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U.S. OUT NOW!



Anti-Vietnam war demonstration of 10,000 in Copenhagen December 23. Slogans on banners and placards included "U.S. Out Now!" "Sign Now!" "Stop the Madman!" "Unconditional Solidarity With the Indochinese People!" and "Fight Imperialism!"

A Tip on the Horses

The January 15 *Wall Street Journal* reports that what is believed to be the first company of its kind is offering 187,800 common shares at \$2.75 each in a "thoroughbred race horse breeding operation." With the money, Nationwide Thoroughbreds, Inc., will "purchase broodmares, mate them with stallions and board and feed the mares while nature takes its course."

Joe Cascarella, the head of the firm, sees a great future: "We have brought the public—the ordinary racing fan—into what many consider to be the most satisfying facet of our great sport—the breeding of winners. This used to be strictly for rich men, but why should they have all the fun?"

Of course, there are risks. Mares don't conceive every year. It takes eleven months to foal. The colts are subject "to a variety of pre-natal and post-natal ailments or accidents that can preclude their sale." There is no genetic guarantee that any of the offspring will be winners.

Other difficulties: Top quality mares are hard to get. The best stallions are owned by syndicates. "Outsiders" are barred from utilizing their services.

Nonetheless Cascarella exudes confidence. "There are plenty of very nice mares available in the \$50,000 to \$75,000 price range, and we intend to use most of the proceeds from our sale of stock to buy five or six of these. We figure on paying stallion fees of \$7,500 to \$10,000. We can't get the best stallions for that money, but we should get some good ones."

They might even decide to race their own horses. It costs only about \$10,000 a year to keep a thoroughbred in training. An average of one out of five pays that back in winnings.

Low chances for an immediate profit do not deter Cascarella. "We are in it for the long haul."

As for the chanciness: "Listen, this thing is a gamble, but then we all gamble. We were meant to be gamblers. All of the progress in the world has been made by people who have had the guts to take a risk. We are in the great tradition of American free enterprise!" □

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Nixon Official Won't Rule Out A-Bomb Use

By Jon Rothschild

As chairman of a Dallas-based construction company that operates in the oil industry, William P. Clements Jr. fulfills all the requirements to be U. S. deputy secretary of defense, a post to which he has been nominated by Nixon. On January 11, the Senate held a hearing to question Clements about his views on military policy.

"Would you recommend the use of nuclear weapons over North Vietnam if no agreement is reached?" asked Senator Harold Hughes.

"I would have to study the answer to that," he replied. "I would not say I either would not or would."

Hughes pursued the issue, asking Clements if he would rule out the use of nuclear weapons. "No, sir," said Clements. "I would not eliminate it. That is not to say I would be in favor of it either." Elaborating later on, Clements explained that the use of nuclear weapons depended on a "time frame," on where, when, and against whom they were to be used.

Reaction to Clements's testimony came quickly. The Paris daily *Le Monde* called upon European governments to declare their refusal "to follow the United States any longer on the path of crime and madness." Walter Bargatzky, head of the West German Red Cross, held a news conference in which he expressed fear that even if the U. S. government did not at present intend to drop atomic bombs, Clements's statement might "later be viewed as moral justification for such acts."

Nixon hastened to take his distance from the position Clements had blurted out. White House Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler said that Nixon "has made clear that nuclear weapons were not one of the contingent elements he would use in relation to Vietnam."

The government's denial was less than reassuring. The January 13 *New York Times* described a press conference held by Jerry Friedheim, the Pentagon spokesman who was in charge of lying to the press during the December raids on Hanoi and Haiphong. At first, Friedheim "avoid-

ed a direct answer to questions about Mr. Clements's statement, but then an aide handed him a note from Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird, which he read: 'Secretary Laird recalls for you that he has said before that he would not recommend the use of nuclear weapons in Southeast Asia.'

"Apparently, Mr. Laird had been listening in on the briefing."

The sequence is clear. Friedheim once again drew the assignment of dissembling; Laird waited in the wings to see whether Friedheim could bring it off. When the flunkey got in trouble, the boss intervened to bail him out.

Even before Clements's remarks were made, the possibility of a U. S. nuclear attack on North Vietnam had been coming up for consideration in the capitalist press. That such an attack would be consistent with Nixon's broader Vietnam policy was acknowledged by both supporters and opponents of the war. From some quarters there were veiled suggestions that the atomic bomb might be just what Nixon needs to assure the place in history he covets.

In the January 6 *Washington Post*, columnist Kenneth Crawford lamented the "skill" with which Hanoi had "played on America's humane impulses" during the December bombing. Crawford noted that "Nixon apparently felt that he could ride out the storm in silence," and he urged the commander in chief to recall the man for whom the United States is currently in official mourning:

"He [Nixon] might have noticed that when former President Harry S. Truman died what was remembered was his courage. What was not remembered, or at least not emphasized, was that one of the manifestations of his courage was the atom bombing of two Japanese cities."

'Ordinary' Bombing Continues

Nixon's nuclear threats received wide attention in the Western press.

What was less vigorously publicized was the level of military aggression under way despite the official halt in raids north of the twentieth parallel. On January 9, according to the January 11 *Christian Science Monitor*, sixteen B-52 bomber missions were flown against the Kontum region in South Vietnam's Central Highlands. It was the heaviest American air assault on that area since the beginning of the liberation forces' spring offensive last year.

The following day, there were no B-52 strikes in the area. A U. S. command spokesman explained that there simply were no more available targets.

In North Vietnam, B-52 raids on the four provinces south of the twentieth parallel have continued. The North Vietnamese Foreign Ministry has charged that "carpet bombing" is being conducted in the region and that U. S. reconnaissance flights are going on above the twentieth parallel "in preparation for new acts of war" against Hanoi and Haiphong.

On January 9 Pentagon officials admitted that U. S. planes had been granted permission to cross the twentieth parallel in pursuit of North Vietnamese jets interfering with B-52s. There are indications that the policy of "hot pursuit" may be broadly interpreted. The January 10 *New York Times* reported that the Defense Department and White House "tried to de-emphasize reports circulated in Saigon today [January 9] that President Nixon had issued special authority for American pilots to attack enemy planes or air defense sites north of the 20th parallel that they believed threatened American bombers south of that line."

Nixon's press secretary, Ronald Ziegler, explained that U. S. planes had the right to defend themselves, and Jerry ("Credibility Gap") Friedheim would say only that no "offensive" operations had been conducted north of the twentieth parallel.

Brezhnev to the Rescue

On the same day that Clements was explaining to the Senate his refusal to exclude the possibility of dropping atomic bombs on Hanoi, Soviet Communist party General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev once again came to Nixon's diplomatic assistance. Brezhnev had gone to an airport near Minsk to greet Georges Pompidou, who had scheduled a visit to the Soviet Union in an attempt to bolster Gaullist electoral prospects against the Communist party-Socialist party coalition in France.

While waiting for his guest to arrive, Brezhnev held an "impromptu" news conference. "The Vietnam affair [sic]," he said, "is drawing little by little to its conclusion." Why? "From the moment that talks begin it means the two sides are determined to settle the affair peacefully."

Brezhnev's implication that both the U.S. imperialists and the Vietnamese liberation forces had jettisoned their respective and presumably equal determination to settle the "affair" through violence sharply contrasted with the views expressed by the North Vietnamese Communist party newspaper, *Nhan Dan*.

Vietnamese Appeal for More Help

On January 8 the paper noted: "There is no indication that the negotiations may achieve results. . . . The peace treaty mutually agreed upon on October 20 last year may be concluded if the U.S. aggressors give up their colonialist design, but if they remain bellicose and obstinate, the Vietnamese people will resolutely persist in and step up their fight until they win back their sacred national rights."

Nhan Dan also appealed for increased military and economic support from Moscow and Peking and, in a veiled slap at the Chinese and Soviet bureaucracies, singled out for special thanks the aid provided North Vietnam by Hungary, which had concluded an assistance agreement with Hanoi on January 5.

Behind U.S. military threats and the North Vietnamese appeals for more help from their "allies," secret negotiations between Henry Kissinger and Le Duc Tho went on in Paris. The two met for a total of more than



Part of crowd at December 23 demonstration in Copenhagen against U.S. terror bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong. On January 10 North Vietnamese CP newspaper *Nhan Dan* gave special thanks to Scandinavian countries' reaction to U.S. raids. *Nhan Dan* said Scandinavians had shown "a brilliant example of international solidarity, and of the vigilance and determination of the peoples against American imperialism, mankind's most ferocious enemy."

thirty-five hours of talks over a six-day period beginning January 8. When Kissinger flew back to Washington on January 13, he told reporters that the sessions had been "very extensive, very useful."

The North Vietnamese delegation issued a brief statement January 13 asserting that the talks "have made progress"—an unusual comment that may have been designed to stay Nixon's hand militarily. Le Duc Tho remained in Paris after Kissinger left;

this was taken by some observers as an indication that Kissinger might soon return for another round.

Both sides refused comment on the subject of the negotiations. But most reports suggested that the major point of contention remained Nixon's insistence that the North Vietnamese accede to his war aims by recognizing the legality of the Thieu regime and its claim to sovereignty over all South Vietnam. □

Australian Dockers End Boycott of U.S.

The Australian maritime union that had declared a boycott of U.S. ships to protest the bombing of North Vietnam lifted the boycott on January 9. The decision was taken after union meetings in state capitals throughout Australia.

Union President Elliot V. Elliott said the boycott had been called off at the request of the leadership of the Australian Council of Trades Unions (ACTU), but he reiterated the members' right to call similar actions in the future. He said the boycott had been worthwhile because of its international impact.

It would not be surprising if Prime Min-

ister Gough Whitlam turned out to be the prime mover in the pressure brought on the dockers by the ACTU. In a January 9 news conference Whitlam explicitly dissociated himself from the boycott and from anti-Nixon statements that had been made by members of his cabinet. He said that in the future foreign policy statements would be made only by himself in his capacity as foreign minister, a post he holds concurrently with the prime ministership.

But the obviously dominant antiwar sentiments of the Australian population stopped Whitlam short of retracting his criticism of the bombing.

Massive Antiwar Petition Drive in Sweden

By David Thorstad

A vast anti-Vietnam war petition campaign is under way in Sweden. The decision to launch the campaign was made at the end of December by the five parties with members in the Riksdag (parliament). These are the Social Democratic Workers party, the Center party, the People's party, the Moderate Coalition party, and the Left party of Communists. It is scheduled to conclude on February 1.

The petition, which was drawn up in response to the December bombings of North Vietnam, calls for an "immediate halt to the bombings of Vietnam" and urges "all contending parties to sign a peace agreement based on the principles that the U. S. A. and North Vietnam indicated they had reached agreement on in October."

The five parties call on "all trade-union, political, religious, and other idealistic organizations to actively participate in carrying out this national demonstration for peace and independence in Vietnam."

Petitions with space for signatures totaling twice the Swedish population have been printed and are being distributed to every corner of the country. The reported aim is to collect some 2 million signatures by the end of the campaign. Sweden has a population of only 8 million.

Premier Olof Palme's sharp statement comparing the United States air assault on North Vietnam to Nazi atrocities clearly reflected a general revulsion throughout Sweden. This was expressed in a number of ways, including massive support for the petition campaign. On the first day of signature-gathering, December 29, the distribution of petitions had only begun to get under way. Yet, reported the December 30 issue of the Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter*, "at the few places where materials had arrived, people stood in line in order to sign. Teams from the various parties and NLF [National Liberation Front] organizations were surrounded by people who wanted to take petitions." On one street corner, there was a line hour after hour of persons wait-

ing to sign, and more than 200 signed in forty-five minutes.

The United NLF Groups (DFFG—De Förenade FNL-Grupper), an antiwar organization, had barely enough petitions to meet the demand, according to *Dagens Nyheter*. "DFFG received only 16,000 petitions, but plans to mimeograph the rest itself. In the first run, it plans to print 50,000."

The response of many, if not most, Swedes was that the bombing had gone just too far. One elderly lady who signed explained: "Normally I don't take a position on things like this because I feel you shouldn't stand too much on one side or the other, but when it comes to the war in Vietnam you just have to protest. All peoples must be allowed to have what they want. I hope we can bring a stop to these horrors as quickly as possible."

Another housewife, who said her entire family planned to sign, said: "What is happening in Vietnam is so frightful, and I can only describe the bombings being carried out against these poor Vietnamese farmers as an outrage." She said she had recently seen a photograph of Mrs. Richard Nixon holding an armful of roses and added, "If I were her, I would try to hide behind the roses."

The depths of the indignation in Sweden against the U. S. bombing was reflected in an article in the December 30 *Dagens Nyheter* by Lars Gyllenstein expanding on Palme's comparison of Nixon to Hitler. The article was entitled "The Nazi Olympics All Over again," and it asserted that the Apollo moon mission in December 1972 played the same role in American war strategy that the 1936 Berlin Olympic games played in Hitler's: "President Nixon and his administration are sending astronauts to the moon—strangely enough at just the moment when that government is planning or beginning to unleash new terrorist acts in Indochina. It is a spectacular of the same kind as the Nazi Olympics of 1936—and the pattern is being re-played today as un-

mistakably as if it were being discovered for the first time."

Speaking from the throne on the occasion of the opening of the Riksdag January 11, King Gustaf VI Adolf took a determined swipe at U. S. Vietnam policy. "The Vietnamese people must be given the opportunity to shape their own destiny," the ninety-year-old king said. "The merciless bombing must not be resumed."

Scandinavian indignation at the U. S. bombing is not limited to Sweden. There is talk of launching a similar petition campaign in Norway. Finland announced its decision to recognize North Vietnam on December 28, partly in response to the new bombing.

When Nixon responded to Palme's criticism by asking Sweden not to send a new ambassador to the United States, he succeeded only in further estranging his administration from public opinion in Scandinavia. One Finnish newspaper reported the American reaction under a big headline "Mass Murder is Mass Murder."

A newspaper in the capital, *Helsingin Sanomat*, termed Nixon's move an indication that his government was basing its decisions on the politics of desperation.

The Swedish-language paper in Finland, *Arbetarbladet*, noted public opinion in Sweden is almost 100 percent opposed to the war, and in Finland people are beginning to feel that North Vietnam is on the threshold of obliteration.

Dagens Nyheter also reported December 30 that "the Danish dock workers in Aarhus and Copenhagen have decided to boycott all unloading of goods to and from the USA as a protest against the American bombings of Hanoi and Haiphong. The boycott is to continue until the bombing stops." The dock workers also asked the Danish trade-union movement to push for an international boycott of trade with the United States. This proposal was scheduled to be discussed at a meeting of European trade-union leaders in Copenhagen January 2. In addition, Hans Ericson, representative of the Danish transport workers, proposed December 28 that his international union, which has some 6 million members, organize some action against the war. "The representative of the seamen's union, Gunnar Karlsson, expressed

strong sympathy for a boycott action from the Australian seamen's union against the U. S. A.," reported *Dagens Nyheter* December 29. He said he was

hoping that the transport workers' international union "will launch an international blockade within the next few days." □

Eyewitness Account by French Doctor

The Bombing of Hanoi's Bach Mai Hospital

[The following report was published by the Paris chapter of the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars (CCAS) in its "Information Packet No. 9."]

* * *

Paris

At a press conference today [January 3], Dr. Yvonne Capdeville told of her experience working at Bach Mai Hospital in Hanoi during the Christmas season bombing raids which destroyed the hospital.

Dr. Capdeville, a physician and instructor in genetics at the Orsay science faculty outside Paris, France, was in Hanoi from December 7 to December 30, 1972, to give a three-week course in genetics at the hematology center in Bach Mai Hospital, where a study is currently being made of chromosomal anomalies and malformations linked to the massive use of herbicides and defoliants such as 2-4 D and 2-4-5 T in South Vietnam. She also participated in work sessions with other groups, notably that of the distinguished surgeon Ton That Tung, pioneer in the field of liver surgery and member of the Surgical Academy of Paris, studying the problem of a recent 500% increase in cancer of the liver apparently linked to a contaminating agent (in particular, a dioxine) in herbicidal defoliants.

Like the Vietnamese, Dr. Capdeville continued her work throughout the two weeks of heavy bombing. There were some interruptions, notably on December 22, when her course at Bach Mai could not be held because the hospital had been destroyed during the previous night.

Dr. Capdeville showed photographs of bomb craters, wrecked buildings and heaps of ruins on the site of North Vietnam's largest medical institution. It was clear from the photos that a considerable number of bombs were needed to cause such heavy destruction to such a large target, composed

of many buildings spread over five acres. The hospital, first damaged last June 26, was hit in five successive raids starting December 19. Dr. Capdeville specified, the most devastating of which occurred during the night of December 21-22. Bombs wrecked all the buildings—wall segments of some were still standing, while others, such as the blood transfusion center, were reduced to formless heaps of rubble.

Some equipment, placed under mattresses for protection could be retrieved from the wrecked buildings. Other equipment had already been dispersed to the countryside.

Although the destruction of the hospital facilities was virtually total, the number of casualties was relatively small, due to dispersion and air raid shelters. Some thirty patients, victims of a previous raid who had just undergone operations, were killed in their underground shelters, however. A woman radiologist with whom Dr. Capdeville had been working was seriously injured. A number of medical students were killed.

Casualties were much heavier in residential areas struck by bombs. Dr. Capdeville told of visiting the ruins of Kham-Thien Street, a once animated thoroughfare lined with shops and dwellings in downtown Hanoi, completely razed from end to end over the length of one kilometer by B-52 carpet bombing. As people worked to clear away the rubble, a heavy odor of corpses still lying under the ruins hung over the street.

