China's Bloc with South Africa

Angola: Maoists Marching with Pretoria

JANUARY 10—Ever since Teng Hsiao-ping and Gerald Ford vowed last month in Peking to combat "Soviet social-imperialism" in Angola, the main trend in the Maoist world today has become "Stute Department Marxism-Leninism." After weeks of embarrassed silence, the so-called snowballing apologists on Angola the Maoists finally crawled out for a forum yesterday and a demonstrating in N.Y.C. both staged by the New York African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) under the slogan, "Marxism (United States, Russia, South Africa) Out of Angola." These self-proclaimed "anti-imperialists" are marching in step with the U.S. imperialists who also favor "superpowers out of Angola" as the only effective strategy for defeating the imperialists." "Coalition of the Revolutionaries, United States, Russia, South Africa." All but one nominally Maoist organization in the context of the Maoist world today has become "Stute Department Marxism-Leninism." 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The Guardian "Respectfully Differs" with U.S./South Africa/China Axis

In the international battle raging over Angola, "People's China" lined up foursquare behind the U.S./South African axis. Not only have Chinese military advisors for several years trained a border army for the violently anti-communist, CIA-backed Front for the National Liberation of Angola (FNLA) since Washington and Pretoria drastically escalated their intervention against the recently formed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) last fall, Peking has likewise stepped up its fulminations against..."Soviet social-imperialism!"

A 28 December Windy News Agency dispatch brazenly asserted that "the Soviet revisionists are the archcriminals who have stirred up and exacerbated the civil war in Angola and undermined "African unity" (New York Times, 30 December). Mao's scandalous de facto military bloc with U.S. imperialism in Angola has sent shock waves through Maoist circles worldwide. It was hard enough explaining why Nixon and Chou were sipping cocktails to the tune of "Home on the Range" (the 882-member Peking army poured away at North Vietnamese cities. Now they have to justify Peking-trained troops killing their African brothers with U.S.-supplied weapons under the command of South African, Portuguese colonialist and U.S. mercenary officers. So far most of the American Maoist groups have not publicly broken their lock step with the Peking bureaucracy over Angola, but there is plenty of embarrassed silence. The one nominally Maoist organization in the U.S. to openly come out against the Chinese policy on this issue is the fanatically pro-Stalin Communist Labor Party (CLP), which in recent months has already shifted visibly closer to the Russian orbit (see "CLP Expresses Detente," World No. 74, 1 August 1975). It calls the MPLA "the only liberation force in Angola" and trumpet's "Long Live the [MPLA-led] People's Republic of Angola." However, so far the CLP has denounced only "the treachery by Vice Premier Teng of China" (Western Worker, 1 January). Within the American Maoist movement, the one serious attempt to justify a break with the Peking line on Angola has come from the widely read weekly Guardian. Announcing in a 26 November editorial that it "respects, but differs with, the position of People's China," the newspaper is now campaigning against "the Chinese viewpoint" on Angola. Although it is organizationally independent (having been up until recently the lap dog of the revolutionary Workers Organization (PRW), the Guardian's disavowal is significant for it both reflects and influences the broad radical milieu out of which the Maoist organizations recruit. Its break with the Chinese line on Angola is a step toward the isolation of the Peking-loyal Maoists and their transformation into just despised sects.

Is the War in Angola a National Liberation Struggle? In his column "fan the flames" (24 December 1975), Guardian editor Erwin Silber seeks to give a general theoretical justification for support to the MPLA, despite its ties to "Soviet social-imperialism." Although brief, Silber's article is important and cogent, and could well become a basic document for "critical Maoism." Silber begins by appealing to the orthodox Leninist position on national liberation struggles in the context of inter-imperialist rivalry. A genuine nationalist movement, by accepting aid from an imperialist power hostile to its direct oppressor, does not thereby necessarily become an instrument of that power. A war of national liberation does not become an inter-imperialist conflict simply because the national liberation forces receive support from "the enemy of their enemy." No genuine communist would reject these general principles.

Lenin supported the Irish national uprising during World War I although it received some material support from Kaiser Wilhelm's Germany. Trotsky supported China's resistance to Japan although Chiang Kai-shek's government was receiving aid from the Western powers including American military volunteers (Claire Chamblin's "Flying Tigers"). The attempted Kurdish uprising against Iraq last winter, although decisively militarily dependent upon the Shah of Iran (who sacrificed it), was a genuine national struggle.

