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Irish Witch-hunt:

Dublin Threatens Roundup of Left

My Lai Massacre:

Calley, Mitchell Trials Miss Real Criminals

Attacks on Conakry:

UN Mission Confirms Portugal's Guilt



TOURE: Routed Portuguese invaders. See p. 1076.

Future of the Palestinian Resistance

River Poisoned

The victims first complain of tiredness, then of pains in the back, shoulder, and knee joints. Next the patients' bones become weakened so much that they break under the slightest stress. Before they die, victims may lose as much as twelve inches in height.

The first case of "Itai, Itai" (the Japanese words for "Ouch, Ouch") was reported in Japan's Toyama prefecture in 1912. In the last twenty years, Dr. Noburo Hagino treated 350 cases of the disease, 119 of which ended in death.

After much research, Hagino and an agricultural scientist, Yun Kobayashi, proved that the symptoms were the result of cadmium poisoning, caused by drinking water from the Jintsu River. The Mitsui corporation has a mine on the Jintsu and for years has been dumping cadmium-polluted waste water into the river.

The findings of the researchers were not exactly welcomed, according to the November 30 issue of the German weekly *Der Spiegel*:

"Hagino and Kobayashi . . . were not honored for their research. On the contrary, the Mitsui firm, one of the country's biggest corporations, branded them extortionists although a committee on environmental pollution of the Japanese upper house . . . confirmed the findings of the researchers."

That was the extent of support that Hagino and Kobayashi received from any branch of the government.

"Attempts of the Health Ministry to investigate the poisoning of the Jintsu were blocked by bureaucrats of the Ministry of Industry and Export with the argument: 'What is good for industry is also good for Japanese society.'"

Next Issue

For our next issue we have scheduled a review of 1970 plus our annual index. This will be the final issue for the year, since we do not publish during the last week in December or the first week in January.

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Dublin Government Threatens Roundup of Left

By Gerry Foley

"The Irish Government's announcement of its plans to reintroduce internment without trial has left all shades of opposition opinion here stunned and apprehensive," correspondent Mary Holland wrote in the December 6 issue of the London weekly *The Observer*.

Holland continued: "No further steps are needed beyond a proclamation that detention without trial is to start. The Minister of Justice then signs the warrant."

Dublin correspondents Tony Geraghty and Tom Davies wrote in the London *Sunday Times* of December 6: "Most people in Irish political life are shocked and bewildered by the move, a few waiting for the knock on the door that may usher them into custody without trial for an indefinite period."

These reactions came in response to a statement Friday, December 4, by Irish Prime Minister Jack Lynch that he was ready to invoke Part 2 of the Offences Against the State Act, which empowers the government to intern any citizen indefinitely without charge or trial. This act was used during the second world war to imprison thousands of opponents of the government in concentration camps. It was used again during the 1956-62 guerrilla campaign in Northern Ireland to detain suspected members and sympathizers of the Irish Republican Army [IRA] and other militant nationalist organizations engaging in hostilities against the British security forces in the imperialist enclave.

The pretext Lynch gave for his action was that police had discovered a plot to kidnap government officials and stage a series of bank robberies likely to result in murder. "Unless this threat is removed," he said, the police would begin arbitrary roundups. Lynch announced that he had instructed the authorities to prepare the detention centers to receive prisoners.

Lynch not only offered no evidence for the alleged plot, he did not specify who the "conspirators" were. The prime minister is scheduled to explain his ac-

tion to the Dublin parliament December 9 but he has already proclaimed his government's readiness to suspend basic human rights without warning. In the absence of any specific accusation, all three million Irish citizens are presumably liable to arrest and confinement at the pleasure of the executive.

Following Lynch's statement, "unofficial" spokesmen for the regime indicated to the press that the threat was not directed at any of the major political organizations in the country but against a tiny adventurist group, Saor Eire (Free Ireland). This band, with an estimated hard-core membership of thirty, has been blamed for a series of thirteen bank robberies over the last three years, allegedly intended to raise money for arms and to conduct a guerrilla campaign.

But there is little reason to believe that the government's repression will be limited to this one organization alone. The scope of the measures proposed indicates that the intended victim is the left as a whole. Lynch is not opening up concentration camps to hold thirty individuals.

Furthermore, following Lynch's statement, the repressive forces moved first against the political organization of the republican movement. The December 6 *Sunday Times* reported: "The first arrests under the emergency regulations started early yesterday when four members of the Sinn Féin Movement were picked up on the street by members of the Dublin Special Branch, questioned for two hours about their party's anti-EEC [European Economic Community] campaign, and then released."

The *Sunday Times* offered no explanation of the connection between a campaign against Ireland joining the Common Market and robbing banks or kidnapping government ministers.

Sinn Féin is the political wing of the militantly anti-imperialist Irish republican movement which includes the IRA. No one has accused the IRA or Sinn Féin of involvement in the recent bank robberies. The republican move-

ment has explicitly rejected military adventurism, dedicating itself to leading and promoting mass struggles.

Lynch apparently hoped that the fact that the IRA is organized on the lines of a clandestine military force would give him a pretext for including it in a roundup of all "violent" revolutionaries.

The organizational forms and methods of the republican movement are a result of its historical origins in the Irish war of independence from 1919 to 1921. It is the descendant of the intransigent wing of the revolutionary army that opposed the sellout of the independence struggle by the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1922. Although the republicans were defeated in a civil war by the conservative "nationalists," there is no question that they represented a substantial section of the Irish population.

In the last analysis, the survival of a movement of this character reflects the fact that a significant percentage of the Irish people have never accepted the legality imposed by the victors of the 1922 civil war, nor the existence of the two British puppet regimes in Ireland on which this legality is based.

In the recent period the republican movement's most important work has been in the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association. It has provided the organizational backbone of the mass protests against national oppression in the British-maintained enclave that have shaken the political stability of both pro-imperialist Irish states.

The fact that republican activists were the first arrested in the Dublin government's crackdown indicates that Lynch's measure was aimed primarily at the civil-rights movement.

The threat to invoke the Offences Against the State Act comes less than a week after the resumption of mass civil-rights demonstrations in Northern Ireland. This action in the South greatly strengthens the hand of the rightists in the North who are calling for enforcement of similar legislation on the Belfast government's statute books.

UN Mission Confirms Portugal's Guilt

The United Nations mission investigating the invasion of Guinea reported its conclusion December 4 that the November 22 attack "... was carried out by naval and military units of the Portuguese armed forces, acting in conjunction with Guinean dissident elements from outside the Republic of Guinea."

The mission concluded that the invasion had been launched from "Portuguese" Guinea [Guinea (Bissau)] in ships manned by Portuguese sailors under Portuguese officers, that many of the troops who landed in Conakry were Portuguese and were under the command of Portuguese officers, and that the Guinean dissidents who participated in the attack had been trained in Portuguese-ruled Guinea (Bissau).

The mission's conclusions thus confirmed the charges made by Guinean President Sékou Touré when the invasion was launched. The conclusions were adopted unanimously by the five members of the group, consisting of delegates from Nepal, Colombia, Finland, Poland, and Zambia.

The mission's report said that a naval force of two troop-carrying ships and three or four patrol boats arrived at Conakry on the night of November 21. Early the next morning motor boats took ashore 350 to 400 troops.

The invaders captured an army camp, releasing prisoners held there, destroyed the summer residence of President Touré, and made unsuccessful attacks on the presidential palace and the headquarters of Amílcar Cabral, leader of the Parti Africain de l'Indépendance de la Guinée dite Portugaise et des Iles du Cap-Vert [PAIGCV — African party for the Independence of so-called Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands].

Among the witnesses interviewed by the mission was Michel Lange, a Belgian professor taken prisoner by the invaders. The December 5 *New York Times* reported some of his testimony:

"Mr. Lange said his captors had told him they were mercenaries preparing a coup d'état in Guinea and that the aim of their mission was to kill Mr. Cabral. The mercenaries told

him that they had been unable to find [Cabral] . . .

"They told me that some of them were Italian, some Spanish, and some Senegalese," Mr. Lange said. "I was surprised to see that all of them were black. At that moment [one of them] with his finger touched his own face and then my arm, which left a black mark on my arm."

The mission also interviewed some of the 100 prisoners Touré said had been captured, including a lieutenant in the Portuguese army.