"I must stress that most of the victims are children," said Dr. Capdeville. "I say this not to arouse pity, it is simply a fact: the population of Hanoi is very young." Despite partial evacuation, the city is still full of children, who smile at passing strangers.

Dr. Capdeville said that she went to Hanoi believing that peace was at

hand, and was shocked by the sudden bombing raids. "The first night I was frightened, but after that the population calmed me down. The raids were incessant, yet people get their sleep, if only in naps, and go on working. I felt in top form in Hanoi, better than I feel here in Paris.

"Between raids, children come out of the shelters and play. Kids go fishing in the lake, although they aren't supposed to."

Among facilities destroyed in Hanoi was the water purification plant. "I suppose someone could call that a military target," Dr. Capdeville said sharply, "because people need water to carry on a war. But people got water from the river and carried on. All these crimes fail," she said emphatically.

"Despite all this destruction, Hanoi is still privileged," said Dr. Capdeville. "The other cities of North Vietnam have all been leveled. Haiphong is completely destroyed.

"It is incorrect to say that the bombing has been 'halted'—it has simply been moved. The B-52s are still operating full time, where it is safer for them, bombing South Vietnam and North Vietnam below the 20th parallel. Between the 17th and 20th parallels, a vast, highly populated area, the raids go on every day; the whole population has moved underground. But the Americans haven't the means to bomb constantly 24 hours a day, and when the raids stop the people come out and get their work done."

Before leaving Hanoi, Dr. Capdeville paid a call on Prime Minister Pham Van Dong. On the steps of the presidential palace, he said to her, "In a while perhaps this palace will no longer be here. Perhaps we shall no longer be here—in that case we shall be a little way off, carrying on the fight."

The Prime Minister stressed one point: "We must rebuild Bach Mai immediately. That will be the best answer to Nixon."

Asked what medical equipment was especially needed, Dr. Capdeville replied that she had brought back a list three pages long. "The needs are immense," she said.

A French university group is presently collecting money to purchase an electronic microscope for the Institute of Epidemiology, critically needed to study (1) the leprosy bacillus, (2) cellular anomalies due to herbicides



Medical workers salvaging equipment from what is left of Bach Mai hospital after U.S. bombing. Pentagon described damage as "limited."

and defoliants, and (3) viruses. One-third of the purchase price (\$36,000) of this indispensable instrument has already been raised; in addition transport from Stockholm will be extremely costly. (Contributions may be sent to the Collectif Intersyndical Universitaire, 28 rue Monsieur Le Prince, Paris 6, France.)

There is also great and urgent need for a lyophilizator, for preservation of

plasma and vaccines.

Research centers in Hanoi are also in need of such ordinary equipment as 16 mm movie cameras and projectors, copying machines, IBM typewriters, tape recorders and cameras.

"It should be pointed out that to be of use, a piece of equipment sent to Hanoi must be complete, accompanied by everything required for operation, maintenance and repair." □

Jury Selection Under Way for Second Trial

'Pentagon Papers' Case Is On Again

The selection of a new jury is under way for the trial of Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo, who are charged with eighteen counts of espionage, fraud, conspiracy, and theft. The accusations stem from their role in releasing the Pentagon Papers to the press. If convicted on all counts, Ellsberg could be sentenced to 115 years in prison and Russo to 35 years.

Ellsberg and Russo are the first persons to be charged with espionage for revealing information to the public, rather than for delivering it to a foreign power. Unlike Great Britain, the United States has no Official Secrets Act barring the revelation of classified data. The selective "leaking" of classified information to the news media has been a regular part of the

administration's efforts to manipulate public opinion.

Ellsberg and Russo are also charged with conspiring to "defraud the United States" by "impairing, obstructing, and defeating its governmental function of controlling dissemination of classified Government studies, reports, memorandums and communications."

According to a report by Martin Arnold in the January 4 *New York Times*, if this charge were upheld, "this could allow the government to invoke general federal antic Conspiracy statutes against, for example, Government officials and newsmen who work together to make public information marked 'classified'—even though Congress has never made it a crime to make such material public."

The charge of theft against Ellsberg also sets a dangerous precedent. As an employee of the Rand Corporation, which does considerable work for the Defense Department and had two copies of the massive study, Ellsberg was authorized to see and use the documents. He always returned the volumes after making photocopies of the contents.

Arnold writes that "the Government's charge appears to imply that it owned the information contained in the papers. . . . This raises the point that if the Government can own and control information rather than the paper it is printed on, the Government could suppress any embarrassing reports or studies without regard to the national defense."

In the view of Melville B. Nimmer, professor of law at the University of California at Los Angeles and an authority on questions involving the right of free speech, conviction on these charges will mean that the "Government will have an official secrets act that covers not only official secrets but any and all information the Government has."

The Nixon regime's attempts to railroad Ellsberg and Russo have raised the issue of illegal government surveillance as well as that of suppression of information. The original jury for the trial was seated on July 21, 1972. But shortly after the proceedings began, the defense staff learned that one of its members had been the object of a government wiretap.

The government claimed that the tap had nothing to do with the Ellsberg case, but was merely a by-product

uct of surveillance of a "foreign power." It refused to divulge even the nature of the monitored conversation. The defense demanded a complete transcript of the tap; the request was rejected by presiding Judge William Matthew Byrne. The trial then ground to a halt for four months while the defense appealed that decision to the U.S. Supreme Court,

which on November 13 refused to hear the case.

Because of the delay, Ellsberg and Russo asked that the jury be dismissed and a new trial scheduled. On December 12, acting on the advice of a higher court, Byrne declared a mistrial and dismissed the jury. The second trial will begin when the new jury is selected. □

signed primarily for electoral gains. During the mass demonstrations organised by the VSC [Vietnam Solidarity Campaign] in 1968 the Labour left was nowhere to be seen. In fact one of them, Sid Bidwell, refused to speak on a VSC platform because of the "presence of a Black Power" militant. Like its leaders it was frightened by extra-parliamentary activity and, particularly, militant street demonstrations.

That is why for us the actions of the Australian seamen and the Italian dockers are a million times more important and effective than all the hypocritical cant mouthed by the Labour Party leaders in opposition. The solidarity movement in this country which is beginning to re-emerge must fuse its extra-parliamentary actions with the present militancy of the British working class. A response from British dockers, for example, would have a powerful impact on projected solidarity actions in this country. In that sense the January 20th mobilisation should be seen only as the re-emergence of a solidarity which must continue until final victory. □

The New Eloquence of Roy Jenkins

Fake Lefts Find Their Tongues on Vietnam

[The following editorial appeared in the January 8 issue of *The Red Mole*, the paper of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International.]

The terror bombing raids on Hanoi and Haiphong carried out by the United States during the last few weeks of December 1972 created a feeling of revulsion throughout the international working class movement. In Australia the seamen demonstrated their solidarity by refusing to handle U.S. vessels. In Genoa the dockers imposed a similar ban. In Bangladesh there were massive demonstrations which resulted in the burning of the USIS office in Dacca and two students being shot down and killed by the police.

In Britain there was an emergency demonstration on 23 December, but from the ranks of organised labour there was no immediate response. Sensing that unless they acted quickly there might be some spontaneous displays of solidarity by sections of the workers, the leaders of the British Labour Party ended their silence and condemned the bombing. Compromised by their own past record in office when they emerged as one of the most slavish supporters of American imperialism in Vietnam, the Labour leaders would like to forget all this. When Jenkins writes a letter to Heath (published on the front page of the *Daily Mirror*) he does so as a "new European" very conscious of the future interests of the European ruling class. He doesn't want, for tactical and factional reasons, the European bourgeoisie to be tarnished by the crimes of American imperialism.

But the shirts of Jenkins and the

Labour leaders are already soiled. Where was all this brave talk when Roy Jenkins was a minister in Wilson's government and preaching the virtues of the "special relationship" which supposedly prevented the Labour government from breaking with Lyndon Johnson? The "civilised veneer" of Jenkins was nowhere to be seen in those days. As for Wilson himself he talks *today* in terms of "Vietnam becoming an election issue" if Heath continues to support the Americans. What sheer hypocrisy from a man who was known even in the White House as LBJ's favourite poodle. The Labour Party when it was in power did its best to smash and defeat the Vietnam solidarity movement. Callaghan as Home Secretary used to talk in terms of deporting IMG leaders. Today he too is "concerned."

No! Messrs Wilson, Jenkins, Callaghan, etc., your chatter about Vietnam does not impress us in the slightest as you have aided, defended and have been involved in imperialism's crimes and aggressions in Indochina. Your Labour predecessors in the Attlee government actually sent British troops into Saigon in 1945-46 to maintain the existing order. And you would do the same again if you were in office.

As for the Labour "left," they have merely provided a "left" cover for this overall policy of British social-democracy. When Wilson was tied to LBJ, they were tied to Wilson. Now that Labour is in opposition of course *all* the brothers can band together and engage in a spree of resolution passing, emergency House of Commons debates and phrasemongering de-

Ex-Nun Freed in Bolivia

Mary Harding, a former nun from the United States who joined a Bolivian guerrilla group, the Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional (ELN—National Liberation Army) was released from a La Paz jail on January 13. She had been arrested for her antiregime political activities on December 5 and was held for five weeks. According to a report by Deirdre Carmody in the January 11 *New York Times*, "Miss Harding, told that she would be released as soon as she gave information about members of the terrorist organization, replied that she would never do so."

Carmody continued, "Friends of Miss Harding . . . say that she told a priest who visited her that she had been beaten with a hard rubber mallet during the first 72 hours after her arrest . . ." The prisoner was kept "in the city jail in a small, damp room that has little other than a mattress on the floor."

Harding came to Bolivia as a member of the Maryknoll order in 1959. She left the order in 1970 because of her involvement in the struggle against the dictatorship.

Harding was released shortly after protests on her behalf began in the U.S. At the urging of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, 100 telegrams demanding that she be freed were sent to President Banzer. □

Fear Liquidation of Thieu's Prisoners

"The coming weeks will indeed be critical for all political prisoners in the South. We foresee a liquidating operation that could begin in the prisons. As a matter of fact, three days before our departure, there were mass deportations to the Poulo-Condor prison. The Saigon government is today trying, in addition, to mix together political and common prisoners. This would allow a large number of patriots to be kept in prison whenever a cease-fire is signed."

The words belong to Jean-Pierre Debris, a French mathematics professor. He and André Menras, a teacher, held a news conference in Paris January 2 after being released from Saigon's Chi-Hoa prison December 29. They had been in jail for two and a half years. They were arrested on July 25, 1970, after they had unfurled a National Liberation Front flag and distributed a leaflet outside the National Assembly in Saigon. They were sentenced, respectively, to four and three years in jail in December 1970.

They gathered a great deal of precise evidence on "the tortures, violent acts, and assassinations carried out between 1968 and 1972 against the patriots imprisoned in Poulo-Condor, Phu-Quoc, and Chi-Hoa." They even managed to smuggle several pages of notes out in the soles of their shoes.

Debris recalled an assertion in the November 9 *New York Times* to the effect that there is no proof that prisoners in South Vietnam have been murdered. "This is false," he said. "We can give many examples. In August 1970, at Poulo-Condor, a student, Nguyen Viet Hung, was killed after being tortured. At the moment, we know that twenty-eight prisoners are being tortured by two torturers, Tuphuc and Badang. At Phu-Quoc, on May 13, 1971, Mr. Le Hong Son was crucified with thirteen carpenter's nails by Lieutenant Quach, deputy head of A-4 quarters. In March 1972, Nguyen Van Khon and Nguyen Van Xuan were killed in C-3 quarters, etc. We are making other names available to the press."

The two Frenchmen said persons not officially listed as prison person-

nel were used to inflict certain kinds of tortures, such as pole-beatings, water torture, electrical torture, rape, and the placing of pins underneath victim's nails. Prisoners who are kept for months and even years in tiny tiger cages can neither stand up nor walk when they are let out. "And all this is done under the control of American advisers who, we are convinced, are aware of everything that goes on in Vietnamese prisons."

A lengthy letter was published in the January 3 issue of *Le Monde* written by Ngo Cong Duc, a former deputy in South Vietnam's National Assembly. Three months earlier, he recalled, he had held a news conference in Paris during which he advanced the figure of 200,000 as the likely number of prisoners held by the Saigon regime. Today, in view of the rapid rate at which people are being imprisoned in the South, he said he fears that this figure "is well below the real number."

Duc noted that while Thieu has given himself full powers, his police, too, have just strengthened their own authority, which was already great. "Before, for example, three concurring reports were required from three different policemen before an innocent person could be thrown in prison. Now only one is necessary. All it takes to be arrested and held for an undetermined length of time, with no trial, is for a policeman to put down something bad about you. This is the fate of all those who oppose the regime, those who are suspected of participating or who have participated in the resistance, and even those who, for personal reasons, are on the bad side of officials. Thus, the latter have an unexpected opportunity to eliminate embarrassing witnesses to their misappropriation of public funds or any other crime."

Persons who have managed to save up a little money are often victims of extortion, Duc added. "This was the case of more than fifty of the best-off people in the city of Danang who were recently arrested by the police on the pretext that they were sympathetic to the Vietcong. In the countryside

the situation is even more intolerable. Pity the peasant who does not have the means to satisfy the demands of officials, intelligence agents, military security police, policemen, 'pacification' people, etc. Pity the family of the young girl who does not want to give in to the 'desires' of the forces of law and order, of the regime's soldiers, and of police of all kinds."

During the month of April 1972 alone, Duc reported, 1,500 people, mostly Catholics, were deported to Poulo-Condor. "These prisoners were all tortured and mistreated. Therefore, in their eyes, the Saigon regime is a dictatorial and barbaric regime. But it must be said that the Americans are the masters in the art of interrogation and torture. The interrogation centers run by the Americans have a reputation for 'refined' methods of torture. . . . The women's prisons of Thu-Duc and Tan-Hiep have earned a sad reputation. The extent of the barbarism in the treatment there often provokes revolts among the prisoners."

The lack of medicine and food is another characteristic of the Saigon regime's prisons. Since prices are skyrocketing, the regime plans during 1973 to allocate only 40 piasters (approximately US \$.08) per day per prisoner. "This is to condemn them to a slow death," Duc observed, "even without torture and mistreatment. The stench in these packed cells is repulsive."

"For all these reasons, the Nguyen Van Thieu regime is afraid to see these prisoners released some day, for it well knows that in this way it has turned them into determined opponents in the political confrontations that will follow the cease-fire. They will not fail to inform a shocked and scandalized public about crimes worthy of another age, committed in the name of a free world, while the American prisoners of war held by Hanoi, once they are freed, will be saying that they were treated humanely, as some of them have repeatedly stated to the press at various times." □

13 Face Court-Martial

Thirteen opponents of the Greek dictatorship will face a special court-martial for "conspiracy" to kidnap U.S. Ambassador Henry J. Tasca, the January 10 *New York Times* reported.

One of the accused is Stathis Panagoulis, whose brother Alexander is in prison for attempting to assassinate Premier George Papadopoulos in 1968.

Turkish Government Steps Up Repression

Dozens of harsh sentences were handed down in Turkey during December in a sharp intensification of repression.

On December 12, seventy persons in the eastern provinces of Diyarbakir and Siirt received prison sentences ranging from ten months to sixteen years after being found guilty of "having founded a secret society with the aim of setting up a far-left regime in Turkey." They are members of the Revolutionary Centers for Eastern Culture.

Several verdicts were handed down on December 26. An Ankara tribunal sentenced fifty-nine members of the Turkish teachers' union (TOS) to prison terms ranging from ten months to ten years and eight months. The longest sentences went to the union's president, the writer Fakir Baykurt, and its general secretary, Dursun Akcam. They were found to have "transformed the TOS into an illegal left-wing organization whose goal was to turn Turkey into a communist state."

The same day, a military court in Ankara sentenced Professor Ugur Alacakaptan, a liberal lawyer and defense counsel for several prominent Turkish intellectuals, to six years and four months in jail. Upon completion of his term, he will also have to spend twenty-three months in the remote town of Artvin on the Black Sea under police supervision. In addition, he was barred for life from performing any public duty. He is thirty-eight years old.

The charges against Alacakaptan, one of Turkey's most respected lawyers, were: giving encouragement to organizations dedicated to overthrowing the state; taking part in a political protest march in June 1970; insulting military courts in his capacity as a defense lawyer; and giving an unacceptable interview to an Ankara news magazine.

There were eight other defendants in his trial, including an assistant professor of law, Dr. Ugur Mumcu, who received five years and ten months, and two law students, each of whom will be jailed for four years and two months.

In a third verdict handed down on December 26, a civilian court in Istanbul sentenced the publisher Bulent Harbora to seven and a half years imprisonment with hard labor for publishing *The Permanent Revolution* by Leon Trotsky. It also ordered him to spend two and a half years in exile in Kutahya in western Turkey upon completing his prison term.

The London *Sunday Times* of December 31 reported that two boys under fifteen years of age were jailed the previous week for three years and four months. "They were accused with other members of an obscure left-wing peasants' union of working to establish a Communist regime in Turkey," the paper said. "Other defendants received sentences of up to eight years. It is the first time that such young people have been brought before a martial law tribunal."

Since the imposition of a military-backed regime on March 12, 1971, authors, publishers, and journalists have been subjected to severe harassment, including arrest and imprisonment. Especially heavy sentences have come down against publishers and authors convicted of putting out "subversive" books. Among these are Muzaffer Erdost, who received fifteen years in jail and five years exile for publishing two works by Stalin. Nasih Ileri was given seven and a half years for translating a book about Lenin. Abdullah Nefes translated Mao Tse-tung's selected works into English and found himself sentenced to seven years plus twenty-nine months exile. "One of the most bizarre cases," reported the *Sunday Times*, "concerned Selhattin Eyuboglu, arrested earlier this year [1972] for translating Thomas More's 15th-century *Utopia*: nothing has been heard of him since May."

