obscure from the press reports.

Iraq immediately denied the charges. Radio Baghdad declared: "The so-called intelligence officer Hachim Nouri is really only a simple policeman from Kirkuk arrested for bribery."

The December 25 *Le Monde* reported that seven Iranian radicals, including four students, were to be tried by a military court on charges of "inciting urban guerrilla warfare." Teheran authorities denied that the trial was connected to the campus unrest. This announcement was followed by more sweeping arrests.

The government announced December 28 that twenty-five persons had

* The "Iranian National Movement" was founded and led by General Bakhtiar, a former chief of the SAVAK, who lived in exile in Iraq for more than a decade until his assassination under mysterious circumstances last summer. — IP

** The group around the newspaper *Toufan* (Storm) is actually Maoist. It is led by two former Central Committee members of the Tudeh party, who split from the pro-Moscow Communists five years ago. — IP

been jailed in connection with the "Iraqi plot," while at the same time twenty "pro-Chinese Communist elements" were also detained. The "Fateh trial" began the same day.

Iranian students abroad charged that the Fateh defendants were severe-



MOHAMMED REZA SHAH PAHLEVI: Believes that people are plotting against him.

ly tortured while awaiting trial. The progovernment Teheran press carefully avoided any discussion of these charges, but it is noteworthy that the December 29 *Ettelaat* gave the following report on the condition of at least one of the prisoners:

"During the trial the presiding officer of the court [Colonel Hassan Safakeesh] noticed that Naser Kakhsaz, the second defendant, was not feeling well. He ordered the defendant to be transferred to another room, to be returned to the courtroom after he had improved."

Opposition sources say that Kakhsaz, himself a young judge, was blinded under torture during his long imprisonment awaiting trial.

The military judges handed down their verdict against the eighteen early in the morning of December 31. Agence France-Presse gave this account:

"Ahmad Saboory, a twenty-four-year-old student, was sentenced to life imprisonment. He is regarded as the main organizer of a Marxist-Leninist subversive network established in Iran

with the support of the Baathist leaders in Baghdad.

"Because, however, of his collaboration with the prosecution in establishing the truth, this sentence was immediately reduced to three years in prison.

"Three other defendants were sentenced to life imprisonment. They were: Naser Kharjaz [should be Kakhsaz — IP], twenty-five, deputy public prosecutor of the town of Sari; Massoud Bathai, twenty-eight, a medical intern; and Shokrollah Pak-Nejad, twenty-nine, an employee."

The Union of Iranian Students in France issued a statement in Paris denouncing the verdict, declaring that the condemned prisoners "were arrested in April 1970 and held secretly until December because they wanted to join the Palestinian movement Fateh.... They were savagely tortured, and two of them, including Kakhsaz, have lost their sight. Two others have become paralyzed."

"It is because of the tortures," the statement continued, "and even the nature of the crime charged—that is, the defendants' sympathy with the Palestinian cause—that keeps the Iranian regime from making this a public trial."

Further trials are pending of the alleged supporters of the "Iranian National Movement." The International Confederation of Iranian Students has denied the shah's charges that it is associated with Bakhtiar's organization. In a communiqué issued in Paris January 5 the confederation called the shah's allegations a "gross farce," adding:

"The progressive Iranian opposition has never ceased denouncing General Bakhtiar as an agent of imperialism and a butcher of the people. . . . The International Confederation of Iranian Students rejects this accusation and, despite this farce, continues its struggle." □

Fleeing Afghan Children

Sheepskin coats made in Afghanistan—often by child labor—at a cost of \$8 sell in the United States for \$50. According to the January 18 *New York Times*, 50,000 of the coats have so far been sold in the U.S.

Finance Capital

West German banks control 70 percent of the total capital in all the country's corporations, according to the weekly news magazine *Der Spiegel*.

The Dying Mediterranean

"From the point of view of Italy," said the Italian Professor Mortadino, an expert on pollution problems, "our coastal waters are already dead as a source of food and as an amenity. Nobody with any sense would eat shell-fish in Italy, and 70 per cent of our beaches are a health hazard. It is not a question as to when the sea will be dead. For the Italians it has already happened. The effect on other countries bordering the Mediterranean will only be a matter of time."

Mortadino's remarks were quoted by John Cornwell in the January 2 issue of the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*. Cornwell's article clearly answers "yes" to the question in its title: "Is the Mediterranean dying?"

Pollution of the Mediterranean, according to Cornwell, is primarily due to the contamination of the rivers—mostly Italian—that flow into it. Since the sea has an outward current through the Straits of Gibraltar, but no incoming current, the Mediterranean is rapidly taking on the same chemical composition as the rivers that feed it. (The outward current also means that some of the pollution eventually is carried into the Atlantic.)

Some of the destruction already caused by pollution of the sea almost defies belief. For example, at Viareggio, south of Genoa:

"Thousands of pine trees and evergreens lining the roadside, most of them set back two or three hundred yards from the sea-front lidos, are dead—their branches naked, their bark stripped and grey. In places where the disaster is still in progress the sides of the trees facing the sea are dead while the shore-facing sides are still luxuriant. The picture is the same for about 15 miles. At Versilia, which once boasted the tallest and most splendid trees in Italy, the dead pines are falling against each other in their thousands.

"At the National Research Centre in Rome a scientist involved in assessing these recent disasters told an eerie story: 'The pine trees are dying because they are suffocating from a coating of hydrocarbons and chem-

ical detergents which are carried into the sea by the rivers bringing waste from inland chemical plants. The humid westerly wind blows in the surface chemicals from the ocean like an aerosol. The pine needles are suffocated, coated in a greasy layer, slowly but inevitably killing off the trees through asphyxiation."

All over Italy, Cornwell reported, open sewers pour untreated human and industrial wastes into the Mediterranean or the Adriatic. In one instance still another source of pollution was found—at the Gulf of Gaeta, a holiday area south of Rome.

Three miles inland is a nuclear power station, which dumps its wastes into a stream flowing into the gulf.

"Local doctors in Baia Domizia, Scauri, Minturno, and Formia claim that hundreds of holidaymakers had come to them [last summer] with strange rashes after bathing along the coast. 'These were not simple allergies,' said a doctor in Scauri. 'As far as we were concerned the rashes were radioactive.'"

Shallower and more confined than the Mediterranean, the Adriatic Sea may be in even worse condition. Water pollution, which causes silting of the canals and corrodes building foundations, is a major reason that Venice is sinking into the sea.

The Po is probably the worst polluted of the rivers emptying into the Adriatic, but it is far from the only one:

"For 20 miles south of Milan the irrigation ditches are also thick with sewage, oil, and detergents. Water comes in plenty from the Alpine areas, but once it has passed through the heavily industrialized and populated conurbation of Milan, every river, stream, and ditch becomes poisoned in the plains to the south. Practically every river south of Milan carries the foam of detergents, in places rising five and six feet above the water level."