In spite of the fact-finding mission's report, the Portuguese government continued to deny its role in the invasion. This led the *New York Times* to recommend that Portuguese imperialism adopt the hypocritical arguments of American imperialism. In a December 5 editorial, the paper commented:

"The Portuguese might have fared better if they had owned up to their role and tried to defend it as 'hot pursuit' or the right, in self-defense, of retaliation against the continuous guerrilla efforts, based in Guinea, to

overthrow Portuguese rule across the border."

The report of the United Nations mission seems likely to cause more than a little embarrassment for the Nixon administration and Portugal's other allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]. Since Washington provides most of Portugal's armaments through NATO, there is a good chance that the weapons used in the attack on Conakry were American-made.

The December 6 *New York Times* reported that the subject of Portugal's source of weapons had already come up in the Security Council debate on the mission's report:

"A number of African and Asian countries today [December 5] circulated to council members a proposal calling for a formal condemnation of Portugal and requesting all nations — specifically the members of the Atlantic Alliance [NATO] — to refrain from providing arms to the Portuguese. The proposal also included language that came close to a call for economic and political sanctions."

Nigerians Protest Invasion of Guinea

Lagos

The Black Renaissance Movement of the University of Lagos and more than 2,000 students from Ibadan University demonstrated here November 24 to protest the invasion of Guinea by white mercenaries.

Solomon A. Agunbiade, president of the Students Union of Ibadan University, said the demonstration was evidence of Nigerian youth's support for and solidarity with the people of Guinea in their struggle against the imperialist invasion. The students expressed support for the Nigerian government's promise of military assistance to Guinea.

Speakers for the Black Renaissance Movement urged greater unity of the African nations. They called for the immediate creation of an "African High Command" to curb the activities of the imperialists in the continent. The invasion of Guinea, they stressed, was not terminated by Portugal alone, but was carried out with the support of imperialists and neocolonialists.

"Down with all traces of colonialism!"

the demonstrators shouted. They gathered around the statue of Queen Elizabeth II in Tafawa Balewa Square, outside Parliament Building, and blindfolded the statue.

The same day, the Nigerian Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization called on the Nigerian Federal Military Government to hasten its promised military assistance to the besieged Republic of Guinea. It added that the most populous Black country should be a part of the leadership in destroying imperialism in Africa.

The Nigerian Guinea Friendship and Cultural Organization also called for the formation of an African High Command. Its president, Kunle Omo-Olofin, described the attack as "unprovoked, unwarranted, and diabolical."

Officials Practice Free Enterprise

Starvation caused by crop failures in north central Java in October was not stopped by a wheat shipment from the regional government. Local officials confiscated the wheat and sold it.

Calley, Mitchell Trials Miss Real Criminals

By Allen Myers

"Once aloft, the Marine officer questioned the victim for about 15 minutes in Vietnamese. Twice or three times the man was led to the open door and threatened with expulsion unless he talked. The victim, whom Osborn believes was selected deliberately for his lack of knowledge, was finally seized at the officer's orders by two of the Marine guards and thrown out.

"He screamed on the way down," Osborn recalled."

The testimony of Kenneth B. Osborn, reprinted here from the December 3 *Washington Post*, was not presented at the trial of the officer responsible for the murder described. That officer has not been placed on trial, and it is unlikely that he ever will be. The evidence of this and similar crimes was brought to light not by the U.S. government, but by veterans opposed to the war.

More than a year after the public revelation of the facts of the My Lai massacre, the Nixon administration has so far brought to trial a total of two men. One of them, staff sergeant David Mitchell, was acquitted of all charges. The trial of the second, first lieutenant William Calley Jr., is still in progress.

The trials reveal an essentially insoluble dilemma faced by the Nixon administration.

On the one hand, the pressure of American and world public opinion forces it to prosecute someone in order to escape the blame for the massacre of perhaps as many as 500 civilians on March 16, 1968. [For some of the details of the atrocity, see the review of *My Lai 4. A Report on the Massacre and Its Aftermath* in the June 15, 1970, issue of *Intercontinental Press*, page 584.]

On the other hand, a serious prosecution of all those responsible for the crime would not be able to stop at a sergeant and a lieutenant, but would have to proceed upward to deal with much bigger fish. Such a proceeding is clearly out of the question as far as the Nixon administration is concerned.

The contradiction in the government's position was illuminated early in the Mitchell trial, when the military judge ruled that key prosecution witnesses would not be allowed to testify. The basis of this decision was a law that requires that the defense be given access to any previous testimony of a witness that is in the possession of the government.

The judge decided that this law applied to testimony taken earlier this year by a subcommittee of the House of Representatives—the first time that the law had been applied to testimony in the possession of Congress. The prosecution witnesses would thus be allowed to testify only if the subcommittee chairman, F. Edward Hebert of Louisiana, agreed to hand over the transcript of their earlier testimony. When asked to do so, he refused.

"Congressman Hebert," the October 16 *Washington Post* reported, "... said he has no intention of complying with the court's request because the subcommittee decided at the outset that it would not release the testimony until all of the Army trials are concluded." (Emphasis added.)

After thus hamstringing the prosecution of at least one, and possibly all of the potential defendants, Hebert went on to declare piously: "We won't do anything to prejudice the trial in favor of the defendants or the government."

Even without the handicap imposed by Hebert's subcommittee, the government's prosecution of Mitchell was not exactly zealous. Although the prosecutor told the court that "Mitchell stood on the edge of a ditch and with his rifle shot women and children," he was charged only with assault with intent to murder.

Lieutenant Calley is the lowest-ranking officer to be brought to trial in the My Lai case. Only one other officer, Captain Ernest Medina, faces the possibility of court-martial for alleged crimes in the hamlet. No trial date has been set on any of the charges against higher-ranking officers ac-

cused of concealing information about the massacre.

Government strategy in the Calley trial has been to isolate the question of Calley's guilt from the larger question of overall responsibility. Richard Hammer summarized this strategy in the November 22 *New York Times*:

"... [the prosecutor] was determined to keep the trial within the narrow focus of the episodes in which Lieutenant Calley was involved and keep far away from other possible atrocities committed that day by other units and other soldiers in the hamlet, to keep away from the question of *command decisions and orders and steer far from the shoals of American military policies in Vietnam.*" (Emphasis added.)

But while the Nixon administration has been doing its best to limit the scope of the My Lai trials, a group of veterans of the Vietnam war recently held public hearings in Washington to demonstrate that atrocities are an inseparable part of American policy.

The testimony of Kenneth Osborn, described above, was presented at the hearings of the National Veterans Inquiry into U.S. War Policy, which were held December 1-3.

Some forty veterans testified during the hearings. They told of torture of suspects, murder of noncombatants, and approval or whitewashing of such acts by higher-ranking officers.

One veteran described how his platoon fired their machine guns into houses while driving through a "friendly" village nine miles north of Saigon. Eighteen persons were killed. The battalion commander investigated and — did nothing.

The December 4 *New York Daily World*, which reflects the views of the Communist party, quoted the testimony of Robert Osman, who described the treatment of one prisoner of war:

"When we marched into this village, they had him crucified to a tree. They had his arms up over his head and nailed to the tree. He was dead. He had det-cord (detonation cord)

wrapped around him. Explosives were placed on his head and body. He had a shape-charge against his body, then it was detonated. There was nothing left of him." The crucifixion had been ordered by a company commander of the Third Marine Division.

Other veterans reported the regular use of field telephones in the electrical torture of prisoners.

The attitude of many soldiers was described in the December 2 *New York Times*:

"A veteran identified as Charles David Locke, who returned from Vietnam in July, said that 'Remember My Lai' was written on 90 per cent of the helmets' in the battalion of First Lieutenant William L. Calley Jr. . . .

"Mr. Locke said the soldiers wore this slogan to remind themselves that 'either you do what the brass tells you and you get into trouble, or you don't do what they tell you and get into trouble.'"

With good reason, the veterans stated at the conclusion of the hearings that war crimes are "logical consequences of our war policies." The veterans thus raised a question that has recently been raised in a book by Telford Taylor.

Taylor, now a professor of law at Columbia University, was chief counsel for the prosecution at the Nuremberg trials of Nazi war criminals. His book, *Nuremberg and Vietnam: An American Tragedy*, attempts to fix the legal responsibility for atrocities like My Lai. In doing so, he bases himself on precedents established by the United States government itself.