In an interview with the London *Times* several weeks before he was sentenced, Professor Alacakaptan, former dean of the Ankara University law school, warned that his conviction would signal the beginning of a "new and terrible era" in Turkey. "In a country where I am convicted, anybody can be convicted; nobody can be safe," he said.

Artun Untsal reported from Ankara in the January 3 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* that the Turkish government has submitted a proposal to parliament that would create a superior council for controlling the universities, thereby wiping out the formal autonomy they currently enjoy.

Meanwhile, mounting evidence of the use of torture in Turkey is beginning to provoke a reaction in Europe. The Danish daily *Information* reported December 16, for instance, that Social Democratic members of the Folketing (parliament) planned to press the government to launch a campaign against Turkey similar to the one carried out by the Social Democratic government against the Greek military junta in 1967-68. The goal would be to exclude Turkey from the Council of Europe and to cut off trade between it and the countries belonging to the Common Market. Turkey is an associate member of the Market, and intends to apply for full membership.

"In recent months," according to *Information*, "a committee of the Council of Europe has obtained proof of the use of various forms of torture in Turkey, for example tearing off the fingernails of children in order to get their parents to talk. . . ."

The Swedish representative of Amnesty International, Tomas Hammarberg, announced December 11 that a campaign in twenty-nine countries was planned for 1973 around the issue of torture. The campaign will conclude with a conference in Paris in December, according to the Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter* December 12. Hammarberg stated that one of the countries to be investigated will be Turkey, where he said the use of torture is more extensive than it was in Greece in 1968. □

Bomb Tests Anger Australians

Public resentment in Australia over France's continued testing of nuclear weapons in the Pacific is rising. On January 11, Lionel Murphy, minister of justice, said that the Labor government might break off diplomatic relations with the Pompidou regime if further projected tests were not canceled.

Murphy issued the warning on the eve of a tour around the world to mobilize international opinion against the tests. His first stops will be in Hong Kong and London, after which he will go to the United States. As part of the crusade, Murphy said, Australia might take its case to the International Court of Justice.

Debate on Philippine Constitution Canceled

By Fred Feldman

President Ferdinand Marcos has moved to stifle growing opposition to the new constitution he is seeking to impose on the Philippines. The repressive measures came only a few weeks after Marcos announced that martial law would be relaxed to permit "free debate" on the charter.

In a January 7 radio speech Marcos canceled the "free debate," postponed the constitutional referendum originally scheduled for January 15, and added "rumor mongering" to the list of punishable offenses against the martial-law regime. As usual, Marcos linked opponents of the new constitution to insurrectionary "plots" and assassination attempts backed by an unnamed "foreign power." While threatening his opponents with violent repression, Marcos described his rule as "smiling martial law."

The proposed constitution would allow Marcos to exercise his dictatorial powers for the indefinite future. Police powers would be strengthened while civil liberties, such as the right of habeas corpus, would be substantially watered down. The document reaffirms the privileged position of U.S. business interests in the Philippines.

A January 8 dispatch from Manila by *New York Times* correspondent Tillman Durdin reported:

"It seemed clear that one reason for the presidential order was that free debate had been making obvious—and encouraging—strong opposition to the charter, which Mr. Marcos has said he will submit to a national plebiscite. The date of that plebiscite has now been postponed.

"Speakers against the new Constitution have drawn warm responses from audiences, and on a number of occasions, opponents have had platforms to themselves because advocates have failed to come forward to debate."

Frustrated in his efforts to win a mandate at the polls for his rule, Marcos has turned to "citizens' assemblies" as a more reliable rubber stamp for his edicts. These are neighborhood gatherings of citizens which take place under strict supervision and surveil-



MARCOS

lance by the authorities. Marcos has asked these assemblies to approve his martial-law rule, postpone elections for an indefinite period, and endorse the new constitution. In addition, he has proposed that the assemblies oppose any effort by the Congress to meet in January as required by the current constitution.

To insure that these assemblies would not yield to the temptation to assert any independence, Marcos warned that they "must use care not to be infiltrated by subversive elements."

In the November 13 *New York Times*, Durdin describes one such gathering in a Manila suburb as "a quiet, rather dutiful affair somewhat resembling a high school graduation ceremony in a small town in the United States."

The assembly was tightly controlled by the pro-Marcos mayor, Florencio Bernabe, "who drove up in a new Mercedes-Benz and took over the

microphone." Bernabe gave an indication of how long Marcos may be intending to hold on to his dictatorial powers when he suggested to the meeting that "seven years might be the right period to wait for new elections."

In his January 7 speech, the following day's *New York Times* reported, Marcos charged that "anti-Government university students, taking advantage of his granting of free debate on the constitution, had been expanding their organizations and spreading false rumors, such as one that the military had taken over Manila."

An article by T.J.S. George in the January 8 issue of the Hong Kong weekly *Far Eastern Economic Review* described the stirring of resistance among the students to Marcos's brand of repression-with-a-smile:

"All is calm at the UP [University of Philippines] today. But a handwritten pamphlet issued by a student indicates that the calm persists only because the campus is heavily patrolled by security forces. He writes: 'Before one can enter the university, one must produce one's identity card, and every bus and car is searched. One can no longer use university roads as shortcuts into other areas. Furthermore, ID cards are good only for the school to which one belongs; a law student can only enter the law building. It is not unusual for a security guard to sit in on a class discussion or even to search teachers' handbags or students' belongings in the middle of a lecture. Proscribed articles are manifestos, foreign publications critical of the régime, and books considered subversive—from Mao Tse-tung to *The Greening of America*.'

"He goes on to say that many students and lecturers have been taken prisoner and that all campus activities are closely watched. But 'students have devised new ways to cope with the impositions. Sometimes they dribble a basketball the entire length of the corridor during class hours. Or they hold mass silent marches through the corridors. Or they explode loud firecrackers and vanish before the security guards arrive. At lunch all the students in the cafeteria beat the tables with their spoons and, at the moment guards appear, fall silent. At times a student in the library starts whistling a patriotic tune and soon everybody in the library is whistling it.'" □

Interview With Bangladesh Guerrilla Leader

"What has happened since the liberation? Around 10,000 former guerrilla soldiers are sitting in jail accused of various crimes. When we were fighting the Pakistani army, they called us terrorists and evil-doers, and now we have been described the same way by the new regime. I wonder who the real patriots were in Bangladesh."

The speaker, Major Jalil, was one of the guerrilla leaders in the Bangladesh war for independence. An interview with him by Ingvar Oja was published in the November 23 issue of the Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter*.

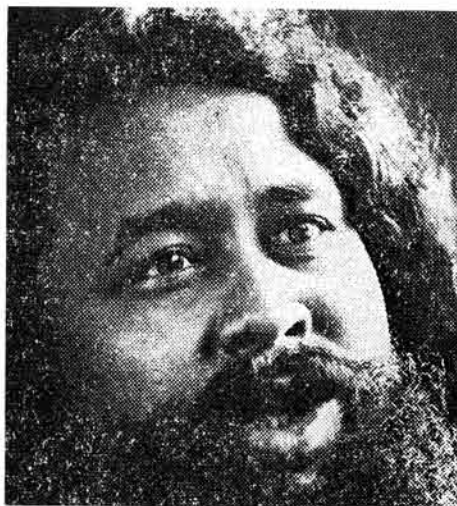
Major Jalil was arrested and thrown into prison just after the end of the war with Pakistan. He spent a little more than six months in various jails throughout the country, for the most part in Jessore and Dacca. Most of his time was spent in solitary confinement in a Dacca jail. He was released in the summer of 1972 following a secret trial. Since then he has been living what he termed an "underground existence" in Dacca.

Oja had come across Jalil's troops in December 1971 during the Indo-Pakistani war. "Major Jalil was popular as a guerrilla leader," he wrote, "and his fame spread even further after he was imprisoned."

"I was the first guerrilla soldier to be put in prison and brought to trial," Jalil explained. He was accused of illegally appropriating two jeeps and 10,000 rupees [at that time 4.76 rupees equalled US \$1], which he had obtained from a civil servant in Khulna who had worked for the Pakistani regime until its surrender. Jalil signed a receipt for the materials.

The charge, he claims, is ludicrous. "If I had wanted to appropriate money to myself, I could have gotten billions of rupees in the region that I commanded during the freedom struggle. Nobody could have stopped me."

The real reason he was jailed, he maintains, was his sharp opposition to the behavior of the Indian troops both during, and especially after the December war. "I can understand it if soldiers in a victorious army take



MAJOR JALIL

watches, money, and other things they run across," Jalil said, "but when an army begins to dismantle factories and carry them off, then I can do nothing but protest. I do not believe that this dismantling operation was a spontaneous act, but that it was carried out on orders from higher up."

A factor in the decision to arrest him would appear to be the orders he issued to his troops following the Pakistani surrender. They were to shoot on the spot all looters, whether Bengali or Indian soldiers. The order led to armed clashes between guerrillas and the Indian armed forces in Khulna. "When the Indian soldiers began to loot right and left," Jalil explained, "I believe that my men shot down a few of them."

A few days after the Pakistani surrender, Jalil received a telephone call in Barisal from an Indian officer informing him that Indian troops were planning to march on the town in order to restore law and order. Jalil protested. Law and order had already been established there, and the Indians should stay out, he warned.

"It is clear that the Indian officer didn't appreciate my answer, and a few days later I received a telephone call telling me to leave right away for Jessore, in order to fly from there to Dacca. I thought that what was involved was an important meeting

in the capital, so I went. Between Khulna and Jessore my car drove into an ambush that had been arranged by the Indians and carried out with the aid of some guerrilla soldiers. You can understand how I felt to be arrested just after the liberation on the very soil that for so many months I had fought for."

While Jalil was in jail in Dacca, he reported, the prison was visited by Mujibur Rahman, who had recently returned from West Pakistan. Rahman did not even greet Jalil, the guerrilla leader noted, in spite of the fact that "it was in his name that we fought."

Prior to March 1971, Jalil had been an officer in an armored unit in the West Pakistani army. Following his release from prison he paid a "courtesy call" on Mujibur Rahman, who asked him to join the new Bangladesh army. "I had been asked by others too to go into the army and take charge of building a tank brigade. But I said no. How can I build up an armored unit in Bangladesh? The Pakistani army had 200 tanks in this province, but now there are only three left, and of them two are out of order.

"The rest were taken by our friends," he added with a guffaw.

Jalil said that "we are thankful to India and don't want to be enemies of the Indian people," but he made clear that any "further interference" would not be welcome. "If the dynamism that existed among the guerrillas had been utilized, we could have built up the country within two years, but that dynamism was stopped by an invisible power."

The reference to India, Oja explained, was unmistakable. "In this way," the journalist observed, Jalil "is echoing the statement I heard other guerrilla leaders in Bangladesh make: 'The struggle ended too soon.'"

Asked about his political program, Jalil replied: "Socialism is definitely the only solution to the many problems facing Bangladesh. Mujibur Rahman is doing his best, but that does not mean that there can be no change in leadership. This country does not belong to just one party." □

Killer Cops Branch Out

The Sao Paulo newspaper *O Estado* has reported evidence that policemen belonging to the infamous death squad (responsible for many murders in Brazil) are also running the drug traffic there.

Sadat Ends Strike by Force

By Jon Rothschild

Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat has once again demonstrated that while he cannot clear Israeli occupying troops from the Sinai desert he can at least keep the streets of Cairo free of demonstrating students. On January 3, shortly after 11:00 a.m., thousands of police armed with bamboo staves, truncheons, and tear gas cannisters attacked Cairo University students who were trying to peacefully march to the center of the city.

Government press censorship blocked news of exactly how many students were injured or arrested. The Beirut weekly *al-Hurriya* reported that perhaps as many as 150 persons, mostly students but some journalists as well, had been locked up. On the evening of January 3 the regime shut down Cairo and Ain Shams universities, which had not been scheduled to close until the January 13 midyear break.

Sadat's resort to force seems to have succeeded in temporarily putting down the students. By January 5 the universities were reported deserted. But the latest round of university activism, while apparently not as broad as last year's January upsurge, was in some respects more mature politically. It followed a full month of unprecedented opposition to government policies that extended into the rubber-stamp National Assembly (parliament).

The origin of Sadat's latest crisis may be traced back to his decision last July to expel Soviet military advisers from Egypt. When this bid to the United States failed to produce a response from Nixon, Sadat began to lose his support among the officer corps, the mainstay of his regime. In late October, Sadat sought to re-strengthen his ties with the Kremlin. He conducted a sweeping purge of rightist dissidents in the army and again began threatening military action to recover the Sinai peninsula.

But Egyptian policy remained in an impasse. The Nixon administration and the Kremlin bureaucracy have yet to come to agreement on a deal to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict. The consequent situation of "no war, no peace"

has become less and less tolerable to the Egyptian population, especially to the students and to the workers, who are forced to bear the economic burden of a simulated struggle against the Israeli occupation.

After the January 1972 student upsurge, Sadat conceded the students the right to freely conduct political activity on campus. The students made use of the maneuvering room, chiefly by publishing an "underground" press and by holding ad hoc meetings on university grounds.

On December 1, Sadat violated his January pledge and ordered the arrest of five Palestinian students who were charged with carrying out "subversive" activities. The students responded with protest, wall posters demanding the release of the arrested Palestinians began appearing.

The regime then ordered three medical students involved in the protest hauled before a "disciplinary commission." The students responded by demanding the dissolution of these commissions. Right-wing students believed to be members of the fanatical Muslim Brotherhood organized a rally against the "revolutionary activities" of the Palestinian students and demanded that leftists cease their support activities. The student movement seemed to have polarized into tendencies, although the organizational lines remain unclear.

With the student turmoil in the background, the National Assembly began criticizing the regime. On November 27 Premier Aziz Sidky had delivered a major statement on foreign and defense policy. On December 10 Gamal el-Otaify, deputy speaker of the National Assembly and head of its reply committee, rose to deliver an attack on Sidky. For two and a half days, members of parliament took the floor to accuse the administration of misleading the public, taxing the poor unfairly, and censoring newspapers. More than 90 of the National Assembly's 360 members took part in the discussion.

Premier Sidky declined to answer the Assembly's criticism of his statement,

but promised to consider the discussion as an integral part of his policy. The Assembly then unanimously approved Sidky's original statement, giving rise to speculation that the three-day criticism session had been designed mainly to remind the population of the existence of the National Assembly, whose members draw large salaries.

Nevertheless, the Assembly debate did reflect underlying popular discontent. A further reflection came on December 15, when a meeting of the Press Syndicate, to which all working journalists in Egypt belong, demanded the lifting of government censorship. Some reporters asked why public criticism of the regime should be limited to a three-day period; others demanded salary increases to close the wage-gap between workers and bosses.

By the third week of December, the regime began to show signs that it had decided to curb the various democratic stirrings. According to a December 19 Reuters dispatch, a student at Cairo University received a letter from university authorities denouncing him for being too outspoken in his wall posters. The student indicated the esteem in which he held the university administration—by tacking its letter to a wall poster. Pro-government students tried to tear his poster down; antigovernment students came to his aid.

Clashes ensued between the adversary groups. Seven students were hauled before the disciplinary commission; again the demand for the dissolution of the commissions was raised. But this time the students took up other issues. They demanded that the official student councils, which they said had been infiltrated with police spies, be disbanded. They denounced the failure of the press to accurately report their actions, as well as its generally subservient role. They singled out as targets what they called the "troika of justification": Mohammed Hassanein el-Heykal, chief editor of *el-Ahram* and former minister of information; Ihsan Abdel Kudous, editor in chief of the weekly *Akhbar el-Yom*; and Moussa Sabri, editor in chief of *el-Akhbar*. The three are the most influential journalists in Egypt.

About one week later, on December 28, in a nationally televised speech to parliament Sadat declared, among other things, that he had decided to open up free discussion in Egypt. This

tipped off those who are familiar with his career that there would soon be arrests in Cairo.

Within twenty-four hours rumors began circulating in Cairo that some students had been picked up by the police. In its December 30 issue, *el-Ahram* confirmed the news, reporting that "Friday [December 29] the prosecutor began inquiries about a certain number of persons accused of antistate activity. . . . The prosecutor has recently given permission to arrest troublemakers among the students and other groups."

Among those seized were Ahmed Abdullah, a prominent activist in last year's student upsurge, and Nabil Hallabi, one of the lawyers who defended those prosecuted in 1972. The total number arrested was not revealed; at the time it was thought to be a few dozen. In addition, perhaps in preparation for the "opening of democratic discussion," judicial inquiries were launched against forty employees of *el-Akhbar*; four others were fired on grounds of "not working hard enough, deviationism, political confusionism, and agitation."

When news of the arrests reached Cairo University, some 400-500 students demonstrated, apparently spontaneously, for the release of the accused.

The protest wave grew, and on the morning of December 31 the students broke open the doors of the Gamal Abdel Nasser amphitheater—scene of the mass decision-making meetings held during last year's actions—and occupied the auditorium.

The students held the amphitheater for several days. On December 31, January 1, and January 2 discussions took place about what tactics should be applied to get the arrested students released. By January 2 three large universities in Cairo were closed down by the student strike. Demonstrations were also reported in Alexandria, the country's second largest city, and in Helwan, south of Cairo.

At the Nasser amphitheater many of the students reportedly proposed attempting to march off campus, but they were deterred by the presence of five truckloads of cops, who waited for two days in the side streets just outside the campus of Cairo University.

