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Out of S.E. Asia Now!



NEW YORK ANTIWAR MARCH November 6 was one of seventeen in cities all over U.S. Demonstrations were climax of fall

antiwar campaign, which drew unprecedented support from union movement and set stage for even larger actions in future.

Ireland:

British Escalate Terror Against Belfast Women

Barred From International Meeting

Nineteen Cuban sugarcane technicians returned home November 5 after being denied the right to attend a congress of the International Society of Sugar Cane Technologists in New Orleans.

The technicians and a crew of three flew into the city on October 26. The U.S. State Department claimed that their arrival was unexpected.

The Cubans had applied in September for U.S. visas to attend the international conference, but the request was refused by the Nixon administration on the pretext that the meeting was not sponsored by any "official" international agency. This fact did not prevent the State Department from issuing visas to representatives from fifty-two other countries who attended.

The twenty-two Cubans were immediately taken into custody by U.S. immigration officials, who did their best to prevent any contact between the delegation and the press. Before they were hustled off to a secluded navy base, however, the Cubans told reporters that they had a right to attend international conferences regardless of Nixon's refusal to issue them visas.

The Cuban delegation refused to leave the United States before the sugarcane congress concluded on November 5. When a U.S. immigration official ordered them deported on November 2, they appealed the decision. The appeal was rejected on November 4, but the group did not leave New Orleans until the next day, after the conference had ended.

In a statement released for them by an official of the Czechoslovak embassy, the Cuban delegates pointed out that their detention showed that the United States was not a suitable location for international conferences.

"Our country, as the first sugarcane producer in the world, cannot be excluded from a meeting of this kind," they said. □

A mining company in Minnesota dumps more sediment into Lake Superior every day than rivers do in a month.

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Marches in 17 Cities Cap Fall Antiwar Offensive

"End the war! End the wage freeze!" was a prominent slogan on the streets of seventeen U.S. cities November 6, as tens of thousands demonstrated to demand the immediate withdrawal of all American forces from Indochina.

The demonstrations were the culmination of a fall antiwar campaign launched at a convention of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) in July. Despite a lack of media coverage and the illusions created by Nixon's planned trip to Peking, in the course of the campaign NPAC obtained an unprecedented number of endorsements from labor unions and union officials, thus laying the basis for future massive involvement of the working class in the organized antiwar movement.

NPAC coordinator Jerry Gordon expressed the theme of the November 6 actions when he spoke at the rally in New York:

"The war is not winding down. And the antiwar movement will not wind down its efforts to end it. . . .

"And when we're told that Nixon has withdrawn 300,000 troops, we say, no, he has not withdrawn a single troop.

"It's the antiwar movement that brought 300,000 GIs home. It's the students that brought them home. It's the masses of people out in the streets demonstrating against the war that brought them home. All that Nixon did was yield a little to the overwhelming majority's peace sentiments. And he did this so he wouldn't have to yield to the antiwar movement's central demand: Bring ALL the troops home NOW! And bring all the war-planes with them!"

New York and San Francisco witnessed the largest demonstrations. Precise figures are not, as of this writing, yet available from Peace Action Coalition offices, but the lowest estimates are in the neighborhood of 30,000 demonstrators in each city.

The Denver, Colorado, demonstration of 10,000 to 12,000 was described by police as the "largest in history" in that city. Police in Hous-

ton, Texas, estimated the march there at 15,000.

In several cities, harsh weather limited the size of the actions. In Detroit and Cleveland, which had marches of 2,000 and 2,500 respectively, a freezing rain fell throughout. Despite a temperature of twenty degrees and winds of up to thirty-five miles per hour, 7,000 to 8,000 persons demonstrated in Minneapolis.

PAC estimates of demonstrations in other cities were: Atlanta, Georgia, 3,000-4,000; Boston, 10,000; Chicago, 10,000; Los Angeles, 3,000; Philadelphia, 4,000; Phoenix, Arizona, 1,500; Salt Lake City, Utah, 500; Seattle, Washington, 2,500; Tampa, Florida, 1,500-2,000; and Washington, D. C., 5,000.

The U.S. antiwar campaign coincided with similar actions in other parts of the world.

In Japan on October 21, International Antiwar Day, a total of 1,500-2,000 persons in 500 different locations demonstrated against the terms of the Okinawa reversion agreement, which, in the words of a speaker at the Tokyo rally, "will continue to camouflage Okinawa's true nature of being the keystone of the U. S. forces' operation in Asia." The October 22 *Mainichi Daily News* reported that the actions had included strikes that closed thirty-six universities.

Demonstrations were also planned in Canada, France, England, Italy, Germany, Switzerland, and Sweden.

In addition to actions in many cities on November 6, the French movement planned a large meeting in the Paris Mutualité on November 10. Demonstrations were set for November 6 in Stockholm, Uppsala, and three other Swedish cities. In Germany, meetings were organized between October 28 and November 10 in Hamburg, Göttingen, Heidelberg, Mannheim, Stuttgart, Tübingen, and Cologne.

With the successful conclusion of the fall antiwar offensive, the movement has already begun discussing plans for the future. One of the most encouraging aspects of the fall campaign

was the steps that were taken toward reuniting the antiwar movement. NPAC, which has scheduled a national convention in Cleveland for December 3-5, has urged the other major antiwar coalition, the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ), to join in sponsoring a national conference at which a united movement could democratically decide on future actions.

One component of the PCPJ, the Communist party, has already made clear its perspective for the movement. This involves channeling the independent mass antiwar movement into backing liberal Democratic politicians. In the November 6 *Daily World*, Arnold Johnson, secretary of the CP's "National Peace Commission," wrote:

"In the course of demonstrations and peace actions in all areas, the necessity has emerged for political action in the form of electoral activity. . . . Had the organized peace movement really been active for passage of the McGovern-Hatfield end-the-war resolution a year ago, that resolution could have been passed. And many other actions could have been taken—and many acts of repression could have been halted.

"At present, an 'Evict Nixon' movement is being developed. That is an activity which goes far beyond one sector of the movement. . . ."

The "Evict Nixon" project planned by the PCPJ is supposed to culminate in a demonstration in San Diego, California, at the time of the Republican national convention there next year. The obvious intention of such a campaign is to rally support for the Democratic presidential candidate.

But after the experience with such "peace candidates" as Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon, it is increasingly difficult for reformists to persuade the independent antiwar movement to plunge into the swamp of capitalist politics. The support already won from wide layers of American society points the way for the movement to continue drawing in new and more powerful layers through massive, independent actions in the streets. □

Sadat Moves to Military Headquarters

On November 1 Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat transferred his residence to the general headquarters of the armed forces to "assume his command functions."

"The decision was taken in view of the importance of the political and military situation through which the nation is passing at present," the semi-official Middle East News Agency reported November 4.

The move came on the heels of the apparent failure of the latest U. S. effort at arranging a partial settlement of the Israeli-Egyptian conflict. Last July the Egyptian chief of state announced that 1971 would be the "year of decision" on the question of war or peace in the region.

The details of the U. S. plan were not officially released, but reliable reports indicate that it provided for an Israeli withdrawal from the east bank of the Suez Canal, which has been closed since the June 1967 war, a formal extension of the de facto cease-fire for eighteen months, and the crossing of a limited number of Egyptian troops to the east bank to work on making the canal operational.

Also included was a proposal that Israeli and Egyptian delegations move into adjacent rooms in a New York City hotel and begin indirect negotiations, with a U. S. representative acting as intermediary.

In an October 26 address to the Israeli parliament (the Knesset), Prime Minister Golda Meir in effect rejected the U. S. plan. She reiterated her demand that there be an unlimited cease-fire not contingent on progress of negotiations toward a general settlement. She insisted that no Egyptian troops would be permitted to cross the canal, demanded that Egyptian lines on the west bank be thinned out before the Israeli troops withdraw to a new cease-fire line, and again insisted that a partial settlement could not be seen as a prelude to complete Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Sinai peninsula.

Sadat, like Nasser before him, has held to the position that any partial agreement must include an Israeli pledge of total withdrawal.

In regard to the proposed indirect negotiations, the Israeli government has attempted to secure "compensation" for possible political losses due to the talks: it has demanded rapid delivery of forty new U. S. phantom jets. In addition, Israeli diplomatic sources said October 24 that the U. S. canal plan could not be seen as the basis for the talks, and that the U. S. intermediary would not be allowed to put forth proposals, but could only convey messages back and forth.

Under these conditions it seems unlikely that the talks will take place. The issue of the U. S. jets has been

Egyptian Prosecutor Asks Death for Fawzi

On October 25 Egyptian state prosecutor Abu Zaid requested the death penalty against former minister of war Mohammed Fawzi, who is charged with plotting to overthrow the Anwar el-Sadat regime. Fawzi is among the ninety-one persons, most of them former leaders of the government or the Arab Socialist Union, who were brought to trial last August on conspiracy charges. (See *Intercontinental Press*, September 13, p. 770.)

For reasons that have not been explained, Fawzi's case was severed from the others and came to trial on October 25. In what the October 27 *Le Monde* called a "particularly violent" opening speech, Abu Zaid said that he would have liked to see Fawzi twice condemned.

Defense attorney Ali Mounir Mourad charged that the entire proceeding was illegal, that his client had already been found guilty in press conferences before the trial even started. He also said that the prosecution's case was based on illegal recordings of telephone conversations and that Fawzi had been interrogated with no witnesses present.

The trial was postponed to consider Mourad's objections, and was scheduled to reopen November 1.

The trial of the other ninety defendants, most of whom are known as

used by Israel as a counterweight to U. S. State Department pressure in favor of the new negotiating plan. Meir apparently hopes to force delivery of the jets by rejecting U. S. proposals until the warplanes are received. That strategy got a boost from the U. S. Senate on October 15, when seventy-eight senators, Democrats and Republicans, voted for a resolution calling upon Nixon to send the planes "without further delay."

The vote came despite recent U. S. intelligence reports that Soviet military aid to Egypt has declined drastically since the July 22 Nimeiry counter-coup in the Sudan. The November 5 *New York Times* reported an unnamed administration official as saying that "practically nothing of consequence" had been delivered to Egypt since that date. □

"left" Nasserites, was conducted behind closed doors at the prosecutor's request. It ended on October 24, but the verdict will not be announced until December 9.

While that trial was drawing to a close, Sadat released the last batch (124) of political prisoners arrested during Nasser's rule. Nearly all of them are members of the ultraright fanatical Muslim Brotherhood, which had been outlawed by Nasser. □

Where Have Mao's Quotations Gone?

For years now, the cover of Hsinhua, the Chinese government's daily English-language news service, has prominently displayed a quotation from Chairman Mao Tsetung. (Just once, the quotation was taken from Lenin, presumably at the instigation of a secret capitalist-roader.)

But suddenly, with the October 24 issue, Mao's deathless prose was replaced by a table of contents. Even more puzzling, Hsinhua's weekly edition has replaced the chairman's thoughts with a large white space.

One should not necessarily leap to political conclusions on the basis of these phenomena, however. It may be that the blank spaces in Hsinhua are intended to indicate that Mao has run out of thoughts and publication of his quotations will resume when he says something new. □

Yahya Khan Boasts of Peking Military Aid

On more than one occasion Yahya Khan has sought to counter worldwide revulsion over his course in East Bengal by pointing to the support he has received from Peking. In an interview published in the November 8 *Newsweek*, he again referred to this support in a statement aimed more at international public opinion than at the Indian government:

"The Chinese will not tolerate an attack on Pakistan. We will get all the weapons and ammunition we need, [every assistance] short of physical intervention. We get some things free and pay for others. But Chinese terms are so easy—25-year credit, interest-free. Last year when I was in Peking I negotiated \$200 million worth of economic aid for our five-year plan with no interest."

Yahya's claim was no empty boast. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, leader of the [West] Pakistan People's party, left Rawalpindi November 5 to visit China. Bhutto was accompanied by military and diplomatic officials. He will reportedly meet with a Chinese delegation (including Chou En-lai) to discuss "recent developments in the sub-continent."

One subject that may well occupy a prominent place in these discussions is the inability of Yahya's army to crush Bengali resistance. Malcolm Browne reported in the November 5 *New York Times* that guerrilla activity had sharply increased on November 3, when a large oil tanker in the port of Chittagong was sunk, bringing the total of ships damaged or destroyed to about a dozen.

Guerrilla attacks on the Dacca power station result in an average of about six stoppages a day in the East Bengal capital.

The razakars, a paramilitary civilian group utilized by the army, have been armed only with bolt action rifles and no more than five cartridges each. The army will not provide them with automatic weapons, fearing that these would be captured by the Mukti Bahini (Liberation Forces).