Chief among these is the case of the Japanese general Tomayuki Yamashita, who was executed, not for ordering or participating in war crimes, but "for failure properly to control the conduct of Japanese troops under his command."

Yamashita was condemned even though he was cut off from communication with his troops during part of the time his subordinates were committing war crimes. What defense, then, could American officers have for the U.S. atrocities in Vietnam? Taylor says of the My Lai trials:

"... the defense of superior orders does not eliminate criminal responsibility but rather shifts it upward, and that is the direction in which an ordi-

nary court-martial will be least anxious to look.

"Whatever the limits and standards of culpability for civilians in Washington, the proximity and immediate authority of the military commanders ties the burden of responsibility much more tightly to their shoulders. *From General Westmoreland down* they were constantly in Vietnam, and splendidly equipped with helicopters and other aircraft, which gave them a degree of mobility unprecedented in earlier wars, and consequently endowed them with *every opportunity to keep the course of the fighting and its consequences under close and constant observation.*" (Emphasis added.)

10,000 Demonstrate in San Francisco

Californians Protest Ky's Visit



NGUYEN CAO KY: Played leading role in San Francisco puppet show during U.S. visit. Saigon dictator used tour to boost his presidential aspirations.

The real war criminals have not and will not be placed on trial by the Nixon administration. As the hearings of the National Veterans Inquiry demonstrated, war crimes are a deliberate and inevitable consequence of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The responsibility for them therefore rests with Nixon himself, and Johnson and Kennedy before him.

When Taylor stops his search for the ultimate responsibility at the level of the top military commanders, it must cause many of his readers to wonder if, had Hitler been captured alive, Taylor would have excluded him from the dock at Nuremberg.

Saigon's "vice-president," Nguyen Cao Ky, was greeted by antiwar demonstrations in San Francisco and Los Angeles, California, December 1 and 2.

In San Francisco, 10,000 demonstrators outside the Fairmont Hotel, where Ky was speaking, chanted: "Well, well, what do you know? The Fairmont's having a puppet show."

Participants in this December 1 action came from all over northern California. Students at many universities organized car pools to get to the demonstration.

Police forces were mobilized in large numbers to protect Ky. They continually tried to provoke a confrontation with the peaceful demonstrators, twenty-nine of whom were arrested.

The demonstration was sponsored by the Downtown Peace Coalition, Student Mobilization Committee, National Coalition Against War, Racism and Repression, Socialist Workers party, Young Socialist Alliance, Americans for Democratic Action, and the California Democratic Council.

On December 2, between 800 and 1,000 persons in Los Angeles demonstrated in a pouring rain against Ky's visit to that city. The Los Angeles protest was organized by the Out Now Coalition and the Asian Americans for Peace. The Chicano Moratorium also had a contingent at the demonstration.

Shah Demands Death for Fateh Supporters

By Javad Sadeeg

A group of Iranians who set out last year to join the Palestinian resistance organization Fateh, and were arrested while crossing the Iran-Iraq border, are still in Iranian prisons. Some are being brought to trial before a secret military court where the prosecutor is asking the death penalty for five of the defendants, according to the November issue of *Khabar Nameh*, the newsletter of Jebhe Melli Sevvom [National Front, the Third¹], published in Europe.

The shah's regime is carrying out the whole operation in great secrecy. There was no mention in the censored Iranian press of the existence of these prisoners until Abdol-Ali Raheem-Khani, a high-school student and the brother of one of the accused, along with two others, hijacked a Boeing 727 of the National Iranian Airlines to Baghdad on October 10.

The Teheran daily, *Keyhan*, reported in its airmail edition of October 11 that after the plane landed in the Iraqi capital, the hijackers demanded that the Iranian government release twenty-one of the political prisoners within thirty-two hours. The only name that *Keyhan* reported was that of Jazani, who, it said, was given a fifteen-year term two years ago.²

The Iraqi authorities talked the hijackers out of pressing their demands, and the rest of the passengers and the crew were returned to Iran in the same plane. The head steward received a minor gunshot wound during the incident.

The hijackers used pseudonyms and SAVAK [the shah's secret police] began a search for their true identities.

After ten days they were able to name Abdol-Ali Raheem-Khani as one of the hijackers, and the papers reported that he was the brother of one of the twenty-one political prisoners whose release had been demanded.

"The brother's name is Naser Raheem-Khani, formerly a law student at the University of Teheran," *Keyhan* reported October 22. "Apparently he was captured last year when he was illegally trying to cross the border from Iran to Iraq with the intention of joining the foreigners. He is now in jail."

This verifies accounts that have appeared in the opposition press for the last seven months, except that *Keyhan* does not mention Fateh by name, using instead the derogatory term "foreigners." This indicates that the regime is hiding something; otherwise, why not say who these "foreigners" are? The regime is concealing the fact that it is persecuting supporters of the Palestinian resistance for fear of the public revulsion this would produce in the country.

The group of Fateh sympathizers are only a small part of the growing number of political prisoners under the shah's dictatorship. The December 3 *Christian Science Monitor*, published in Boston, reported:

"The Iranian Government has jailed about 1,000 persons for political offenses this year and is torturing some of them, a German lawyer charges.

"Dr. Hans Heinz Heldmann said in a report published here [London] that he had established the figure during a recent investigation in Iran. He said he was expelled after 10 days and that his Iranian interpreter was arrested."

Dr. Heldmann made his investigation on behalf of Amnesty International. The *Christian Science Monitor* quoted him as saying:

"Political prisoners are regularly tortured in the prisons, with the exception only of those few prisoners who are too well known within or outside the country. The families of the prisoners are frequently exposed to psychological terror and economic pressure."

Khabar Nameh said Heldmann's visit may have saved the life of one of the defendants in the Fateh case, Naser Kakhsar, a young judge who has already lost one eye under torture by SAVAK.

There are reportedly seventeen defendants in all in this case. Four of the five for whom the death penalty is being asked are known, the fifth has not been identified. They are: Shokrollah Pak-Nejad, a graduate of the law school of Teheran University; Massoud Bathaii, a worker; Ahmad Saboory, a student at the Teheran University school of sciences; and Naser Raheem-Khani.

Khabar Nameh reports that Hossein Rezai, a representative of the World Confederation of Iranian Students, was arrested when he returned to Iran in an attempt to investigate the conditions of political prisoners. His whereabouts is not known.

A Boy Scout in Rhode Island was denied promotion to the group's highest rank November 12 because he is an atheist.

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1. Jebhe Melli Sevvom is one of the two opposition groups that adhere to the movement begun by former Premier Mossadegh, who was overthrown in a CIA-backed coup in 1953. The "Third" in the title refers to a stage in the development of Mossadegh's movement.

2. For background on the case of Bizhan Jazani and his comrades, see *Intercontinental Press*, December 2 and 16, 1968; January 13, 20, 27, and March 17 and 24, 1969.

Garrastazu Medici Celebrates a Year in Power

[The following statement was issued November 4 by the Partido Operario Comunista (Communist Workers party) of Brazil at the beginning of the latest wave of arrests in that country. (For further information on the roundups, see "5,000 Jailed in Two Weeks of Mass Arrests" in *Intercontinental Press*, November 16, page 972; and "Garrastazu Calls a 'Halt' to Mass Arrests," November 23, page 1009.) The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The last committee sent abroad by the military dictatorship to try to "clean up" the country's international image had hardly reached its destination before the repressive apparatus launched another savage campaign, this time with the pretext of preventing demonstrations on the date of Marighella's death and the first anniversary of the Garrastazu Medici government. In what was termed an "internal security exercise," even the censored bourgeois papers report that 262 persons have been arrested in São Paulo alone in the last four days. It is also known that there have been roundups in Rio de Janeiro, in Recife, Salvador, Curitiba, Porto Alegre, in more than fifteen places in the state of São Paulo, and in many other localities in the interior of Brazil.