On January 3 the government finally revealed its official list of those who had been arrested December 29;



SADAT: Opens democratic discussion with tear gas and bamboo staves.

they numbered 42. The January 4 *Le Monde* suggested that the real number was 67, but mentioned that some reports indicated that as many as 120 may have been picked up. Several workers were said to have been jailed with the students. Nearly all those arrested were leftists. *Le Monde's* Cairo correspondent, Roland Delcour, reported that two members of the Muslim Brotherhood had been seized, but that their arrest was purely symbolic—Sadat was trying to parry charges that he was allowing right-wing extremists to run wild.

David Hirst, Beirut correspondent for the British newspaper *The Guardian*, cabled on January 2 that "Sadat is anxious to see that the infection [of student unrest] does not spread to sections of the public. It appears that the students have been trying to make contact with the workers."

Hirst quoted some of the posters adorning the walls of Cairo University: "The Jews are on my soil and the police are at my door"; "Mr President, do you think that democracy is a gift from above, granted by decree? Mr. President, democracy must be won. The democracy the students have practised since January 1972 was won by the student struggle. . . ."

In lighter hours between debates on strategy, the students in the Nasser amphitheater were entertained by the

poet Ahmad Nagm, who, Hirst reported, "finds in the students a sympathetic audience for rude songs about Sadat." But the dominant slogan that unified nearly all the 2,000 to 3,000 students packed into the amphitheater was "Free our comrades!"

On the night of January 2 came the news that was to trigger the students' attempt to march off campus. On December 31, an official government statement had pledged that the arrested students and workers would be charged and tried rapidly. But on January 2 it was announced that the investigation to determine the students' "crimes" would itself last at least two weeks. On top of that, five more students were arrested. An official communiqué distributed to the press by the government claimed that the persons seized December 29 had been plotting "with the aid of foreigners at the universities" to commit certain illegal subversive acts on January 1. The assertion—especially the part about "foreign" influence—seemed ominous.

Under these conditions, the student mass meeting held on the morning of January 3 was especially tumultuous. The majority decided that despite the police threat the struggle had to be taken off campus. They voted to try to march on the parliament building. About 5,000 students started for the bridge over the Nile that leads to the government quarter. They were met by an almost equal number of police, and the battle was on. The students defended themselves as best they could with paving stones, but were forced off the bridge. About 1,000 retreated to the university, where they held out for one more day; the rest were either arrested or dispersed.

But fighting continued through most of the day in scattered areas. Delcour reported that at 4:00 p.m. the area around the dental school on the Isle of Roda looked "like a real battlefield."

By resorting to bloody repression Sadat seems to have won another round against the student movement. But the Egyptian political situation today is much different from what it was after the January 1972 upsurge. Discontent has more deeply penetrated all layers of society; the trade-union movement has a year of numerous strikes under its belt and has, like the student movement, felt the bamboo staves of Sadat's cops. Government

rhetoric about the necessity of leaving dictatorial power in Sadat's hands in the interests of a nonexistent struggle against the Israeli occupation of Egyptian land is less effective.

The student movement appears to be in a stage of political germination. The desire for political democracy is universal; how to achieve it is under debate. The political confusion rampant in the movement is a function on the one hand of the decrepitude of Nasserism, and on the other of the failure of any significant tendency to systematically go beyond

it. But increasingly as the students press for democracy, the tendency to introduce even broader social questions will deepen. When the Egyptian trade-union movement begins to actively enter the struggle, the police will be insufficient for carrying out repression. At some point, Sadat is sure to resort to the army itself.

Unless the workers and students can develop sufficient strength and a sufficiently sophisticated leadership in time, the Egyptian people will then face an Iraqi-style military dictatorship. □

olutionist Hugo Blanco. My two pamphlets, *Ireland in Rebellion* and *Problems of the Irish Revolution*, were also on sale.

In tone, the convention was sober but optimistic, as if the movement had come through a difficult period but had managed to consolidate itself somewhat and was beginning to look forward to better times. There was general confidence, although a lot of criticism of republican trade-union work was voiced, that the movement was beginning to win some real influence among sections of the organized workers. The emphasis was on reexamining some basic strategic conceptions and improving the level of organization. The Official Sinn Féin seems to have become solid enough to raise substantial amounts of money from its ranks for an important expansion of the movement's apparatus, no small achievement in view of the traditional difficulty in raising funds in Ireland.

"The past year has been a record one from the point of view of finance," the treasurer's report said. "Our income has more than doubled over the previous year. . . ."

"The Ard Comhairle [national committee] plans for the building [the Dublin headquarters] include a modern walk-around bookshop, new offices for the 'United Irishman' and Sinn Féin Secretariat. A Library room open to all members of the Movement, a room for press conferences and Cumainn [cell] meetings. An auditorium will be built at the rear and the present printing shop expanded."

Such organizational improvements, of course, would have only minor importance if the Officials proved incapable of recognizing and solving serious political problems that have arisen since last year, resulting among other things, as the leadership acknowledged at several points, in the movement's losing its previous "momentum."

In the area of political analysis, important progress has been registered in breaking with conceptions that proved one-sided or overly rigid in the past period. In particular, there was a reassessment of the movement's approach to the national question. The most important document in the republican discussion, the preamble to a resolution redefining policy on the Northern question, said among other things:

Official Republicans Meet in Dublin

A Step Forward for the Irish Vanguard

By Gerry Foley

"An important Ard-Fheis," the January 5 issue of the prestigious Dublin biweekly *Hibernia* said in describing the December 16-17 convention of Sinn Féin, the political wing of the Official republican movement. Most of the Irish press seemed to agree that the Official gathering had been an "important" event but at the same time showed confusion as to the precise nature of its "importance."

The bewilderment of the bourgeois journalists is understandable. Irish republicanism is unique. It is a traditional movement that continues the age-old struggle against the social relations introduced by the conquest of Ireland, a fight so ancient that its motivations are more instinctive than conscious. It combines bits and pieces of contradictory philosophies and outlooks whose implications have never been developed in a consistent way.

At the same time, the bourgeois journalists could not help noticing a new ferment of ideas at the *ard fheis* and vague rumbles of profound shifts. In the past the big papers, as well as the small far-left groups, have generally tended to jump to conclusions about internal struggles between supposedly well-defined groups and individuals allegedly identified with definite positions. Such hypotheses were put forward again on this occasion by various observers.

In fact, no consistent political line was projected by any group or individual at the *ard fheis*. All of the expressed positions were either vague or contradictory in important respects. In general, it seems premature to talk about crystallized ideological tendencies or groupings in the Official republican movement.

Although the traditional structures of republicanism are evidently being strained by the rising pressure of political debate, they appear to be still holding together an ideologically diverse group that is going through a complex and painful learning process.

About 800 delegates and visitors were at the Official Sinn Féin convention in the Mansion House in Dublin. The attendance appeared to me to be about the same in size and composition as the last *ard fheis* in October 1971 — mostly young people, with a fair sprinkling of older republicans. The most obvious difference from last year was in organization — a change for the better.

The sale of political literature also seemed to have been expanded. The selection was more international, including among other things a book by the American Trotskyist Farrell Dobbs on the Minneapolis general strike of 1934 as well as the book *Land or Death* by the Peruvian rev-

"In this country more and more the events of the past few years demonstrate that the *struggle for democracy* is also the *national struggle* since it is *British power and influence that maintains the undemocratic structures* and it is the *Nationalist population* that suffers under this system. . . .

"Correct or not, but the feeling is abroad, that a lot of people in the country and many of our members have the idea that we are not in favour of the 'National Struggle' or the ending of this 'Struggle.' This is one reason why the Provos are still a force today and why they will not fade away for a long time yet. *We must begin to show people and demonstrate clearly to all that our objectives are National Unity and Independence and the Socialist Republic.*" (Emphasis in original.)

The same document criticized economic radicals who blamed the civil-rights movement for dividing Protestant and Catholic workers. It noted that the struggle of the minority for their rights was bound to alienate the Protestant workers, corrupted as they are by a caste mentality deliberately fostered by the British authorities and shaped by the historic system of imperialist rule in Ireland. At the same time it condemned as "utter stupidity" the failure to recognize the role of other factors than the directly economic in shaping history. The document stressed the oneness of the national and social struggle as the basis of revolutionary strategy in Ireland.

This document is symptomatic of a lot of new thinking going on in the republican leadership, the outcome of which cannot yet be predicted with certainty. Among other things, it is not at all clear what implications have been drawn from some of the new ideas that have been developing. To some extent, for example, the movement appears to be still paying the price of past political weaknesses on key questions, such as the failure to settle accounts on a realistic basis with the terrorist traditions of the Irish Republican Army.

In general, the political debate inside the republican movement is still being conducted within a largely traditional rather than scientific framework. This was reflected, for example, in the fact that the highest-level discussion took place on the women's liberation question, which is entirely

new to the movement. On the other hand, the worst discussion was undoubtedly on the cultural resolutions. The question of culture, in effect the role of the Irish language, is probably the area where the most metaphysical clutter has accumulated.

Nonetheless, within the still largely traditionalist context of republican politics, there was a sharper polarization at this *ard fheis* than at the last one, and this is probably what made the bourgeois journalists prick up their ears, while at the same time confusing them as to the nature of the issues.

Ironically, the vague division followed the same general lines as the split that led to formation of the Provisional IRA three years ago, that is, a division between a "metaphysical tendency" and an "analytical tendency." Of course, these are by no means factional groupings or even clear ideological tendencies, and the lines are still shifting. But the Stalinist-trained elements, as well as individuals influenced by other types of economism, seemed inclined to line up with those older republicans who continue to follow the traditional metaphysical approach of the IRA in a left form.

This trend is natural, since the abstract dogmatic formulas of vulgar Marxists tend to reduce socialist principles to a kind of metaphysics translated into economic terms, the category of the good being changed from the "national people" to the "working class." The irony lies in the fact that the metaphysicians, who have been most vociferous and absolutist in their condemnations of the Provisionals, tended to follow the same basic intellectual method as the ideologists of republican traditionalism who fostered and justified the split.

The same type of absolutist, moralistic condemnations that the Provisional leadership has hurled at the Officials found a counterpart, for example, in the presidential address of Tomás Mac Giolla, who placed full responsibility for a year of defeats on the rival republican organization. In the section of his speech given in Irish, he said:

"Anyone who thinks of the progress that could have been made if it were not for the madness of the Provisionals will understand the way the present generation of Irish people has been betrayed by the politicians of Fianna

Fáil [the ruling party in Dublin, a wing of which encouraged the Provisional split]. They will understand how important it is to say again and again and again that the madness of the Provisionals does not stem from republicanism but from the chiefs of Fianna Fáil, the new Redmondites [the old "constitutional" home-rule party that opposed the struggle for independence], who support the connection with England for the sake of their class interests."

These lines were not repeated in the English part of the speech, or in the summary printed in the January issue of the *United Irishman*, and thus were probably not grasped by the majority of the delegates and visitors. But although the formulations in the main part of the speech were more positive, they still tended to present the Provisionals with an outright ultimatum that they recognize the error of their ways and return to the fold.

"This was the purpose for which the Provisional Alliance was formed by Messrs. Blaney and Haughey with the approval of Lynch [i. e., to divert the struggle in the North]. They even took the name Sinn Féin, the better to distort our policies and objectives and create confusion amongst the people. Mr. Blaney has now openly admitted his part in splitting the Republican Movement and setting up the Provisionals. Mr. Haughey remains silent as he tries to crawl back to the seats of power and together with his Taca [the financial backers of Fianna Fáil] henchmen transfers his [real-estate] speculative activities to Belfast, where property is now going cheap as a result of the bombings which they did so much to finance and promote. . . .

"These men and their leader, Lynch, bear more responsibility for the bombs and violence in the North than do the brave but misguided people who plant them. And so do men like Tim Pat Coogan, editor of the Irish Press, who was the chief publicist for the Provisionals and not only turned the Press into a propaganda organ for them but sang their praises on Radio and Television. Like Fianna Fail he has now dropped them and is at present reputed to be writing a book about them to exploit, for his own private profit, the sufferings which he helped to create.

"Now that the origins of the Pro-

visionals are being clearly exposed and that their policies are being shown to be not only futile but disastrous, I would appeal to their members who may have been misled by lies and distortions, to examine our actions and policies. I am confident that they will find there is only one Republican Movement, only one Sinn Fein which stands uncompromisingly with the secularism and non-sectarianism of Tone, with the Separatism and Socialism of Pearse and Connolly and they will find it here."

Even when Mac Giolla seems to try to strike the most conciliatory note, he takes an abstract moralistic approach:

"Our enemy is Imperialism and Capitalism and their supporters in Ireland—Unionism which supports direct colonialism and Free Stateism which supports neo-colonialism. It is important to clearly identify our enemies; otherwise we may confuse them with our friends. When we say Unionism is the enemy, we must not regard every supporter of Unionism now as the enemy, just as when we say Free Stateism or neo-colonialism is the enemy we must not regard every supporter of Fianna Fail or Fine Gael as an enemy. To do so would be to say that the majority of people in Ireland, both Catholic and Protestant, are enemies. The working class is never the enemy, no matter to whom they give their allegiance at this time.

"We must therefore have precisely the same outlook towards the Protestant working class who support Unionism as we have toward the Catholic working class who support Fianna Fail . . ."

This passage directly follows the appeal to the Provisional ranks to renounce their errors, but strangely it does not say that they are not the enemy either (perhaps it includes them under "the Catholic working class who support Fianna F'ail"), although this might have helped reassure some members of the rival grouping.

In any case, every principle of politics indicates that such appeals are bound to provoke a negative response from the Provisionals. Such general denunciations, moreover, cannot educate the Official rank and file about the real political weaknesses of the Provisionals.

The failure of these absolutist pronouncements to help educate the Of-

ficial ranks politically was shown at the *ard fheis* quite clearly, not only by a flood of resolutions that condemned the sort of dogmatic Stalinoid articles against the Provisionals and the "Provo/Trots" that appeared in the *United Irishman* in the period of disorientation from May to September, but by other resolutions that implicitly or explicitly denied the existence of political differences between the two republican organizations.

A more fruitful approach would be a concrete and rigorously objective analysis of the Provisionals' composition and political dynamic, and a corresponding explanation of the differences separating the two groupings (which would mean coming to grips with some of the ambiguities of the stand of the Official leadership, such as on the question of terrorism). At the same time precise areas ought to be marked out where the interests of all who lay claim to the republican tradition come together and where cooperation is possible and necessary, as in the fight against repression.

"Condemnations" of the "Provisional Alliance," which have become almost a ritual in the Official Sinn Féin, serve no rational political purpose. Not only does such essentially moralistic, metaphysical absolutism have the practical effect of weakening the militant nationalist current in general; it tends to clog all the channels of thought in the Official movement itself, to poison discussion and introduce an atmosphere of dogmatism and suspicion. In particular, blaming all the defeats of the past year on the Provisionals is unpleasantly reminiscent of the Stalinist practice of looking for "traitors" when things go wrong. A more materialistic approach would be to analyze objectively the factors that enabled the Provisionals to grow and to play the "disastrous" role Mac Giolla ascribes to them, especially the errors of the Official movement that contributed to the growth of the rival grouping. A step in that direction was taken in the preamble of the resolution on the Northern question, and that was one of the most hopeful signs at the *ard fheis*.

The Official leadership has seen how harmful the growth of dogmatism can be, as manifested by, among other things, the reaction of its own members to the excesses that appeared for a while in the *United Irishman*. What-

ever the role of individuals or groups in fostering dogmatism, it was facilitated by the atmosphere of hysteria created, in essence, by the Officials' failure to deal politically with the problem of the Provisionals.

One of the most ominous aspects of this problem was the tendency of a de facto combination to develop between young republicans influenced by ultraleft currents, opposed in principle to any cooperation with "middle-class nationalists," and romanticizers of the "tough" methods of Stalinism, whose concept of political struggle consisted of issuing denunciations and lurid threats. The Stalinoid romantic posturing in particular was unpleasantly reminiscent of the attitude of the German Communist party in its ultraleft period, when it threatened to "liquidate" the Social Democratic workers at the very time the fascists were preparing in fact to liquidate both the CP and the Social Democrats.

The fact that for the first time some one-sided formulas, which seemed virtually sacrosanct in the Official movement over the past period, were challenged at the *ard fheis* was thus a very hopeful sign. It indicates that the Official republican movement has resumed its development and that the dogmatic carry-overs and tendencies may be surmounted.

But at the same time the metaphysical approach was still strong enough at this year's *ard fheis* to cost the Officials another important opportunity. The confusion of the journalists reporting the convention illustrates this failure. The Officials got little apparent benefit from the press coverage, just the dubious honor of some foggy speculation about internal power struggles. But if they had used the occasion to project a clear appeal to the Provisionals for united action against the Dublin government's repression, this could have carried powerful impact. As a new initiative, it would have helped substantially to clear away the dogmatic tendencies in Irish politics that have promoted the worst attitudes among the Provisionals as well as the Officials.

Nonetheless, there is every reason to believe that the Official republicans will be able to reorient themselves in a positive direction. After all, they built the most effective united-front campaign in modern Irish history, the civil-rights movement.

[To be continued.]

Two Angolan Groups Announce Unification

By Tony Thomas

The December 15 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported that on December 13 the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola—Peoples Liberation Movement of Angola) and the FNLA (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola—National Liberation Front of Angola), the two main liberation groups in Angola, had signed an agreement to unify their forces and had jointly set up the Supreme Liberation Council of Angola.

Holden Roberto, the leader of the FNLA was announced as chairman of the Supreme Liberation Council and Dr. Agostinho Neto, leader of the MPLA, was named as vice-chairman. The two organizations have equal representation on the council.