This sort of contamination affects ground water as well as the seas. In Lombardy, for example, drinking water at a depth of 200 yards is polluted with detergents.

According to a prominent Italian medical and science correspondent quoted by Cornwell, the situation has reached the point where "of our coasts . . . 70.2 per cent are dangerously polluted, and 15.2 per cent are totally poisoned."

The Italian government, meanwhile, has done nothing about the pollution except to deny that it is as bad as everyone knows it is. When the *procura* [attorney-general] ordered Genoa's beaches closed for health reasons last summer, he was suspended and charged with "incompetence." The beaches were reopened. In Rome, the administration has the city's garbage buried in huge pits eighty feet deep.

"It's a national scandal," said a sanitary engineer on the site. 'We have an incinerator—it was paid for by the Americans—but they don't use it. All our waste, including meat and every kind of toxic garbage, is dumped in the holes. Naturally whenever the Tiber overflows it gets into everything. I suppose we're one shade better than Sicily—they take all their stuff out in boats every day and tip it overboard and it gets washed up on shore the next day.'"

The government's lack of worry about pollution is caused by concern for the profits of industry, according to Professor Mortadino:

"Italy has always had special problems in its relations between government and industry. After the war we opened up the country to the rest of the world and gave them a *carte blanche* to get the money flowing again. Many of the industries here—particularly those with petrochemical interests—are foreign-owned: it makes us particularly vulnerable. Italy refines almost twice its own consumption of oil, and it does it dirtily, although admittedly cheaply, in or near the sea. We have been refining for other countries: Britain, France, Germany, Holland, the United States. We've allowed ourselves to be treated like the worst kind of exploited colony."

Thus the Mediterranean has been destroyed for the sake of corporate profits and, to a lesser extent, bal-

anced city budgets. A professor who has spent five years studying water pollution in Italy told Cornwell:

"Twenty years ago, when we were at the outset of our great industrial expansion, it might have been rela-

tively simple to avoid this disaster.

"If each new industry had been obliged to install purifying plants this would have raised their costs by only 2 per cent, perhaps. The products would have been only fractionally

more expensive. A modern purifying plant, even in a great city, would not have cost more than 15 shillings [US\$1.80] per head in one year. . . . Now, of course, it is all too difficult and too late." □

Last Article from El Fronton

Yes, We Are for Workers Control in Peru

By Hugo Blanco

[The following article, written in November 1970, was the last one the Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco wrote in the prison of El Frontón before his release December 22. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

El Frontón Prison

We Trotskyists, I should like to stress, work with a transitional program, that is, through slogans that, while based on the present understanding of the exploited classes, are designed to raise their consciousness to the level of comprehending socialist principles and the need for taking power.

One of the planks in this program is workers control of production.* This slogan is aimed at helping the workers understand that they are the essential element in production and that they must take command over this process and direct it in accordance with their own interests and those of the people as a whole.

Ultimately the working class must see that taking control of production can be done only by completely expropriating the capitalists, a reality which only a small minority realize at present. But it is easy for large sectors of workers to understand right now that they can and must curb the arbitrary policies of the capitalists, which are aimed at making profits for big business at the expense of the

working class and the people in general.

As aspects of workers control, we demand the right for the workers organizations to plan and regulate industrial production. We demand opening up the management's books in order to permit a check on costs and profits. We demand the right of veto over all changes in the basic industrial plant or in the productive process, as well as over firings and similar actions.

We demand workers control over the various aspects of production in order to curb the arbitrary abuses of the bosses, but we refuse to take responsibility for the productive process as long as the workers do not hold political and economic power.

Thus we see that there is a profound difference between workers control as proposed by the Trotskyists and the "participation in plant management" cited in the Ley de Comunidad Industrial [Industrial Community Law]. We must clearly expose this law as a bourgeois measure intended to lull the workers to sleep by making them believe that they are part owners of the means of production. The objective of this law is to make it possible to exploit the workers more effectively and carry through the scheme of the bourgeois developers by sweating and starving the proletariat.

But along with this we must note that the working class unfortunately does not yet understand the antiworking-class character of this law, and a great majority of the workers have placed their hopes on it.

It is a sectarian attitude to propose boycotting the Comunidad Industrial provisions when the masses place their hopes in them. We are opposed to

the "participationism" this law signifies. But the crucial fact at present as regards this measure is that it has aroused sympathy in the working class. Projecting a boycott in this case is like proposing a boycott of any bourgeois institution in which the masses have illusions, like calling for a "boycott" of the Ministry of Labor because it is a bourgeois instrument.

It is on the basis of the present situation that we must develop our struggle to educate the masses through transitional slogans, not by turning our backs on the masses.

Let us demand opening of the books, veto over firings, the right to oust foremen and supervisory personnel, the right of veto over changes in the productive process, etc. Let us use the proposals of the "Comunidad Industrial" law to press our demands. Parallel to this, we must reject all responsibility for plant operations, pointing out that the workers cannot be considered responsible for this as long as the entire productive process is not in their hands.

There are some revolutionists who say that we must not create "illusions about workers control," claiming that it cannot exist prior to taking power. They do not seem to understand that we are talking about control in the sense of *keeping a check on*, not of *ruling*. When the working class takes power, it will not only "control" or "keep checks on," but command, take the entire productive process in its hands, and planning first of all.

It is untrue that workers control cannot exist before the workers take power; it emerges precisely in the process of this struggle. It is one of the symptoms of dual power, which arises when the momentum of the proletariat

* The FIR [Frente de Izquierda Revolucionario—Revolutionary Left Front, the Peruvian Trotskyist organization] plans to publish Comrade Mandel's valuable work, "The Debate Over Workers Control," in the near future.

has carried it close to the point of taking power, but the bourgeoisie is not yet defeated.

This phenomenon has been attested by history in Russia in 1917, in Bolivia in 1952, and in France in 1968.

Of course such a situation is precarious and fleeting; it represents an unstable balance in revolutionary or prerevolutionary times when the workers are struggling to oust the bourgeoisie completely, while the bour-

geoisie struggles to regain full sway.

We must not abandon the workers to the participationists. Step by step we must counter these demagogues with specific demands for workers control. □

Signed Letter Asking Soviet 'Aid'

1968 Collaborators Surface in Czechoslovakia

When Warsaw Pact troops invaded Czechoslovakia to strangle the movement for socialist democracy on August 21, 1968, Soviet propaganda justified the action by citing a letter, allegedly signed by leaders of the Czechoslovak government, appealing for aid against a "counterrevolution."

The resistance of the Czech and Slovak peoples appeared to have shattered the expectations of these "leaders." In the aftermath of the invasion, no signer of the infamous letter stepped forward to receive due acclaim for his action. The names of those who had betrayed socialist democracy were guarded so closely that there was widespread speculation that the letter was fictional.