But is the situation in Angola comparable to the above examples? The Guardian would have us believe so. Silber justifies support to the MPLA in terms of "the achievement of Angolan independence under its most consistently patriotic force." Another article in the same issue appropriately quotes Samantha Macel, president of Mozambique: "In Angola, two forces are confronting each other; on the one hand, imperialism with its allies and puppets; on the other, the progressive popular forces which support MPLA. There is nothing else."

Machel to the contrary, Maoist bloc intervention is a decisive factor in the conflict. U.S. opposition to the MPLA is not because of its domestic economic policies, but because of its alliance with the Soviet bloc. Washington is deterred from preventing Angola from becoming a Soviet-aided state, for the Russian navy and a conduit for the continued on page 9
Black Self-Defense... (continued from page 7)

ty, a conclusion that once again contraicts the actual unfolding of the struggle in Monrovia. After reconquering one act of treachery after another by the Wilkie/NAACP leadership, the author of Negroes With Guns wrote: "I don't want to use violence even in self-defense." Williams maintains that, while he was personally not violent, it was "all right" for other people. This "do-your-own-thing" liberalism is simply an abdication of political responsibility. As his book eloquently demonstrates, this attempt to defend itself, a small gain made by the pacifist civil rights movement was accompanied by the gratuitous bleaching of non-resisting black demonstrators. Their philosophy of moral persuasion was a dramatic failure in the face of rabid mobs of racists.

All roads do not lead to Rome; all paths do not lead to victory. Black and leftist militants must unconditionally defend all victims of bourgeois repression. This is the only way to lead us out of the confused and conciliationist views which could pave the road to disaster. Solidarity against the class enemy must not be empty unitymongering. Only the sharp clash of counterposed lines in open political debate can galvanize a truly revolutionary, Trotskyist workers party capable of guiding the working and oppressed minorities forward to final victory against their capitalist oppressors.

Williams Interview... (continued from page 7)

there that relates to a big political debate within the left, which is whether it is consistent with a policy of organized self-defense to also call on the federal government to provide protection for blacks in Monrovia.

Williams: In the South, before we started to organize self-defense and even after, we also appealed to the federal government for enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment. This carried with it some weight with people who were leaning a little bit toward the pacific movement but were not pacifists. People like us, indeed, especially bourgeois people, like to believe that they have exhausted every remedy possible... The only way that you can bring them around to this is by constantly appealing to the federal government, but not necessarily preparing to defend yourselves.

W: If I don't agree with you. Let me approach the question from a different angle. What would have happened if you had only appealed to the federal government? But not organized to your own defense?

Williams: Oh, I'd be dead now. I'd have been dead. We wouldn't have lasted any time. We would have been completely devoured by racist elements.
Government indicated by an incident reported in hours in order to hours.

Le Monde, 18 December

Thus the PCF placed itself unambiguously in the camp of those social patriots who rallied against the revolutionary defeatist propaganda of Liebknecht, Luxemburg and Lenin during World War I. It was only logical, therefore, that the PCF refused to support a demonstration on December 5 in solidarity with the imprisoned soldiers and CFDT unionists.

As for the CGT, it obediently followed in the footsteps of its ideologically mentors by boycotting the demonstration. H. Krauski, editor of the CGT weekly Vie Ouvriére, editorialized:

"It is no mystery that ultra-left elements occupy responsible positions in a certain number of CFDT organizations. That is the CFDT's business. But CGT organizations need to know whom they are dealing with, whether it is really with the CFDT or something else." Rouge, 19 December

CGT head Seguy echoed this sentiment: "we are not unconditional supporters of inter-union solidarity" (Le Monde, 11 December).

But as the arrests continued, pressure mounted upon the CGT: CGT to make at least a gesture toward defending the victimized militants. Despite the leader-ship's evident willingness to let soldiers and unionists rot in jail (the minimum sentence is five years!), more than 40 CGT locals and area councils have endorsed motions demanding the release of the imprisoned militants and the cessation of all arrests and prosecutions.

"We will never defend those who are working for the disintegration of the army and who advise men to turn their guns against their officers." —Le Monde, 7-8 December

The PCF has for the last three years sought to revive the popular-front experience of the late 1930's and 1940's. Creating the popular-front alliance of the Left, which includes the reformist Socialist Party and the bourgeois Left Radicals, the PCF endowed it with a "common program" that goes to great lengths to assure the ruling class of the block's harmless intentions, even promising not to withdraw from the anti-Soviet NATO military pact. Now the PCF goes even further in disavowing the commun-ist tradition of anti-militarism.