But Yahya has shown no inclination to make concessions to the Bangla Desh independence movement. On No-

vember 2 his government revealed that the much heralded "return to civilian rule" scheduled for December would be based on a Thieu-style election farce.

Of the 167 National Assembly seats won by the Awami League in the election last December, 78 have been officially taken away from the League. Of these, 53 will be filled by Yahya's appointees. "Elections," in which the Awami League may not run, will be held for 25 vacancies. Mujibur Rahman's seat will be held in abeyance until the outcome of his treason trial. The other 88 Awami League National Assembly members are supposedly allowed to take their seats, but nearly all of them have taken refuge in India.

The character of Yahya's appoint-

Great Britain

Labour Votes Help Heath Put Over Common Market

London

By a majority of 112 votes, Parliament voted October 28 to join the Common Market. The breakdown on the vote was as follows: Conservatives, 282 for, 39 against, 2 abstentions; Labour, 69 for, 198 against, 20 abstentions; Liberals, 5 for, 1 against, no abstentions; others, 6 against. This put the vote at 356 for and 244 against.

On the eve of the debate, which lasted four days, Prime Minister Edward Heath announced that he would permit a "free" vote for members of the Conservative (Tory) party. It had been expected that he would order a "three-line whip." (The "whip," who is in charge of maintaining party discipline in Parliament, issues instructions on how to vote. If the instructions are underlined three times, this indicates that any violations are punishable by expulsion from the party caucus.) Heath's announcement made it possible for Tories to abstain or vote against entry without being re-

garded as having broken discipline. Heath's move was intended to encourage right-wing "rebels" in the Labour party to violate the "three-line whip" imposed on them. In addition, the move freed the Heath government from the obligation to resign, under parliamentary rules, if the vote were lost.

Harold Wilson had attempted to loosen discipline in the vote. He was defeated by both his shadow cabinet and the Parliamentary Labour party. Chief Whip Robert Mellish and his twelve assistants, a good many of them "pro-Marketeters," decided to apply the "three-line whip" to Labour Members of Parliament. Their decision, which represented the majority view, was flouted by the infamous eighty-nine.

Since then, the Labour party constituency organizations have been swept by demands to punish the right-wing "rebels." Seeking to appease this sentiment, Deputy Leader Roy Jenkins, who stands next to Wilson and who

headed the right-wing revolt, has affirmed that having voted "in principle" October 28 for entry into the Common Market he will not "defy the whip" again and will vote against the "enabling legislation" required to conform with the rules agreed on by Heath for entry.

Voices in the left wing are demanding the expulsion of the "rebels." Others would accept an undertaking that the "three-line whip" will be followed in every instance in the battle over the "enabling legislation."

Demonstrator Killed at 'La Presse' Protest

Quebec Labor Rallies Against Police Attack

By Phil Courneyeur

[The following article is reprinted from the November 8 *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist bi-weekly published in Toronto.]

* * *

"It's murder, plain murder."

That's how Louis Laberge, president of the Québec Federation of Labor (QFL), described the death of Michele Gauthier during the police assault on the October 29 labor demonstration in Montréal against *La Presse*.

The massive demonstration, estimated between ten and fifteen thousand strong, was organized by the three main labor federations of Québec—the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU), the Corporation of Québec Teachers, and the QFL.

The police confronted the demonstrators with a "wall of shame" at Viger Square—solid lines of cops who stopped the demonstration and then charged into the crowd. Hundreds of people, including Laberge, were clubbed. Michele Gauthier suffocated to death after she fell in the face of the police assault.

Québec-Pressé, the labor weekly, reports that hundreds were wounded and says that two, possibly three died. Only Gauthier's death has been confirmed.

The police assault on the peaceful demonstration was carried out on orders from Mayor Jean Drapeau. Dra-

peau acted on the basis of a municipal antidemonstration bylaw which has been declared invalid by the Québec Superior Court.

Anthony Wedgwood Benn, this year's Labour party chairman, has announced that he will run against Roy Jenkins for deputy leader. In a scathing speech against the right wing October 29, he said among other things: "If every Labour M.P. had voted together, the Conservative Government would have been defeated, the Cabinet would have collapsed and a general election, allowing the people to vote on the Government's record and policies—including the Common Market—would have been inevitable." □

Drapeau and the Montréal police acted directly to protect the interests of the financial empire of Paul Desmarais and his Power Corporation, owners of *La Presse*. Laberge, commenting on the political impact of the police assault, stated: "Things will never be the same for the workers. . . . What I know is that the police were there not to protect the population,

Ceylon

Bandaranaike Planning Show Trials?

Months after the arrest of more than 14,000 youthful rebels, the Ceylon "United Front" government of Sirimavo Bandaranaike appears ready to bring some of the alleged insurgents to trial.

According to reports published in Colombo in October, the government hoped to bring approximately ninety persons to trial in early November on charges of conspiring to overthrow the government. An undisclosed number of others are expected to be charged with such crimes as murder, attempted murder, and arson.

but to club people and to protect the interests of the rich."

The *La Presse* demonstration came two-and-a-half months after the August 19 lockout of some 400 workers in five unions. Support for the locked-out *La Presse* workers grew across Québec, making the *La Presse* struggle the focal point of current labor struggles in Québec. On October 27 the *La Presse* workers declared a strike, and the editors suspended publication.

On November 1 the union movement announced that the striking *La Presse* unions will publish a daily tabloid, beginning with a run of 100,000 copies. Published on the premises of *Québec-Pressé*, the new tabloid challenges the Québec labor movement with the possibility of a continuing labor daily.

Québec labor's response to Drapeau's assault was immediate.

A massive protest rally of 12,000 in the Montréal Forum November 2, sponsored by the three labor federations and chaired by Michel Chartrand, president of the Montréal CNTU, heard militant anticapitalist speeches denouncing the antilabor drive and the war in Vietnam and in support of the struggle for French language rights in Québec.

The *La Presse* strike brings the boss-government antilabor drive in Québec to a head. Labor's defense—with mass demonstrations, rallies, and a fighting labor daily—shows that Québec labor is not about to take the attack sitting down. □

"Among those now held in custody," the October 21 issue of the weekly *Ceylon News* reported, "there are about 2500 who are said to have only attended instruction classes conducted by the insurgent movement. It is unlikely that they will be brought to trial."

The reports would indicate that the Bandaranaike government hopes to stage a show trial of alleged leaders of the uprising in an attempt to shift the blame for the brutal slaughter of the young rebels last April. □

Polish Coal May Break Asturias Strike

Asturian miners, on strike since the beginning of October, have managed to hold out against the severe economic pressure and police repression directed against them by the Franco regime. The state-owned mines have lost an estimated 300,000 tons of coal, and the metallurgical industry of the province has no more than one month's supply of coal left.

Now, however, the miners face a new challenge, one which may well break the strike. According to the November 2 *Le Monde*, several ships carrying Polish coal are on their way to the Spanish port of Gijón. This is the second time in as many years that the Polish bureaucracy has come to the aid of Franco in breaking a strike.

Le Monde quoted the reaction of one strike leader: "The Communist government of Poland is helping Franco in his fight against the miners. It is a rather peculiar sort of proletarian internationalism."

As the miners' strike entered its second month, some 9,000 workers in the Barcelona area went on strike October 29 in response to an appeal from the underground "workers' commissions." Affecting mostly the iron and textile industries, the action was in solidarity with the workers of the SEAT auto complex, who seized the factory October 18 and battled cops sent to oust them. (See *Intercontinental Press*, November 8, p. 950.)

On October 30, 2,500 workers of the Barcelona transportation com-

pany walked out, demanding a wage increase and expressing solidarity with the SEAT workers. Several hundred students tried to hold demonstrations in various parts of the city.

On November 1 one of the workers wounded during the October 18 fighting died. Although government statements claimed that only a single volley had been fired, Antonio Ruiz Villalba, thirty-three years old, received seven stomach wounds. He is the eighteenth worker to be killed by Franco's police in the past two years. □

Spanish CP Leaders in Peking

Santiago Carrillo, general secretary of the Communist party of Spain and leader of the party's anti-Kremlin faction, has turned up in Peking. According to the October 31 *Le Monde*, announcements of the visit were published simultaneously in *Mundo Obrero*, organ of the Spanish CP, and *l'Unità*, the Italian CP's daily.

During the past seven years Carrillo has made a number of twists and turns aimed at building a faction free from control by Moscow. In 1964 he expelled the "Italian-oriented" group, only to move toward similar positions himself. After the French events of 1968, he abruptly discarded his theories of gradual transition to socialism, adopting a more "left" position.

Later he opposed the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, whereupon a pro-Kremlin faction crystallized in the party.

Carrillo was accompanied to Peking by the general secretary of the Catalanian section of the CP, the general secretaries of the Basque and Galician parties, and a member of the Central Committee from Madrid.

No details about the visit were given, except that a joint statement is to be issued. □

Or Answer to a Grand Jury

A woman in Spokane, Washington, who stopped flying her American flag to express her disgust at the UN ouster of Chiang Kai-shek, got a surprise telephone call from Martha Mitchell. Said the wife of Nixon's attorney general: "You wave that flag and keep on waving it."

Turkey

Thirteen Face Death in Istanbul Trial

The trial of twenty-six alleged members of the Turkish People's Liberation Army opened in Istanbul October 27. Press reports on the case have been fragmentary and contradictory. Originally the accused were charged with kidnapping and killing Israeli diplomat Efraim Elrom last May.

Reports on the opening of the trial have not mentioned the kidnapping charge, but said that the twenty-six youths have been indicted for "communist scheming."

According to the November 4 *Le Monde*, three of the accused have denied belonging to the outlawed Turkish Communist party.

The prosecutor has reportedly asked for the death penalty against thirteen of the defendants.

The Istanbul trial is one of a series being conducted by the military-backed Turkish regime. A large number of organizations and well-known individuals in France have issued an Appeal to International Public Opinion, denouncing the "arbitrary arrests,

assassinations, tortures, and death penalties that have been carried out in Turkey since 1968."

The appeal noted that in three of the most recent trials all the defense attorneys, with only one exception, have themselves been indicted or placed under surveillance, and charged that this was a violation of both fundamental human rights and the rights of the defense.

Finally, the appeal called upon all democrats to lend support to the International Committee to Defend Turkish Political Prisoners.

Among the signers of the appeal were Simone de Beauvoir, Clara Malraux, Marguerite Duras, Nathalie Sarraute, Madeleine Renaud, Martin Heidegger, Aragon, Laurent Schwartz, Jean-Paul Sartre, Joseph Kessel, Maurice Nadeau, Claude Roy, Arrabal, and J.-L. Barrault; several prominent individual jurists as well as the French Association of Democratic Jurists; the League for the Rights of Man; and the Writers' Union. □

Effects of Amchitka Blast Remain Uncertain

By Jon Rothschild

At 11:00 a.m. Bering Sea time on November 6 the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) detonated the five-megaton hydrogen bomb placed about one mile beneath the surface of Amchitka Island in the Aleutians. The explosion was triggered on Nixon's personal order, despite the opposition of the governments of Canada and Japan, the governor of Alaska, that state's entire congressional delegation, the Federation of American Scientists, the Sierra Club, the Aleut League, and some federal agencies in Washington itself, not to mention the population of Canada and Japan.

The bomb, the most powerful ever exploded underground, created shock waves registering 7.0 on the Richter scale.

In spite of the fact that the effects of the test are not yet known (notably the amount of gamma rays, X-rays, and fission particles generated), AEC chairman James R. Schlesinger was quick to pronounce the explosion a complete success. Previous AEC statements on the test, however, must arouse some suspicion about Schlesinger's assurances. The fact that Amchitka is located in one of the world's major earthquake belts prompted ge-

ologists to caution that the test could conceivably result in earthquakes and tidal waves affecting an area extending from Japan to California. Concern about possible leakage of radiation into the sea and the death of sea life due to shock waves was also expressed.

Spokesmen for the AEC conceded the possibility of such eventualities, but said it was a remote one. They argued that the most serious realistic consequence of the test would be the death of 100 sea otters, a few fish, and the destruction of one eagle nesting site. Even this, they held, would be less (!) than the impact of natural mortality—whatever that might mean.

The agency's conviction that there was hardly any possibility of radiation leakage was even less convincing than its blatantly absurd reassurances on the improbability of earthquakes. The purpose of the test was to verify that the specially designed hydrogen bomb would emit unusually intense levels of radiation upon detonation.

The bomb was the prototype of the warhead for the Spartan antiballistic missile system. If actually used, it would be exploded above the atmo-

sphere for the purpose of releasing sufficient radiation to cripple the directional systems of offensive missiles. Since radiation leakage is not uncommon in underground tests of considerably less powerful bombs, one must question the basis of the AEC's confidence about this one.