It has taken the bureaucracy more than two years to repress political life in Czechoslovakia to the point where the collaborators now feel it safe to raise their heads. The January 4 issue of the German weekly news magazine *Der Spiegel* described, on the basis of a report "from a prominent Czechoslovak who asked that his name be kept secret," the December 11, 1970, meeting of the Communist party Central Committee in Prague. At this meeting, copies of the 1968 letter appealing for "international aid" were distributed.

The account in *Der Spiegel* gives the names of twenty-five of the forty persons said to have signed the letter. Most of them were not "leaders" in August 1968, but rather discredited former officials in the regime of Antonin Novotny.

Only five of the signers were members of the party presidium or secretariat in August 1968. These were Jan Piller, Drahomir Kolder, Oldrich Svestka, Vasil Bilak, and Alois Indra. Another, Antonin Kapek, was an alternate member of the presidium.

Kolder was reported at the time to

have been handpicked by the Soviet bureaucrats as one of a triumvirate to head the party, but the popular support for Dubcek defeated Kolder's dreams of glory. More than 34,000 citizens signed a petition demanding that he be recalled from the National Assembly, and the party Central Committee refused to reelect him to the presidium. By October 1968, the would-be leader was an economic adviser to the Czechoslovak embassy in Bulgaria.

Others suspected of collaboration fared no better than Kolder. Karel Hoffmann and Miroslav Sulek—the former was minister of culture and information under Novotny and head of broadcasting at the time of the invasion, the latter chief editor of the Czechoslovak news agency—both lost their jobs because they were thought to be involved with the letter requesting Soviet troops. *Der Spiegel* confirmed that the two did sign the letter.

The rest of the names in the article read like a Who's Who of the Novotny regime. The collaborators and the positions they held under Novotny were:

Vaclav David, foreign minister; Karel Mestek, minister of agriculture; Josef Plojhar, minister of health; Bohuslav Lastovicka, president of the parliament; General Otakar Rytir, chief of the general staff; Miroslav Mamula, head of the party secretariat special police section; Jiri Hendrych, Novotny's deputy in the secretariat; Pavel Auersperg, member of the central committee; "apparatchiks" Jaroslav Havelka, Frantisek Havlicek, Jan Nemeč, and Rudolf Horcic; Oldrich Pavlovsky, ambassador to Moscow; Viliam Salgovic, deputy interior minister; Bohus Chnoupek, deputy minister of culture; and Vilem Novy, editor of *Rude Pravo*.

The article also listed the name of Jaromir Hrbek, Czech minister of schools, without indicating whether he held that post under Novotny.

According to *Der Spiegel*, the copies of the letter were distributed to the Central Committee plenum at the instigation of Vasil Bilak, who told the meeting:

"We must say openly, loudly, and clearly that in fact we invited in our Soviet friends, and we must publicize who signed the invitation."

The Czechoslovak workers would no doubt like very much to be told the names of the collaborators. Had Bilak been foolish enough to speak so candidly two and a half years ago, it is unlikely that he would now be addressing meetings of the Central Committee.

Bilak and his fellow conspirators are not now confessing their crimes because of remorse over their role in the invasion. On the contrary, their sudden candor appears to be an attempt to encourage further Soviet meddling in Czechoslovak affairs.

From the standpoint of the Kremlin bureaucrats, the party first secretary, Gustav Husak, has done an excellent job of "normalizing" the situation—i.e., returning the country to its Stalinist straitjacket without touching off mass protests.

The forty signers of the infamous letter, however, want something more, namely a return to the *personal* influence and positions they held under Novotny. Last summer, *Der Spiegel* reported, the party secretary of Ceske Budjeovice was killed in an automobile accident. In his car were found copies of letters to Moscow in which the collaborators of August 1968 complained that Husak had been too mild in dealing with "counterrevolutionaries," and that they, the "true interna-

tionists," had not been suitably rewarded for their "internationalism" with high posts in the bureaucracy.

One need not accept *Der Spiegel's* account of the finding of this batch of letters to recognize that the collaborators must feel themselves very shabbily treated. After they had risked their precious bureaucratic positions—think of poor Kolder, banished to Bulgaria—the party leadership was bestowed on Husak, who had not even signed the appeal to the "Soviet friends."

The attempt to publish the names of the forty now is thus an effort to persuade Moscow that they are more loyal than Husak and a reminder to other members of the Czechoslovak Communist party that the collaborators have powerful patrons.

Whether treason in 1968 is a sufficient qualification for party leadership in 1971 remains to be seen. For the moment, the Central Committee decided not to publish the names of the collaborators, postponing the question to the next plenum in February or March. But the fact that those who so carefully guarded their anonymity immediately after the invasion now dare to boast of their crime is a measure of how tight the Kremlin's control of Czechoslovakia has become. □

3,000 Demonstrate for Rudi Dutschke

About 3,000 students marched from Hyde Park to Trafalgar Square in London January 17 to protest the government's decision to deport German socialist student Rudi Dutschke. At a rally following the march, a Labour party member of parliament accused Home Secretary Reginald Maudling of "concocting" the case against Dutschke, who was banned after a secret hearing.

A week earlier, a mass meeting of students at Cambridge University called on all lecturers and students to spend class time discussing the Dutschke expulsion. They were later supported by twenty-one dons who signed a letter circulated to the other faculty members.

The Cambridge Students' Union held a teach-in January 18 to discuss the implications of the Dutschke case.

It appeared likely that Dutschke would go to Denmark when he leaves England. A London *Times* dispatch reported January 22 that he had been given a six-month residence and work permit by the Danish Ministry of Justice. Dutschke has been offered a position as assistant tutor at Aarhus University. □

February 1, 1971

After Women's Rebellion in SPD

Brandt Pledges Pension for Housewives

The West German government is planning to introduce a pension program for housewives, David Binder reported in the January 15 *New York Times*. The pension would be comparable to those for factory workers.

Beginning as far back as 1963, the government has attempted to head off women's dissatisfaction with the role imposed on them by capitalist society by upgrading the "status" of housewives. This has been done in part by court decisions. Binder wrote:

"In 1963 the Supreme Court of Bavaria handed down a rule acknowledging that the 'position of the Hausfrau in bourgeois life has been transformed,' so that it was to be regarded as an honorable designation for skilled labor.

"Last year the federal Welfare Court ruled in another case that training for the profession of Hausfrau—in this case a home-economics course—was to be accorded the same legal status as, say, training to be a machinist."

The pension plan is clearly a concession to the demands for women's liberation raised more and more loudly even within the ranks of the ruling SPD [Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands—Social Democratic party of Germany]. The December 11 issue of *Express International*, a biweekly published in Frankfurt am Main, reported a rebellion among members of the Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Frauen in der SPD [Union of Women in the SPD] at a conference held in Nuremberg in October.