"We will never defend those who are working for the disintegration of the army and who advise men to turn their guns against their officers." —Le Monde, 7-8 December

The extent of the police terror is demonstrated by an incident reported in hours in order to hours.

The LCR had placed itself clear in the negotiations leading up to the 18 December conference. It refused to link its defense efforts with the CFDT, to get out from under. The bulk of the union's leadership and the solidarity impuses of the ranks took place in the case of the victims of the CFDT strike. After the head François Mitterrand pontificated:

"No one has the right to question the Socialist Party's patriotism, the fatherland belongs to everyone...[The] PS endorses the anti-militarist stance of minority groups, especially soldiers unionists." Le Monde, 9 December

When LCR leader Krivine was detained the PS publicly announced it would not defend him.

But it was not so easy for the PS-dominated union federation, the CFDT, to get out from under. The bulk of the government's militarist and repressionist policy has been aimed at its members and local leaders and the indignation of the union's ranks was enormous. Moreover, the CFDT's verbal leftist had gotten in touch. The federation had repeated-ly called for the "full exercise of all the constitutional rights of citizens, in particular trade-union rights in the army" (CFDT National Bureau declaration, 13 January 1975). CFDT members repeatedly active in supporting soldiers organizing efforts were no doubt under the impression that they were following a well-defined policy of their union.

A popular CFDT leader in Besançon, Germain Jussaune, was arrested in the first series of raids. Four other CFDT officials were rounded up in Seine-St. Denis, a Paris suburb which is tradition-ally a PCF stronghold. Even the CFDT police union of the Seine-St. Denis département felt compelled to issue a communiqué on December 5 which "vehemently protests the intimidation and divisive operations being carried out against union militants in the form of interrogations and searches both at their homes and workplaces...the departmental union and the departmental section of the CFDT police ex-press their total solidarity with the militants who are victims of repression, whether they are unionists or soldiers, and demand that prosecution of them be dropped and they be immediately released.

Meanwhile, the national CGT and CFDT bureaucrats were rushing to assure the bourgeoisie of their servility with flag-waving declarations. The Executive Committee of the CFDT issued a statement pointing out that the CFDT had "always come out for national defense in the face of the political and military despotism of the bourgeoisie, the national independence and the independence of the entire people for a political military democrat army—democratic in its organizational form and in its functional objectives. There is not the slightest trace of anti-militarism in any form..."

How true!

The moral and explicit rejection of elementary proletarian solidarity by the labor leaders is an additional proof that the revolutionary vanguard has this out with 1975's political context and tasks.

The LCR proposed to wage a unitary political battle for concrete objectives corresponding to the preoccupations of the large mass of soldiers and not just a revolutionary minority." (Rouge, 29 November)

"This unitary political battle means nothing if not 'unity' with the super-parliamentary reforms around a minimum program which buries the explicitly anti-militarist fight. This rationale has been given full distinction in the latest ideological pronouncements of the LCR: "From preparation, the French government unleashed a carefully orchestrated wave of repression and intimidation against the soldiers and militant who were attempting to assert elementary solidarity with the victimized army in particular by organizing Sol-diers Committees and trade-union sections.

The international Spartacist tendency, and its French sympathizers sect, the Ligue Trot-skyiste de France, stand firmly on the side of the intended victims of this repression. We demand that all indictments be dropped and all prosecution halted: for the immedi-ate withdrawal of all the judicial soldiers and militants.

At the same time, we condemn the fact that Union Ouvrière (some of whose supporters had been arrested) was not allowed to speak in its meeting at the Mutualité in Paris. All participants in the Committee meeting were forced to use their real names and present their own programs and differences. Political leaders of the Spartacist tendency only participate when the Spartacists take the initiative in liquidat-ing their independent political leadership. The LCR Committee, serves only to weaken the defense and would mean that international Spartacist tendency Ligue Trotskyiste de France.
Marching with Pretoria…
(continued from page 5)

the Cuban soldiers were the “same” as the South African troops! When a Spartanist League spokesman inter­
viewed the South African press,［a supposedly “non-parlament” posture of the Peking Stalinites and characterizing the USSR as a “third world” socialist nation —a form of stoning their feet to a chant of “No Trotsky!”