The dragnet brought in the most disparate individuals, including the journalists Paulo Francis, Luis Carlos Maciê, Marta Alencar, and the cartoonist Ziraldo, all of whom work for the humor magazine *O Pasquim*. Several other employees of this publication had already been arrested and its property and equipment seized. Also arrested were Enio Silveira, head of Brazil's most important publishing house, *Civilização Brasileira*; Heleno Fragoso, vice-president of the Brazilian bar association; Augusto Sussekind de Moraes Rêgo, a member of the bar association council; the lawyers George Tavares and Rosa Maria Cardoso; the actress Leila Diniz; the composer Erlon Chaves; and the singer Fábio.

Students, professors, nuns, and former deputies, in all, forty members of the legal "opposition" party, the MDB [Movimento Democrático Brasileiro — Brazilian Democratic Movement], were arrested in Recife on the eve of the "elections" the dictatorship was preparing.

In fact, this flaunting of the government's repressive character was only a more glaring reminder that torture, murder, and constant repression are indispensable to the survival of the structures of capitalist rule in this country. Two weeks ago, Sergio Fleury, commander of the Esquadrão da Morte [Death Squadron] * — after refusing to answer the questions of the judge in the government's "inquiry" into this paramilitary organization — directed the murder of Joaquim Câmara Ferreira, the revolutionary militant who assumed command of the ALN [Ação Libertadora Nacional — National Liberation Action] following Marighella's death. Last month torture by the OBAN and the DOPS [Divisão de Ordem Política e Social — Political and Social Order Division, the political police], in São Paulo caused the death of two more revolutionists — Eduardo Leite, or "Bacuri"; and Ariston Lucena, whose father had been killed by the repression six months before.

This repression is the means that has enabled the Medici government to complete a year in power under the aura of the "economic miracle" which, for the working class, represents wages shrinking daily, authoritarian oppression by police and goons in the factories, and extensive unemployment or, worse, underemployment. Open repression against the revolutionary left groups and "preventive" repression of all elements that threaten in any way to tap the explosive potential of the workers are everyday facts of life under the military regime that stands as the savior of capitalism and imperialist domination over the Yankee's choice plum on this continent.

* Murder gangs believed to be organized by the police. — *IP*.

The military dictatorship is celebrating the murder of Marighella and the first year of the Medici government in its own style, with the new and sweeping wave of repression. The connection between these two dates reveals the secret of the "stability" of the military dictatorship in the country. The revolutionary left is still reorganizing itself to try to overcome the crisis of revolutionary leadership. So, it gave the barracks and the government palaces a chance to celebrate.

But the repressive fury has not blinded anyone to the fact that the regime's lifetime does not depend on it itself, on its firepower, or on its alliances with the military power of the Pentagon. The objective conditions for its demise are contained in the very solutions that the World Bank has offered for solving the crisis of capitalism in this country, enormously magnifying the already monstrous social deformations in the country.

On this social basis, with the agricultural and city workers gathering strength as forces that have nothing to lose from the fall of the system, revolutionary nuclei are beginning to arise. Basing themselves on a class policy, they are resuming their course toward a new revolutionary offensive against the military dictatorship that has played the role of savior of capitalism in this country.

Refugees Jailed in Lesotho

Twenty-seven political refugees from South Africa imprisoned in Lesotho have sent an appeal to the Organization of African Unity [OAU]. The appeal, dated October 16, was smuggled out of Central Prison in Maseru, where the twenty-seven have been held ever since Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan declared a state of emergency in January.

According to the November 3 *London Times*, the prisoners "deny that they have 'at any time aligned ourselves with opposition parties or subversive elements in this country.'"

The appeal says: "Our continued detention, coupled with the brutal assaults on some of us by the Lesotho police, remains as a manifest highhanded and unwarranted victimization of the refugees en bloc." It asks the OAU to use its influence to secure their release.

A Curious Comment by 'Izvestia'

By George Saunders

The alleged "Khrushchev Memoirs" have provoked much discussion, not so much over their rather banal content, as over whether they are authentic and why they have appeared at this time—on the eve of the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Soviet Communist party.

A variety of bourgeois commentators have adduced a variety of reasons for doubting their authenticity. At the same time, reports persist that the notorious Soviet secret police agent Victor Louis was instrumental in delivering this material to the capitalist publishing vultures and propaganda machinery.

Izvestia, the Soviet government daily, handled the controversy in a curious way, in a back-page article November 24 entitled "In the Falsifiers' Kitchen." The curiousness goes beyond the grudging breach of the taboo on the former Soviet premier's name. (The words "N. S. Khrushchev" appear only twice in the long article about "these 'memoirs.'")

Izvestia quotes enthusiastically from bourgeois sources that reject the material as false. It charges that Edward Crankshaw, annotator and introducer of the book version to be published this month, is a British intelligence agent and that the young American translator is a CIA agent. Possibly so. Who can say?

But more curious is the fact that it also pegs Victor Zorza, Soviet commentator for the Manchester *Guardian*, as a British intelligence agent—then quotes him approvingly! "Agent" Zorza, you see, has questioned these memoirs and recalled a fabrication of the mid-fifties, the alleged memoirs of Maxim Litvinov, which turned out to have been manufactured by Russian émigrés in Paris.

Izvestia did not try to explain why agent Zorza might have been assigned to discredit the work of agent Crankshaw. It merely cited other examples of documents from the Soviet Union that have been widely regarded as CIA forgeries, such as the "Penkovsky Papers."

All this is dull enough and has been reported in the world press. But *Izvestia* mentioned one other supposedly notorious instance of "falsification," the "Varga Testament," which the Soviet press has been denouncing as a forgery by the dissident French Communist Roger Garaudy, who wrote the introduction to a recent French translation.

[For the text of this document by Soviet economist Evgenii Varga, who died in 1964, see *Intercontinental Press*, June 1, 1970, page 530. For a discussion of its authenticity, see "Garaudy Answers Kremlin on 'Varga Testament,'" October 12, 1970, page 855.]

The Varga document has been circulating in *samizdat* in the Soviet Union for years. It was printed by Yuri Galanskov in the *samizdat* journal *Phoenix*—1966. No mention of it as a "CIA forgery" was made at the trial of Galanskov in January 1968. A copy of it was seized along with much other *samizdat* material from General Pyotr G. Grigorenko. Again no charge that it was a CIA work was made in his case.

Only this year, when pro-Dubcek

elements in the Austrian and French parties published the Varga text, did the Kremlin begin to grind out a campaign as to its falsity.

The picture becomes "curiouser and curiouser" as Alice in Wonderland said. The Khrushchev "memoirs" appear under peculiar and doubtful circumstances. *Izvestia* eagerly links a major *samizdat* work and a prominent Communist critic of its Czechoslovakian policy together with imperialist spy agencies, forming a classical Stalinist amalgam.

Is the Kremlin involved, through Victor Louis, in an elaborate ruse to discredit *samizdat* in general? Is it simultaneously trying to smear Dubcekite and Khrushchevite elements in the Communist movement—elements that are just as reformist and class-collaborationist as Brezhnev and company but which threaten the Soviet bureaucracy by advocating more democratization within the Communist parties, including those in power in Eastern Europe?

Izvestia's special attention to the one good coin among the counterfeit or questionable clearly points in that direction.

Japanese Trotskyists Make Gains

2,000 Hear French Revolutionist in Japan

Tokyo

A total of 2,000 persons attended public meetings in seven big cities here addressed by Comrade Vergeat, a leader of the Ligue Communiste [Communist League—the French section of the Fourth International], between September 16 and September 26. The series was sponsored by the Japan Revolutionary Communist League [RCL—the Japanese section of the Fourth International].

At its last national convention, held in August of this year, the RCL proclaimed a shift from the tactic of "en-

tryism" and firmly based itself upon a program summarized in the slogan "Build a Socialist United States of Asia Through the Victory of the Far East Revolution." The convention, along with the success of the September meetings, constitutes a big step forward in building a revolutionary party in Japan as well as building the International.

The largest public meeting, in Tokyo, mobilized 800 workers, students, and citizens. Vergeat made an impressive report on the world situation of the Fourth International. He especial-

ly emphasized the important tasks of the Japanese section in relation to Asian problems and the necessity for all members of the RCL to participate in the day-to-day activities of building the International. He also criticized the various Japanese New Left sects, which are killing each other's members and splitting into smaller sects, all claiming to be revolutionary parties.