Dissatisfied with the lack of discussion of substantive matters and the undemocratic arrangement of the proceedings, a large minority of the delegates caucused separately, protesting the fact that the organization was not even permitted to elect its own leadership. (The chairwoman had declared earlier: "Of course we're elected—by the party executive committee.")

Although the leadership of the union refused to grant the demand for elections, it was forced to permit the caucus to deliver a position paper it had prepared.

The paper attacked the nuclear fam-



WILLY BRANDT

ily for assigning sexual roles that in turn "permit women in society to be treated as sexual objects, and in the economy to be put to work at any time in subordinate positions . . ."

Emancipation of women, the paper said, would require: democratization of the factories and self-determination for all those dependent upon wages; an end to the isolation of the nuclear family; basic changes in the system of education; the right of women to control their own bodies; sexual liberation of women and an end to the "ideology of motherhood."

Chancellor Willy Brandt appears to believe that he can escape these demands by paying a pension to women forced to conform to the "ideology of motherhood." □

India Marks 7% Growth—in Prices

Prices of Indian goods rose an average of 7 percent in 1970. For food and other essential consumer items, the increase ranged from 20 to 30 percent.

At the same time, 16,000,000 persons—half the urban work force—were unemployed.

Debray's First Impressions on Winning Freedom

"We seem to see a polemic now between two different Régis Debrays," a Havana wire service correspondent commented in talking with the young French intellectual three days after his release by the Bolivian military dictatorship. In his new home in Santiago de Chile, Debray discussed with Jorge Timossi and Manuel Cabieses of *Prensa Latina* the changes that had occurred in his political thinking during his three years in prison. The text of the interview was published in the December 30 issue of the Uruguayan weekly *Marcha*.

In response to the comment about two different Debrays, the reputed theoretician of "foquismo" said: "I assume you are referring to my book *Revolution in the Revolution?*" [the essay on what he judged to be the concepts of rural guerrilla warfare held by the leaders of the Cuban revolution]. "I wrote a critique of it in 1968. It was an attempt to improve the book, to deepen it, to enrich it, let us say, to achieve something dialectically more advanced than *Revolution in the Revolution?*. But it accepted the precepts of the book."

Rejected in this critique, apparently, was Debray's concept that the urban environment inevitably had a corrupting influence on revolutionists: "The first point in this critique was a reevaluation of revolutionary work in the cities, explaining that the city-country argument as posed in *Revolution in the Revolution?* seemed abstract to me, and as such to have its limitations."

Debray seemed also to have revised his earlier argument that revolutionary leadership could develop only from the guerrilla nucleus. "Other points of the critique referred to the preeminence of the political over the military aspect for the leadership of the armed struggle and training revolutionists. Revolutionary training cannot be predominantly military."

His self-criticism, Debray said, had stressed the importance of concrete analysis and tactical flexibility: "The third point referred to the correlation between strategy and tactics. And the last point was an appreciation of the national aspect, that is, of national

peculiarities. . . . In order to outline a strategy you have to explain from a Marxist-Leninist point of view how the class struggle is developing in Latin America, the peculiarities exhibited by this struggle in every country."

The basic failure of *Revolution in the Revolution?*, according to Debray, was that it was "an abstract book, which indulged in abstractions with respect to the role of the party and the city-country relationship."

The young intellectual stressed that he was opposed to any concept that a revolution could be made by a small band of extraordinarily gifted or self-sacrificing individuals. "Now I understand guerrilla warfare as people's war. That is, it is the people who wage it; the people is the subject of such warfare. The people is no elite, no vanguard. . . ."

"In Vietnam they are doing things; they are beating the Yankees with seven-year-old children, with old people, and women as well. All these strata have their place in people's war. I think that guerrilla warfare is one in a gamut of methods of struggle by which all sectors of the population can be integrated into the fight."

Although a few Maoist phrases like "people's war" as well as a quotation or two from Chairman Mao appeared in Debray's comments, he did not suggest that the Peking leadership had the answers to the problems of the revolutionary movement in Latin America.

As for his own theoretical contributions, Debray accorded them only a passing significance in the development of the revolutionary left. "Perhaps *Revolution in the Revolution?* played a provocative role in the good sense of the term. That was positive. It served as a catalyst. But now I think we all have gained sufficient experience to go beyond the limitations of this essay."

While rejecting many of his earlier theoretical postulates, Debray asserted that he still believed in the necessity of armed struggle against the bourgeois regimes in Latin America. His understanding of this question had only deepened, he indicated.

"Yes, I think that armed struggle

is still called for. But what I question is whether we can talk about armed struggle as such. I think that there are armed struggles but no armed struggle as such. Every country, every situation requires its own kind, or kinds of armed struggle, or the combination of armed action with non-military forms of struggle.

"Take, for example, what is happening in Uruguay. Struggle does not necessarily hinder the formation of a political united front. In fact, we might consider that there can be an objective coordination of different forms of struggle. There is great political intelligence in Uruguay and correctness about the political leadership of the armed struggle."

The main gain from various armed struggles in Latin America, according to Debray, has been educational.

"It is not true to say that armed struggle has failed. Of course, it has failed on certain occasions. But when Lenin, for example, talked about failures he did not do so in terms of defeats. He discussed failures as gains. He analyzed failure as political gains, as experience, as accumulated capital, as a springboard and starting point for rectification and continuing the struggle.

"That is, we must get over being embarrassed by failures. Failure is what you make of it. There is no such thing as failure per se. The 1905 revolution was a failure, but there was a Bolshevik party to shoulder it, overcome it; and 1905 prepared the way for 1917.

"Every failure must be made to count as experience. If revolutionary compañeros do not do this, it is a weakness on their part. This is a weakness that may go hand in hand with underestimating theoretical work. Therefore, I consider self-criticism very important. All self-criticism is a victory."

Coming out of his long imprisonment, Debray seemed primarily interested in two current political questions — the Cuban leaders' discussion of workers' democracy and the prospects of the popular front government in Chile.

His theoretical reading in prison

had apparently led Debray to reflect more deeply on the problems of bureaucracy in the revolutionary movement: "As I developed more political maturity, I became interested in the sources of revolutionary theory — Leninism. I came to discover that many political and ideological points discussed early in the century can provide useful lessons for us today.

"I am not just thinking of Lenin and his numerous analyses of the state, the party, the unions, etc. There are other classics that merit a great deal of attention: for example, Rosa Luxemburg and her approach to the dictatorship of the proletariat and the role of the party. In her day she noticed certain problems about what we might call exaggerated Leninism, the Leninism of *What Is To Be Done?*, a Leninism that Lenin himself was overcoming at the end of his life."

The Prensa Latina reporters asked Debray if he had any specific application in mind for the results of his research work. His answer was: "I am thinking particularly of Cuba — Cuba facing the problem of workers democracy, of how to create, how to revitalize, the whole profound quest that is going on there. I am thinking about the reinvigoration of the mass organizations, not just at the level of discussion but participating in making decisions. It seems to me that there is a whole body of new situations, and some not so new, that must be studied.