According to *Le Monde*, leadership of the military department of the Supreme Council was given to MPLA. This department is "in charge essentially of the recruitment and training of fighters as well as logistics and supplies." The "Angolan Political Council presided over by the FNLA will be responsible for propaganda, the diplomatic activities of the movement, and the administration of the liberated zones of Angola."

Since the beginning of the armed liberation struggle in Angola in the early 1960s, the MPLA and FNLA have been the two main forces in the struggle. At times their differences over perspectives for the Angolan revolution reached such sharpness that armed confrontations occurred between the two groups. The MPLA charged that the FNLA and its leader, Holden Roberto, were "agents of American imperialism" and of the Mobutu regime of Zaïre. Holden Roberto and the FNLA denied the charges.

The FNLA and the GRAE (Governo Revolucionário de Angola no Exílio—Revolutionary Government in Exile of Angola), both led by Holden Roberto, were officially recognized as the main group in the struggle by the Organization of African Unity—an organization of the African capitalist states. No aid or "recognition" was

given by the OAU to MPLA until after 1965 when it began to receive aid roughly equal to that given the FNLA.

At its June 1970 meeting, the OAU removed its recognition of the GRAE as a semiofficial government in exile of Angola. The OAU adopted the policy of demanding that the guerrilla groups in Angola and other imperialist-ruled countries unite their forces. At the June 12-14, 1972, meeting of the heads of state of the OAU, held at Rabat, Morocco, Neto and Roberto announced that they had begun steps toward unification.

The current agreement is in part the product of negotiations between the governments of the People's Republic

of Congo, in which the MPLA has bases, and Zaïre, where the FNLA is based. Previous to the agreement the MPLA was banned from having military, political, or medical facilities in Zaïre, where there are hundreds of thousands of Angolan expatriates and refugees.

It is not yet clear whether the two organizations will merge completely. *Le Monde* reported that the Supreme Council will meet "at least twice a year." Leaders of MPLA have stated that under the new agreement they will continue to function as an independent organization as in the past. It was also reported that public polemics between the two groups would now cease.

There was no report on the attitude the combined organization has adopted toward a third, smaller liberation organization, the UNITA (União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola). □

Anarchist Framed in Milan Bombing Case

Italian Government Releases Valpreda

At the end of December Pietro Valpreda, probably Italy's most well-known political prisoner, was released from the Regina Coeli (Queen of Heaven) penitentiary in Rome. He is accused of planting the bomb that exploded December 12, 1969, in the Banco d'Agricoltura in Milan, killing sixteen persons. Although he had been held for three years, the Italian government never brought him to trial. His release, along with that of three codefendants, came after the parliament voted a bill December 14 allowing bail even in capital cases. The provision went into effect with what seemed unusual speed and was termed the "Valpreda law" by the Italian press.

"Was Valpreda a scapegoat?" *Le Monde's* Rome correspondent asked. "Certainly. When he came to Milan the day after the crime to answer a summons in another case, he was arrested on evidence whose flimsiness has become evident over the years.

In the last analysis, it was only the testimony of a now dead taxi driver that pointed the finger of suspicion at him."

Nonetheless, even when two fascists were charged with the Milan bombings last August, the government did not move to release Valpreda and the other defendants. Presumably it would have been embarrassing to have to drop the charges since the authorities had alleged that another anarchist, Giuseppe Pinelli, jumped to his death from a window high up in police headquarters out of feelings of guilt.

"To put it mildly, Valpreda is a very painful thorn in the side of the Italian police and judiciary," *Politiken's* Rome correspondent wrote in the December 17 issue of the Copenhagen daily. A recent attempt by a mysterious uniformed man to get into Valpreda's room in the prison clinic convinced the Danish reporter that the Italian government was determined to get rid of its inconvenient scapegoat one way or another. □

'Welsh Nation' Reviews 'Land or Death'

[The following review of the Peruvian Trotskyist leader Hugo Blanco's book *Land or Death* is from the November 17 issue of *Welsh Nation*, the weekly English-language organ of Plaid Cymru (the Welsh Nationalist party). A year subscription to this paper can be obtained from 8 Queen Street, Cardiff, Wales, for £3.25 (about US\$8.00).]

* * *

"Land or Death!" is the slogan of the thousands of Quechua Indians in South America who are beginning to take back their lands from the privileged upper classes in that sub-continent.

The slogan is also the title (*Land or Death, the Peasant Struggle in Peru*, by Hugo Blanco; Pathfinder Press, New York; cloth £2.90, paper £1.05) of recently-published writings of one of the leaders of the Peasant Struggle in Peru, Hugo Blanco. Blanco has written about the struggle for land while in El Frontón Island Prison.

Blanco was suddenly released in 1970 after serving a part of his 25-year sentence. Several times during the Peasants' Struggle, Blanco was nearly assassinated and at his trial he expected the death sentence because of the hatred. In the book, Blanco records his thanks to those international, national and local pressures that saved him.

To us today the underdevelopment in Peru seems obviously an induced state of affairs. Less than 400 years ago sophisticated civilizations were here.

Then, in Blanco's own city of Cuzco, the Indian had slouched along the streets with his "poncho" and his whispered Quechua language; he had never dared, even when drunk, to speak his Quechua out loud. He was fearful of the "misti" (the non-Indian) who was master of the city.

Blanco became one of the leaders of the peasants' unions, and he and his comrades came into conflict with the landowners. The struggle of the Quechua Indians is shown to be grounded in their growing consciousness of how they are oppressed and how they

can work their way out of existing oppressive relationships.

Throughout the campaigns, the peasants are told that they could get their own hands on the land only through their own power, not through the compromising methods other conciliatory parties advocated.

First priority was given to the mobilization of the mass of poor people, who would gather together, perhaps for the first time in their lives, to speak out in their own language about their

Fear for Life of Angel Enrique Brandazza

Protest Kidnapping of Peronist Youth

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners is participating in efforts to save the life of Angel Enrique Brandazza, an Argentine student active in the Peronist youth, who disappeared in Rosario on November 28, 1972.

On that day, Brandazza left the Monterrey Smeltery with a friend. After they separated, a stranger ran up to Brandazza, apparently to identify him, and disappeared into a sky-blue automobile. Three hours later, in the center of Rosario, the trunk of a sky-blue auto flew open. A young man jumped out and ran down the street shouting, "My name is Brandazza; the police have kidnapped me."

He was recaptured by armed civilians and has not been seen since. Brandazza's mother, brother, and two friends were detained by the police on the same day.

On December 5 a writ of habeas corpus was filed by the Buenos Aires Forum for the Protection of Human Rights and the Lawyers' Guild of the Federal Capital. Although the Ministry of the Interior, the federal police, and the army denied that Brandazza was being held, the Justice Department said that the Rosario Federal Police Delegation had issued a warrant for Brandazza's arrest for possession of

grievances before getting ready for action—work stoppages, strikes, etc.

Blanco's guerrilla activity is recorded in some chapters which has its significance and his commitment is to broaden the base of support for the general principles of property ownership and land reform.

There are striking passages in the book on the building up of responsibility among illiterate, garrulous Peruvians, and charming short epics on their virtues of courage and concern for others.

This vast country usually gets very little attention by our mass media until a devastating earthquake hits it. These writings should help us to learn more of Peru and be a source of inspiration for community action in Wales. □

subversive materials. Upon his release from detention, Brandazza's brother said that one of his police interrogators told him, "It's to your benefit to talk. Angel Enrique already has."

While the habeas corpus hearing dragged on, student demonstrators protesting the kidnapping raised barricades in central Rosario and threw Molotov cocktails. Telegrams were sent to General Perón requesting his aid.

A petition demanding that Brandazza be returned alive was signed by the Partido Justicialista (Justicialist party), the Regional General Confederation of Labor (CGT), Socialismo Revolucionario (Revolutionary Socialism), Juventud Peronista (Peronist Youth), Movimiento Popular Antiimperialista (Popular Anti-imperialist Movement), Partido Socialista Popular, (Popular Socialist party), Agrupación de Abogados (Lawyers' League), Movimiento de Solidaridad con los Presos Políticos (Solidarity Movement With Political Prisoners), and the Partido Popular Santafecino (Popular party of Santa Fe).

On December 15, the Lawyers' League held a strike to protest Brandazza's kidnapping and to remind the public of the similar disappearance two years ago of attorney Nestor Martins and his client, Nildo Zenteno. □

Rhodesia Imposes Blockade on Zambia

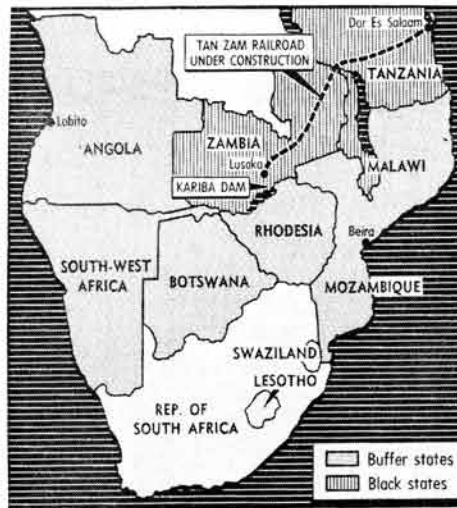
In response to mounting activity in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) from guerrillas operating out of neighboring Zambia, the white minority Rhodesian government closed its 400-mile border with Zambia January 9. The Ian Smith government announced that it would not reopen the border until the Zambian government agreed to stop "harboring" guerrilla movements.

On January 10, it was joined by South Africa in imposing trade sanctions against Zambia. A transport ministry spokesman in Johannesburg said that the state-owned South African railroad had agreed to a Rhodesian government request to ban freight bound for Zambia. Zambia buys foodstuffs, mining equipment, and explosives from South Africa.

The Rhodesian government exempted copper from its blockade of Zambia, since it did not want to lose the revenue it earns from the 27,500 tons of Zambian copper that travels through Zimbabwe each month on its way to the Mozambique port of Beira on the Indian Ocean. On January 11, however, the Zambian government announced that it would retaliate against the Smith regime by rerouting the copper it has been shipping through Rhodesia, which accounts for about half of its total copper exports. Copper is its main foreign-exchange earner.

Zambia also extended its retaliatory move to South Africa, its second largest trading partner and sole source of the equipment for its copper mines. "Zambia cannot be blackmailed," a government spokesman said. Also affected by the blockade will be the large amounts of coke from Zimbabwe's Wankie coalfields, which Zambia's industry still requires.

Much of Zambia's copper is expected to be shipped by truck to Dar es Salaam. The Tan Zam railroad currently under construction will not be completed until 1975. Some Zambian goods also travel by rail to Lobito in Portuguese Angola, and should the present confrontation between the white regimes in southern Africa and the Black regimes to the north escalate, the Rhodesian and South African governments can be expected to



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apply pressure on the Portuguese to close Lobito to Zambian traffic.

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia defied the Ian Smith regime on January 10 by reaffirming his country's "solidarity with those gallant people struggling for their freedom" in southern Africa. "We cannot be passive observers to a situation that daily affects our people, particularly on our long borders," he said. "We have already suffered the consequences of our geographical proximity to the den of iniquity and mass exploitation."

On January 12, Ghana's head of state, Colonel Ignatius Kutu Acheampong, called on Black African states

to rally to Zambia's defense and take "concerted action" against the economic blockade imposed by Rhodesia. "Let our brothers in Zimbabwe and Zambia take one white Rhodesian each and they will be liquidated in a matter of days," he said, according to the January 14 *New York Times*.

A report from Salisbury in the January 11 *New York Times* indicated "unexpectedly strong" criticism of the blockade by some white Rhodesian political parties, including the moderate Center party and the newly formed conservative Rhodesia party. The latter, reported Ronald Legge in the January 14 *New York Times*, even went so far as to assert that "the recent spate of guerrilla raids was due less to Zambia's playing host to terrorists than to the fact that the guerrilla infiltrators were receiving internal support from the Rhodesian African people. This was the first time any section of the white population had openly contested the governing Rhodesia Front party assertion that the African population was the most contented on the entire continent."

Meanwhile, three government land inspectors were ambushed in daylight January 12 near Mount Darwin, 100 miles north of Salisbury. Two were machine-gunned to death and the third was kidnapped. The inspectors, according to a Reuters dispatch from Salisbury January 13, "enforce game laws unpopular with blacks."

Nationalist groups thought to be responsible for the recent guerrilla operations are the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union and the Zimbabwe African Nationalist Union. □

Makarios Will Run Again in Cyprus

"It is already accepted that Monsignor Makarios, president of the Cypriot republic since its founding in 1959, will be re-elected by a massive majority in the elections scheduled to take place February 18," *Le Monde's* correspondent wrote from Nikosia in a dispatch in the December 31 issue of the Paris daily.

The dispatch also noted that Makarios's decision to run for reelection constituted "defiance of the Holy Synod of the [Greek Orthodox] Autocephalous Church of Cyprus," which has called upon the arch-

bishop to cast off his "temporal responsibilities."

Under the constitution that divides the governmental powers between the island's Greek majority and the Turkish minority, only Greeks will vote for president. The vice president, on the other hand, will be elected by the Turkish Cypriots.

In the first presidential elections in 1959, Makarios got 66 percent of the vote. But after almost a decade of strong tensions between the Greek and Turkish communities, he increased his majority to 96 percent in 1968.

U.S. Seeks to Deport Three Iranians

Babak Zahraie, Siamak Zahraie, and Bahram Atai, activists in the Iranian Student Association and the Foreign Student Council at the University of Washington in Seattle, face deportation from the United States because of their outspoken opposition to the shah's tyranny. If they are forced to return to Iran, the three face imprisonment or worse.

In 1971, Babak Zahraie was elected president of both the Iranian Student Association and the Foreign Student Council (FSC). He played a leading role that year in the FSC-led movement to roll back a tuition increase. Bahram Atai and Siamak Zahraie were associate editors of *International*, a publication of the FSC.

In February 1972 B. Zahraie was arrested by immigration authorities who leveled various charges against him, including that of being a "subversive." Although that accusation was dropped, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) ruled that Babak Zahraie had no legal status in the United States and ordered him deported.

Zahraie, who is married to a U.S. citizen, has applied for permanent residence in the United States, but the INS has refused to accept his application. His deportation has been delayed pending an administrative appeal within the INS.

The Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie, was formed to oppose the deportation, and Bahram Atai became its secretary. Atai's functioning in the committee was followed—doubtless by pure coincidence—by the U.S. government's discovery of the alleged fact that he had violated his visa by not remaining a full-time student during 1972. Atai was also ordered deported. The government chose to ignore a letter submitted by the University of Washington registrar affirming that Atai had fulfilled all the requirements of a full-time student by making up some unfinished courses and by receiving his degree.

Atai is now a full-time graduate student at the University of Portland in Oregon.

In December 1972, the government went a step further, ordering the deportation by January 15 of Siamak Zahraie, Babak's brother. John P. Boyd, Seattle district director of the INS, claimed that Siamak Zahraie was not a "bona fide student" during the winter of 1972 because—with the permission of his faculty adviser—he took only six credits that semester. He is now enrolled in a Ph.D. program at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst.

The Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie is trying to postpone the deportation order while they appeal the decision, and is now defending all three students.

The committee has been endorsed by former senators Wayne Morse and

Eugene McCarthy, Representative Joel Pritchard (Republican—Washington), Gloria Steinem, Noam Chomsky, and the student governments of the University of Washington and the University of California at Berkeley.

Michael Withey, a Seattle lawyer, is acting as attorney in all three cases. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has also joined in the defense of Babak Zahraie.

In an interview reported in the January 19 *Militant*, Atai declared: ". . . the attack against us is an attack on the basic civil liberties of all foreign students and naturalized citizens, and our defense is a defense not only of the individuals involved but of the civil liberties of all."

The committee has issued a request for funds to pay for legal expenses and publicity. The address of the Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie is Box 133, HUB, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington 98105. □

New Witch-Hunt Bill Comes in Handy

Sinn Fein Leader Seized in Dublin

Ruairí O Brádaigh, president of Sinn Féin, the political wing of the Provisional republican movement, was sentenced to six months imprisonment January 11 by a special tribunal in Dublin. He was charged with being a member of an "illegal organization," the Irish Republican Army. O Brádaigh is the second major Provisional leader jailed by the Lynch government since it began its latest repressive drive in November. The alleged chief of the Provisional IRA, Seán Mac Stiofáin, was sentenced to a six-month term on November 25, also on charges of belonging to an "illegal organization."

O Brádaigh was arrested, in fact, on December 29, the day before he was scheduled to be the keynote speaker at a rally in Dublin protesting both Mac Stiofáin's jailing and the government's reinforcing its repressive legislation.

The Provisional Sinn Féin leader's arrest was first announced at a press

conference of the Irish Civil Rights Association in the organization's headquarters at 14 Parnell Square. Gabriel Kennedy, a representative of the Irish Northern Aid Committee, the American support group of the Provisionals, came into the room at the end of the conference and said that O Brádaigh had just been "dragged off" by the police while talking to him outside the Sinn Féin headquarters on Kevin Street.

The Sinn Féin head had been arrested on the same charge in June, but the court had to dismiss the case. The new "Amendment to the Offenses Against the State Act" passed December 2 simplified the prosecutor's task:

"Under the new law," the *New York Times* noted in its January 12 issue, "a person may be convicted on the evidence of a senior police officer. Chief Superintendent John Fleming, head of Ireland's Special Branch [political police], said he believed Mr. O'Bradaigh was a member of the I. R. A." □

Dutch Reviewers Debate Trotsky Movie

[The following review by Lisette Lewin of Joseph Losey's film *The Assassination of Trotsky* was published in the December 9, 1972, issue of the Amsterdam *NRC/Handelsblad*, from which we have translated it.]