At the demonstration today, which drew about 150 from the South African workers, slogans abound­
ing condemning Regal Imperialism and Cuban troops. A leaflet distributed by the Workers’ Viewpoint group denounced the Cu­
ban for “objectively acting as mercenaries,” then compared the LCR with “free Europe” on the eve of World War II, warning that “the U.S. Con­
gress” will un­dermine the anti-imperialist operation in Angola…remembers the infamous Munich Pact!!! Following the last “internal” release in the U.S. for conciliating the “fascist” USSR, the Workers’ Viewpoint group denounced the “Cuban” army of Angola to Brezhnev just as Anglo-French imperialism offered Chorsoveli­
kakia to the bourgeoisie.

Likewise, the PRRWL leaflet aims its fire at the “slimy new twins of Moscow” and the Cubans, calling for the Angolan forces to “wipe these monsters off the face of Angola.” Then, it goes on to oppose the USSR and Cuba, but pass over the South African invasion in just one sentence: The “en­
feoffed South Africa as the “number three enemy,” to be defeated only after the Cubans are driven in. In the meantime:

“While the presence of all foreign powers must be opposed, only a united Angolan people will be able to repulse the South African racists. Such unity must depend only on combat, and the super­powers stop their meddling.”

While the OL justifies a bloc with the South Africans against the Cubans and MPLA, COUSML attacks “naked aggression” by Cuba but mentions not one word about white Africa in its leaflet! Moreover, COUSML declares, “UNITA, led by Jonas Savimbi, is acting as the natural military ally of the Angolan people.” In fact, UNITA forces are fighting under the command of the South African regime. Savimbi is a stooge for the white supremacist regime, whose newspaper has called him the “hope of the whites” and “man of the hour.”

War is a continuation of politics by other means. In Angola today the Maoist line that “Soviet social­
ism” represents the “most danger­
ous” means for the black liberation of the Stalinites “epitaph of the working class,” to use Trotsky’s phrase, has so blinded and militarized the Cubans that they openly side with the imperialist Dr. Strangeloves and the congressially fallen South African regime against the Russian degenerated workers state.

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Soldiers sit in at Draguignan last year.

"the permanently unsafe…conditions constitute, more than any supposed plot, a serious attack against the morale of the army” — are not just caution in the face of repression; they unmistakably imply that the LCR favors improving the morale of the bourgeois army.

The Organisation Communist Internationaliste (OCI), continuing its rightward plunge, has simply abandoned from any positive position. Until recently it virtually ignored the question of the army, except when raising the most minimal reform demands (such as the reduction of military service from a year to six months), implicitly positing conscription as a "step..." towards workers militaries (La Veérité, January 1975). Nowwhere does it (or the LCR) call for opposition to the draft (conscript­ion), the means by which the capitalist army and cannon fodder for its imperialist adventures.

The OCI has formerly come out for the release of the arrested militants. But in specific actions, such as the united-front demonstrations which have recently been held (which not only failed (as did the fake "Trotskyist")s to raise its own slogans, but even failed to mobilize its members to participate.

The OCI has trolled out its universal pan-democrat line in the hope of obtaining a release of the jailed militants. In fact, at the present time a common front does exist among the mass workers organizations: the CP, SP and trade union bureaucrats are unanimous in condemning the LCR’s initiative as the bourgeois army.

As the OCI hastens to underline, the empty call for “unity” in the face of explicit capitulation by the existing leadership of the working class is nothing but a cover for propping up the capitalist state, by the bodies of armed men which exist to protect the bourgeoisie.

All working-class organizations, all workers parties, have their own concep­tions of the army and the role of the army. But that is not the question today.

—Informations Ouvrières, 18-24

Indeed, what is the question? It is correct and necessary to demand that the treacherous, pro-army leaders of French labor undertake action to free the imprisoned anti-militarist militants, but this must not be used as an excuse to drop the struggle against the capitalist war machine.

In the abstract, Latte Ouviere (LO) has a formally correct position, calling for the destruction of the bourgeois army and opposition to the draft. But formally correct slogans are tested only in the fundamental strategic aims of communism: the transitional program of Trotsky.

Down with the Bourgeois Army!