After the long ecological debate about the \$200,000,000 test, its proponents received another jolt from a leading U.S. nuclear physicist, who revealed that the weapons system for which the Amchitka device was developed is completely useless anyway. Dr. Wolfgang K. H. Panofsky, director of the Stanford Linear Accelerator Center at Palo Alto, California, said in an interview that the Spartan system could not possibly distinguish between real missiles and decoys, that its warheads would destroy each other, and that the first wave of Spartans would leave a radioactive screen that would blind radar that is supposed to direct subsequent firings.

Although no earthquakes or tidal waves occurred immediately following the test, the long-term effects will remain unknown for some time. In apparent recognition of this, Noburu Takeshita, chief Japanese cabinet minister, issued a statement after the detonation saying that "Japan would retain the right to demand compensation for damage which might be incurred as a result of the test." □

'Pacification' in Malaysia

Ethnic Chinese villagers in northern Malaysia are being confined in camps similar to the "strategic hamlets" used by the United States in South Vietnam. According to a November 6 Reuters report, villages in Perak, Kedah, and Kelantan states are being surrounded with ten-foot chain-link fences topped with barbed wire. Watchtowers are placed along the fences to house armed troops.

"The 4,000 Chinese villagers in the area," Reuters reported, "were warned by Prime Minister Abdul Razak on Oct. 23 that if they did not cooperate with the authorities and provide information on the whereabouts of Communist guerrillas in the area, stern action would be taken against them."

The villagers will be locked inside the fences during specified curfew hours and the army will check for absentees. Troops are authorized to shoot on sight anyone outside the camps during the curfew.

These measures, the chief minister of Perak told Reuters, were intended to provide safety for the villagers themselves. □



Oliphant, in the Denver Post

'... However, we never take this sort of thing too seriously!'

Williams Declares 'State of Emergency'

By Tony Thomas

The November 1 issue of *Contrast*, a Canadian Black newspaper, reports a new wave of repression in Trinidad and Tobago, following Prime Minister Eric Williams's October 20 declaration of a state of emergency.

Last year a similar state of emergency was imposed from April 20 to November 19, to counter a rebellion led by Black-power activists and trade unionists.

According to *Contrast*, Williams issued the decree because of "industrial unrest." Foreign firms have replied to strike actions by shutting down their plants. One U.S. construction firm, facing a strike, announced closure of the plant "indefinitely," and flew its entire U.S. executive and administrative staff out of the country, leaving 1,600 Trinidadians jobless.

A week before the declaration of the state of emergency, hundreds of Trinidadian workers stormed the offices of Badger Pan American, which operates a desulfurization plant for Texaco in the southern part of the island.

Following the demonstration, in which Edward McGuire, an American manager for the company, was injured, the entire staff of the company moved into the Hilton Hotel in Port of Spain. (Williams and top officials of his government took refuge in the same hotel in April 1970 when Trinidadian workers, students, and farmers nearly toppled his regime.) The staff of the Texaco subsidiary flew to Miami the next night.

More than 2,000 workers lost their jobs because of this shutdown.

Williams blamed Trinidadian workers rather than foreign imperialists for Trinidad's economic woes. "Strikes and go-slows [slowdowns]," he said, "are strangling our economy."

The real strangulation, of course, comes from U.S., Canadian, and British imperialist firms that dominate the Trinidadian economy.

Williams promised that the state of emergency would be "lighter" than the one he imposed in 1970. But his first action under the decree was to im-

prison a number of trade-union and Black-power leaders of the 1970 rebellion.

Among those "detained" were George Weekes, a leader of the Oil Workers Trade Union; Clive Nunez, a leader

Soviet Union

Nina Bukovskaya's Appeal for Her Son

[Following is the text of an appeal issued October 4, 1971, by Nina Bukovskaya, mother of one of the most determined and active young Soviet dissidents, Vladimir Bukovsky. (See "The Case of Vladimir Bukovsky," *Intercontinental Press*, October 18, 1971, p. 889.)

[Although the psychiatric examination of Bukovsky was scheduled for completion, according to his mother, by October 14, there has been no further word on the disposition of his case since the flurry of protest statements by Soviet dissidents early in October.

[The Russian text of Nina Bukovskaya's appeal, however, has since become available. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Open Letter to All People of Good Will

I am appealing to all people of good will, to all who hold truth and justice dear.

I am the mother of Vladimir Bukovsky who was thrown into prison half a year ago by agents of the KGB [Komitet Gosudarstvennoi Bezopasnosti—Committee of State Security, the Kremlin's secret police]. My son's only "crime" was that he told the whole world about the practice of confining dissenters in special psychiatric hospitals on the pretext of their being mentally ill.

The investigation has stretched out

of the Transport Workers Union; Geddes Granger and Dave D'Arbeau, leaders of the National Joint Action Committee (the Black-power movement that played a leading role in the 1970 struggles); and a number of other trade-union and political activists.

Under the emergency decree, democratic rights such as freedom to strike, freedom of speech and organization, protection against police raids without warrants, and the assurance of a fair trial have been suspended. □

into its seventh month, but no actual violation of the law by my son has been found. And now, the KGB investigator, Captain Korkach, seeking a way out of his embarrassment, has sent my son to a special institute of forensic psychiatry for an examination of his psychiatric condition. This same institute examined him in 1967 and ruled that he was completely normal psychologically. Now, in spite of that, with the expiration of the authorized length of time [that a suspect can normally be held for pre-trial investigation under Soviet law], my son has been sent to that institute for a repeat examination (until October 10-14).

A terrible danger threatens my son, a person who is absolutely normal mentally: they apparently intend to declare him mentally incompetent, insane. And then? Then in cramped ward-cells, people in white coats will torment him and mutilate his mind day after day, year after year, until they turn him into a complete cripple.

I appeal to you—people of good will—mothers and fathers, sisters and brothers! Don't let them commit this terrible crime! Save my son!

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Why Socialists Back Canada's Labor Party

By Dick Fidler

[The following article is reprinted from the October 25 issue of the Canadian revolutionary-socialist bi-weekly, *Labor Challenge*.]

* * *

Toronto

"Don't vote. They're all the same!" proclaimed the Maoist poster which appeared on construction fences around Toronto during the provincial election campaign. A leaflet distributed by partisans of this ultraleft fringe group, the Canadian Communist party (Marxist-Leninist), denounced "social fascists, especially the New Democratic Party, for supporting the imperialist domination of Canada."

The Maoists' hysterical appeal to boycott the election fell on deaf ears, of course. A notable feature of this campaign was the widespread participation in the NDP campaign of activists in the antiwar, women's liberation, and student movements. All these opponents of the capitalist status quo saw the election as a vital opportunity to advance their campaigns.

And they didn't just play a supporting role. Among the NDP official candidates were leading figures in the antipollution, antiwar, student, trade union, and tenant movements.

The very existence of the New Democratic party, because it confronts the capitalist parties, contending with them for governmental power, ensures that the election campaign becomes a focal point for the political activity of every sector of the advancing radicalization.

True, the NDP's program is not explicitly anticapitalist or anti-imperialist. And the parliamentary electoral system is at best a distorted, inadequate arena for the expression of class politics.

But the NDP campaign mobilizes the working class on a political plane in defense of its interests. This election campaign revealed afresh that the NDP is in step with, even in advance of, broad layers of the working class, and that militants, far from

rejecting the party, are more than ever attracted to it as a viable arena for radical change.

Any political current or tendency which puts itself outside this development, which attempts to counterpose its own small forces to the NDP, is bound to isolate and discredit itself. As if to demonstrate this in practice, the small Stalinized Communist party of Canada, which for the past fifteen years has been experiencing a prolonged death agony, fielded no fewer than five candidates in the Ontario election. All were running against the NDP, which fielded a full slate in the province's 117 ridings. One CP candidate ran against a sitting NDP member of the legislature; three others ran against strong NDP candidates, including two of the three NDP candidates known to actively support the left-wing Waffle grouping.

Many in the left were baffled. Did the CP pretend to have some unique programmatic contribution? Apparently not. Its campaign literature expressed no substantial difference with the NDP's reformist program. Even its proposals on foreign ownership went no further, calling for "a program to repatriate all major industries under U. S. control" with no mention of public ownership.

Writing on the election in the CP's magazine *Communist Viewpoint*, Ontario leader William Stewart spent no fewer than nineteen of the article's forty-four paragraphs attempting to assimilate the views of those who criticize the CP's electoral policy with "Trotskyism." By this he no doubt hoped to silence critics within the party, where the charge of Trotskyism is grounds for expulsion.

Stewart huffed and puffed, but his tortured attempts to explain how the CP's running against the NDP constituted "united action of the left" while the Trotskyists' participation in the NDP campaign constituted "the line of splitting" were, to say the least, unconvincing.

An article by Saskatchewan CP lead-

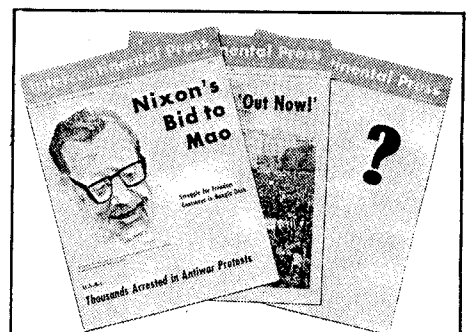
er William Beeching in the same issue of *Communist Viewpoint*, however, revealed the narrow considerations that lie behind the CP's electoral policy. Replying to those who criticized the party's candidacy against an NDPer in the recent election in that province, Beeching says that on the contrary "there should have been more Communist party candidates." Why? "It must be said that some of our own members succumbed to opportunism by unconditionally supporting the NDP. This is almost always a problem when a slate of Communist candidates is not running."

Irony is disarmed by such candor. The main reason the CP runs against the NDP, then, is to bar its own members from supporting the NDP. Could there be a more convincing statement of the CP's utter sectarian irrelevancy? □

And No Wonder

We don't want to spoil anyone's appetite, but "hot dog" enthusiasts may like to know that the U. S. Department of Agriculture allows frankfurters to be made with beef, lamb, pork, or goat meat and meat by-products; up to 30 percent fat; 10 percent water; 15 percent poultry; 2 percent corn syrup; and 3.5 percent cereals and nonfat dry milk.

The attractive red color of hot dogs is produced by sodium erythorbate, sodium nitrite, citric acid, ascorbic acid, and glucono delta lactone. Without these chemicals, says the department, hot dogs would turn an "unappetizing grey."



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Angela Davis Denied Trial in Impartial City

The chief defense attorney for Angela Davis announced November 3 that he would appeal a court decision ordering the trial moved to San Jose, California.

"Miss Davis cannot get a fair trial in Santa Clara County [in which San Jose is located]," said Howard Moore Jr. He charged that "intense racial prejudice" would prevent a fair trial.

Judge Richard E. Arnason ordered the move to San Jose November 2, in response to a defense request that the trial not be held in Marin County. Davis is accused of supplying the guns for the August 17, 1970, attempt to kidnap a judge from the Marin County courthouse and exchange him for the freedom of the "Soledad Brothers." If convicted, she faces a possible death penalty.

Davis had requested that the trial be held in San Francisco. Her lawyers cited a public opinion poll conducted by a professor at the University of California. The poll showed that San Francisco was the only city in northern California where there was sufficient racial and political tolerance to make possible a fair trial. It also indicated that San Jose was not a location where many people would consider Angela Davis innocent until proven guilty.

Arnason's ruling was the last on a series of pretrial motions. Earlier, he refused to allow Davis to be released on bail. She has now been imprisoned since October of last year. The trial is not expected to begin until early 1972.

While prosecution and defense attorneys were arguing their motions, an erstwhile police informer in Los Angeles was providing testimony that may help to explain the eagerness of the California state government to convict Angela Davis.

The ex-informer, Louis E. Tackwood, has passed a lie detector test paid for by news media and administered by an expert, according to a report by Steven V. Roberts in the October 25 *New York Times*.

Tackwood charges that the police knew in advance of the Marin County kidnap attempt and that a police informant was one of its leaders.

The man who Tackwood says is an informer is Melvin Smith, a former Black Panther who is now testifying against thirteen Panthers who are on trial in Los Angeles.

"Tackwood seems particularly knowledgeable about the Marin County shootout," Roberts reported. "He

Judge Frowns on 'Violence and All That'

South African Dean Sentenced to 5 Years

The Very Reverend Gonville French-Beytagh, Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, was found guilty November 1 of four counts of violation of the notorious Terrorism Act. He was sentenced to five years in jail and released on \$14,000 bail pending appeal. The flimsiness of the government's case was shown by the fact that the hardly impartial court felt compelled to acquit the dean on six of the counts under which he was charged.