* * *

Whenever a television station puts on a good opera — which unfortunately is seldom — the TV reviewers defer to the music editor. The same thing goes for books. On most newspapers it is clearly understood that a book is not always just a book but may for example be a book about insects and in that case it can be better reviewed by an entomologist. This is an elementary rule. If it is followed, you can at least be sure no mistakes will be made. And newspapers try as much as possible to avoid making mistakes. I myself make a lot of errors. Figures, for example, are not my forte. But my readers need not worry about that. In Rotterdam somebody reads my galleys and comes up with such sharp questions as: "Hey, you say 40,000 plus 3,000, so why do you write 43,000,000?"

Then the quick-footed editors are onto me. I would like to make a useful suggestion. Let the film reviewers submit to the same principle. Take, for example, the movie "The Assassination of Trotsky." An important film, if only because of the advance publicity and the renown of the director, Joseph Losey.

But the reviews have been amateurish. None of them is adequate. One of the more serious was written in this paper by Ellen Waller, so I can say that in good conscience. I did not agree with her, but that is all right with our excellent editors.

Now I will go over to reviewing the reviews of two outstanding critics on two outstanding papers, *De Volkskrant* and *Het Parool*. In the former, BJB prefaced his review with the remark: "The background of the murder of the Russian revolutionist Lev Davidovich Trotsky has never been cleared up. He was struck down with

a pickaxe in a hotel room in Mexico City in August 1940. He died of his wounds. The nationality of his murderer, who may have been an agent of Stalin, is unknown. He is supposed to have died insane in prison. This man claimed to be a Belgian and possessed a Canadian passport. But he took his identity with him to his grave."

Was no information sheet handed out to the press, you wonder despairingly. Or was a false one handed out? If so, why?

1. The background of Trotsky's murder has been very well clarified.

2. On August 20, 1940, he was assassinated in his study in his fortified villa in Coyoacán on the outskirts of Mexico, a home which he seldom, if ever, left. Let's leave aside the question of whether he was killed in a hotel room. Under the command of the Mexican painter David Siqueiros, an unsuccessful attempt on Trotsky's life had already been made in May 1940. His bedroom was riddled with bullet holes. Trotsky and his wife dived under the bed and miraculously escaped. In November of this year [1972], Siqueiros admitted for the first time, to a reporter for the Dominican magazine *Ahora*, the true story of this attack and his part in it.

3. There is no reason for BJB's doubts about the identity of the murderer. He was twenty-seven-year-old Jaime Ramón Mercader del Río Hernández, alias Frank Jacson, alias Vandendreschd, alias Jacques Mornard. Born in Barcelona in 1914, he was imprisoned in Mexico in 1940 under the false name Jacques Mornard. He was released in 1960, three months before his sentence ran out.

He was taken secretly by the Mexican authorities to the airport, where he was handed over to two officials from the Czechoslovak embassy, Oldrich Novicky and Edward Foulches. The three of them got into a waiting plane and flew to Havana. Subsequently, Ramón went to Prague. I don't know for sure whether he is still

alive, but he hasn't taken his identity with him to his grave.

The *New York Times* wrote in May 1960, for example, that although it had already been pretty well established that Trotsky's murderer was sent by Stalin, the fact that the Spaniard got a Czech diplomatic passport was the final proof. In the well-known book by Isaac Don Levine, *The Mind of an Assassin*, many facts are given showing Ramón's identity, such as fingerprints, always incontrovertible evidence. The book reads like a detective story, a somewhat sensationalistic American account of the murder and the psychiatric examination of the murderer. From this story, it seems that Losey's type casting of Alain Delon was not so far off. Levine presents one proof after another that the operation was masterminded by Stalin's secret police, the NKVD.

Levine's book contains so many romantic but true facts that you see before your eyes the film that should be made. Ramón deeply loved his mother, who personally led troops in the Spanish civil war. She must have been a very beautiful woman. Then there is the complicated way the handsome murderer used Sylvia Ageloff's Stalinist women "friends" to make the acquaintance in Paris of Trotsky's unattractive and naïve protégée. Too romantic. Losey did not use this. Maybe he was right.

Het Parool's C. B. Doolaard is also ignorant of the simplest facts, but in contrast to BJB he pretends to know what he is talking about. Doolaard's ignorance does not inhibit him from throwing a few gibes in Trotsky's direction. That might be all right, but not on the basis of a few quotes off the top of your head. Doolaard also napped a little in the theater. And at the supreme moment, I might add. According to him, the murder weapon was a "hatchet."

The critics hacked away. Martin Schouten of the *Haagse Post* was the only one, as far as I know, who not only dealt seriously with the film but answered BJB's question: "What motives could a man like Joseph Losey have had for coming back to this theme in a film shot in 1972?" As an old Stalinist, as he explained at the film's premiere in Paris, the sixty-three-year-old Losey has been affected by the figure of Trotsky. In the 1930s, he attended a theatrical school in Moscow. He returned as a convinced

Stalinist. "At that time, Trotskyism seemed to be a curse of intellectuals who would rather talk than act," he said in Paris.

Losey, who had so much trouble from McCarthyism that he went to work in England, began to take an interest in Trotsky when a former "fellow black-listee," Mosley, wrote the script and to Losey's astonishment was genuinely "favorable" to the Russian leader. The film is interesting for that reason alone. The Trotskyists find it inadequate, apolitical, sensationalistic, commercialized, and insipid. Some suspect that "Losey's careful study of the methods and sinister stunts of the GPU made him apprehensive of the legitimate heirs of this institution" (M. Perianez in the May 20 issue of *Vrij Nederland*).

Perhaps — but that is just a guess — this explains the kind of information sheets that were handed out to reviewers.

After I saw the film, I felt as if I had gotten a hard chop in the neck, plaintive and half-numbed. Anybody so affected by a film must have liked it. But later I realized that what made this impression was the beauty of the images, which Martin Schouten called Chekov-like, and the bullfight, a revolting institution which, in my opinion, was used correctly to symbolize the revolting things that happen in this world. Naturally I didn't comprehend all this at first.

Before I wrote this piece, I looked around for an expert. He recommended a review to me, an interesting one because the author was someone who was directly involved in the events around Trotsky's murder, Joseph Hansen.¹ According to Levine's book, Hansen was the head of Trotsky's bodyguard in Mexico and was his secretary as well. At present he is the editor of *Intercontinental Press*, a magazine published in New York.

How did Hansen like the film? Not very much. The texts that the film Trotsky, Richard Burton, speaks into his dictaphone with a fine Shakespearean accent are taken out of their context, according to Hansen, and here and there entirely out of the script-writer's head.

Trotsky's principle of "uncondition-

al support for the Soviet Union" is never acknowledged in the film. As for the historical details, Hansen thinks that the reconstruction of the house and walls was excellent. The unsuccessful attempt on Trotsky's life was well presented, except for the role of the murdered guard, Robert Sheldon Harte. If you believed the film, you would think that he was an accomplice. In his historic interview, Siqueiros denied this.

The costuming, according to Hansen, was completely wrong. The dictaphone shown in the film, he remarks bitingly, was "an electronic wonder." He has manifold political objections, which are too involved to go into here. He was astonished at Losey's reconstruction of Trotsky's study. Not only did the director show a spick-and-span study, whereas the real one was horribly cluttered,² but the things the film showed, as Trotsky's secretary saw it, were extraordinary.

There was a neat stack of *Newsweek*, *Life*, and *Time* magazines. Trotsky found *Time* magazine so pretentious and so tasteless that he never

2. This is exaggerated. The *study* was "spick and span"; but the manuscripts gave Trotsky's *desk* the "appearance" of disorder. — IP

In the next paragraph of Lewin's review, another small inaccuracy occurs. The film does not show a *stack* of the indicated magazines but single copies of *Newsweek* and *Life*. *Time* magazine appears in a different scene. The device used by Losey to advertise this Luce publication was to have Burton read it. — IP

Pamphlet Scores U.S. CP on Czech Trials

The controversy in world Stalinism sparked by the trials of political dissidents in Czechoslovakia provides the material for *The Czechoslovak Frame-up Trials and the U.S. Communist Party* by Caroline Lund (Pathfinder Press, New York, 1973. 16 pp. \$.35.) The contents include Jiri Pelikan's "Appeal to Angela Davis" and statements opposing the repressions from the Italian, Dutch, and Australian Communist parties (reprinted from *Intercontinental Press*, October 30, 1972). Lund contributes two articles replying to Erik Bert's defense of the trials in the U.S. Communist party's newspaper, the *Daily World*.

Predictably, Bert found it easier to slander his opponents than to answer their arguments. Pelikan, for instance, is ac-

read it, Hansen recalls. He did not pay any attention to *Life* or *Newsweek* either. Losey could, for example, have put some Trotskyist papers on the Russian revolutionist's desk. *Clave*, for example, a Mexican paper that Trotsky seems to have read a lot during his exile.³ The image that the film gives of Trotsky's wife, Natalia, a pleasant, smiling, self-effacing housewife not only aroused the ire of the feminists, but Hansen's too. A kind of "Mrs. Maigret." Or: "a real American housewife," Hansen sneers.

Sitting in his seat in the movie theater, he thought: "This is the image of Leon Trotsky created by the Stalinists in their anti-Trotskyist campaigns of the twenties and thirties."

As regards the quality of the film, the Trotskyist and non-Trotskyist reviewers were at one. One of the great objections to the film was precisely that it assumed too much knowledge. One of those attending the premiere in Paris was asked "Who was Trotsky?" He answered: "Oh, a ballet dancer, I think, wasn't she?" □

3. Another slight exaggeration. The entire Trotskyist press was closely followed by Trotsky, and copies of its newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets always crossed his desk before they were filed. Trotsky was especially interested in *Clave* for various reasons. Among them was the fact that articles in it might be taken to reflect his personal views or influence, thus affecting his exile in Mexico. The magazine was founded with the close collaboration of Diego Rivera after Trotsky's arrival in Mexico; and the editors consulted with Trotsky about their projects and policies. — IP

cused of participation in "an antisocialist espionage network."

Lund points out the antagonism to workers' democracy that underlies the Stalinist defense of the trials. She scores a telling point on this by quoting Bert's view on the Czech workers' councils. Bert wrote:

"Pelikan complains that the so-called 'Workers Councils, formed in 1968 and dissolved in 1969, have been defined as 'instruments of counterrevolution'."

"But that is precisely what they were. They were organized by the antisocialist revisionists in order to extend their base, from journalists and intellectuals and students, into the working class.

"They succeeded in some degree, in penetrating the working class, arousing near hysteria, threatening general strikes. . . ."

1. See "Losey's Assassination of Leon Trotsky" in *Intercontinental Press*, October 23, 1972, p. 1150. — IP

TEN YEARS—History and Principles of the Left Opposition

By Max Shachtman

Introduction

Next fall the world Trotskyist movement will celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the Left Opposition, the faction in the Russian Communist party that came to the defense of the program of Leninism against the threat to it emanating from the rising bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. The struggle under the leadership of Leon Trotsky against the retrograde forces headed by Stalin became extended throughout the Third International, leading in 1930 to formation of the International Left Opposition. This international faction prepared the way for the Fourth International, the World Party of the Socialist Revolution, which was founded in 1938.

As part of the preparations for observing the fiftieth anniversary, we have decided to republish *Ten Years—History and Principles of the Left Opposition*, a pamphlet published in 1933 in celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Left Opposition. The author, Max Shachtman, was at that time one of the main leaders of the American Trotskyist movement.

In its day, this pamphlet helped educate a generation of English-speaking revolutionary Marxists. Today it has been virtually forgotten, in part because of the subsequent political evolution of the author, who ended up in the right wing of the Social Democracy.* Yet it is still of value, providing in particular a clear presentation of the key programmatic issues dividing Trotskyism from Stalinism as they stood forty years ago and as they still stand in the main.

It is hardly necessary to stress the fact that the pamphlet is now chiefly of historical interest. What is surprising is how well it still stands up. Of course some of the events dealt with now appear remote and many names mean nothing to the present generation however well-known they once were in the left and in the labor movement. For those who would like more information on these topics, we suggest the volumes of Trotsky's writings published in the last few years by Pathfinder Press, which contain excellent notes covering that period. Isaac Deutscher's biography of Trotsky is also a good reference source.

On the political and theoretical level the pamphlet has in certain aspects long been superseded. It may be worthwhile to indicate these.

The most glaring, perhaps, is the absence of any reference to "peaceful coexistence." The reason for this is

simple enough. The pamphlet was written when the Stalinist movement was following an ultraleft course—the "third period," as it was called in the Stalinist lexicon. Consequently the author strikes hard against Stalinist ultra-leftism.

That Stalinism went through such a period may seem hardly credible to those who have known it only in association with "popular frontism" and the flagrant class-collaborationism of summit conferences. Yet that was the case. And Stalinist ultraleftism was expressed not only in sectarian policies; it was also expressed in violent actions, *minority violence*, to use a current expression. The turn to popular frontism and "peaceful coexistence" came after the victory of Hitler, becoming the "new line" at the seventh congress of the Communist International in 1935.

However, the policy of "peaceful coexistence" did not appear full blown. It goes back to 1924, being rooted in Stalin's theory and practice of building "socialism in one country." It is easy in reading *Ten Years—History and Principles of the Left Opposition* to trace the lineage of "peaceful coexistence."

The date Shachtman placed on his pamphlet was January 1933. His foreword, however, was dated November 1933. The delay in publication was probably caused by the extraordinary efforts the Communist League of America went to in the intervening period to arouse the Communist International to the danger Hitler represented. The small organization of American Trotskyists concentrated all its resources on dramatizing through every possible avenue the meaning of the Nazi seizure of power and the threat this represented, particularly to the Soviet Union.

The delay in publication left its mark in the pamphlet. The foreword declares the bankruptcy of the Communist International and calls for building "a new Communist International." The document itself was written in accordance with an analysis that pointed to a different conclusion—against forming a new international and for remaining a faction devoted to reforming the Communist International. This was the position of the Trotskyist movement up until July 1933.

The immediate reasons for the change in position in 1933 were political. The debacle in Germany, where the Communist party permitted the Nazis to come to power without a fight, plus the failure of the Communist parties in other countries to recognize the enormity of the defeat, or even that a defeat had occurred, was taken as proof of a qualitative change for the worse in the degeneration of the Communist International. The Stalinist bureaucracy had shown itself to be incapable of responding in a vigorous way to even such a threat as the Nazi conquest of power in the heart of Europe.

*He died November 4, 1972, at the age of sixty-eight. For an account of his political evolution see "Max Shachtman 1904-1972" by Milton Alvin in the December 1, 1972, issue of *The Militant*, and "Max Shachtman: A Political Portrait" by George Novack in the February, 1972, issue of the *International Socialist Review*.

From the viewpoint of Marxist theory, however, the empirical evidence, damning as it was, was insufficient. A deeper analysis was called for. Up to this time the Stalinist current had been characterized as "bureaucratic centrism," a concept that constitutes the guiding line in Shachtman's portrayal of Stalinism in his pamphlet. As Shachtman explains, one of the main features of the Stalinist faction had been its tendency to zigzag under the pressure of contradictory forces. Thus it had made unprincipled and very dangerous concessions to the kulaks in the Soviet Union and to such bourgeois political formations abroad as the Kuomintang. Yet it had also responded (in its own way) to the pressure of the Left Opposition, taking over, for instance, the Left Opposition's program of industrialization and economic planning in the Soviet Union. Why, then, had the "bureaucratic centrist" faction failed to respond to pressure from the left in face of the obviously immense danger represented by Hitler's rise to power?

The underlying theoretical problem was taken up by Trotsky in an article dated February 1, 1935, "The Workers' State, Thermidor and Bonapartism" (see *Writings of Leon Trotsky [1934-35]*, pp. 166-84). Trotsky held in this article that it was necessary to make an adjustment in the analogy that had been drawn by the Left Opposition between the degeneration of the Russian revolution and the degeneration of the French revolution. The Left Opposition had held that the Soviet Union faced the danger of "Thermidor" but that Thermidor had not yet occurred. (This view stands at the heart of Shachtman's pamphlet.) Trotsky said that closer analysis showed that the Soviet Thermidor "is not before us but already far behind." It had occurred "approximately" in 1924-25.

However, Trotsky pointed out, it was necessary to refine the concept of the Soviet Thermidor. Whereas the Soviet Thermidor had previously been thought of as a counter-revolution that would restore capitalist property relations, what had actually occurred was the dispossession of the working class from political power. "In its social foundation and economic tendencies, the USSR still remains a workers' state." The Soviet Thermidor had taken place on the political level; and while it had had grievous economic and social consequences it had not destroyed the socialist economic foundations laid down as a result of the October Revolution.

One of the main consequences of this deepgoing analysis was the conclusion that the Soviet workers' state can be regenerated only through a political revolution, that is, through ousting the usurping bureaucracy from power by revolutionary means and restoring proletarian democracy.

The analysis brought fresh insight into the nature of the bureaucratic *caste*, a term used by Shachtman but not in the profound sense Trotsky gave to it in 1935. In the light of Trotsky's 1935 analysis, which he amplified in 1936 in his book *The Revolution Betrayed*, it is clear that the bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union is the most contradictory social formation yet seen in the history of class societies.

In its greed, its reactionary conservatism, its opportunism, and its ruthless insistence on retaining power, it has the characteristics of a decayed ruling class; yet in its economic base it is dependent on property forms of the most advanced nature, property forms that in principle belong to the classless society of the future. The bureau-

cratic caste therefore has no economic reason for existence so far as Soviet society is concerned; its role is that of a parasitic growth.