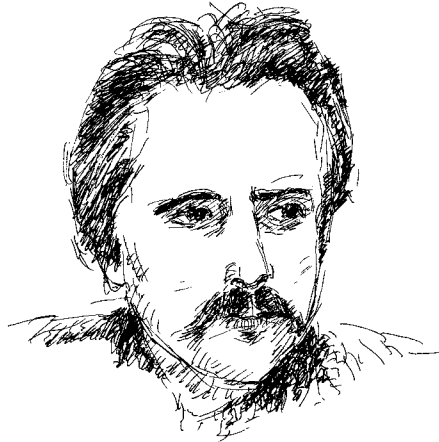
"Unfortunately, I do not have enough information about this, and that is my major concern now. But I am not surprised at the Cubans' effort in this area — which I consider impressive. It is no coincidence, I think, that such an important process is taking place in Cuba. It seems to me that a whole series of problems are being put back on the agenda that had been somewhat covered up in the socialist camp because of the ideological laziness and bureaucratic mentality that affected the workers movement for a certain period."

Debray indicated that he might like to take part in the debates going on in Cuba. "I am very anxious to see Fidel and discuss many matters with him. I am very interested in this stage of the quest for workers democracy. This subject fascinates me; that is what I am studying now. I want to see the reality there so as to establish whether

the correlations I have made intellectually correspond to the fact."

One of the Havana wire service reporters noted that Debray risked getting involved in a complicated polemic. The response was:

"Of course, this is a very delicate, very important matter. But I am against polemics. I think the time has come for discussion, and discussion



REGIS DEBRAY

is always directed to political proposals."

Asked how he viewed Che Guevara today, Debray eulogized the martyred guerrilla leader, comparing him with Lenin.

He also said a few things about Guevara as a person. Che, he felt, stood aloof from close personal involvement with him, although at times it was otherwise and he talked easily about philosophy and literature.

"I had the impression that Che had a presentiment of his death and accepted his fate. Nevertheless, there was something else. Up to the last moment, up to September 1967, I could not conceive that Che might fail. Because of who Che was, and also because I overestimated, because of a certain lack of knowledge, the organization of support for the guerrilla struggle. I resisted believing up to the very last that it would fail. Occasionally, some of the officers talked in my presence, in a provocative tone, of the plans they had had to liquidate the guerrilla effort. They knew about many things. The time came when I had to recognize that Che was also a man, an individual who could be perforated, an individual who could become sick, or find it difficult to walk."

Debray held Guevara in greatest

respect as an intellectual who became a man of action, a revolutionist who combined intelligence and willpower to a rare degree.

"In general, intelligence tends to cancel out willpower. And willpower sometimes generates illusions that go counter to intelligence. Very few succeed in closely integrating willpower and intelligence. To me, in personal terms, that's what Leninism is. Lenin had similar characteristics in a different form and in different circumstances."

The two reporters were interested in what Debray thought about the election of Allende, the popular front candidate in Chile, and its implications for revolutionary strategy in Latin America.

Debray, known primarily as the theoretician par excellence of armed struggle, placed considerable importance on the electoral victory in Chile.

"I was afraid that Alessandri [the conservative candidate] would win by a thin margin," Debray admitted. "But whether Allende won or not, even if he lost, the fundamental thing was to achieve unity, to win the greatest possible number of votes as a basis for the further development of the process."

In answer to whether he thought the Chilean experience offered a model for change in Latin America, Debray said: "That would be just another schema, it seems to me. First of all, no tactical formula can be valid for the entire continent. Secondly, while in Chile this road was possible and suited the existing conditions, it would be absurd to think of exporting it."

Debray gave this assessment of the international effects of the Chilean victory: "Of course, this triumph promotes a situation favorable to the arguments of the electoralists. But they are very wrong. And they are wrong despite the fact that this victory is having an impact on other countries, even though it is having a positive effect. It may be that the Unidad Popular [Popular Unity, the front backing Allende] will stimulate the revolutionary process even in Bolivia, where everybody knows that no one is ever going to win any elections.

"The Chilean Unidad Popular offers encouragement to unity. The awareness of the importance of unity, established on the basis of a minimum program, is reviving hopes, although these hopes will be realized in a differ-

ent way in Bolivia than in Chile, of course.

"The Chilean victory had very great impact on the Bolivian working class. To me this seems to be proof of the fact that the relationship of forces on the continent has changed, above all in a country like Bolivia, which appeared to be isolated and encircled. With the rise of the Unidad Popular in Chile, the encirclement has been broken."

A large part of the interview was devoted to the dangers of reformism in Chile. In answer to whether he thought the legal framework in which the Chilean victory had occurred would prove an obstacle to further development of the revolutionary process, Debray said:

"The fact that the process in Chile has been directed through legal channels can, indeed, become a drawback at a certain point. Hence the importance of establishing close ties with the grass roots, with the mass of the people."

Debray seemed to discount the possibility, however, that the establishment of the reformist Allende government could, by disorienting the left and frightening the reactionary bourgeoisie, open the way for a military coup. Although this has been the pattern in previous reformist experiments in Latin America, Debray felt such examples do not apply to Chile:

"I find that many *compañeros* stress the likelihood of a military coup in Chile. It seems to me that they are idealizing the right. The right wing is not crazy enough to stage a coup, although it might harbor such ideas."

"The weight of tradition leans a different way in Chile than in Bolivia or Argentina. The tradition in the latter countries is one of military coups. It is unlikely that the Chilean armed forces will become the shock troops of the bourgeoisie, as would happen in other countries. This is especially true after 'Operation Schneider'" [the assassination of the Chilean chief of staff by ultrarightists].

The main danger in Chile, as Debray saw it, was that the left would be corrupted by power and hamstrung by entrenched bourgeois elements. "I am inclined at present to think that the great threat will be a bourgeoisification of the movement from within...."

"The left must see the tactic of the right for what it is. Maneuvering to tie the left up from within and without

can be much more dangerous than a sudden, clear confrontation, an armed clash, a coup, etc.

"A violent confrontation would only isolate the right, and it knows that. The rightists may try to infiltrate the Unidad Popular itself, starting with its weakest sectors. It is possible that through a struggle for posts, bureaucratic maneuvering, glorifying local authority, etc., the establishment will try to absorb the Unidad Popular, dissolve it from within, rather than break it from without. This is a much more intelligent method for the bourgeoisie than the sort of opposition that leads to confrontation. . . ."

"I am not so much afraid of a violent assault as of a softening process. Dialectically, a blow generates resistance. . . . I think that in Chile a braking process is more likely than, let us say, a collision."