In the face of the government’s savage repression, the fight to defend the jailed soldiers, unionists and leftists is a crucial responsibility of the workers movement. Stop the prosecutions! Freedom for all the victimized militants!

The success of the united defense campaign is a glaring danger to the working class, exposing its unions and parties to the constant frenzy of the class enemy. Such a defense can be mounted only by fighting within the mass organizations, actively working to expose and drive out the capitulation­ist leaders who eagerly refuse to wend the way of the fundamental movements to defend the repression’s first targets. Solidarist sentiment among the ranks has been overwhelmed. But instead of using this manifest dissatisfaction to launch a campaign within the unions, the spurious “Trotskyists” have simply liquidated themselves into a “National Committee for the Liberation of Jailed Soldiers and militants.”

The current debates over the form that an organization in the army should take to truly be a part of the fundamental question: revolutionists interest them­selves in the fight for soldiers’ democratic rights; in order to make the bourgeois army as an institution, but never to make the army more effective as a tool of the bourgeoisie. The FL’s demand for “clubs” containing both drafties and officers is an obvious example of naked class collaboration.

For further articles on the military question and the French army:


—“Finnish-Pseudo-Trotskyist Campaign to Reform Army,” Young Spartacist No. 29, February 1975.

To ORDER: Send 50 cents to Spartaist Youth Publishing Co., Box 825, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

But the LCR’s demand for a soldiers union—organized around demands restricted to working conditions and political tactics (and linking “down with the bourgeois army on the ground of the defense of the workers’ struggle.”

February 1975

While the French centrist organizations have generally moved steadily to the right in repeated capitulation to the popular front from the present crisis several years, there has lately been increased activity among several small "ultra-left" groups. Unlike the LCR, OCI and LO, during the present crisis these groupings did attempt to maintain a principled anti-militarist position. Accordingly the government has arrest­ed members, not only of the most prominent left groups, but also of the lukewarm Bordigists and others, on the flimsiest of excuses.

For the centrists, the division between minimum and maximum demands is nothing but a cover for gross abdica­tion. The ultra-left’s new-found willingness to raise “minimum” and even "democratic" demands—such as the creation of soldiers’ organizations and the liberation of the jailed milita­rians (Bordigists), or the linking of “down with the army of capital” with “freedom for the imprisoned soldiers” (Combat Communiste) is simply another effort to inject a real movement of the advanced workers and soldiers militants. Such healthy impulses must be generalized into the realization that there is indeed a revolutionary program which can actively intervene into the class struggle without liquidating the fundamental strategic aims of communism: the transitional program of Trotsky.

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Solders Committees Spread Like a Wildfire in French Army

When the soldiers' committees of the French army's 19th Regiment, located in the town of Besançon, transformed itself into a section of the CFDT trade union federation last November 4, the government of Valery Giscard d'Estaing responded by launching a special State Security Court, issuing "John Doe" warrants and instituting blanket arrests in an effort to demoralize the army. In the next two months soldiers' committees sprung up in scores of army units, and close to 50 people (both soldiers and civilians) were detained on charges of anti-militaristic activities.

This wave of agitation in the French army has forced the hands of the government for several years. The crucial question of the army as a central institution of class rule was already sharply focused by the massive general strike of May-June 1968. When the resistance of the French working class to General Gaulle's decade-long efforts to rationalize French capitalism at the workers' expense was brutally turned back, the army was brought in to decisively defeat the strike of ten million workers.

The explicit challenge to bourgeois rule posed by the pre-revolutionary situation of 1968 was betrayed by the militancy of the French working class, the Stalinist and social-democratic lackeys of capital who head the mass reformist workers' parties and trade union federations. Nonetheless, the French proletariat has retained a genuine willingness to partake in struggles that threaten the state power could again become a crucial question at any moment, especially given the government's hostility toward the use of the army to break strikes (postal strike in 1974, Paris garbage strike in 1975).

From the Debré Law to the Call of the 100

For years the army hierarchy has responded to any perceived threat by brutal repression within "normal" army channels and by prosecutions. In 1970, for example, three soldiers were tried for possessing "anti-militarist leaflets" and one received a year in prison.