In passing sentence, the chief justice of the Transvaal, Petrus Cillie, conceded that there was no evidence that French-Beytagh had assisted any plans to commit specific acts of sabotage, but said that he had encouraged people to "contravene the laws of the country, thereby supporting violent revolution."

The actual charges the dean was found guilty of were:

- Possession of pamphlets belonging to the banned African National Congress (ANC), the South African Communist party (CPSA), and other illegal organizations.

- Encouraging "violence and all that"—in the words of the judge—at a meeting of the South African Black Sash, a liberal women's group.

- Incitement of agent provocateur Louis Henry Jordaan to take part in a violent uprising against the state.

- Distributing money to the families of political prisoners on behalf of the illegal Defense and Aid Fund.

contends that he was sent to Santa Cruz to investigate a 'hit squad' of Black Panthers who were training to invade the courthouse and seize hostages. One of the squad leaders, he alleges, was Mr. Smith.

"According to Tackwood, the 'hit squad' abandoned the plan on the morning of the attack when they saw that the courthouse was too well guarded. But no one, he says, remembered to tell Jonathan Jackson, George Jackson's 17-year-old brother, who went ahead and was killed in the subsequent shootout." □

The first and third charges were shown to be fraudulent during the trial, and no evidence was introduced to support the second. (See *Intercontinental Press*, November 8, p. 953.) But the government apparently considered that it could not afford to sentence a man to five years in prison simply on the charge of distributing charity.

The dean was found innocent of the major charges against him—that he formed a secret organization, participated in a decision taken by overseas branches of the ANC and CPSA to give aid to revolutionists in Mozambique, prepared literature propagating the need for violent revolution, and advocated the need for sabotage at the Black Sash meeting. Also dismissed was the charge that French-Beytagh had advocated violent revolution at a meeting of the South African Council of Churches.

Defense attorney Sydney Kentridge said that the proceedings would cause "a sense of shock and stupefaction far beyond the confines of this courtroom." That prediction came true one day after the announcement of the verdict, as the *New York Times*, the *London Times*, the *Guardian*, and the *Daily Mail* all denounced the results of the trial. One British paper, the *Sun*, commented that if everyone who wants to see the South African government overthrown were sent to jail, the country would have to be one big prison, which may, in fact, already be the case. □

British Escalate Terror Against Belfast Women

By Gerry Foley

Dublin

On the front page of the October 25 *Irish Times* a picture appeared of a plain but pleasant-looking woman who seemed far older than the thirty-one years the caption credited her with. She was described as "Mrs. Mary Ellen Meehan, mother of four."

Mrs. Meehan and her nineteen-year-old sister, Dorothy Maguire, were gunned down at 4:30 in the morning of October 23 while they were being driven through the streets of the lower Falls Road Catholic ghetto of Belfast to warn the people of the threat of military raids.

The soldiers opened fire with heavy weapons. "The front and back windows were completely shattered and there was a large dent in the front," the October 25 *Irish Times* reported. "The back seat was covered in blood and there was human brain lying on the front seat."

Only a few hours after the two women were killed, I left the house in the lower Falls area where I had been staying for the past three days. But I did not learn about the shooting until I had left Northern Ireland. There were no vigilantes on the street as I walked out of the area at 8:00 a.m.

In her picture, Mrs. Meehan looked very much like one of the women vigilantes I had talked to in the dawn hours of the previous day. She resembled many of the lively and courageous women who have assumed a major burden in defending their neighborhoods against attacks by the British troops and murderous ultra-right Protestant fanatics.

On October 22, I went out into the streets of the Falls at about 5:30 in the morning to see the vigilantes on their rounds. No man or boy dares go out much earlier than that in the nationalist neighborhoods of Belfast without risking arrest, torture, and perhaps shooting at the hands of the British troops who patrol the area—heavily armed, in full battle regalia, and with their faces blackened in commando style.

I had only managed to walk about

half a block down Leeson street when I noticed a group of women standing at the corner of a side street. They turned a battery-powered searchlight on me. One woman came over to ask me who I was. I started to take out my press card. But when she heard my American accent, she laughed good-humoredly and said that they weren't going to go as far as to demand formal identification.

The woman began to explain to me what her group was doing. The vigilantes work two shifts—the first from midnight to 3:00 a.m. and the second from 3:00 to 6:00. It is in this time, when all the street lights are turned off, that the British troops raid homes in the area, dragging men out of their beds for beatings and indefinite imprisonment in the Crumlin Road jail and the Long Kesh concentration camp.

She herself, the woman told me, had eleven children; the one over there had four, the one there, six; the one there was expecting a baby in a few months. She pointed to many elderly women in their sixties who came out on vigilante duty along with their younger neighbors.

It was a raw, wet morning. The temperature was about 40 degrees. It had been raining almost constantly on and off since I arrived in Ireland a week and a half before. The streets and buildings were oozing dampness, and a strong wind was blowing down the dismal streets of this ancient slum neighborhood.

But the women seemed cheerful and eager to talk. They apparently enjoyed the camaraderie and the chance to do an important job, especially the older women with families. Only some of the young girls, it seemed to me, looked a little sleepy and bitter. Although the elderly women stayed shyly on the edge of the circle, you could see from the little smiles on their faces that they were very proud of what they were doing.

"If you hadn't identified yourself, you wouldn't have got any further,"

the leader said seriously. I believed her. The army had raided near the house where I was staying the night before, and I had heard the din the women raised with their garbage-can lids and their whistles. "You know it's a terrible thing for a man to have a crowd of women around him screaming and banging bin lids and blowing whistles," a woman told me with a grin.

Until the shooting of the two women in Belfast October 23, it seemed that it was too embarrassing for the British repressive forces to torture and gun down women in the same way they have done with the men and boys in the neighborhoods. It is still too early to say whether the murder of Mrs. Meehan and her sister marks a new policy of armed attacks on women. But these brutal killings followed closely after a widening of the front of active resistance in the nationalist neighborhoods, when some influential priests came out in support of the vigilantes.

In the lower Falls, which is a stronghold of the official Republican movement, the women vigilantes seemed to be very effectively organized. Many people in the area told me stories about the way the women had outmaneuvered and outwitted the troops. For example, on one occasion when the soldiers were arresting two boys, the women moved in around the group of men. One asked to speak to an officer, giving the others a chance to wedge in between the troops and the boys. The young fellows made a quick getaway.

By raising a commotion, drawing out crowds of spectators, and giving the troops no excuse to use deadly force, the women have succeeded again and again in blocking raiding troops from coming any further into their areas and in slowly pushing them out.

It has required considerable courage, coolness, and organization to carry out these tactics. The lower Falls is a very compact neighborhood easily surrounded and dominated by the

troops, who have shown little squeamishness in using brutality and intimidation against women. The leaders of the resistance are very conscious of the need to prevent false alarms that would wear out the neighborhood for no purpose. The troops, on the other hand, have taken to banging bin lids and blowing whistles themselves in an attempt to confuse the warning system.

In spite of this, false alarms seem to have been kept at a minimum in the Falls, in contrast to the situation in the Andersonstown area, which is controlled by the anticommunist Provisional Republican movement. In Andersonstown, whistles and sirens seem to be going almost all the time and impromptu gun battles seem to be part of daily life.

The overwhelming military forces stationed in and around the Falls have been trying to frighten the women into staying indoors during the raids. When the soldiers come into a street, they point their guns at the houses and shout threats like "shut that door or we'll shoot your fucking head off." The women who come out in spite of these threats risk being beaten with heavy boots and rifle butts.

Sometimes the soldiers even threaten to rape the women. But more than once, I was told, the quick tongues of the Irish women have soured the supermasculine bravado of the heavily armed young soldiers. For example, when one overgrown youth called out this threat to a woman, she shouted back: "All yez ever give us is promises." The soldier reverted to infantile rage, threatening to shoot her.

The responsibility for giving the central alarm is entrusted only to the most experienced and capable woman political leader in the area, who has to be on patrol during both shifts. In addition to facing the constant pressure produced by the intermittent raids of the army, which tried to intern her on the morning of August 9 but failed, she gets almost no sleep and her house is watched with particular care by the British soldiers. While I was interviewing her, in fact, a patrol came to the door and we were afraid that they were going to break in.

With its "pacification" effort pretty well hamstrung by the disciplined and intelligent resistance of the women vigilantes, the British army may have

decided to resort to exemplary killings in order to keep the people off the streets. There is evidence that the British forces have used this tactic before. In the case of Cyril Cusack, who was shot dead by soldiers in Derry in early July, people in the area monitoring the army radio heard the British commander tell his troops: "Let's have a death."

Such suspicions tend to be confirmed, moreover, by the flimsiness of the army's story. According to the British commander in the Falls, Major Dunphie, his troops were fired on from the car carrying Mrs. Meehan and her sister. He also said that the women were dressed as men.

However, the Central Citizens Defense Committee (CCDC), a conservative neighborhood organization, showed reporters a picture of the two dead women taken only a few minutes after the shooting. "It showed Mrs. Meehan wearing white trousers, a loose flowery patterned blouse and a dark-coloured coat," the *Irish Times* reported. "Her clothes were certainly not masculine-looking. Miss Maguire, Mr. Davidson [the driver of the car] said, was wearing blue jeans, a black and white spotted blouse, a navy blue jerkin and knee-length laced boots. Pictures of the two women which were later released by the security forces showed that these descriptions of the women's clothing were accurate. None of the articles of clothing could be described as masculine and both were in fact dressed in the same fashion as most women in Belfast."

The incident in which the women were shot was taped by Hugh McArevey, a member of the CCDC. His recording contains the pattern of shots that the army said it fired, but no single shots of the type that were supposed to have come from the car, in which, moreover, no weapons were found.

Furthermore, the events that followed the shooting indicate that the army was in a trigger-happy and murderous mood. The people in the area sent word to Mrs. Meehan's husband. He rushed in a taxi to the place where his wife was lying dead. The *Irish Times* of October 25 summarized Mr. Meehan's report of what happened then: ". . . he [Meehan] got dressed and got into a taxi which was waiting for the priest at the monastery [who administered last rites].

Four or five women were in the taxi with him, he said, as well as Father Reid. When they arrived at the car they found it covered with blankets. He opened the door and felt his wife's head and pulse and realising she was dead he knelt down to pray for about three minutes. The taxi was still there, either because the driver was waiting to be paid or because he wanted to see if he could help.

"While he was on his knees, Mr. Meehan said he heard soldiers shooting both rubber bullets and lead bullets and saw them charging down the street screaming. The taxi began to drive off and the soldiers shouted at it and fired a rubber bullet at it, but it kept going. They then pointed two rifles at him, one each side of his head, he said, and argued whether they would shoot him or not. They then smashed the headlights of the car."

A nationalist leader from the Falls, whom I met in Dublin, told me that he thought the reason the British army was using so much brutality in his neighborhood was that this area was the "hub of republicanism" in Belfast and the British high command knew that it would have to break the Falls in order to crush the Catholic population. I asked him how long he thought any neighborhood could hold out against the kind of systematic terror I saw in Belfast. "They'll never break the Falls, never," he told me. "This sort of thing has become a normal way of life for us." Some of his earliest memories, this middle-aged man said, were of British tanks and whippet cars coming into the Falls trying to terrorize the people.

Still I thought he might be a little too optimistic until I remembered a conversation I had with a young boy in the house where I stayed in the Falls. "They want to shackle us," the boy said about the British army. "But they can't even control a wee place like Ireland. That's a point against them, isn't it, well, isn't it?" □

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Vladimir Gershuni on Life in a Psychiatric Prison

[Reprinted below is the text of Vladimir Gershuni's letter in diary form describing conditions in a Soviet "special" psychiatric hospital. Especially significant is its description of the way drugs are forcibly used to put pressure on political dissenters who are actually perfectly sound.

[Gershuni himself is an interesting figure. Born in 1930 and raised in an orphanage, he is the nephew of one of the founders—in the late nineteenth century—of the Social Revolutionaries, G. A. Gershuni.

[He also has the distinction of having been in the same concentration camp as was Solzhenitsyn, the camp described by that author in *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*. Ironically, like the protagonist of *Ivan Denisovich*, Vladimir Gershuni worked as a mason.

[Gershuni was ushered into the world of prison and camps in 1949, at the age of nineteen. He was sentenced by a nonjudicial "Special Commission" (Osoboe Soveshchanie) to ten years for participation in an anti-Stalin youth group.

[After the death of Stalin, Gershuni was freed as having been unjustly imprisoned. Active in dissident circles in Moscow, he was one of fifty-four Soviet citizens who signed the appeal of May 20, 1969, to the United Nations, drafted by the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR. (For the text of that appeal, see *Intercontinental Press*, June 16, 1969, pp. 606-08.)