Debray proposed two ways of combating this danger. In the first case he expressed confidence in the leadership of the popular front: "The Unidad Popular must maintain great strictness and control over itself as well as a broad mobilization of its ranks. If the Unidad Popular demobilizes, if it rests on its laurels because it already holds the posts of formal authority, the ministerial armchairs, the result will be catastrophic. But I do not believe this will happen because President Allende is aware of the danger."

"After being here only three days, I would venture to say that the best asset the Unidad Popular has is President Allende. Perhaps Allende's travels had an effect on him, his contacts with revolutionists of other countries. Allende has given a demonstration of his capacity by the way he handled the difficult postelectoral period. He showed a mixture of tact, delicacy, prudence, on the one hand, and on the other an ideological solidity and firmness of position that seemed to belong to a real statesman."

The independent revolutionary left, Debray thought, could play a useful role as a safeguard. "I think that the *Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria* [Movement of the Revolutionary Left] has an important function to serve at this time. It can serve as a nucleus in organizing to guard and defend the process."

In all his comments, Debray set a very positive tone of open-mindedness and comradeship toward all sectors of the left. This aspect came out most

clearly in his description of the campaign mounted to force his release and in his expression of solidarity with the political prisoners freed December 22 in Peru.

A joint Peruvian-Bolivian amnesty had been suggested by General Velasco Alvarado in Lima, according to Debray. Velasco's counterpart in La Paz, General Torres, had been agreeable. But the divisions in the Bolivian army made it difficult for the La Paz regime to carry out its part of the understanding.

"I had no hope they would release me," Debray said. "My expectations were of a different sort . . . A subversion scare had been created; threats were said to have been made on the life of President Torres. The situation seemed to have gone beyond the point of no return."

"Moreover, a part of the army was opposed to our release [Debray and the imprisoned Argentine journalist *Ciro Bustos*], a faction that had been ousted from the command positions. If these fascist officers had not been removed from their positions, I think that it is very unlikely I would have been released. I later learned that the day before my release, the daily *Ultima Hora* had reported the discovery of a plot to assassinate Torres."

"Finally the commander in chief of the Bolivian armed forces, General Luis Roque Terán, stated publicly that the armed forces were not opposed to our being pardoned. A week before they let us go, Roque Terán called Elizabeth [Debray's companion] to promise that I would soon go free. She told him that she didn't believe a single word of what he was saying. Later there was a spate of interminable consultations."

"In these meetings the majority of the officers voted against releasing us. But finally they had to yield for political reasons, because of popular pressure from below. I very clearly remember every word of what an officer said over a radio set near my cell in mid-November. 'No, General, all of us in the Second Oruro Division have come out against releasing these individuals and the sentiment here [in Camiri, where Bustos and Debray were held] is the same.'"

"The problem was that there were some fascist officers in Camiri working for the *Inteligencia Militar* [Military Intelligence]. They even told some

journalists that they were going to kill me. . . ."

Finally: "At 6:00 a.m., December 22, an airplane landed at the airfield of the Yacimientos Petroliferos Bolivianos [Bolivian Oil Fields, the state petroleum company], far from indiscreet eyes. The plane was piloted by three uniformed military officers, who were later ordered to leave their posts. Four men dressed in civilian clothes but armed with pistols and machine guns came to Camiri that night. When 'Zero Hour' came, they awakened the commander of the Fourth Division, Colonel Jaime Mercado, and later Ortiz. They ordered the guard at my cell to leave. When Ortiz came in, he said: 'We're going.' . . ."

"The streets of Camiri were empty. A jeep was parked on the right side of the military headquarters. We arrived at the airport in twenty minutes. From 2:00 to 5:00 a.m. we waited in the airplane. We took off when the siren blew for the first shift at the oil works. By 6:00 we were flying over Chilean territory. At that same time, the Council of Ministers met and decided to

announce that Torres had issued a decree expelling us."

Debray commended persons representing a broad political spectrum for their part in the campaign to obtain his release, as well as the solidarity committees in France, Italy, and Chile. Prominent in the list was Pablo Neruda, the Chilean poet. "In the solidarity shown to me, I can point to the beautiful letter that Pablo Neruda sent to Ovando. When he sent it, he was the presidential candidate of the Communist party. I wrote him a letter—I don't know if it was published—thanking him for his gesture, over and above our past and present political differences."

Debray noted: "Magnificent gestures like Moravia's. He made a special trip to talk to Ovando. François Maspero was the first to come to Bolivia, then came Feltrinelli, Mauriac, Malraux, La Pira. The solidarity of the Bertrand Russell Foundation. All this was extraordinary."

At first he received little support in Bolivia itself, Debray said, "except from the students. . . . They issued incredibly aggressive statements

against Barrientos. . . ."

"But the situation changed entirely when the masses regained their ability to express themselves, when Ovando was forced to lift the lid a little, reorganizing the Central Obrera Boliviana [Bolivian Workers Federation] and weakening the CIA monopoly over the press. . . ."

"Once the people emerged from the Barrientos dungeon, a popular national campaign of solidarity developed. It became something really impressive. It reached even to sectors of the peasantry, to say nothing of the leaders of the miners and factory workers in La Paz."

In declaring his own joy to be out of jail, Debray expressed special sympathy for the long-imprisoned Trotskyist leader Hugo Blanco, who was released the same day as he. "For someone like the Peruvian Hugo Blanco, prison must have been very hard to endure. Seven years is a long time. So I am very happy that Blanco and Héctor Béjar have gone free. I would feel less free myself if Hugo Blanco and Béjar had not gotten out." □

Action on Appeal Delayed

Swiss Papers Criticize Ban on Ernest Mandel

"Do Human Rights Apply to Ernest Mandel?" asked a headline in the December 22 issue of the Swiss German-language daily, *Badener Tagblatt*. The article that followed described at length the barring of Mandel by the federal prosecutor's office, imposed January 27, 1970, and Mandel's appeal of the order.

The paper noted that the Marxist economist had, during past visits to Switzerland, always obeyed the conditions imposed by the authorities:

"When this journalist and scholar (visiting professor at Löwen), who is well known far beyond the borders of Belgium, spoke to Swiss university audiences in Lausanne or Zurich, he always followed strictly the instructions of the immigration police 'neither to intervene in internal Swiss affairs nor to insult heads of states with which Switzerland has diplomatic relations.'

"This was of no avail. On January

27 of this year the federal prosecutor's office suddenly bestowed on the best-selling author an order prohibiting his entry into Switzerland."

Mandel's appeal of the order, the paper said, was not acted on until September. The federal prosecutor at that time forwarded it to the *Bundesrat* (Federal Council) minister for justice and police, Ludwig von Moos, "upon whose desk it remains."

The paper quoted with approval the following passage from Mandel's appeal:

"Fifty-five years ago, in the middle of the world war, Switzerland proved its respect for human rights and democratic principles by tolerating on its territory Lenin and Trotsky, two men whom I regard as my intellectual teachers. Since it would be difficult to regard my political ideas and activities as more dangerous to the security of Switzerland than theirs were, and since it would likewise be difficult

to prove that Swiss security is more threatened today than in a time of world war, must it then not be concluded that the Swiss *Bundesrat* is today less concerned with the defense of human rights and democratic principles than it was in 1915?"