"The Anti-Subversive Law has already been applied to several leaders of revolutionary organizations and the trials are now going on. The Anti-

Foreigners Law, which aims to suppress Koreans living here as well as 'political' foreigners, is now going to be adopted in parliament. What is the task of Japanese revolutionaries? To smash each other for sectarian reasons?," Vergeat asked the large audience, citing a recent example of severe fighting between Chukaku and Kaku-maru, both organizations that proclaim themselves as the leading force among Japanese radicals. He appealed for the creation of an active united front to fight against repression.

Among the speakers were represen-

tatives of the Action Committee of San-rizuka Youth, the peasants fighting against the construction of a new airport on their land, and the Ad-hoc Commission in Okinawa, which is now winning support from militant Okinawans as the only clear political force dealing with their problems.

The other speakers were from the Internationalist Communist Student League, the Front of Internationalist High-Schoolers, the Internationalist Laborers Committee, and the ad-hoc committee of jailed comrades.

Italy

Libero Villone—A Founder of Italian Trotskyism

Rome

Comrade Libero Villone, a member of the Central Committee of the Italian section of the Fourth International and manager of *Bandiera Rossa* [the organ of the Italian Trotskyists], died November 11 in Naples. Before his death, he asked his comrades in the local branch of the section to make his funeral a revolutionary demonstration. His wish was respected. The funeral took place November 12 with hundreds of persons in attendance, the majority of them young students. (Villone was a teacher at the Giovanni Battista Vico high school for many years.) Revolutionary activists carried his coffin, which was draped in the flag of the Fourth International. Comrade Livio Maitan gave a brief speech to honor the memory of our departed comrade, and to pay tribute to his mortal remains in the name of the world Trotskyist movement. The ceremony concluded with the singing of the "Internationale."

Libero Villone was born in Naples in 1913. While still very young, he joined in the political struggle, participating in clandestine activity under the fascist regime and becoming a member of the Communist party. In 1938, as a result of criticisms he raised about the evidence for the Moscow trials, he was expelled.

In 1943, Villone was arrested by the fascist police. He was released a few months before the fall of Mussolini. In September of the same year Villone participated in the Neapolitan

people's heroic days of battle against the Nazis. Readmitted to the Communist party, he was rather quickly expelled again as a result of his critical attitude toward the policy of collaborating with the bourgeois parties.

In 1945, Villone became a member of the POC [Partito Operaio Comunista — Communist Workers party], an organization operating in a few provinces of southern Italy which had ties with the Fourth International, although it held positions much closer to the Bordigist conceptions than Trotskyist ones.

In 1948, when the Second World Congress of the Fourth International decided to break with this formation, Villone and other comrades of the POC minority (in Naples, Rome and Milan) left the organization. Along with young comrades who had broken with the Young Socialist Federation and the PCI [Partito Comunista Italiano — Italian Communist party], he helped in January 1949 to form the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari [Revolutionary Communist Groups], which was subsequently recognized as the Italian section of the Fourth International. Since that time, except for a brief period, he had been a member of the Central Committee of the GCR and for several years also the manager of *Bandiera Rossa*.

Libero Villone played a very active role in all the congresses of his organization. All those who heard his contributions to the discussion, which

were often very critical, recognized their intrinsic value and helpfulness in promoting a deeper understanding of problems. One of the exemplary facets of his character was his acceptance not only in principle but also in practice of the Leninist concept of organization. Several times in a minority in the Italian section and in the International, he always observed discipline after a congress had made its decision.

Thanks to his very extensive learning and his mastery of the Marxist method, Comrade Villone played an essential role in training many of the activists in his city. In recent years he also gave classes to the youth in the student movement and he carried out his task with such lucidity that even a PCI leader in his city mentioned these classes in an article devoted to Villone's memory published in the Neapolitan edition of *l'Unità*. Owing to Comrade Villone's activity among the teachers and in the schools, he was attacked several times and threatened by ultrarightist, fascist, or neo-fascist papers. He played a role also in the teachers' union and took part as a delegate in the last provincial congress of the CGIL [Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro — Italian General Confederation of Labor].

Comrade Villone's death is a severe loss to the Italian section of the Fourth International. We have lost a clear-minded militant endowed with very great intellectual honesty, a revolu-

tionist who won respect even from his adversaries. It is significant that the Communist party, which expelled him twice from its ranks and attacked him violently for decades, felt the need to send one of its local leaders to the

funeral and to offer homage in its daily paper to "this personality well known as an antifascist fighter, educator, journalist, leader of the CGIL teacher's union, and political adherent of the Fourth International."

Dominican Republic

Los Minas Citizens Protest Rightist Terror

Santo Domingo

The situation of widespread terror is continuing in this city, with the authorities demonstrating their complete incapacity for controlling it. It is thought here that the terror is being directed against the opposition forces by the American CIA.

In the Los Minas area of the city, where 90,000 people live, three persons have been killed and another four wounded since November 4 in terrorist attacks. One of those wounded has accused two police officers of the attempt on his life. They are still at liberty.

The neighborhood of Los Minas declared a twenty-four-hour cessation of all activities in protest against the terror. The Citizens Committee that led the action issued a declaration, which said, among other things:

"The inhabitants of Los Minas are tired of seeing their sons, friends, neighbors, and acquaintances being brutally murdered." The statement continued: "Although mysterious murders keep occurring, the president of the republic, Doctor Joaquín Balaguer, has made statements claiming in one way or another that such acts are normal everywhere. But the Dominican people know that the first duty of any government is to protect human life. And they know that when the government does not fulfill this duty, as the one headed by Doctor Balaguer does not, the citizens have the right to use all means at their command to demonstrate that they are opposed to crime and are ready to fight it."

Former president Juan Bosch, chairman of the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano [Dominican Revolutionary party], said that if the government really wanted to, "it would be relatively easy to end the situation of abuses and outrages the people are suffering."

When Balaguer went to Puerto Rico to open a Dominican-Puerto Rican conference November 23, he was greeted by many Dominicans and Puerto Rican students shouting "Balaguer, Murderer!"

'Imprisons Blacks in 60 Seconds'

Polaroid Employees Call for Boycott

Workers at the Polaroid Corporation in Cambridge, Massachusetts, have called for a boycott of all Polaroid products.

Organized in the Polaroid Workers Revolutionary Movement [PWRM], the employees called the boycott to enforce their demand that the company stop all its business operations in South Africa.

The PWRM has already won a significant victory in forcing the company to abandon part of its South African market. In October the workers distributed leaflets saying "Polaroid imprisons Blacks in just 60 seconds" to protest the fact that Polaroid equipment was being used to produce identification photographs for the passbooks that all Black South Africans are required to carry.

After first denying that its products were being used to make passbook photographs, the company yielded and announced that no more sales would be made for this purpose.

The PWRM appears to have the backing of a large number of Polaroid employees. Jo Ann Levine reported in the December 2 *Christian Science Monitor*:

"A general consensus among both black and white employees at Polaroid is that the South African question which the revolutionaries have raised is valid — and that it would not have been raised if it had not been pushed by the revolutionary group."

Levine's estimation of Polaroid's reluctance to move except under pressure was confirmed earlier by Donald White, who wrote in the November 1 *Boston Globe*:

"... it is a fact that two years ago an employee group raised the subject [of the passbook photographs] with company management and nothing happened."

Polaroid, which White describes as a "corporation that takes pride in a



PRIME MINISTER JOHN VORSTER: In danger of losing his Polaroids.

national reputation for humanism and progress in race relations," has been put on the defensive by the PWRM campaign. It even took out full-page ads in two Boston newspapers to tell the world how much it opposed apartheid.

The company has attempted to justify its refusal to cut its business ties to South Africa with the claim that this would work a hardship on the Blacks employed in its sunglasses factory there. The PWRM points out, however, that it is hardly "humanitarian" to employ South African Blacks at the wages prevailing under Vorster's government — \$47 a month.

The PWRM has made three demands upon the corporation, and is asking a public boycott of Polaroid products until they are granted. The demands are: (1) that Polaroid end all business connections with South Africa; (2) that the company release a statement in South Africa condemning apartheid; (3) that profits from past operations in South Africa be donated to the liberation movement there.



UNIVERSITE LIBRE DE BRUXELLES. Part of crowd of 3,500 young revolutionary socialists who attended November 21-22 Congress

for a Red Europe sponsored by the Ligue Communiste of France and the Jeunes Gardes Socialistes of Belgium.