[His arrest came October 17, 1969, on charges of "slander against the Soviet state and social system" (Article 190-1 of the Russian Criminal Code). A week after his arrest he was sent from Moscow's Butyrka prison to the notorious Serbsky Institute, where dissenters have regularly been found mentally "incompetent." After a psychiatric examination, he was diagnosed as suffering from "chronic schizophrenia"—going all the way back to 1947, when his marks in school first began to go down. Of course, when he was sent to a labor camp in 1949, no question about his mental health had been raised.

[As additional proof that he was

unbalanced, the following facts were cited: he refused discussions with the doctors; he accused them of taking orders from the KGB; he vowed to expose them and bring them to justice.

[A trial was held March 13, 1970, which Gershuni was not allowed to attend, not being "of sound mind." The trial was open to the public, but notebooks were confiscated. The judge ruled that Gershuni should be confined in a "special" mental hospital on the basis of the findings of the Serbsky Institute. These findings were read aloud, and the *Chronicle of Current Events*, No. 13, for March 29, 1970, ran them. Every one of the four "psychiatric findings" was simply a political charge. An example is the first one:

"1. The materials in this case testify to the person who wrote or circulated them being an active participant in a grouping that has as its aim a struggle against the Soviet state and social system." (No doubt, the Initiative Group for Defense of Human Rights was being referred to.)

[One interesting highlight of the trial, and the investigation preceding it, was that Gershuni's fellow workers from his last two jobs (at a fat-processing plant and a construction site) mostly gave no bad testimony about him. Those few who testified that he had made "anti-Soviet" remarks clarified this in the trial proceedings: Gershuni had talked against the invasion of Czechoslovakia; he had brought copies of *Rude Pravo*, the Czech CP's chief paper, to work; he had not been the only one to discuss politics from a critical viewpoint; he was well read and well educated, believed in what he said, and was morally firm and psychologically normal.

[After his trial in March 1970, Gershuni was held at Butyrka prison for the rest of that year, while waiting for his appeal to be heard and, apparently, rejected.

[On December 8, 1970, he joined in a hunger strike that has become traditional among Soviet political prisoners in the last few years. It is usually held from December 5 to 10, which is designated Human Rights

Day. He continued his strike until New Year's Eve, when he was sent to the special hospital in Oryol.

[At Oryol he continued the hunger strike until January 31, 1971—fifty-five days in all. This information was included in issues number 17 and 18 of the *Chronicle of Current Events*, dated December 31, 1970, and March 5, 1971, respectively.

[Gershuni's letter describing events in March of this year is from issue 19 of the *Chronicle*, which only recently became available. The translation is by Amnesty International. Explanatory additions to the text by Amnesty International are enclosed in square brackets. Ellipses enclosed in parentheses indicate omissions by the editors of the *Chronicle*.]

* * *

March 9

It has been announced that letters can be sent off only twice a month. This is just the same as in [Moscow's] Butyrka prison. On February 27 the latest party of prisoners arrived from Butyrka, so the cells are full—before there were seven, now eight people to a sixteen or seventeen square metre cell—that is, two square metres per patient. This is all intentional. There is no room to move. One is allowed to go along the corridor, but only if it's absolutely necessary—to the toilet, to get items of food from the nurse, or to smoke in the toilet. The toilet here is a cesspit: four holes in the ground and two taps for fifty-four people, very reminiscent of station lavatories in the worst sense of the word. Less than half of all patients work at weaving nets. This is a type of work which is far from dynamic. The exercise period amounts to an hour in tiny exercise yards far smaller than in Butyrka. There isn't a single locker in the cells, you can only write by squatting beside your bed on the floor. The light is poor.

March 10

We were warned that pencils and fountain pens would be taken away

and that they would only be issued if this was absolutely necessary—to write letters, that is, as in the case of P(yotr) G(rigorevich) [Grigorenko]. This smooth routine is gradually being "established" and will be like the routine in Chernyakhovsk, but even harsher, in the best traditions of the Central Prison at Oryol.

What of the *medical treatment*? Any phrase spoken incautiously to a doctor or nurse can serve as a pretext for a series of aminazin [largactil] injections. Sometimes these injections are prescribed without any pretext, simply because of some doctor's whim. The head of the medical department is an oculist. Another doctor is an ear-nose-and-throat specialist, a third is a physician. As far as I can see the Head of the hospital, Lt. Colonel Baryshnikov, is himself supremely qualified to become a patient in a psychiatric hospital. It is by sheer and absurd chance that he is in charge of the hospital, for before we came, he headed a sanatorium for tubercular patients—in fact, in the very same building. By training, this lieutenant-colonel is a surgeon.

When our party of prisoners arrived from Butyrka, all sixty of us were prescribed treatment, *without undergoing any medical examination*. I, for instance, had my blood pressure measured, but the others did not even have this. Almost all of those who arrived were given aminazin, both orally and by injection. No one showed any interest in either a patient's heart or his liver or anything that was wrong with him, if these had no bearing on psychiatry. Only two of the group, whose obvious allergies to aminazin had been established at the Serbsky Institute, were saved from the injections. One had serious liver trouble—the result of injuries sustained at Butyrka. Because of these injuries, he had had to be operated upon—they took him to the Sklifosovsky Institute.

March 11, morning

During rounds, just by way of an experiment, I complained about feeling poorly after a dose of haloperidol, and asked that the dose be reduced. This led to my being prescribed even more aminazin than I was already receiving. The head physician, Evgeny Vladimirovich Kozich, the oculist I have referred to already, being in charge of my case, made this de-

cision. During a hunger strike in January (I had been given aminazin ever since my arrival), I felt steadily worse and worse, and after making a complaint, I began to get aminazin injections in the maximum dose, or very close to it (approximately 6 cc). I couldn't sleep at all, yet the same dose was administered to me for twelve days in a row, until they became convinced that I was still not sleeping, and that the injections had not made me give up my hunger strike. I was given two injections a day, from the 7th to the 18th of January, and from the 19th of January onwards I have been given two tablets of haloperidol twice daily, that is four tablets in all (and Kozich assures me that this will go on for a long time). This medicine makes me feel more awful than anything I have experienced before; you no sooner lie down than you want to get up, you no sooner take a step than you're longing to sit down, and if you sit down, you want to walk again—and there's nowhere to walk. By the way, I'm not the only one who's had this sort of thing happen to him. Everybody here has their life made miserable by triftazin [trifluoperazine/stelazine], aminazin, and other powerful drugs. The doctor who used to be in charge of my case, Leonid Timofeyevich Petrov (. . .) said to me, in an attempt to justify the use of aminazin, that the vast number of new arrivals made it difficult to ascertain what was the matter with each one of them, and that because of that errors occurred—in my case, the prescription of aminazin. Just now, during his round, Kozich assured me that everything was being done properly, and there were no doctors who'd wish to harm their patients. "I haven't met any doctors like that," he said, "I've only read about them." And so once again I am prescribed aminazin. There you have it: the defencelessness of a prisoner in a special hospital, totally at the mercy of a doctor's whim, constantly in danger of being prescribed some new medicine or injections, whenever the doctor takes exception to some remark or glance of his. What has happened today has convinced me that if one complains that a medicine has an adverse effect, one will earn oneself either an increased dose of the same medicine, or an extra prescription of a new one. This has already happened often.

From 7 to 8.30 in the evenings, we are allowed to use the dining-room:

we can write letters, or play dominoes and chess. The bedlam is indescribable. Your head feels as if it's about to burst. The letters you write in this atmosphere are strange. . .

We only have an hour's exercise (we had two in Butyrka); the exercise yards are so cramped and crowded that it makes your head swim once more. Today, when Kozich heard my warnings that he would have to answer for the patients being treated in an arbitrary and unceremonious manner, he threatened to put me in a cell with severely disturbed patients; I have already savoured the pleasure of such neighbours, and at some length at that—for more than a month, in fact. This happened just at the time when they were giving me injections in order to make me stop my hunger strike, but they didn't succeed, although sharing a cell with severely disturbed patients and having injections into the bargain is more than one can put into words (. . .)

My teeth are firm again, but one is still a little loose—and that's two months later! If you have any doubts over what brought about this clash, I'll describe it in greater detail. January 17th was a Sunday. After my injection, I wasn't allowed to take exercise. The "screw" [warder] got the wind up, not wishing to take the responsibility for anything that might happen to me during my exercise period (my hunger strike was scaring him). Fairly calmly, I demanded the period of exercise due to a prisoner and tried to join those who were being led outside. They grabbed me, twisted my arms behind my back, forced me back into the cell, and in the doorway the exercise "screw" dealt me a blow on the jaw. My gums were rather tender; after all, this was the 42nd day of my hunger strike. Blood gushed forth. Once I had been locked up again, I broke the small pane of glass in the door, shoved my hand through the opening, drew back the bolt, ran out with a piece of glass still sticking in my hand, so as to settle accounts with the Chekist [secret policeman]. But he managed to nip out on to the staircase, and slam the door. His name is Ivan Ivanovich—I didn't succeed in learning his surname. He still works in the same job—he hasn't even been transferred to a different part of the prison! As for the official record of the "tooth" incident it states that this occurred when I, in a fit of insanity, smashed the

pane of glass with my head, cutting my mouth and breaking my jaw at the same time (!!!) A lot of people in the hospital have terrible trouble with their teeth, but they are not taken to the dentist. They're given pain killers, and advised to take more care in eating.

These overcrowded cells are hypocritically referred to as "little wards" and anyone who calls them "cells" is threatened with punishment. Tender diminutives are coming into fashion; one talks of "a little bit of aminazin", and so on. There you are: the Yudushka Golovlev [a character of Saltykov-Shchedrin's] syndrome. Here we joke about these things: a "baby dungeon", "teeny-weeny injections", "a wee bit of excrement for analysis".

Friday, March 19

We've had a severely disturbed patient, who has nocturnal attacks of epilepsy, put in our cell. The first night he wet his bed and as the mattress was soaked right through, the smell lingered for a long time. The

only thing they did was to change the sheets (. . .).

More and more noticeably I'm losing my memory (. . .).

The story of Victor Prikhodko, who was born in 1936, is also not without interest. This gifted lad, who could even reel off Dostoyevsky's family tree, a dancer, a singer, tremendously alive and alert was at one time (in July) in the next cell to me (. . .). Before his arrest he had worked as a driver. In September, he was hauled off to the Butyrka prison hospital, where they gave him massive doses of aminazin injections and something else as well. And so it happened that one day he woke up—but not completely, and thereafter he remained in this half-awake state—his head on one side, his speech languid and indistinct, his eyes glazed. He sank into apathy, and all his reactions slowed down. Only now, since he's been taken off medicines, has he begun to recover. He was thus cancelled out for five months. Hail to Soviet "special psychiatry"! (. . .) □

Appeal From Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation

Czechoslovak Journalist's Life in Danger

[Vladimir Skutina has been in and out of Czechoslovak jails several times. A television commentator, he gained a certain popularity under the Novotny regime, when he was charged with the "crime" of calling the Czech president an ox. He denied the charge, but was sentenced anyway; whereupon he declared that Novotny must really be an ox—to allow such a sentence to be pronounced in his name.

[In September 1969, he was charged with offending an officer of the state at a January 1969 meeting in Havlickuv Brod. He had said at that time that Gustav Husak, then first secretary of the Slovak Communist party and in fact not an official of the state, was responsible for disrupting good relations between Czechs and Slovaks.

[Sometime later he was released because of ill health. During August 1970 he was one of four anti-Stalinist Czechoslovaks who gave a filmed interview to a Dutch reporter. (See

Intercontinental Press, February 15, 1971, p. 140, for text of interview.)

[A few days later, Skutina was again arrested and charged with having written two manuscripts, *The Invaders and the Five Channels* and *The Russians Are Really Coming*. Although they were unpublished (and Skutina denied intending to distribute them), he was sentenced last February to two years in prison.

[On June 29 Skutina was again brought before a court, this time to stand trial for the original January 1969 "offense."

[The following report on the treatment Skutina has received from his jailers has been distributed by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation.]

* * *

Vladimir Skutina, Czechoslovak journalist, writer, and a popular television personality during the "Prague Spring," was taken from prison to

stand trial for the second time this year. In February he received a sentence of two years' imprisonment for writing two unpublished manuscripts. Now, at the second trial, the term has been increased to four years and two months, the charges including agitation and slandering an official personage.