The *Badener Tagblatt* described the banning of Mandel as "completely absurd" and pointed out that "every Swiss citizen can, if he wishes, buy Mandel's 'dangerous' books at any bookstore, but the man himself is not permitted in Switzerland."

The paper concluded by quoting a protest sent to von Moos by students at the University of Zurich [see below], and urged others to protest as well.

The *Zürcher Arbeiter-Zeitung* of the same day gave additional details on the case:

"The federal prosecutor informed Andreas Gerwig [the Swiss lawyer handling the appeal] that Mandel had

been banned because in his lectures he provided 'directions for carrying through evolution and revolution.' Mandel was further accused of contacts in Switzerland with a representative of Fateh.

"On May 13 the scholar was invited to a discussion with the federal prosecutor in Bern. The prosecutor then gave an additional reason for the ban — that following a permitted talk Mandel had, without permission, at a private meeting of the 'Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire' [LMR—Revolutionary Marxist League] delivered a 'lecture on political formations.' The ban, it was explained, was not punishment for Mandel's political views, but a 'preventive measure.'"

(Mandel's "contact" with the Fateh representative occurred when an unknown man approached him after a public lecture and invited him to an international conference on Palestine to be held in Kuwait.

(According to a press release distributed by supporters in Zurich, the lecture to the LMR covered three areas: Leninism, Trotskyism, and Maoism, their similarities and differences; the theme of workers control in the international labor movement; and polit-

ical and economic relations between the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries. The appeal asked: ". . . do foreign bankers always obtain official permission first when they, for example, at a business dinner in Zurich report on the international monetary situation or American politics?")

The paper also printed an editorial that cited other "unconstitutional actions by the Swiss federal prosecutor," and continued:

"The most recent case: The Zurich students must do without a lecture by the famous Belgian economist Ernest Mandel . . . because his leftist opinions are unwelcome to the federal prosecutor, who immediately imposed an entry ban on Mandel 'for security reasons' and as a 'preventive measure.'

"'Every person,' it says in Article 19 of the Human Rights Convention, 'has the right to free expression of opinion; this right includes the freedom to adopt opinions unmolested and to seek, receive, and spread information and ideas by all means of communication, without regard for national boundaries.'

"If this paragraph and the freedom of opinion written into the constitution are trampled under the feet of

the federal prosecutor in hidden proceedings, then—even if these proceedings are formally legal—our democratic rule of law will gradually lose its credibility."

The press's interest in the Mandel case was occasioned by the visit to Zurich of his wife, sociologist Gisela Mandel. During her visit, she delivered two lectures to university students.

Her talk on December 17 was made to the Commission on Underdeveloped Countries at the University of Zurich. Following her speech, the commission addressed an open letter to the *Bundesrat*. It read in part:

". . . a planned lecture in this series by the Belgian economic theorist Ernest Mandel did not take place because the Swiss federal prosecutor imposed an entry ban upon him in January 1970 and because his appeal of this ban has not yet been acted upon.

"The audience protested unanimously against this measure of the federal prosecutor, which is directed even against scholars in gross violation of the freedom of information and opinion. We ask the head of the federal justice and police departments finally to approve Ernest Mandel's appeal to lift the entry ban." □

Documents

A Taste of Workers Power in Poland

By Antoni Wojciechowski and Ryszard Malinowski

[The following report was published as a document in the January 18 issue of *Rouge*, the weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste (Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International). The translation from the French is by *Intercontinental Press*. The footnotes are in the original.]

* * *

Gdansk-Gdynia-Sopot¹

Discontent had been building up for a long time among the workers in the

Paris Commune shipyards. The workers had been paying the price for poor management of the enterprise. Their regular and year-end bonuses were eliminated.²

The announcement on radio and

2. This, in fact, is the sort of thing that happened. The Gdansk shipyards were to fill an order for the Soviet Union. The work was already well along when the construction plans were suddenly changed, although the *delivery date remained the same*. The result was that the ship was not built in time and the enterprise had to pay a big penalty for failing to meet its contract. It was the workers who suffered the consequences of this affair by losing their bonuses. It must be said that this case was not isolated and that for five years this kind of thing has been frequent in Poland.

television Saturday, December 12, of the price increase was the final drop that made the cup run over. Monday morning the workers organized a mass meeting in the yards, drew up a list of demands, and dispatched a delegation to the Communist party Regional Committee, located off the grounds of the enterprise in the center of Gdansk, the capital of the region. . . . [The delegates were arrested.]

When news of this reached the workers in the yards, they rushed to the Regional Committee offices, demanding the release of the delegates and threatening to set fire to the building in case of a refusal. This, in fact,

1. These three cities make up a single urban industrial complex.

was what happened.

The workers ran into grocery stores and collected bottles, which they made into Molotov cocktails and heaved into the building (it was not until afternoon that the scenes of looting occurred, which the bourgeois press compliantly played up). When the firemen arrived, the workers allowed them to evacuate the wounded but vigorously opposed any attempt to put out the fire. This was when the clash occurred during which a fire truck was burned.

The first detachments of police arrived and attacked the demonstrators with their clubs. The workers, armed with chains and reinforced by new demonstrators, resisted and took the offensive themselves. They drove the police back toward a railway viaduct and threw the police cars on the track. They seized weapons and police command cars equipped with loudspeakers, which they used all afternoon to broadcast appeals to the population.

A delegation of workers was sent to the School of Sciences to ask the help of the students and offer "apologies for March 1968."³ Throughout the afternoon, urban guerrilla warfare raged through the streets of Gdansk. In the evening, local television broadcast the first speech by Kociolek, the first secretary of the provincial party committee. He addressed the population in a conciliatory tone and promised the shipyard workers that he would examine their demands, calling on them to resume work the next day. Already that evening Kociolek prudently left the city to take refuge in the naval barracks in Oksywie.

The next morning a section of the workers, putting their faith in Kociolek's vague promises, left the station to return to the shipyards. At the gate, riot police armed with machine guns were waiting. The police opened fire. Then the massacre began. The big square was raked with bullets. The men tried to take refuge in the railway station building. By that time there were hundreds of dead and wounded. A manhunt began. The police chased the men into the station waiting room. Maddened and desper-

3. In March 1968 a mass mobilization of Polish students, unprecedented since 1956, swept the entire country. The Polish bureaucracy savagely repressed the revolt and prevented the workers from joining in the students' struggle.

ate, the crowd seized everything it found that could be used as a weapon. After the battle, several cops were found hanging in the burned-out station.