'New Age of Soviets Dawning'

How the Press Reported the Brussels Congress

Under the headline "New Age of Soviets Dawning," the November 23 issue of the conservative Flemish daily *De Standaard* gave a thumbnail sketch of the Fourth International and its history. The occasion for this article was the "Red Europe" congress of European Trotskyists and revolutionary socialists November 21-22 in Brussels. This gathering of 3,500 young revolutionists on the campus of the Université Libre de Bruxelles, which has been the scene of important student agitation, drew major coverage from the Belgian press.

"The Fourth International was founded in 1938 by Trotsky," *De Standaard* wrote. "It was for a long time a movement of theoreticians. In recent years it has had an impact on the youth."

The objective of the Brussels meeting, the French-language daily *Le Soir* reported, "was not to hold a congress but to permit contacts and an exchange of views, and also to give

these numerous young people an opportunity to see their own strength. It is understandable that they should feel a need for this, because if any movement has drawn persecution it is the Trotskyists. They are suppressed, or at least oppressed, in numerous Western countries, and persecuted with equal brutality by right-wing dictatorships and by the Communist countries.

"This is why they declared their solidarity at once with Angela Davis, struggling in the United States; the Tupamaros, struggling in Uruguay; General Grigorenko, struggling in the USSR; Kuron and Modzelewski, struggling in Poland — and of course those struggling in Greece and Vietnam."

The most extensive account of the conference was in the right-wing Brussels paper *La Libre Belgique* of November 23, whose correspondent seemed impressed by the enthusiasm of the meeting.

"At 3:20 p.m. the plenary session opened, after members of the Ligue

Communiste of France and the JGS [Jeunes Gardes Socialistes — Socialist Young Guard, a Belgian youth organization sympathizing with the Fourth International] had gathered in front of the stage and 'heated up' the audience with revolutionary songs ("Avanti popolo . . . Bandiera rossa," etc.), which were taken up by the assembled youths who stood with their fists raised.

"On the stage were the brains of the movement: Henri Weber, Pierre Frank and Alain Krivine (France); Ernest Mandel and Fernand Charlier (Belgium); Susan LaMont (the United States); Pat Jordan and Tariq Ali (Great Britain); Livio Maitan (Italy), etc.

"After the entire audience sang the 'Internationale,' standing with their fists raised, and after the reading of 'messages of solidarity' with comrades imprisoned throughout the world, the congress began in fact with an intro-

ductory report by Ernest Mandel. The latter—dressed in a simple pale blue suit, shirt and tie of the same color, and a sweater, with short hair and gold-rimmed glasses—is a member of the 'United Secretariat of the Fourth International' and generally considered to be the theoretician of this far-left movement. He is also known for his works on Marxist economics.

"For almost an hour and a half, while Mandel read his twenty-three page report, the audience listened silently, almost devoutly. He was interrupted only with long applause and cries of 'It's only a beginning, continue the struggle' when he read the passages considered the most biting. . . . Mandel got strong applause when he criticized the society 'which permits the murder of 144 young people in a dance hall and lets a million Pakistanis die,' and when he called for the 'overthrow of capitalism' and 'building the Fourth International.'"

After the plenary session, the delegates to the congress met in workshops. "These committees continued their work Sunday morning, up until the second plenary session, to draw a balance sheet of the meeting," *La Libre Belgique* reported. "One after another the results of these workshops were presented. These reports discussed industrial work ('For Workers Control' and 'Awakening the Masses'); the new needs of capitalist society (transport, health, the struggle to defend the environment, women's liberation); the anti-imperialist struggles ('Vietnam-Laos-Cambodia—the NLF Will Win,' and 'participation by comrades in armed insurrections such as in Ireland or Latin America'); student struggles (for a European-wide coordination of work in the universities and the high schools).

The closing speaker, Alain Krivine, pointed out that the student movement was beginning to overcome its ultraleft tendencies (Maoism, spontanéism, and Mao-spontanéism), according to *La Libre Belgique*. The Brussels daily quoted Krivine as saying "Trotskyists must not denounce these attitudes because they are violent, since bourgeois society continually generates violence, but because from the tactical standpoint violence must not be considered an end in itself and a substitute for political analysis in every concrete situation."

For the Flemish daily *Vooruit*, the most startling thing about the con-

gress seemed to be some of the points of Mandel's speech. In its November 23 issue, it wrote: "The speaker said that the bourgeois state must be overthrown and that power must pass to congresses of workers' councils which will arise on a local and regional

basis in Europe. He ended by saying that there was no more noble, more urgent, and more important task than working for the overthrow of capitalism and striving to build a United States of Europe and of the World, and to build the Fourth International."

Sihanouk Circulates Japanese Report

Is the Kremlin Giving Lon Nol Military Aid?



GENERAL LON NOL: Cultivating his links with Soviet bureaucrats.

The government of Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia is circulating a Japanese newspaper report that alleges the Soviet Union is supplying military aid to the American-backed Lon Nol regime in Phnompenh. The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation announced that it had received an English translation of the report from the Sihanouk government on November 30.

The Japanese account originally appeared in the November 1 issue of the paper *Sankei Shimbun*. This paper gives its source as an official of the Lon Nol regime:

"Mau Say, Joint Head of the Cambodian Economic Mission visiting Japan, and Deputy Minister of Finance,

revealed yesterday at the Cambodian Embassy in Tokyo that, since the coup d'Etat of the 18th March, the Soviet Union has continued to furnish military assistance to Cambodia. The Joint Head of the Mission, Mau Say, said:

"The aid in various fields which has been given to Cambodia by the Soviet Union has scarcely been affected by the end of the Sihanouk era, and it continues normally. Military assistance, promised before the coup d'Etat, consists mainly of army lorries, of which delivery has been maintained since the coup d'Etat. The delivery hasn't yet been concluded, the remainder will be delivered shortly."

Sankei Shimbun also quotes Mau Say as saying that the 600 Soviet technicians and advisers who left Cambodia at the end of June for "vacations" have now returned.

The fact that the Sihanouk government is circulating the article indicates that Sihanouk is apparently convinced of the accuracy of the *Sankei Shimbun* report.

Certainly Sihanouk has reason to be wary of the Soviet bureaucracy and its allies in Eastern Europe. These governments have continued to maintain diplomatic ties with Lon Nol even after the American invasion in support of the puppet regime.

This diplomatic support for Lon Nol created a scandal in August, when members of the Cambodian mission in Prague announced their allegiance to the Sihanouk government. They were literally starved out of the embassy by Czechoslovak authorities, who cut off water and electricity to the building. Sihanouk has informed the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation that messages to his representative in Prague have been intercepted

by the Czechoslovak government and delivered to Lon Nol's ambassador.

Diplomatic recognition of the Lon Nol regime implies other forms of cooperation. The October 26 *New York Times*, for example, reported that in Phnompenh the "Khmer-Soviet

Friendship Hospital . . . has become a principal center for the people wounded in the Cambodian war." The hospital is partially staffed by Soviet doctors.

It would be interesting to know where the Soviet bureaucrats draw the

line at cooperation with Lon Nol. The Russell Foundation has asked supporters of the Indochinese revolution "to make active enquiries at the Soviet Embassy in order to discover what explanation is offered" of the allegations in *Sankei Shimbun*.

The September Civil War and the Arab Revolution

Future of the Palestinian Resistance in Jordan

By Gerard Verjat and Boris Jourdan

[We have translated the following article from the November 16 issue of *Rouge*, the weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste (Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International.)]

* * *

Roots of the Crisis

The forces of the rising Arab revolution were subjected to a terrible test in the confrontations of September. We have shown and explained on many occasions in the columns of this journal and in other publications that the Palestinian resistance in Jordan as well as Lebanon was operating in a situation of intermittent but permanent civil war, in which every explosion was a little more violent and bloodier than the last.

An unbroken line of continuity runs from the latest crisis in September 1970 back to the first collision between the resistance and the Jordanian regime in November 1968. In each of these confrontations, a central question was posed and is posed today after the bloody events of September — Who holds the power in Jordan?