At the time of his arrest on 18 August 1970 Skutina was already seriously ill—cancer of the pancreas was suspected. When he appeared in court in February 1971 his friends were horrified at his emaciated state. Reliable sources now report that he is stated to be suffering from chronic inflammation of the pancreas and a blood clot on the brain which pulsates and causes intense headache. The treatment he has received from the prison doctor, Dr. Proksan, has aggravated his condition and he has been refused admission to the prison hospital. The said Dr. Proksan practised during the period of the political trials of the 1950s alongside Dr. Sommer (who committed suicide in 1968) at the notorious Ruzyn Prison in Prague; in 1967 he was struck off the medical register because he was suspected of having carried out experiments on prisoners and charges were to have been brought against him. Following the Soviet occupation of 1968, however, the case was dropped. Dr. Proksan was rehabilitated and appointed medical officer to the Ministry of the Interior.

Dr. Proksan is reported to have administered drugs to his patient which have the opposite effect to that required; Skutina's weight dropped to 53 kg. [about 117 pounds] and for two and a half days he was unconscious. His family and friends fear for his life.

The trial and tragic condition of Vladimir Skutina is part of the present wave of repression by which the occupation regime in Czechoslovakia is endeavouring to break resistance to the Soviet presence and the "normalisation" of public life. Elements in this drive are the convictions of General Prchlik, of the 19 young Marxist revolutionaries, of Alois Polednak, former Director of Czechoslovak Film, of Dr. Stein, schoolmaster of Bohumir Kuba in Ostrava and tens of other victims. Further trials are to be expected. Only by the international solidarity of all democratic and progressive people can they be stopped. □

‘Martini Olive’ Treatment for Political Prisoners

[The following statement was issued in Córdoba, Argentina, on June 16 by the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP—People's Revolutionary Army), an organization sponsored by the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers party). We have translated it from the September 1971 issue of the Buenos Aires monthly *Cristianismo y Revolución*, where it was published without comment.]

* * *

In the early hours of June 14, Comrade Emilio Enrique Arquiola, an ERP fighter and a member of the PRT, managed to escape from Central Police Headquarters, thereby regaining his freedom. In order to clarify the circumstances of his arrest and subsequent return to the outside world, we are making public the account given by this comrade himself:

"I was picked up by a unit of the radio-dispatched squad at 12:45 a.m. Monday, June 7, while I was driving an expropriated automobile. I was traveling alone and unarmed.

"At first they took me to the radio-dispatch headquarters, where the policemen stationed there punched and kicked me savagely. They had the tacit approval of their superiors, who at no time attempted to interfere. Shortly thereafter, they took me to the Regional Central Headquarters. There, in shirt-sleeves and with my hands handcuffed behind my back, I was kept standing upright two days and nights. I was only allowed to go to the bathroom, and I was given no food.

"On Friday, June 11, they transferred me to the Intelligence Division. They hit me a few times and then I spent the rest of the day standing up in a patio. That night . . . [a garbled passage occurs here due to a typographical error] they locked me up in a cubicle, where I remained until around midnight.

"At that point they put me back in the patio, standing up. At 1:00 a.m. [Saturday, June 12] two policemen, who attempted in a crude way to disguise their voices, blindfolded me. Then they took me in a patrol

car to a house outside of the city. There, with the announcement that I was going to get the 'martini olive' treatment, the 'party' began.

"They stripped me, took me to a filled bathtub, and immersed me in freezing-cold water (ice cubes were floating in it)—all the while beating me in the stomach, chest, over the liver and kidneys. Alternating their questions with blows, they dunked me constantly, hardly allowing me to breathe. Then they would take me out, beat me, dress me, wait until I was dry and warmer, and then start the 'treatment' all over again.

"Later on (at 3:00 a.m.) they tried a variant: they took me out in a patio and poured water over me while beating and grilling me constantly. At about 4:30 a.m. the session ended and they brought me back to Córdoba, where I was kept on my feet until 7:00 a.m., at which time my worthy jailers supposedly 'discovered' me, and, amid hypocritical exclamations of surprise and regret, they let me lie down on a mattress they procured by forcing another prisoner to stand up. They admonished me not to move from that spot all day. (I was feverish and had a swollen eye, so that they didn't want anyone to see me.)

"That day, as you might expect, they treated me well. On Sunday [June 13], while they were continuing the same treatment as the previous day (ravioli for lunch), I decided to try to escape that night. Thus, I managed to get my handcuffs off and climb out through a small window onto the surrounding rooftops.

"After spending the whole night in hiding, with a search going on for me since 2:00 a.m., when they discovered I was missing, I climbed down to the street."

This account is sufficient to indicate the methods utilized by the repressive forces against mass-struggle fighters who fall into their hands. The apologists for bourgeois justice, those who say they are defending human civilization against the supposed anarchic threat posed by the people's armed organizations, are the same people who cover up for the torturers and give them support. Against them there is arising a truly humane ethic, suggested by the exemplary conduct of the mass fighters who are prepared to make any sacrifice for the cause of the working class and the people.

Onward to win or die for Argentina!
Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP)

Shah Gives Zionists a Hand

Fateh Defends Iranian Political Prisoners

The Palestinian resistance organization Fateh has charged that several of the thirty-seven Iranian political prisoners now facing possible death sentences before the shah's courts are fighters in the resistance movement. They were arrested, Fateh said, when they returned to Iran to visit their families.

In a September 30 statement that was published in *Bakhtar Emrooz*, the journal of the Middle East section of the Iranian National Front,

Fateh declared that the charges of conspiracy and treason leveled against the prisoners by the shah's regime are false. It charged that the prisoners are in fact being punished for their active solidarity with the Palestinian revolution.

Since the publication of this statement, the controlled press in Iran has taken to criticizing Fateh, condemning it as "ungrateful" for the "help" that has supposedly been provided by the shah. □

The Socialist Party Gets Its Absolute Majority

[The following article is reprinted from the October 15 issue of *Inprekorr*, a German-language information bulletin published by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Vienna

The previous elections, in the spring of 1970, began the climb of the SPOe [Sozialistische Partei Oesterreichs—Socialist party of Austria] to the position of the strongest party. It likewise began the decline of the OeVP [Oesterreichische Volkspartei—Austrian People's party, a Catholic party], the traditional bourgeois party. This process was confirmed and strengthened by the parliamentary elections on October 10.

The SPOe won ninety-three seats. Its share of the vote rose by 1.8 percent to 50.22 percent, thus giving it its goal of an absolute majority.

The OeVP lost votes, sinking to 43 percent of the total. In the campaign it was unable to rebuild its image, which has been one of a party dominated by internal clique battles, and its tired old antisocialist refrain had little effect.

The SPOe and Rationalization of Austrian Capitalism

This change in the political weight of the Social Democracy within the state was accompanied by a change in the relationship between the heads of industry and the leadership of the SPOe. Today this party has a specific function as ruling party in a bourgeois state. Austrian capitalism must be rationalized in order to remain competitive in view of the coming arrangement with the Common Market. This operation requires that the working class, which will have to pay for it, be integrated as much as possible into the bourgeois state.

In order to make the Austrian economy "ready for Europe," its often archaic structures must be broken. In many branches of the economy, the

organic composition of capital is still very low, well beneath the European average. Labor productivity is consequently too low; small, even tiny enterprises predominate. Further economic concentration, massive planned investment to modernize the means of production, and an increase in the tempo of work are the capitalist cures for this situation.

To realize these plans, the bourgeoisie needs at the head of the state a party that fulfills two requirements. It must be independent of those bourgeois circles whose existence is threatened by rationalization, and it must seem to guarantee the complete integration of the working class into the capitalist state.

The OeVP does not fulfill these conditions. Its program has to take account of the least dynamic and most conservative sections of the bourgeoisie, the capitalists of the small and medium-small enterprises. At the same time, it is unable to guarantee discipline among the workers.

An SPOe government, on the other hand, can without difficulty carry out an economic program that satisfies the "modern" viewpoint. And for the capitalists it is the best assurance of the most loyal collaboration on the part of the union bureaucracy, insofar as this bureaucracy is able to turn the working class away from struggle in the factories.

Kreisky's Election Campaign

Since Bruno Kreisky became party chief and put the reform wing of the SPOe on ice, the industrialists' association has repaid him—much to the horror of the OeVP—with proclamations of neutrality or even cautious sympathy.

The collaborationist SPOe is also quite conscious of its role. Thus Kreisky explained in an interview last spring: "May Day represents the integration of the workers into the democratic state!"

As far as economic policy is concerned, the SPOe minority government proposed a ten-year investment pro-

gram, the goals of which were described in a campaign leaflet as:

- Encouragement of industrial investments.

- Creation of enterprises of a more suitable size.

- Continuation of attempts at greater concentration in the nationalized industries.

The overall goal of Kreisky's efforts is, again according to SPOe election propaganda, "to make Austria into a modern industrial state that is ready to be part of Europe."

In order to create the preconditions for realizing this program, prior to the elections the SPOe leadership prepared a small coalition with the FPOe [Freiheits Partei Oesterreichs—Freedom party of Austria], just in case the SPOe did not win sufficient seats to form a government on its own. The leadership made a deal behind the scenes with the second bourgeois party, the FPOe, without concern for the fact that this party—now trying to give itself a dynamic, modern bourgeois appearance—is the home for former Nazis and anti-Semites.

The Working Class and the Far Left

The most uncertain variables in this plan are the working class and the leftist youth vanguard. As far as the latter is concerned, it is still too weak and lacking in strategy to pose a real danger. Nevertheless, a speech by Defense Minister Lütgendorf to a military reunion this summer, in which he called for active resistance against "the radical minority that is directed from outside our borders," is a preview of how an SPOe government would react to a growth in the influence of radical groups.

The working class itself, in its overwhelming majority, is still under the influence of the social-partnership ideology preached by the bureaucracies of the SPOe and the unions. In addition, there is the charisma of Kreisky, who has convinced many workers that he will fulfill 100 years of Social Democratic hopes.

But despite this, among the ranks

in the factories there are signs of growing dissatisfaction, particularly with the high rate of inflation. (In September the consumer index was 5.3 percent higher than in September 1970.) In various shop committee elections, there have been occasional shifts in favor of the KPOe [Kommunistische Partei Oesterreichs—Communist party of Austria], which appears to many workers to be the only force to the left of the SPOe.

The union bureaucracy is now trying to co-opt this movement with demagogic demands for "participation in the factories" and "capital accumulation in the hands of the workers" (!). In the long run it is not likely to succeed. It is more probable that in the coming period there will be new labor struggles, even if at first they are of a purely economic character.

The Communist Party and 'Offensiv Links'

Once again, the Stalinist and reformist KPOe failed to achieve its election goal of a parliamentary seat from Vienna. (For this, 26,000 votes were needed. The party received 22,380 votes in Vienna, compared with 15,689 in the March 1970 election. Nationally, it received 60,705 votes, an increase from the previous total of 44,700.)

This failure represented shipwreck for the KPOe's thoroughly reformist strategy, which is illustrated by its campaign: "The SPOe has broken its promises. We are an 'SPOe' that keeps its promises."

A group farther to the left, Offensiv links [Left Offensive], campaigned only in Vienna and won 1,828 votes, which is not a great success. Within the left youth groups, the candidacy of Offensiv links gave rise to a vehement discussion of principles. In retrospect, this discussion can be described as the chief service of the candidacy.

The positions put forward in the discussion by the comrades of Offensiv links are for the most part insufficiently thought out and often false. But we accept the discussion and disagree with those who maintain that Offensiv links must be destroyed instead of carrying on discussion with the group behind it, the FOeJ [Freie Oesterreichische Jugend—Free Aus-

trian Youth, formerly the youth group of the Communist party, now independent].

The same people who took this attitude toward Offensiv links wanted to encourage votes for the KPOe because "in the consciousness of the workers, the KPOe is the only political force to the left of the SPOe." They forget that it is not a matter

Want End to 'Perpetual' Robbery

Panamanians Demand Return of Canal Zone

The U.S. government, under pressure from the Panamanian people, has indicated its willingness to return some of the land it stole from Panama in 1903. A treaty signed that year ceded *de facto* sovereignty of a 500-square-mile strip, the Canal Zone, to the United States "in perpetuity." The rental price of the zone was \$10,000,000 down and \$250,000 per year—not a bad bargain, since the canal now brings in revenues amounting to about \$100,000,000 a year.

The zone includes two of Panama's most valuable ports, Bilbao on the Pacific and Colón on the Atlantic. Inhabited by 40,000 U.S. military personnel, canal workers, and their dependents, it is a strip of affluence in an otherwise poverty-stricken country.

For years it has been the scene of mass demonstrations by Panamanians seeking to regain control of the territory, if not the canal itself. In 1964, twenty-two Panamanians were killed by U.S. forces during one such protest.

Since last June, U.S. and Panamanian negotiators have been working on a new agreement to replace the 1903 giveaway. According to the October 23 *Christian Science Monitor*, agreement on the following points has been tentatively reached:

- Jurisdiction over the canal and the zone surrounding it will be ceded to Panama.