But over the past few years, open expression of discontent within the army has been gaining momentum. In the spring of 1973 a broad movement of high-school students arose in response to the "Debré law," an attempt to establish conditions propitious to intensified regimentation in the army by lowering the average age of army induction and thereby increasing the already strong class bias in the social composition of university students (see RCY Newsletter No. 18, July-August 1973). Prior to the 1974 presidential elections, the publication of a "Call of the 100" launched a campaign for democratic rights in the army. But this was the lowest-common-denominator program which gave backhanded support to the idea of bourgeois "national defense," the "Call" took exception to the stationing of French troops in Germany because "there existed peaceful relations with this country" (Rouge, 16 May 1974). Concomitant with the campaign for signatures to the "Call" (it eventually received about 6,000), various "soldiers committees" began forming.

September 1974 marked a new phase in agitation, with a public demonstration in the streets of Draguignan by about 200 soldiers. The government's attempt to use the show trial of the "Draguignan Three" to intimidate militaries within the army was unsuccessful; one soldier was released and two others were given only token sentences (see Young Spartacus No. 29, February 1975).

In the last year and a half, soldiers' committees have spread rapidly throughout the armed forces. Contrary to the claims of both the government and the "Far Left," these groupings are actually based almost entirely on the issue of democratic rights. Despite ferocious efforts at repression (army officials claim to have destroyed some 20 committees), by December 1975 over 60 committees in France and in the French army in Germany were publishing their own newspapers (Dossier "La Caserne" [December 1975]).

After the embarrassment of the Draguignan trial, the government evidently undertook long-range preparatory work for the current massive repression. Le Monde (27 December 1975) reports that French civilian and military police agencies had spent four to five months gathering the dossiers upon which the recent arrests have been based.

From the government's point of view, the current repression is inevitably punitive because of their substantial populatity and their links with the civilian trade unions. French military authorities in Germany claim that "only" one to two percent of the troops stationed there have been "sympathetic" to the committees; if true, this would represent 500-900 soldiers! Many of the soldiers' papers are reportedly produced with the material support of local trade unions—indeed, the CFDT, but in at least ten cases the CGT—thus raising the specter of direct links between the soldiers' movement and the trade union which could seriously undermine the bourgeois' ability to rely on the army as its primary pool of strikebreakers.

Wave of Repression

The State Security Court, recently resuscitated to try the anti-militarist militants, was created by de Gaulle in 1963, in the wake of the Algerian war. According to the provisions which regulate this "permanently exceptional jurisdiction," cases are tried by a government-appointed court of five (of which two or three are high-ranking military officers). Searches and arrests can be carried out at any time and may be held incommunicado for ten days (as opposed to 24 hours under civilian law). Prosecution is upon request of the government and convictions cannot be appealed except on the basis of procedural errors or new evidence. The virtually unlimited scope of the State Security Court's powers has become shockingly clear during the current witchhunt, as civilians have been arrested simply for possessing "anti-militarist" literature.

The current intense repression began last month following Prime Minister Jacques Chirac's November 26 speech launching the repressive campaign. The government arrested 47 people (12 of these were still in jail as of January 8), mainly civilians. At the same time it initiated an extensive (but much less highly publicized) wave of repression within the army. The military high command moved brutally to break up the soldiers' committees (60 days in the big and even, in some cases, in solitary, instigating large-scale transfers of those "suspected" of participating in or even being sympathetic to the soldiers' committees. Similar measures greeted soldiers arrested after their release from civilian jails (Le Monde, 2 January 1976).

The repression has elicited considerable liberal outrage due both to its blatantly arbitrary and authoritarian character and to the effrontery of the government's attack on the alleged civilian support apparatus of the soldiers' committees—i.e., the direct confrontation with the French trade-union movement. Amnesty International has protested the arbitrary procedures of the State Security Court, as have the League for the Rights of Man (French equivalent of the ACLU) and the unions of judges and lawyers (Le Monde, 28-29 December and 31 December 1975).

The first wave of raids and arrests, on December 4, was aimed primarily at the CFDT, locals in Besançon, Bordeaux and Chaumont and raiding and union officials and organizers were arrested there as well as in Strasbourg and elsewhere. Subsequent raids across the country extended to the Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU) and groups on the "Far Left" (i.e., to the left of the Communist Party): the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), Révolution!, the Bordelais Programme Communiste et Union Ouvrière (an ultra-left split from Lutte Ouvrière). A second major wave of arrests occurred on December 15, when offices of the LCR, the PSU, Révolution! and the CFDT were raided in Paris, Bordeaux, Lyon, Amiens, Besançon, Montpellier, Clermont-

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