The political and social nature of the Palestinian resistance organizations and the resolutely anti-imperialist character of their struggles make such a movement incompatible with the Jordanian state. One must yield to the other. Either the Palestinian resistance or the Jordanian regime must vanish, body and soul. Only as a revolutionary movement can the Palestinian resistance assure the transfer of power into the hands of the vanguard of the Arab revolution in Palestine and Jordan.

The question of the existence and revolutionary effectiveness of the Palestinian resistance comes down to this fundamental problem — its attitude toward the existing regimes, that is, those of Lebanon and Jordan whose frontiers with Israel are the sole theaters of operations for the commandos. The future of the Palestinian resistance as a revolutionary movement depends on this question. The latest phase of the intermittent civil war in Jordan has revealed the extreme importance of this problem. The resistance cannot avoid it because the Jordanian regime will not wait for their response before pursuing its bloody campaign of repression and extermination. This last crisis must be considered in the context defined by the preceding ones and by the way in which the resistance responded successively to them.

In the wake of the latest crisis in Jordan, it has become clear that the response of the resistance has remained an essentially military one. Such response was absolutely necessary, but was still not sufficient to establish a new relationship of forces between the Palestinian population and the regime in power.

Thus the problem of the Palestinian political leadership and its orientation remains central to the question of the movement taking power and the nature of the state to be set up in Jordan.

Attitude of the Resistance Toward the Question of Power

November 1968 was the time of the first confrontation between the Palestinian organizations and the Jordanian regime. The fedayeen had been strengthened by the battle of Karameh

in March 1968, where, at the cost of enormous losses, they held their ground against an Israeli tank attack on the present "frontier" line between Jordan and Israel (the occupied territories of the West Bank). From this time on, that is, after just one year since the Six-Day War, the guerrillas emerged as a political force threatening the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan.

With a majority of its population consisting of refugees who fled from the Israeli occupied parts of Palestine in 1948 and later in 1967, Jordan is a country of Palestinians governed by puppets set up by British imperialism and maintained today by the USA.

An answer that Yasir Arafat gave early in the development of events in an interview given to *Jeune Afrique* in June 1968 provided the key to the policy the de facto leadership of the Palestinian resistance (Fateh and the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO]) would follow: "Since there is no interference on our part in the internal affairs of the Arab countries, where we have no ambitions; since we have a common objective with the Arab states and peoples, which is principally ending the Israeli occupation; we do not see why there should be any conflict between us."

In the wake of the first serious crisis, King Hussein himself declared: "I am the country's first fedayeen," adding his bit to the demagogic tradition of the heads of the "anti-imperialist" or "progressive" Arab states, from Iraq to Algeria and passing through Egypt. The launching of the resistance was to touch off a series of crises, all of which ended in compromises.

April and October 1969 saw the resistance in armed conflict with the Lebanese army and regime. In both

instances the guerrillas had to retreat. The pullback took place all along the line—militarily, politically, and geographically.

In connivance with the Israeli government, the Lebanese regime took advantage of the penetration of Zionist army units into southern Lebanon to occupy the principal strategic points and push the Palestinian units back into the interior of the country without a fight. As a result, the Lebanese government forces succeeded in wholly or partially paralyzing the resistance. All this was accomplished without any reaction by the village, peasant, and popular masses in the region, thanks to the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of Arab states.

Since that time, the Palestinian resistance has in fact "withdrawn" from Lebanese political life. Its resulting ineffectiveness has largely deprived the Lebanese revolutionary left of possibilities for developing on a mass scale throughout the country, as it could have done if the resistance had combined its work in Lebanon with that of the local revolutionary elements. Even the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which has developed the conception of the necessity of advancing all fronts of struggle, dropped this position in Lebanon, basing itself locally on heterogeneous elements who have not really broken out of the Nasserite mental framework.

The Cairo accords concluded in October 1969 between Arafat and [General Emile G.] Bustani have finally assumed the force of law. The left has had to submit to them, since because of its military weakness it cannot bring sufficient pressure to bear or strike out on its own. In fact, its relationship of forces with Fateh-PLO is the sole factor determining the Palestinian left's possibilities for independent actions. This has now been demonstrated. On October 30, Arafat decided, in the framework of the "Supreme Political Committee" to eliminate the offices of the Palestinian organizations existing in all the Palestinian camps and Lebanese villages. There is to be only one office representing the Central Committee of the PLO. On the other hand, the different organizations still have the right to open offices in Beirut, far from the camps. But outside these camps only purely propagandistic activity is possible . . .

The PLO/Fateh intends to extend

its control over the entire movement, deciding to unify fund-raising for the resistance, which comes down to depriving the other groups of their financial independence. This is especially true for the Democratic Popular Front. The role of policing the resistance movement conferred on Fateh by these measures was particularly obvious in the communiqué issued by the Supreme Committee:

"Special commissions will be entrusted with the work of applying these decisions and making contact with the different segments of the Lebanese population with a view toward reinforcing the fraternal ties between the Palestinian revolution and its Lebanese brother people."

The day the Palestinian resistance agreed in Lebanon to submit to a series of counterrevolutionary demands by the Beirut government, the signal was given to the Jordanian vultures to launch their attacks against the resistance.

The Grip Tightens

Pushed back into the Jordanian framework where it started, the Palestinian resistance could only expect a series of confrontations with the Jordanian state. In February 1970, and later in June, when the Palestinian resistance was at the height of its political potency and held real sway over the Arab masses in Jordan, it twice avoided the question of power.

But it must also be recognized that in these two cases, the confrontations provoked by the Jordanian regime were a counterrevolutionary response to the political ties established at the time of the strikes between the Palestinian left formations, the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Hussein denounced these left organizations by name and called for their destruction.

The lack of political and strategic unity within the Palestinian resistance in confronting the problems raised by its activity and the inevitable transformation of the political conditions of the struggle in Jordan prevented the movement from consciously developing an alternative to the regime as a whole. It is to be noted that in the entire history of the colonial revolution over recent years, every liberation movement has correctly moved to

form a "provisional revolutionary government."

The Algerian FLN [Front de Libération Nationale—National Liberation Front] was the initiator of the practice of establishing a legal entity in exile, making it possible to win international recognition of the fighting movement and break the political isolation of the national liberation struggle.

Thus far the Palestinian resistance has not offered any solution to this question and some might think today that it is a little late, if not too late. The clashes last September showed that the royal armed forces were not sufficient to do the "mop-up" job. But from this September confrontation, the resistance must draw the conclusion that if it cannot win out in a clash with the Jordanian army, the idea of a military victory over the Zionist state remains a utopian perspective for the near and relatively near future, although it is a potent vision for mobilizing considerable sectors of the Palestinian masses.

In the aftermath of the September clashes in Jordan, Fateh's position as the militarily dominant force has been confirmed and this has been legitimized in its status as the main representative of the Palestinian resistance, the one recognized exclusively by the Jordanian regime and somewhat less exclusively by the Lebanese government. Thus, this new situation is reflected also inside the resistance movement where the Palestinian left organizations have taken cover behind Fateh, finding themselves inevitably drawn into its wake in applying the Cairo accords of September.

The result is apparent in those clauses of the accords where Fateh's ideas about limiting the struggle politically and geographically to the "frontiers of Israel" and noninterference in the internal affairs of "brother states" led to agreement to withdraw regular Palestinian units from Amman.

The Jordanian head of government, Wasfi Tal (see below for a description of what he represents), explained: "I did not participate in the massacres of September. But since the country was divided between the fedayeen on one side and the army and the king on the other, my place is naturally with the king and the army. The mission of the fedayeen is to liberate Palestine and not to govern in Amman."

This same imperialist puppet said in his first press conference, coming at

almost the same time as these statements: "One of my government's aims is to make Jordan the launching pad and principal support of the Palestinian commandos . . . The government's first task is to reach a state where struggle becomes the very essence of our existence, where all our lives and all our production are devoted to this end."

Thus, by statements that cost it very little, the Jordanian government is making its contribution to confusing the masses, leading them to think that the bloody events of September were only a somewhat costly misunderstanding. The shell game consists of distinguishing two contradictions within the struggle of the Palestinian people. The principal one is supposed to be between the Zionists and the imperialists. The other, regarded as highly secondary, as the successive crises with the Lebanese and Jordanian regime have shown, is among the Arabs themselves.