- The "in perpetuity" provision will be deleted from future accords on the operation of the canal.

- Actual control of the canal and responsibility for its military "defense" will remain in U.S. hands.

- Panama will receive a percentage of the canal's operating revenues.

of strengthening any force that happens to be to the left of the SPOe, but of building a revolutionary organization independent of Stalinist or any other revisionist ballast. The road to this goal certainly does not run through the KPOe, but through a serious discussion among all the groups to the left of the SPOe and KPOe, including Offensiv links. □

Still at issue are the questions of the exact amount Panama will receive from canal tolls and the number of U.S. military personnel considered necessary to "protect" the canal. The United States maintains a training school in the zone for Latin American soldiers. Besides preparing "gorilla" armies to fight against guerrilla forces, it has also served as a training site for Vietnam-bound U.S. troops. Consequently, there is strong pressure from Panamanians and other Latin Americans to remove the school.

An October 11 speech by Panamanian chief of state General Omar Torrijos Herrera to a crowd of 200,000 in Panama City reflected the sentiment of the country's population. If the negotiations fall through, he said, he himself "will be right at your side and the 6,000 rifles of the National Guard will be there to defend the integrity and dignity of this people." □

Telling It Like It Is . . . Was . . . Might Be

The Chinese revolution used to be this important, according to the 1969 edition of the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*:

"In its importance and influence on the destinies of humanity, the Chinese revolution occupies second place after the October revolution in the history of the world liberation movement."

Reality has changed in the intervening two years, and the latest edition demotes the Chinese revolution to an event that dealt "a powerful blow to capitalism, especially to its colonialist system, and still further changed the relationship of forces on the world arena to the benefit of socialism."

And if Mao's not careful, the next edition may criticize him for sabotaging the alliance with "national" bourgeois Chiang Kai-shek.

One Year of the Unidad Popular

[We have translated the following article from the October 8 issue of *La Gauche*, a weekly magazine published in Brussels by the Ligue Révolutionnaire des Travailleurs (Revolutionary Workers League), Belgian section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

It has been a year now since the election of Salvador Allende as president of Chile, on September 4, 1970. This period, although short, is rich enough in experience to allow us to draw up a necessarily tentative, yet essential balance sheet.

The recent Bolivian events, the hardening of the stance of the governments of Brazil and Uruguay towards Chile, the campaign unleashed by the U. S. press—leading up to the tense discussions over compensation for the copper mine nationalizations—these are but the most obvious elements of a situation that is proving to be an ever growing threat to the "Chilean experience."

The Allende government is striving to put its program into practice—"the first step towards the construction of socialism," the regime calls it. "A Chilean socialism," President Allende hastens to add.

The economic program of Unidad Popular¹ envisions the creation of three forms of corporate ownership: private, mixed, and state-owned.

The relative share of the economy to be operated under each of the three forms of ownership has not yet been spelled out. At present, the state-owned sector, nucleus of the future socialized economy, comprises a "nationalized" half of the banking industry, a few "expropriated" textile and food industries, and the iron and saltpeter deposits—as well as the copper mines, which will be "nationalized" as soon as the compensation rates for the North American corporations are set.

Concerning the private sector, the government has launched the "battle for production," which seeks to encourage workers to increase production ("for the people's government and nation"), and has advised the owners to run their factories at full capacity so as to reap "normal" profits in spite of the salary raises and price freeze. Here is Allende's description of the process:

"... The firm should absorb the wage increases. . . . The profits per unit of production will decline, but this decline can be offset by producing a larger number of units, by using installations that are currently operating below capacity. . . ." (He argued thus, like a good bourgeois economist, last February 4.)

1. Unidad Popular (UP—People's Unity) is the government coalition made up by the Socialist, Communist, Radical, and Social Democratic parties, the Movement for Unified People's Action (Movimiento de Accion Popular Unitaria—MAPU), and Independent People's Action (Accion Popular Independiente—API). The character of the UP coalition is discussed below in more detail. See also *Intercontinental Press*, May 10, p. 432.—IP

This battle for production is running into obstacles, as the capitalists don't always see eye to eye with the "people's" government, and the workers have been asking themselves the following questions: Can such agreements be made with the same bosses who are mixed up in rightist plots for a coup d'état? And why don't we take control of operations for ourselves?

Here, for example, are the words of the workers at a steel cable factory: "In the present situation, we are willing to increase production, on condition that it be clearly established that control over production is exercised by the workers and not by the bosses."

"Produce more, but under workers' control!" This was the slogan of those striking workers, a slogan that is beginning to spread among the most militant sectors of the working class.

Up until now, the government has intervened in the labor disputes in two ways:

- When the bosses openly abstain from producing, and a factory is in bankruptcy, the government "expropriates" the industry and puts it under state control.

- In other cases compromise formulas are worked out that don't satisfy the aspirations of the workers, who demand expropriation. All of this is couched in abstractions such as "the national interest," and the like.

It is in the countryside that the government has encountered the greatest difficulties in applying its program, which is limited in this area to the agrarian reform law promulgated by the Frei regime. The boycott and active resistance offered by the big landowners to government agents responsible for carrying out the expropriations have given rise to unrest among the agricultural smallholders, workers, and unemployed, who have responded with a wave of "illegal" land occupations. These actions have laid bare the limitations and inadequacy of the measures provided for by the law, to which the government agents strictly adhere.

The timeliness and effectiveness of the organizational and agitational work carried out by the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left] among the peasants have turned these actions into an example that is spreading, like an oil slick, from the south towards the center and north of the country.

What has been the official response to the problem of the "tomas de tierra" [land seizures]? Let us give the floor to a peasant leader from Linares province, who at a public meeting addressed Allende as follows:

"Comrade President, we don't want to provoke clashes. What we are interested in is production, particularly on the plots smaller than 80 hectares [one hectare equals 2.47 acres] not covered by the agrarian reform law, where cases of abandonment, poor utilization, and violation of social legislation are most common. This forces us to occupy the lands in order to increase production."

Allende's answer: "We are not in a position to expropriate all landholdings. Besides, there are many propri-

etors with no other means of subsistence. Beyond that, occupations of land pose a threat to property rights."

Allende went on to ask, "Are you a member of UP?"

"I am a sympathizer," replied the peasant.

"There you are," Allende continued, "you are under no obligations. But I have to confine myself to the UP program. I remind you that the question of land expropriations had not been raised for twenty years. This time, you are fortunate in that there is no repression."

On his part, the minister of the interior stated in a communiqué published last February 13:

"The government has confidence in the good intentions of Chilean workers and peasants. This is why it has not unleashed repressive action, which is by no means a sign of weakness."

The Communist party's general secretary, Luis Corvalán, declared in his turn on February 17: "We do not approve of land occupations because we have an obligation to the country, and because we are going to carry out agricultural development within the limits of the law."

On April 21, Carlos Altamirano, the Socialist party's general secretary, declared: "We must put a stop to the boundless, opportunist demands, to the unofficial occupations of lands and factories."

We shall give the final word to the MIR, through one of its leaders, Nelson Gutiérrez, who stated on May 30:

"To limit peasant activity to the letter of the present agrarian reform law signifies abandoning the mobilization of the most important sector of the peasantry and the agrarian proletariat. In fact, it signifies the fragmentation of the peasant movement and the weakening of the entire process. . . . The conflict is reaching the most important urban industrial centers, and the workers are insisting with growing firmness on the need to extend the expropriation process to industry by developing workers' control over production."

The Crisis in the Government Parties

UP's basically equivocal and vacillating character is shared by its component parties and movements.

The April municipal elections showed strikingly the real weight of the parties belonging to the coalition, which won 49.73 percent of the votes cast, plus 1.05 percent from the Socialist People's Union [Unión Socialista Popular], a group outside of UP which gave it critical support.

The percentage breakdown was as follows: Socialist party, 22.89%; Communist party, 17.36%; Radical party, 8.18%; Social Democratic party, 1.38%. (The MAPU did not run any candidates.) The Radical ministers, confronted with these results signaling a spectacular decline of their party, immediately offered their resignations, which were rejected by Allende.

But the full impact of the April elections was not felt until August, when the polarization reflected by the gains of the traditional workers' parties and the conservative National party, and by the repercussions inside the petty-bourgeois UP parties, became fully apparent.

The Radical party, which wound up its twenty-fifth convention on August 31, adopted political resolutions in which it described itself as socialist and revolutionary, acknowledged the class struggle and historical materialism, and called on the workers, peasants, and students to join its ranks.

This stance provoked a split by an important group

of parliamentarians—five senators and seven deputies, among them Baltra, a possible contender for the head of the next UP electoral slate—who formed a new group, the Independent Radical Movement [Movimiento Radical Independiente—MRI]. Despite efforts by Allende to reunify the Radical party, the split was formalized. The new grouping continued to support the government while making important reservations about possible excessive measures the latter might undertake in the future.

Simultaneously, the Christian Democratic party (which lost 100,000 votes between September 1970 and April 1971) underwent its second split in two years.² Once again, a "left wing" seeks to collaborate with UP. And this time it was MAPU that lost the bulk of its top leaders, including Agriculture Minister Jacques Chonchol, who rallied to the new Christian Left [Izquierda Cristiana] movement, which was due to hold its founding congress in October.

The arguments given by Chonchol and his friends to justify their departure were spelled out in a letter to the MAPU general secretary, in which they said they were joining the Christian Left because they supported the "humanistic and Christian values" it embodies, and not the Marxist-Leninist positions allegedly adopted by the existing MAPU leadership. Allende retained Chonchol in his cabinet post even though he was no longer part of UP. MAPU still has two cabinet members of its own, however, in the ministries of Health and Family Affairs.

The revolutionary left has seized upon the maneuvering room opened up by the UP victory to strengthen its position and to carry out intense organizational activity among the masses of students, peasants, and workers. This work is moving ahead despite the tensions between MIR and UP. The hostility that surrounded their relations prior to the elections subsided following the efficient performance of the MIR security apparatus in detecting the activities of networks of conspirators who were preparing a coup d'état, which culminated in the assassination of General Schneider.³

A month later, during elections in the Santiago University Student Federation, the MIR decided to support the UP candidate, in light of an alliance between the National and Christian Democratic parties which threatened to take over this important organ of agitation within the university.

At the beginning of December, the focus shifted to Concepción University (an important center in southern Chile), where MIR had held a majority for three years. The CP refused to support an MIR candidate. The electoral campaign thus became a dangerous arena of confrontation within the left, marked by provocations initiated by the Communist Youth. The tragic outcome of this campaign was the gunshot death of one student and the serious wounding of another, both of them members of MIR.

These events left public opinion in a daze, and furnished the right with invaluable ammunition for launching an offensive against the government. The gravity of the situa-

2. The earlier split in the Christian Democratic party led to the formation of MAPU by the party's left-leaning minority, including a large share of the party youth. — *IP*

3. General Rene Schneider, commander in chief of the Chilean army, was gunned down October 22, 1970. It is widely believed that the assassins were right-wing terrorists operating under the direction of the U. S. Central Intelligence Agency. — *IP*

tion forced the CP leaders to make a public self-criticism, acknowledging MIR as a group that is also struggling for socialism, and with which it disagrees mainly over tactics, etc.

Thus the MIR appeared for the first time to the CP rank and file not as "allies of the bourgeoisie in the pay of imperialism," but as revolutionists.

The rural agitation of January and February and the penetration of MIR slogans within the ranks of the workers provoked violent disagreements with the CP, but the latter could no longer indulge in its traditional, antiquated arguments.

The funeral services for one of MIR's most important leaders, Luciano Cruz, who died in an accident on August 14, provided the occasion for a gathering of over 30,000 people in the capital city—refuting those who predicted that MIR would disappear if it didn't join the ranks of UP.

The Role of the Army

The transformation of a prerevolutionary situation such as Chile is experiencing into a resolute struggle for power must be accompanied by the military organization of the workers. On this question, so essential to the triumph of the revolutionary forces, UP is content to avoid the issue by openly opposing the creation of people's militias, and by expressing confidence in the bourgeois army.

The government seizes every opportunity to praise the army for its "professionalism" and "patriotism," while calling upon it to defend Chile's "economic frontiers." In short, it perpetuates the mystique of the army's loyalty to the "people's government."

This supposed loyalty has never prevented the army from firing on its own people. In 1907, more than 2,000 workers, women, and children were massacred at Santa Maria School in Iquique. In 1921, 130 died in the north in the San Gregorio saltpetre mines. On April 2, 1957, many demonstrators, students, and workers were killed in the streets of Santiago. On March 11, 1966, eight died and sixty were wounded in Salvador's copper mines.