On Tuesday the three cities of Gdansk, Gdynia, and Sopot were ringed by the army and sealed off from the rest of the country. The army and the police combed the city. Tanks were stationed every fifty meters and patrols circulated continually. Back from Warsaw, Kociolek gave his second speech, a threatening one this time. But it had no effect. The strikes and street fighting continued until the end of the week.

Szczecin

As soon as the events in Gdansk became known, the workers in the Szczecin shipyards, motivated by the same grievances as their comrades in Gdansk, organized a meeting in their work area. This meeting was also a demonstration of solidarity with the Gdansk workers. During it, a strike committee was formed, including party members, which drew up a list of twenty demands. Among other things, the government's foreign policy toward the USSR and West Germany was approved (in order to block any accusation of anti-Soviet motives or disagreement with the new German policy). The workers reaffirmed their desire to build socialism but they demanded, above all, the resignation of Gomulka and his team. The work of the trade unions was vigorously criticized and the workers demanded the resignation of the chairman of the union organization, Ignacy Loga-Sowinski. As in Gdansk, the workers demanded wage raises to compensate for the price increase.

A delegation was sent with the list of demands to the party Regional Committee located in the center of the city. The police were already waiting for them in front of the party building. The delegation returned to the yards after being badly beaten. Confronted with this attitude on the part of the authorities, the workers asked the factory manager, who was a member of the strike committee, to turn the ferries over to them (to get to the city you have to cross the Szczecin bay).

The workers formed a procession

with banners and red flags and, like their comrades in Gdansk, sang the "Internationale." They rallied a good part of the population behind them — workers from other factories, clerks, housewives, university and high-school students. They reached the Regional Committee building which was surrounded by a cordon of police. A corps of marshals arose instantly from the demonstration, encircling the police, driving them back, and keeping them under surveillance. Then, as an expression of protest, the workers decided to burn the party building. However, before setting fire to it, so as not to be accused of destroying public property uselessly, with impressive order and silence they removed all the furniture, documents, and food found inside.

In the meantime, fresh detachments of police arrived as well as army units and tanks. The battle erupted. The police headquarters was also burned. As in Gdansk, the workers fought with heavy chains attached to steel hooks. Other workers, also as in Gdansk, rushed into the stores to get bottles for Molotov cocktails. (Some tank drivers even supplied the workers with diesel oil). While this was going on, the worker marshals prevented looting.

In these days of fighting, the inhabitants of Szczecin invented a bloody game of hide-and-seek. The people shouted "Gestapo! Gestapo!" at the police and then hid on porches and in houses. When the police ran up they were greeted with Molotov cocktails, bricks, and other projectiles. The strike spread throughout the city, but it was a special kind of strike. The gas and electric workers cut off the current and gas for the residential districts where the high party and police functionaries live. But they kept up the supply to the shipyards and other parts of the city.

The shipyard workers were also supplied with food which the strikers in the city sent to the island. In the yards, some workers who shouted "Down With the Pro-Russian Policy, Hang the Party Members!" were sent home by the other workers who smelled a provocation. Still other workers proposed destroying the dry docks (where the ships are built), but

the strike committee rejected this proposal.

The sit-in strike ended on Monday, the day following Gomulka's dismissal.

In Other Polish Cities

The discontent revealed in Gdansk and Szczecin existed more broadly throughout the country. There were two basic reasons for the exasperation of the population.

1. Recurring scarcities of food products. In most Polish cities, butter, meat, fish, and coffee regularly disappear from the shelves. The supply of food-stuffs tends to follow this pattern. When there is meat in Cracow, there is none in Wroclaw. At the same time you can get butter in Wroclaw but you can't get it in Cracow. And so it goes all through Poland. Only Warsaw, the center of the bureaucracy, is an exception.

2. For several months the wages of certain strata of the population had declined. For example, white-collar workers, technicians, industrial designers, and university employees *have not been paid* their bonuses and overtime. The result was an immediate slowdown.

On the pattern of the coast cities, strikes and street fighting broke out in every city in Poland. For example, there were bloody clashes in Koszalin, Slupsk, and Cracow.

In Elblag the workers of the ZAMECH factory (a big machine-making enterprise) sent a delegation to the first secretary of the city party. He refused to meet with "bandits and hooligans." A few hours later, when he was driving home, a group of workers seized him and hanged him.

In Warsaw also individual policemen were lynched. The main enterprises in the capital went on strike, notably the Huta Warszawa steel works and the FSO Zeran automobile factory. The big stores and printing plants also stopped work. How, one might ask, could the papers come out? Well, as in Czechoslovakia at the time of the intervention, the army and the police printed the daily press.

Even cities known for their "apathy" did not escape the general strike, like Bialystok on the Russian frontier, and Lublin. The movement also spread

into Silesia (Gierek's fief) which has had a reputation for "dynamism" and been played up as a showcase by the bureaucratic press.

In Nowa-Huta, a working-class city next to Cracow, where one of the most important iron and steel complexes is located, as an act of despair the workers wanted to extinguish the blast furnaces.

In Wroclaw you could read on the walls, "Before It Was Bad, Today It Is Worse, Tomorrow — Revolution."

In the light of these facts, the panic at the top and the measures taken are understandable. A state of siege was put into force throughout the country, with a total curfew and a ban on all meetings in the labor camps (where it had already been difficult enough to hold meetings).⁴ For forty-eight hours the army was on the alert. They even handed out 150 cartridges to every soldier (a supply normally given only in wartime) and explained that an imperialist attack was imminent.

There is a persistent rumor in Poland that fifty-four troop carriers were flown to the coast to forestall any extension of the conflict.

The army holed up in the party buildings behind several rows of tanks. The private apartments of high

4. These camps are located in the most remote parts of Poland where no one wants to work. "Marginal" elements are sent there—incurable criminals, "hooligans," etc. In Poland, this is the way workers are persuaded to do a useful job for socialism.

party functionaries were also protected by special forces. Drumhead courts were in permanent session, dispatching the people arrested to labor camps for six to eight months at an assembly-line rate.

In order to prevent the students from siding with the workers, the schools and university cafeterias closed a week in advance of the holidays. This forced the students, 80 percent of whom live in the country, to return home. That is the reason for the small degree of involvement of the students in the workers' struggles.

It might seem astonishing that after twenty-five years of what the bureaucracy in Poland calls "socialism," the bulk of the workers demonstrated their loyalty to socialist principles. Was it a tactical ruse on their part to force the police to fire on people singing the "Internationale" and carrying red flags? That would have to be some kind of mass Machiavellianism . . . But at a more profound level, the Polish workers remain attached in fact to certain social gains of the system threatened by the [technocratic] reform—full employment, free medical care and education, as well as other social services. Furthermore, the present crisis of imperialism, which the workers sense in a confused way, robs the image of Western affluence of much of its attractiveness. □

Grows Peanuts, Too

Hsinhua, the Chinese government news agency, reported January 6 that Mao Tsetung Thought helped peasants in Shantung province increase peanut production.

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