The inadequacy of the concept of "bureaucratic centrism" now becomes quite apparent. The shifts in policy of a caste that holds state power and that acts like an outmoded ruling class are qualitatively different from the shifts of a political faction responsive to the pressures of factions sharing state power but standing to its right and left. The term "bureaucratic centrism," which places the emphasis on the political level, stands in the way of clear appreciation of how heavily the course of the governing layer is determined by the economic parasitism of the vast state bureaucracy.

Viewed from this angle, Stalin, as the chief representative of the bureaucratic caste, stood to the right of the faction headed by Bukharin. The bureaucratic caste swept over all the groupings that dated from the proletarian democracy of Lenin's time. The process begun by the Soviet Thermidor led to the liquidation of the October 1917 generation as a whole, culminating in the assassination of Trotsky in 1940.

Trotsky dropped further use of the term "bureaucratic centrism." In a letter to James P. Cannon dated October 10, 1937, he noted in passing how inappropriate the term had become: "Some comrades continue to characterize Stalinism as 'bureaucratic centrism.' This characterization is now totally out of date. On the international arena, Stalinism is no longer centrism, but the crudest form of opportunism and social patriotism. See Spain!"

Shachtman failed to grasp the full meaning of Trotsky's new contribution. The key difficulty, it became clear later, was his inability to entertain the concept of such a highly contradictory phenomenon as the bureaucratic caste. He was not a dialectician, although he claimed to be a defender of the Marxist method.

This weakness showed up in acute form at the opening of World War II. The signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact completely disoriented Shachtman; and when the Soviet armies invaded Poland and Finland, he gave up defense of the workers' state against imperialism.

This collapse in his political positions required theoretical justification. Shachtman found it in the theory advanced by others that the Soviet bureaucracy is a ruling class of a type hitherto unknown in history and unanticipated by Marxist theory. He labeled his version of the supposed new class "bureaucratic collectivism."

The main flaw in this theory is the underlying assumption that planned economy will not work without the "new class"—it plays an economically necessary role. This view separated Shachtman from Trotskyism, paving the way for his subsequent political degeneration. In his war against the "new class," he joined the camp of the Social Democracy and became a supporter of "democratic" capitalism.

* * *

In republishing *Ten Years — History and Principles of the Left Opposition*, we have corrected a few obvious typographical errors. We have not made any stylistic changes beyond catching a few inconsistencies. In particular we have left references to the Social Democracy and the Socialist party as Shachtman wrote them — no capital letters.

He belonged, at least in the thirties, to the school that considers the use or nonuse of capital letters to be a way of indicating the relative importance of certain nouns. In the case of the Social Democracy it was his way of

showing the bottomless contempt he felt for the reformist international.

— Joseph Hansen

January 7, 1973

Foreword

Since this pamphlet was first written, a number of events have taken place which should be borne in mind in reading what follows. Outstanding among these events is the cruel defeat suffered by the German working class at the hands of triumphant Fascism. The victory of the barbaric capitalist reaction in Germany was made possible essentially by the impotence of the proletariat. In turn, that was induced by the craven treachery of the party of the Second International, and the bankruptcy into which the official Communist party was thrown by Stalinism.

The collapse of the German Communist party removes from the dwindling ranks of the Communist International the last of its sections possessing any mass following or influence. What is left of this organization lies prostrate, bleeding from a thousand wounds, rendered incapable of rising again as a revolutionary or progressive force by the stranglehold of the Russian Soviet bureaucracy.

The defeat of the German proletariat and its Communist party is the terrifying payment they were forced to make for the demoralization, disorientation and bureaucratic Centrism to which they were subjected for ten years by the Stalinist machine. The German working class must now suffer all the diabolical torture of the Hitlerite savages, and as a consequence, the working class of the entire world is also set back. Not because the triumph of Fascism was inevitable. Quite the contrary. Had the German proletariat been mobilized in the united front movement for which we agitated unremittingly, and for which we were condemned as counter-revolutionists and "social-Fascists," the Brown Shirts would have been crushed and never have reached the seat of power. The social democrats on the one hand, and the Stalinists on the other, stood like boulders in the path of the working class. Instead of the accelerator of the revolution, the Stalinists acted as a brake upon it.

This foreword can pretend only to the briefest reference to the new problems, for a more extensive elucidation of which the voluminous literature of our movement must

be consulted. Suffice it to say that the German events, and the bureaucratic self-contentment and unconcern, deepening of the errors and disintegration of Stalinism and its parties which followed them, have brought us to the ineluctable conclusion:

That the Communist International has been strangled by Stalinism, is bankrupt, is beyond recovery or restoration on Marxian foundations;

That the internally devoured Stalinist parties which proved so impotent at the decisive moment of struggle against the class enemy in China, then in swift succession in Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, now in Czechoslovakia, tomorrow elsewhere—will never be able to deal with the burning problems of the struggle in any of the other countries;

That this holds true especially, and above all, of the situation in the Soviet Union, where the dangers to the workers' state multiply without a corresponding growth of strength of the proletarian organizations;

That the wealth of past experience and the whole of the present world situation dictate to the earnest revolutionist the course of breaking relentlessly and completely with the decadent Stalinist apparatus and embarking upon the course of building up a new Communist International and new Communist parties in every country of the world.

The Left Opposition, breaking with its past policy of acting as a faction of the official party, has solemnly dedicated itself to this tremendous historical task. To the new movement it offers that rich and comprehensive experience, that tested and verified body of revolutionary ideas and criticism which it developed in the ten years of its existence as a distinct current in the revolutionary movement. It came into being as the direct heir and executor of fundamentally the same tendency which originated with Marx and Engels, was first victorious in the Russian revolution, and will find its full fruition in the world revolution for the liberation of human kind.

— M. S.

November 1933

The Left Opposition and the Communist Movement

The Communist movement throughout the world is passing through a terrific crisis. From the day the Communist International was founded in Moscow in 1919, it has experienced several critical periods. A clear dividing line, however, cuts those into two principal parts. One covers the first five years of the International, during which are generally recorded crises of growth, in which the parties were purged of accidental and non-Communist elements. On the other side of the line are the last nine years, with an almost uninterrupted crisis of decline, during which the revolutionary wing was amputated from the parties.

The marks of this crisis are evident for all who have

eyes to see with. In its early years the Communist International was a virile, growing movement whose authority, prestige and success rose in every land under the guidance of Lenin and Trotsky. The present leadership of the International has reduced it to stagnation or decline. A crisis which shakes the capitalist world as it has never been shaken since the world war, finds the International powerless to act. In Spain, a popular uprising of the masses offers the Communists their first big opportunity to lead a proletarian battle for emancipation; only, there is no Communist party. In England, France, the United States, Czechoslovakia, the Scandinavian countries, Poland, China, India—in all those countries where Com-

munism was once represented by mass parties or parties on the road to embracing masses—the section of the International writhes in the agony of impotence.

With insignificant exceptions, not one of the authentic leaders of world Communism during the first years of its organized existence, is to be found in its ranks today—including, and primarily, the Russian party. Everywhere, the Communist parties have become sieves into which ever new sections of the working class are poured by the capitalist crisis, only to be lost through the holes of bureaucratism and false policies. Almost thirteen years after the founding of the International, the overwhelming majority of its greatly reduced membership has not been in the party ranks for longer than two years; the old members have been lost or expelled.

Why is this disastrous situation of concern to every worker conscious of his class interests? For the following reasons:

Communism is the hope of the whole working class. A classless socialist commonwealth cannot be attained without the overthrow of the rule of capitalism. To accomplish this aim is the historic mission of the working class. The sharpest and most effective instrument at the command of the workers in the struggle against their class enemy, is the revolutionary political party. Such a party is not the work of one day or one man. It grows out of the needs of the class whose interests it represents, until it embraces the most advanced, the most militant and the best tested fighters.

When the ruling class has lost the following of the masses, when it can no longer satisfy even their most elementary daily needs, and when the masses transfer their confidence to their own class party—the ranks of the latter are strengthened and steered to the point where it is enabled to fight the final battle. In raising the proletariat to the position of the ruling class, a new page is opened up in human history, for the workers cannot liberate themselves without emancipating the whole of humanity. To lead the proletariat in this titanic inspiring struggle modern history offers as the most highly developed, as the only possible leadership—the Communist party.

The only other party that presumes to speak in the name of labor is the social democracy, or the socialist party. But in reality, it is the party of the petty bourgeoisie, the last pillar of capitalist democracy. From a defense of "democracy in general," it switches to the defense of "democracy in particular," that is, a defense of its specific capitalist fatherland. It sacrifices the interests of the world proletariat to the interests of its own national labor aristocracy and middle class.

During the war, the socialists were the main instruments of imperialism in the ranks of the working class. They supported the imperialist war, each in the interests of his

own ruling class. After the war, the socialists missed no opportunity to range themselves on the side of the capitalist class in the fierce struggle to put down the revolutionary proletariat—by force of arms, if necessary.

From its foundation day, the Communist International declared pitiless war against socialist treachery, against corruption and degeneration in the working class, against bureaucratism and opportunism. The Communist parties everywhere were born and grew up in combat against socialist reaction. The torn, confused and scattered ranks of the revolutionary movement throughout the world were reunited under the banner of the Russian revolution and world Communism. Into the darkness of reaction which the socialists had propped up firmly in the saddle, the Communists brought the light of working class progress. They broke the strangulating noose of class collaboration which the socialists had tightened around the neck of the proletariat. The masses were once more led upon the road of class struggle. In every field of proletarian endeavor—in the trade unions, in strikes, in parliament, in demonstrations, in the cooperatives, in the sports organizations—the Communists reawakened the depressed spirit of the workers, fortified them with new courage, enlightened them with new ideas, inspired them to new militancy. The postwar reaction in every land found only the young Communist movement standing up to give warning to the blood and profit soaked bourgeoisie—not merely that its offensive against labor would not proceed without resistance, but that labor itself was taking the offensive to uproot the decaying old society and to found a new one.

Communism—the ideal revived by the Russian Bolshevik revolution—was and remains the hope of the oppressed and exploited. But if the party of Communism is incapable of successfully leading the struggle for emancipation, no other force will ever unseat the rule of capital. This is why the condition and development of the Communist International vitally affects all workers. Our internal disputes and struggles are not, therefore, a private affair. They concern the whole working class.

The Left Opposition, organized in this country as the Communist League of America (Opposition), was born out of the crisis in the Communist International. Its efforts are directed at solving this crisis. This stupendous task requires the cooperation of the greatest possible number of Communist and class conscious militants. In order to gain this cooperation and so that it may be of greater value than mere sentimental sympathy, it is necessary to understand the origin and the nature of the crisis in Communism at the most important points in its development. In examining into them, the reader will at the same time be able to check the views of the Left Opposition against the actual course of events; nothing can serve as a more conclusive test of conflicting views in the revolutionary movement.

The Fight for Party Democracy

Like the Communist International itself, the Left Opposition quite naturally was formed in the crucible of the world revolution, the Soviet Union. It took shape for the first time as a distinct grouping in the Communist

party in 1923, headed by Leon Trotsky, who stood with Lenin as the outstanding leader of the Russian revolution and the Communist International.

The workers' republic was at that moment passing

through a difficult period. With the New Economic Policy (N. E. P.), adopted in 1921, a large measure of success had been obtained in restoring the economic life of the country. The relationships between the workers and peasants, upon which rests the security of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia, were strengthened. Most of the rigors of the "War Communism" days, when the revolution fought against civil war and imperialist intervention, were overcome. At the same time, however, new problems were arising, sometimes so acutely that they took on the forms of a crisis.

To use the commonly accepted term coined by Trotsky, the workers' republic was passing through a "scissors" crisis. The "opening" of the scissors represented the gap created by the rise in the price of manufactured commodities and the decline in the price of agricultural products. The problem was to bring prices in both sectors into closer harmony with each other.

Factories were finding it difficult to dispose of their products and production was consequently slowed down. Wages were paid with decreasing regularity and paid in a depreciated money which failed to satisfy the needs of the workers. Not only did unemployment grow, but the workers and peasants found it increasingly hard to purchase manufactured goods. The discontentment of the workers even took the form of strikes.

The situation also accentuated the dissatisfaction of the members of the Communist party. While the "War Communism" atmosphere was largely eliminated from the country's economy, after the counter-revolution had been smashed and the N. E. P. put into effect, it still prevailed within the party. The intensely military regime imposed upon the party by the demands of the civil war, had not merely outlived the war period itself but had, in some respects, become more dangerous. A vast hierarchy of appointed officials had taken the place of a freely elected party apparatus. The initiative and independence of the rank and file party member were being stifled. The entrenchment of a bureaucratic caste was producing clandestine factional groupings in the party, with Menshevik or anarcho-syndicalist coloration, it is true, but nevertheless reflecting a deep dissatisfaction of the party membership.

The danger of bureaucratism and the need for workers' democracy in the party had been openly indicated by Lenin before his illness compelled him to withdraw from active party life. He had not only written some scathing passages against bureaucratism and the bureaucrats, but he had even urged Trotsky to undertake, on behalf of both of them, an energetic campaign in the party to purge it of this destructive cancer. The Tenth Party Congress, under Lenin's direction, had already adopted a resolution for the vigorous execution of the policy of party democracy. After the Twelfth Congress, which reaffirmed the resolution, it was still permitted to remain a dead letter, and the increasingly bad situation was not improved to any degree.

A picture of conditions in the party was given at that time by so staunch a supporter of the leading faction as Bucharin himself:

"If we conducted an investigation and inquired how often our party elections are conducted with the question from the chair, 'Who is for?' and 'Who is against?' we

should easily discover that in the majority of cases our elections to the party organizations have become elections in quotation marks, for the voting takes place not only without preliminary discussion, but according to the formula, 'Who is against?' And since to speak against the authorities is a bad business the matter ends right there.

"If you raise the question of our party meetings, then how does it go here? . . . Election of the presidium of the meeting. Appears some comrade from the District Committee, presents a list, and asks, 'Who is against?' Nobody is against, and the business is considered finished . . . With the order of the day, the same procedure . . . The chairman asks, 'Who is against?' Nobody is against. The resolution is unanimously adopted. There you have the customary type of situation in our party organizations. It goes without saying that this gives rise to an enormous wave of dissatisfaction. I gave you several examples from the life of our lowest branches. The same thing is noticeable in a slightly changed form in the succeeding ranks of our party hierarchy."

To meet this situation, Trotsky addressed a letter to the Central Committee of the party on October 8, 1923, expressing his views on the condition of the national economy and the party. He was followed by a letter signed by 46 of the party leaders who joined hands with him on most of the essential ideas he had set down. In addition, Trotsky devoted a series of articles to the situation which were assembled into a pamphlet called "The New Course"—the phrase used to define the turn which Trotsky urged the party to make in the realm of economics and within its own ranks. The fight made by Trotsky, in which he was immediately joined by what was called the "Moscow Opposition," centered around the demand for a genuine application of the resolution on workers' democracy and the coordination of industry with agriculture on the basis of a plan in economy.

The Opposition's demand, contrary to the absurd arguments of the ruling faction, had nothing in common with the Menshevik fight for "pure democracy." The Mensheviks and other Right wing socialists everywhere have always stood on the platform of overthrowing the proletarian dictatorship in Russia and restoring a regime of capitalist "democracy." Under it the Russian socialists would be able to operate in the same treacherously respectable manner that has made their brethren the world over so odious.

The Opposition demanded workers' democracy in order to prevent a bureaucratic degeneration of the party and the proletarian dictatorship. The warnings of Trotsky in 1923, in which he merely elaborated Lenin's words that "history knows degenerations of all sorts," were denounced as slanders by that very same "Old Guard" and "Leninist Central Committee" which broke into dozens of fragments in the years that followed.

The program for restoring workers' democracy and eliminating the bureaucratic deformities which were beginning to cripple the party and the dictatorship, had another important aspect. From the very beginning, it was coupled with the perspective of speeding up the industrialization of economically backward Russia.

Trotsky pointed out that the workers' republic could overcome the obstacle of a primitively organized and

managed agriculture and enter the broad highway towards socialism, only by laying a solid foundation in the form of big-scale machine industry. With such a base, the proletariat would be able to satisfy the needs of the peasantry for cheap manufactured products. By pursuing a policy of systematically reducing the economic and political importance of the exploiting peasants (the Kulaks), it would commence in earnest the socialist transformation of an agriculture provided with the technical equipment of large industry.

To accomplish these ends, Trotsky advocated the centralization of national economy and its harmonized direction by means of a national, long-term plan, pointing to the successes attained in 1920 by planned economy in the field of restoring the efficiency of railroad transportation. The antagonism which the proposal for economic planning met in the party leadership in those days is astounding in the face of the general acceptance of the idea a decade later and the tremendous progress made by applying planned economy five years after it was first advanced in the party by the Opposition.

The essence of the dispute on this score was not put badly by Zinoviev, a violent opponent of Trotsky at the time and spokesman for the Stalin-Bucharin-Zinoviev majority faction, in his speech of January 6, 1924: "It seems to me, comrades, that the obstinate persistence in clinging to a beautiful plan is intrinsically nothing else than a considerable concession to the old-fashioned view that a good plan is a universal remedy, the last word in wisdom. Trotsky's standpoint has greatly impressed many students. 'The Central Committee has no plan, and we really must have a plan!' is the cry we hear today from a certain section of the students. The reconstruction of economics in a country like Russia is indeed the most difficult problem of our revolution . . . We want to have transport affairs managed by Dzherzhinsky; economics by Rykov; finance by Sokolnikov; Trotsky, on the other hand, wants to carry out everything with the aid of a 'state plan.'"