As the venerable labor leader Clotario Blest—whose memory is keener than that of other "representatives of the workers' interests"—recalls, "these are but a few of the aggressions perpetrated by the army against Chilean workers."

The revolutionary left, meanwhile, is engaging in penetrating the army's lower echelons, and has been involved for some time in creating a military infrastructure on various fronts.

But the right is more advanced in this arena. Beyond the proliferation of fascist groups such as "Patria y Libertad" [Fatherland and Freedom], "Grupo Anticomunista" [GRACO—Anticommunist Group], "NECH" [We Won't Sell Out Chile], etc., the assassination of General Schneider and its repercussions show clearly that the right is not wasting time and that it has great influence within the top ranks of the army—an influence that is hardly a new phenomenon.

Capitalism can only be abolished through a socialist revolution. This time-tested axiom of Marxism is being forgotten by certain leaders. But the Bolivian masses remembered it recently when they told Torres, "national-

ism no, socialism yes," and "enough of promises, we want arms."

In Chile, some sectors of the urban and agricultural proletariat, led by their vanguards, are confronting the same problem. Thus we see factory workers counterpoising workers' control to the "participation" offered by the government, and peasants countering rightist sabotage and government vacillations with their own mobilizations under the slogan of "Pan, Tierra, y Socialismo" [Bread, Land, and Socialism].

The Bolivian experience provides a clear-cut lesson concerning the arming of the workers. As long as they are denied arms, as long as measures that strike seriously at the bourgeoisie's interests are not accompanied by the systematic mobilization and arming of the workers, aren't all such measures merely pious promises, or in reality pure and simple treachery?

Here once again, the history of the labor movement shows us the efforts made by the Social Democracy to keep the proletariat bottled up by "patriotic" compromises that benefit only the bourgeoisie. Allende, and with him the Socialist and Communist parties, are simply binding the proletariat's hands and feet while giving a dangerously free hand to reaction, which has already demonstrated its capabilities in Bolivia, in the Sudan, and long before that, in Indonesia.

The Chilean revolutionists have before them an extremely difficult and urgent task: to put the workers, peasants, and students into motion towards the socialist revolution, unmasking the fraud of "the Chilean path to socialism" being perpetrated by the Social Democrats and their Stalinist allies. They will thereby join in the struggle of revolutionaries throughout the world, reinforcing it while learning from its previous experiences.

* * *

Let us return to recent developments. How are we to assess the just-announced measures nationalizing the copper mines, with compensation? It must first be noted that the amount of compensation was to have been set October 14 by the national comptroller's office (Contraloría General de la República), a most reactionary organ, which has come out against state intervention in textile enterprises and in favor of returning the factories to their owners.

We have already learned that a contract has been signed providing that the supply and maintenance of operating equipment will be granted exclusively to Cerro Sales, a company that is nothing but a subsidiary of the Cerro Corporation, the American parent company.

The contract involves a minimum monthly payment of \$50,000, and stipulates that in case of conflict, disputes will be referred to the jurisdiction of the State of New York and dealt with according to the procedures of the American Arbitration Association! □

Because They're Communist Goats?

The Chinese government is trading 10,000 sheep and goats to Nepal in exchange for chili spice and wheat flour. Associated Press reported that the animals would be slaughtered in a religious festival in which they represent evil.

The Pews and Kelloggs Become Reformers

By Dick Roberts

It's a bit precious but nevertheless underlines a point. For several years now, efforts have been under way in the U. S. Congress to modify the tax rates paid by foundations.

These foundations—the Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, etc.—are well known for the token educational and research projects they finance all over the world. What is not so well known is that the annual gifts of the foundations, based on their dividend and interest income from assets held, are usually only a fraction of this income. In fact the foundations serve as important links in the chains of banks, brokerage houses, and holding companies through which the ruling class maintains its tight ownership of corporate institutions.

Many of the assets held by these foundations pay low-rate dividends and interest—or none at all. One could easily wonder why a "charitable institution" holds securities that yield no income!

Finally in 1969 a tax-reform law was squeezed through Congress that requires the foundations (by 1975!) to disburse at least 6 percent of their asset value in annual gifts. On the face of it, it is some improvement, because the law is at least based on total asset value and not on income.

But even this minimal 6 percent law was too much for some families. Recently the Pew family of Philadelphia, owners of the giant Sun Oil Company, and the Kellogg family of Battle Creek, Michigan, owners of the multinational cereal chain, have lobbied to reform the reform.

(The Pew family has a fortune of nearly \$1,000,000,000, the *New York Times* revealed October 10. Its holdings in Sun Oil, 42 percent of the stock of the company, are worth about \$750,000,000. The Pew foundation holds roughly \$450,000,000 worth of this stock.)

The Pews and the Kelloggs argue that the 6 percent law is unfair because the dividends on Sun Oil and Kellogg held by their respective foundations don't come up to 6 percent of the value of these securities. In fact

most dividends paid by U. S. corporations don't come to 6 percent. The ruling class is more interested in spending profits on expansion than on dividends.

Thus, at any rate, the Pew and Kellogg foundations—whose holdings are mainly in Sun Oil and Kellogg stock—would be "unfairly" penalized by the 6 percent law because in order to meet it these foundations would have to cut into *principal*, violating one of the most hallowed commandments of bourgeois family tradition.

The result so far is the proposal of a new tax-reform law which bases the

REVIEWS

Black History Deserves Better

From Reconstruction to Revolution: The Blacks' Struggle for Equality by Joseph A. Alvarez. Atheneum, New York, N. Y. 216 pp. \$6.50. 1971.

"This book," says the jacket flap, "traces the black man's struggle for equality in America, a struggle in which Appomattox was the first step in a journey yet unfinished."

One can grant that author Alvarez is not responsible for the blurb-writer's peculiar notion that the "first step" in the struggle of Black men and women for their liberation occurred in 1865. But the error seems unfortunately characteristic of the slipshod quality of the whole book.

The problem is not that Alvarez makes factual errors, but that he is superficial and incomplete. The two chapters on the reconstruction era following the U. S. civil war are perhaps the worst in this respect.

The manner in which Blacks gained and exercised a short-lived political power during this period is too little known in the United States. Alvarez, unfortunately, does nothing to clear

6 percent limit, not on the current asset value of the holdings, but on their original purchase cost, which could be only a fraction of the current value since these stocks were "purchased" by the foundations decades ago in most cases.

Here is a point for Havana: When Fidel first nationalized U. S. corporations in Cuba, he promised to pay for them on the basis of their stated tax value. But the American ruling class was up in arms! Why, everybody knows that the value of corporations is much greater than the declared tax value.

Now the same ruling class is trying to make it U. S. tax law to allow foundations to base their asset value not even on the current face-value of securities but on original costs. Can one imagine what the reaction to Fidel's proposal would have been if he promised to pay the Rockefellers on the basis of *original costs*? □

away the ignorance. His treatment of the period is confined largely to a not very profound description of the legislation enacted by white radical Republicans. This is topped off with the hardly illuminating observation that some of the Blacks elected to office in the South did a good job, some a poor one, and some were just mediocre.

Alvarez's treatment of his subject seldom rises very much above this level. Phrases like "there were" and "it was" introduce most of his descriptions of events—the events just happen instead of being caused by social forces, by events in other parts of the world, or by any other discernible agent.

The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, in Alvarez's presentation, follows the 1963 March on Washington and the assassination of John Kennedy. Does this mean that Alvarez regards Lyndon Johnson as responsible for its enactment? Or Martin Luther King Jr.? Or someone or something else entirely? The readers are left to figure it out for themselves.

On those occasions when Alvarez

does attempt to relate one event to another, the effect is often almost embarrassing. It is true, for example, that one of the consequences of the 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation was that even the most deliberately blind white could no longer pretend that Blacks were content with the discrimination imposed on them. But here is Alvarez's description:

"First, the decision awakened northern public opinion to the existence of racism. Since reconstruction, blacks had been 'invisible' outside the South.

Black Power in Britain

Destroy This Temple: The Voice of Black Power in Britain by Obi Egbuna. William Morrow & Company, New York, N.Y. 157 pp. \$5.95. 1971.

On December 11, 1968, an all-white jury in London convicted Nigerian novelist and playwright Obi Egbuna of "maliciously uttering a writing threatening to murder police officers in Hyde Park." The fact that the "threat" was part of a novel on which Egbuna was working at the time was carefully obscured by the police who framed the case and was considered of little relevance by the jury, which was given to understand that it was defending Anglo-Saxon society from a dangerous Black Power revolutionist.

Fortunately for Egbuna, the Black Panther party, of which he was chairman, had succeeded in publicizing the case, which was also taken up by various leftist and civil liberties groups. Egbuna was given a suspended sentence. (He had already been held without bail in Brixton prison since July.)

Several of the seven essays (eight, if you count the lengthy introduction) in this book were begun while Egbuna was in jail. Any one of them would be sufficient to explain the panicky reaction of Britain's white establishment.

Whether he is discussing the Nigerian civil war, Enoch Powell, the treatment of Black prisoners in England, or "intrapersonal colonialism," Egbuna knows how to cut through the sham and pretense of capitalist so-

'They were down South somewhere, or over on the other side of the city, buried,' one northerner admitted."

Such examples are typical and could be multiplied. It is characteristic of the level of this book that the inane remark of one anonymous white Northerner is somehow more important in the development of the Black liberation movement than the influence of the African independence movements or the Cuban revolution—neither of which Alvarez even mentions.

—David Burton

ciety to expose the real face of imperialism. His essays are a powerful declaration of war against oppression and the system that creates it.

Revolutionary socialists will find points with which they disagree, such as Egbuna's apparent belief in the possibility of achieving socialism by means of military *coup d'état*, but these do not obscure the insights into the revolutionary thrust of the nationalism of the oppressed.

In particular, Egbuna's book ought to be required reading for those sectarian left groups that see in Black nationalism a devious ruling-class tool for "dividing" the working class.

"Yet the White 'Marxists,'" he writes in the essay that provides the title for the book, "with their usual presumption that only they have read Marx, persist in deriding Black Power as narrow, nationalistic, and un-Marxian. . . . Even though the White worker has gone Powellist, anti-Black, pro-establishment, reactionary and conservative, the so-called White marxists expect me to wait arm-folded like a good boy until the White worker in the industrial West stops killing me in Vietnam and decides to lead me, in accordance with the decree of Marx, to make world revolution."

"I fail to understand," he adds, "how Marx, who has stated unequivocally that 'Labour cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded,' could have instructed his 'orthodox' followers to raise revolutionary protests when branded-black labour wants to emancipate itself."

—David Burton

For Opposing World War II

Life Sentence to a Mental Hospital

The practice of confining political dissidents in mental institutions is not limited to the Soviet Union. A pioneering effort in this field occurred in the United States, according to an article by Sandy Grady in the October issue of *Ebony*.

Grady describes the case of George Elder, a Black pacifist who has been confined in a Pennsylvania mental hospital known as Byberry since 1942.

Elder was arrested by chance as he walked along a country road in July 1942. When it was discovered that he had an out-of-date draft registration card, he was charged with violating the draft laws.

"I thought I was too old for the draft at 35," Elder says. "Anyway, I wasn't going to the Army. I was a pacifist. The police took me to Philadelphia. . . . When I got up before the judge, I was pretty upset. I just told him the truth. I said I didn't want to go fight—that it was Roosevelt's war. I said I was a pacifist who hated guns and wars. I was a conscientious objector and wouldn't shoot anybody. And I didn't want to fight for a country that treated Indians and black men like America. I told the judge the U.S. owed me \$346 for my Indian rights. [Some of Elder's ancestors were Cherokee Indians.] He got angry at that. He sent me to Philadelphia General Hospital. Two doctors talked to me. Next thing I knew, I was being sent to Byberry. . . ."

Elder was committed on the authority of two psychiatrists, who after a brief interview diagnosed him as a paranoid schizophrenic. A month later, his "illness" was diagnosed as dementia praecox. After that, he was largely ignored by the Byberry staff.

In August 1970, George Elder was discharged into the North Philadelphia ghetto. Five months later, he was back in Byberry. After twenty-eight years in the institution, he was unable to adjust to the outside world. Now sixty-four years old, George Elder will probably live out what remains of his life in the hospital.

"George Elder was ahead of his time," a Byberry psychiatrist told Grady. "Today he'd be on TV carrying an anti-war placard. But 30 years ago he was different—so they said he was insane." □

Available in First Class and Economy

A report recently released by the United State Public Health Service discloses that since January 1970 there have been at least eleven incidents of airline passengers being afflicted with food poisoning caused by the meals they are served in flight. In an interview, the president of the Air Transport Association responded that food poisoning "has never been a problem for us, but we'll look into it."