In this as in every other case where the majority came into conflict with the Opposition, the course of the class struggle took it upon itself to justify a hundred times over the point of view originally advanced by Trotsky and his comrades. The majority met the Opposition's

program for planned economy with the only weapons at their command—ridicule, abuse, and misrepresentation. In the end they were reluctantly compelled to borrow wholesale from the very same program to vote against which they had years before mobilized the whole Communist movement.

Unable to meet the Opposition on the questions which it actually raised, the party leaders resorted to all manner of demagogy. What Trotsky actually wrote was twisted and distorted beyond recognition. Where he advocated drawing the young Communist generation closer into the leadership so that it might restore its vitality, his standpoint was presented to the party as if he stood for pitting the "young" against the "old"—the timeworn trick of an opportunistic bureaucracy. Where he pointed out that the principal cause for the formation of so many factions in the party resided in the repression of all initiative and criticism from the ranks, he was charged with defending factions as a principle. Where he pointed out that all history revealed that no leadership was immune from degeneration, that the party must take drastic measures to guard against the rise of bureaucratism—the others charged him with declaring that the party had degenerated and the revolution had been swamped by a bureaucracy. Where he pointed out that the town must lead the country, the worker the peasant, and industry agriculture—he was subjected to the reactionary accusation of "underestimating the peasantry."

With the tremendous apparatus at their command, the party leaders were able to swing to their support a majority of the party members. The control of the machinery of the Communist International further facilitated the "voting down" of the Opposition in the parties abroad, in which not one-tenth of the members had ever seen or read what Trotsky himself actually wrote and stood for!

One of the main reasons for the comparative ease with which a majority was rigged up against the Left wing of the party was the event which took place almost at the same time as the Russian discussion. This was the October 1923 retreat of the Communists in Germany, which had a powerful effect not only on the Russian discussion but also on the life of the international Communist movement for several years to come.

The Lessons of October

Germany in the autumn of 1923 was confronted with a revolutionary situation favorable in the highest degree to the proletariat. The Communist party was not only growing steadily, but the ruling class encountered new difficulties every day. The occupation of the Ruhr by France reenacted the World War on a smaller scale and brought to the breaking point all those contradictions of European capitalism which the Versailles Treaty had only accentuated. So ripe was the situation that, as Trotsky wrote, "it became quite clear that the German bourgeoisie could extricate itself from this 'inextricable' position only if the Communist party did not understand at the right time that the position of the bourgeoisie was 'inextricable' and did not draw the necessary revolutionary conclusions."

Yet this is precisely what the Communist party failed to understand and to do. The high point of the revolutionary

situation was reached in October. The leadership, steeped in the habits of the gradual and normal accumulation of forces on the side of the party, remained entirely passive or kept to the old pace. The desperate bourgeoisie attacked in military formation, overthrew the socialist-Communist coalition governments in Saxony and Thuringia, and won a decisive victory without the party firing a shot. At the crucial moment, the Communist leaders sounded the call for an ignominious retreat. The party was thrown into despair and the masses into confusion.

The policy pursued by the party leaders in Germany was not peculiar to Brandler and Thalheimer. It was derived from the leadership of the Communist International and the Russian Communist party, that is, of the same faction which had launched the war against Trotsky a few months previously. The fatal policy of hesitation,

doubt, of counting up the armed forces on both sides of the barricades to see which class had a majority of one soldier—was injected into the veins of the already sluggish and timid German party leaders by the equally timid and hesitant Russian party leaders.

Here is what Stalin wrote to Zinoviev and Bucharin in August 1923 about the situation in Germany: "Should the Communists (at the present stage) strive to seize power without the social democracy?—are they ripe for this already?—this in my opinion is the question. . . . If now in Germany, the power, so to say, will fall and the Communists will seize it, they will fall through with a crash. This is in the 'best' case. And in the worst—they'll be smashed to bits and thrown back. The thing is not in this, that Brandler wants to teach the masses, but that the bourgeoisie plus the Right social democracy would surely turn this teaching-demonstration into a general slaughter (at present they have all the chances for it) and would destroy them. Certainly the Fascists are not napping, but it is more advantageous to us for the Fascists to attack first: this will rally the whole working class around the Communists. (Germany is not Bulgaria.) Besides, the Fascists in Germany, according to the data we have, are weak. In my estimation the Germans must be restrained, not spurred on." What Stalin did was simply to set down in a letter what was uppermost in the minds of all the other members of his faction. Together with Zinoviev, he failed to heed the criticisms which Trotsky made of the German party leaders, weeks and months before the crucial hour struck. On the contrary, they jumped to the defense of Brandler and Thalheimer. In the official material issued on the September 1923 Plenum of the Russian party Central Committee, weeks before the German retreat, they wrote:

"Comrade Trotsky, before leaving the session of the Central Committee, made a speech which greatly excited all the Central Committee members. He declared in this speech that the leadership of the German Communist Party is worthless and that the Central Committee of the German C.P. is allegedly permeated with fatalism and sleepy-headedness, etc. Comrade Trotsky declared further that under these conditions the German revolution is condemned to failure. This speech produced an astounding impression. Still the majority of the comrades were of the opinion that this philippic was called forth in an incident that occurred at the Plenum of the Central Committee which had nothing to do with the German revolution and that this statement was in contradiction to the objective state of affairs."

It was only after the crushing October defeat that Brandler and Thalheimer were made the scapegoats by Zinoviev and Stalin. They were held to be exclusively responsible for the course to which they had been inspired by the leadership of the Comintern. The establishment of Brandler's culpability in the German situation constituted the beginning and the end of the analysis made by the bureaucracy. And a very convenient analysis it was, for it shifted from the shoulders of Stalin and Zinoviev their own heavy responsibilities for what happened—as well as for what did not happen—in Germany.

But if they were remiss in their duty, the task of examining the German October was brilliantly performed by Trotsky in his "Lessons of October." The essence of this

document lies in a masterful comparison of the problems confronting the Russian Bolsheviks on the eve of the insurrection, and how they solved them successfully, with the problems confronting the German and Bulgarian parties and how they failed to solve them. (In September, a month before the October defeat, the Bulgarian Communist party had also suffered a crushing blow which set it back for years.) In summing up his study, which was calculated to educate the Communist parties in the acute problems of the proletarian uprising—seen in the light of a great victory and a grave defeat—Trotsky wrote later on:

"The German defeat of 1923 naturally had many national peculiarities. But it already contained many typical features, also, which signaled a general danger. This danger can be characterized as the crisis of the revolutionary leadership on the eve of the transition to armed uprising. The depths of the proletarian party are by their very nature far less susceptible to bourgeois public opinion. Certain elements of the party leadership and the middle layers of the party will always unfailingly succumb in larger or smaller measure to the material and ideological terror of the bourgeoisie. Such a danger should not simply be rejected. To be sure, there is no remedy against it suitable for all cases. Nevertheless, the first step towards fighting it—is to grasp its nature and its source. The unfailing appearance of the development of Right groupings in all the Communist parties in the 'pre-October' period is on the one hand a result of the greatest objective difficulties and dangers of this 'jump' but on the other hand the result of a furious assault of bourgeois public opinion. There also lies the whole import of the Right groupings. And that is just why irresolution and vacillations arise unfailingly in the Communist parties at the moment when it is most dangerous. With us, only a minority within the party leadership was seized by such vacillations in 1917, which were, however, overcome, thanks to the sharp energy of Lenin. In Germany, on the contrary, the leadership as a whole vacillated and that was carried over to the party and through it to the class. The revolutionary situation was thereby passed up . . . All these were not of course the last crisis of leadership in a decisive historical moment. To limit these inevitable crises to a minimum is one of the most important tasks of the Communist parties and the Comintern. This can be achieved only when the experiences of October 1917 and the political content of the Right Opposition inside our party at that time are grasped and contrasted with the experiences of the German party in 1923. Therein lies the purpose of the 'Lessons of October.'"

It is precisely this analysis which the Russian party leaders sought with might and main to avoid. When Trotsky spoke of the Right wing in the Russian party in 1917, everybody knew that he referred to Zinoviev, Kamenev, Rykov, Tomsky, Stalin and the others who had, at one time or another in the months preceding the Bolshevik uprising, taken a stand against the socialist revolution towards which Lenin and Trotsky were steering the party. They knew, further, that an examination into this highly important phase of the German retreat would reveal that these same leaders had not risen very much higher on the revolutionary scale in 1923 than they had in 1917.

As a result, the rich lessons afforded the working class and Communist movements by the defeats in Germany and Bulgaria were not drawn by the leadership of the Communist International. It resolved to sacrifice them in the interests of the struggle against "Trotskyism" which they invented in order to cover up their own disastrous course. The official press was filled with interminable articles and speeches by the party leaders, denouncing and distorting Trotsky's position, boasting of their own "Leninist purity," and demanding that the whole International record itself against the Opposition.

An example of how the Communist International registered itself against Trotsky is offered by the voting in the American party. Although the "Lessons of October" was never printed by the party in the English language and never read by ninety-nine percent of the membership or leadership in the United States, they were all compelled to cast a solemn vote in support of the "Leninist Old

Guard" and in condemnation of Trotsky's views. This pernicious system was later extended and sanctified to such a degree that in every subsequent dispute between the bureaucracy and the Opposition, it was taken for granted that the latter was wrong. It had to be attacked even though its viewpoint was never made public to the Communist workers.

This corruption of the parties became the characteristic feature that distinguished all the following years of the campaign against the Left Opposition, down to this very day. Nor could it be otherwise. Whoever is sure of his position need not fear the presentation of the opposing standpoint. Only those who are obliged to defend a false position, must use the bureaucratic means of suppressing the contrary standpoint, for in an objective and democratically organized discussion the incorrect view would be unable to stand up under fire.

[To be continued.]

Iranian Students in Germany Hit U.S. Bombing

[The following statement from the Confederation of Iranian Students—National Union was released at the end of December 1972 in West Germany. The translation from the German is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Even the liberal forces in the world, who took Nixon's peace promises for good coin, reacted with protest and shock to the recent intensified bombing and annihilation unleashed against North Vietnam. Kissinger's claim of October 26 that "peace is at hand" has not yet been forgotten, while pictures of horror and destruction have broken through the news blackout and the American web of lies.

After world public opinion gradually came to understand U.S. imperialism's aggressive policy, which was doomed to failure; after the Nixon clique's propaganda campaign about troop withdrawal and the "Vietnamization" of the war had gone down to defeat, now also the last manufactured deception—that the United States was ready to end the murderous war through diplomatic negotiations—has been revealed as a lying maneuver. The supposedly near end to the war was a fraud. The apparent U.S. readiness immediately to sign the proposed nine-point accord proved to be a crude

election maneuver. The negotiations were a new American trick. The so-called difficulties originating in Saigon were just a welcome and cheap excuse for Nixon to avoid signing the treaty.

Then, once they had assured their reelection, Nixon and his accomplices reverted to their old war aims and gave the order for genocide.

There is no longer any doubt that this international gang of criminals never considered forgoing their policy of aggression. It is obvious that they want to break the long, determined resistance of the Vietnamese people by resorting to ever greater and limitless hate and barbarism. It is at this resistance, against which their conventional military tactics have proven powerless, and not at military targets, that their annihilating actions are aimed. The attacking bombers target people, their lives, and their "means of subsistence." The bomb squadrons hurl death and devastation on populated areas, cities, and industries; they aim at people in hospitals, at children in schools; they terrorize the entire population.

The new escalation and mass annihilation are supposed to demoralize the Vietnamese and force them to surrender, to accept unconditionally the terms of a "peace" dictated by U.S. imperialism. In North Vietnam the last bit of confidence in a policy of negotiation, which had been supported

by the entire Vietnamese people, has been bombed to smithereens. The events of the last days and weeks allow for no illusion about who is fighting for peace and freedom. There is no "U.S. negotiating partner." There is no peace for the embattled Vietnamese people on the basis of mutual compromise.

But the Vietnamese people are not the only force in the world fighting for humanity's freedom from dependence and oppression. The Vietnamese have progressive forces on their side. And the struggle of the Vietnamese people for victory over the desperate attempts of the masters to preserve their power is not their struggle alone. The policy of aggression has its limit, wherever resistance grows, wherever the feeble hold of imperialist ideology is broken and the rule of force loses all justification.

If the hope of the oppressed for victory over overwhelming force is not to be buried under millions of tons of bombs, it is high time for decisive solidarity action.

Let us fight imperialism wherever we encounter it! Let us attack it on all fronts! Everything for the victory of the Vietnamese people as a part of the freedom struggle of all the oppressed of this world!

Long live the struggle of the Vietnamese people!

Down with U.S. imperialism!

Soviet Dissident Questions Yakir Rumor

[The following is the first direct response from members of the Soviet opposition movement to rumors widely publicized by the Western press last December that Pyotr Yakir, prominent dissident Communist, had recanted. (See *Intercontinental Press*, December 18, 1972, p. 1389.) It is a statement issued by Yuri Shtein, a member of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR, a group Yakir helped to found in May 1969. Shtein, who has worked closely with Yakir, is now in New York. A former director of documentary films, he lost his job after protesting the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. He was one of several dissidents who, in early 1972, were offered a choice of either prison or exile.

[Sources for the reports in the Western press of Yakir's alleged recantation were identified as "reliable circles." Shtein's statement, however, raises serious questions not only about the source of the rumor, but also of the motivation of newspapers like the *New York Times* in promoting it. Shtein told the New York-based Committee to Defend Soviet Political Prisoners that he submitted to the *New York Times* a statement containing the same data as in the one below but that the *New York Times* refused to publish it.

[Shtein's statement, entitled "In Defense of Yakir," was published in the New York Russian-language newspaper, *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*. The translation is by Carol Lisker.]

* * *

The *Novoye Russkoye Slovo* of December 12 featured an extensive commentary on a report by the *New York Times*'s Moscow correspondent about the well-known dissident Pyotr Yakir "allegedly breaking down under interrogation and divulging to the authorities the identity of his comrades in struggle against the regime." The article appeared on the front page under the sensational banner headline "Crushing Defeat for Dissidents in the USSR," with the no less dramatic sub-headings "Yakir Betrays Fighters for Democratization of the Regime," and "Betrayed 25 People."

Such categorical statements, based upon the very vague assumptions of

the *New York Times*, prompted me to doubt the authenticity of the information that had been received. That same evening I tried to telephone some of the more well-informed and authoritative persons in dissident circles in Moscow. I managed to reach Zinaida Mikhailovna, the wife of the much-victimized General Pyotr Grigorenko.

In response to my question as to the truth regarding the terrible suspicions that have fallen on Yakir, she replied: "It is to certain people's advantage to circulate these hideous rumors. The investigation is not yet over—who could know something like this? I consider these rumors to be so disturbing that I cannot find words to express it."

In my conversation with Zinaida Grigorenko I also learned that Yakir's daughter, Irina, to whom the correspondents have referred, had in fact met with her father, but that their conversation had concerned only everyday family matters. Irina is ill and is expecting a child any day. And there was no discussion between them about her father supposedly turning over his friends and co-thinkers to the state security organs.

After the conversation with Zinaida Grigorenko I managed to speak with another reliable figure in the dissident circles, a person who is close to Ya-

kir's family. In my conversation with him I tried to ascertain the degree of truth in the correspondents' reports that Yakir had betrayed his friends and that twenty-five people had been called in for questioning, as well as their reports about the origins of the gossip and rumors that had served as a source for this information.

It turns out that not twenty-five people but only three were summoned for questioning: Yakir's daughter, Irina; Elena Kosterina; and Andrei Dubrov. Moreover, it is definitely established that Yakir's daughter met with Yakir, and presumably Dubrov did also. Kosterina did not see him.

Rumors about Yakir's conduct during the investigation may have come from Dubrov, who has been behaving in a somewhat strange manner. Dubrov has found himself in a tangled situation: On the eve of his departure for Israel, his visa was suddenly revoked; he was placed in a psychiatric hospital; and there were threats that a criminal case would be started against him. Then, just as suddenly, he was let out of the hospital.

In the light of all this I don't quite understand how the Western correspondents in Moscow could present their information in such a sensational manner.

Yuri Shtein

Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR

Ceylon CP Expels Two Leaders

A split in the Ceylon Communist party "is now imminent," according to the December 14 issue of the *Ceylon News*. Attributing the information to "soft-liner sources," the article asserts that dissidents will soon form "the Sri Lanka Communist Party."

The CP has been a partner in the "United Front" coalition regime of Sirimavo Bandaranaike—along with the Sri Lanka Freedom party and the Lanka Sama Samaja party. One of the CP's top leaders, Pieter Keuneman, is housing minister in her cabinet.

In view of the growing unpopularity of the Bandaranaike government due to its repressive and antilabor policies, the CP has come under increasing pressure to adopt a slightly more critical stance. At the recently held ninth congress of the party, Keuneman found himself forced to compromise on this issue.

A meeting of the Central Committee, held on December 6, voted to expel two long-time members, L.W. Panditha and V.A. Samarawickreme, who favor fully supporting the "socialist" government. Panditha is a prominent trade-union functionary and Samarawickreme is a former national organizing secretary of the party.

According to CP General Secretary Dr. S.A. Wickremasinghe, the pair are charged with:

"(a) Violation of party constitution, discipline, or unity;

"(b) Formation of sections in the party or encouraging such sections;

"(c) Action calculated to weaken, divide, or disrupt the party."

Following this decision, Panditha wrote a reply denouncing what he called "the anti-party and anti-United Front activities" of his factional opponents.