With it being understood that the first conflict "must" precede the second in time (and in urgency of solution), it becomes quite clear that the Cairo accords are an application of the fallacious and almost counterrevolutionary conceptions drawn from the immutable verbal scholasticism of Maoism in opposition to the inevitable and *desirable* development of the class struggle in the Arab countries (in Jordan and in Lebanon at an early period). These gymnastics fit in perfectly with the nationalist conceptions of Fateh, which gains a pseudo-Marxist sanction from them.

The withdrawal of Palestinian combat units from all Jordanian cities, from Amman and later from Jerash and Zerqa, and finally from the key city of Irbid on the Syrian frontier, means that in removing its military force, the resistance is withdrawing all or part of its political presence and thus the sole guarantee of developing a revolutionary political consciousness in the Arab masses of Jordan. It is leaving them once again to the mercy of the country's corrupt and reactionary state apparatus, which thereby regains its legitimacy at the same time as the opportunity for re-consolidation.

Who can claim that the Palestinian resistance is in an ascendant phase after the events of September, when the measures provided for by the Cairo accords have been applied, estab-

lishing the following rules: "Carrying arms is banned everywhere, as well as the stocking and manufacturing of arms; the population is asked to inform on the resistance to the government." Now the army and the Bedouin forces are the only ones authorized to patrol the cities, Amman in particular, a situation that can lend itself to all kinds of provocations.

A single unknown factor remains — the real military and political strength of the Palestinian militia assigned to maintaining order. It is nonetheless clear that its role will be determined by the relationship that emerges bit by bit between the Palestinian resistance and the regime. In no way is the militia an independent political force.

What has or will become of the Irbid revolutionary committees in view of



HUSSEIN: Seeking alliance with Israel against the Palestinian guerrillas.

such a policy? Facing a surviving counterrevolutionary central government in Jordan, these partially or totally disarmed committees cannot maintain themselves.

The internal conditions in Jordan indicate that the possibilities for a new clash between the government and the resistance persist and have significantly increased in line with the reorganization of the royal state apparatus. However, the evolution in the Arab world as a whole, dominated by the policy of the "great powers," will govern the rate at which the next crisis

unfolds and the moment of its explosion.

It seems that the Palestinian resistance has slowed down and lost ground politically and geographically in Jordan. This substantial reduction in its power in this area has occurred at the same time the forces that have supported the resistance in order better to serve their own interests have demonstrated their incapacity or unwillingness to continue this support. Egypt, the Sudan, and Libya have shown that they maintain the perspective and the desire for a peaceful solution. Iraq has proved that it will not come to the aid of the commandos but will follow the policy set in Cairo no matter what. In the case of Syria, its hopeless weakness paralyzed it almost completely.

To this picture must be added the grave dissensions within the Baathist regimes in Iraq and Syria. In the second case, the future of the Saiqa is in doubt, although this Palestinian resistance organization represents a military power approaching that of Fateh more closely than the forces of any other Palestinian organization. This is quite revealing of the present capacities of "progressive" Syria.

Finally, to round out this generally and utterly unsurprising rout: The principal effect of Nasser's death was to eliminate, along with the "father of the Arab nation," the only authority that could maintain a fragile discipline in the concert of all these states and, to the extent of Egypt's own interests, stay the hand somewhat of the Jordanian counterrevolution. Today, with this authority gone, Hussein is again under the exclusive control of the combined decisions of the American imperialists and the Israelis.

It is evident that as soon as the peace talks resume or open up, *the existence of the resistance will be challenged* by the very agency that announced its intention of making Jordan a launching pad for the commandos. No doubt the tactic will be to drive the commandos into the arms of the Zionists on the other side of the boundary line so that the latter will carry out the extermination that the Jordanian army could not accomplish according to plan.

It now seems plain that liquidating the Palestinian resistance requires a peace treaty, a separate peace with Jordan (which remains difficult), or with Egypt (most of the other Arab

states would follow suit), creating an international situation where the resistance would be outlawed and encircled. This would legitimize a combined armed strike by Israel and Jordan against the Arab revolution in the person of the resistance movement in its entirety. When the new premier of Jordan says that he is opposed to the Rogers plan, it must be clear that this charming individual, who is more cunning than his predecessors, is trying to gain time, to sow confusion in the minds of the masses and the less politically aware sectors of the resistance. He has to keep a rein, moreover, on the murderous frenzy of the Bedouin troops, who have played a more than large role in cutting off the population from King Hussein.

What the king could not do with his local forces alone, he can do only with the close collaboration of foreign forces in a new international framework of a revival of peace talks and signing "peace" treaties.

Several new elements confirm the fact that the Jordanian government is preparing for an attack on the resistance in the near future—the landing of new military matériel coming from "the West"; the naming of Wasfi Tal, former head of the British secret services in the region, as prime minister; and, finally, two declarations by the British government confirming the maintenance of a British "military presence" in the area and insisting on the withdrawal of the Israelis from the occupied areas with a view toward preparing the final conditions for "peace."

Prolonging the cease-fire on the Suez canal and the UN vote represent the preparation of new conditions for a new peace plan.

This situation reconfirms the need for forming an authentic revolutionary leadership and extending the revolutionary struggle in the region.

Create a Revolutionary Leadership

The fighting spirit and revolutionary determination of the ranks is the most important ace the Palestinian resistance holds. But without a leadership capable of leading these ranks into struggle with clear objectives, there can be no victory.

The Palestinian movement suffers from a terrible weakness in continuing to push counterrevolutionary conceptions that muddle and deceive the con-

sciousness of the fighters, such as the impossible gymnastics of distinguishing a main and secondary contradiction. This leads to denying the interlocking character of these two contradictions and thus to tightening the grip of the Arab reactionaries on the Palestinians because of a refusal to prepare them for decisive revolutionary struggles. The lack of preparedness of the masses for the last crisis is damning proof of this.

Whatever the cleavages that may develop in Fateh (this is very hypothetical), unless they find organizational expression in the shortest possible time there will be no chance of overcoming the lagging behind events that appeared in the recent developments. The permanent danger of a counterrevolutionary peace is backed up by political and military forces that were only shadows on the horizon during the September crisis: the Israeli and U. S. armies.

Only one response is possible to

the present situation—organizational and political preparation for a very long period involving a fundamental change in methods. An end must be put to the hypocritical verbiage about national unity—talk about "brothers" and the "noble and sacred cause." The myths must be torn away that mask the reality of the struggle—the illusion of liberated territories (the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and its Revolution Airport!). This verbal intoxication typical of the Arab nationalist movement is the worst obstacle to the spread of scientific socialist conceptions enriched by years of struggle on the worldwide fronts of revolutionary combat.

For these unpardonable weaknesses, the Palestinian resistance risks paying an exorbitant price in men and revolutionary energy. At a decisive moment in its development—when the Nasserite straitjacket has just been broken—the Arab revolution may find itself considerably outdistanced by the pace of events.

Strike Follows Attacks by Soldiers

Lagos Minibus Drivers Defy Government

By Woki Woka

Lagos

Staple food items like beans, rice, edible oil, garri, and vegetables have begun to disappear from local markets here because of the decision of the committee of the Drivers' Association to withdraw minibuses from the road. This decision was made despite the federal military government's decree banning strikes.

The strike action followed physical clashes between drivers and members of the armed forces in which many drivers were badly beaten and their buses damaged by soldiers. With their lives at stake, the drivers decided to defy the government's decree by striking.

The first incidents occurred six months ago, when a Lagos bus conductor died after being beaten by soldiers in the Tinubu area, in the heart of the city. A few days later, a soldier was killed in retaliation and his corpse abandoned at a bus stop near the

area where the conductor had been killed.

At that time, an open confrontation between bus workers and some armed forces personnel was averted by the intervention of the police and the military authorities.

But the soldiers, well aware that there is a military government in Nigeria, exploited an accident in November in which a soldier fell from a moving minibus and died shortly thereafter. Using this as an excuse, some members of the armed forces constituted themselves into terrorist gangs that threaten the lives of minibus drivers in and around Lagos.

The strike is being felt by the population of Lagos. Some workers now have to walk miles to their offices. Market women have raised the prices of foods that cannot be replenished. Fruits like bananas, pawpaws, and oranges are now being sold at several times their former prices.

The Theses of the 'Il Manifesto' Tendency

By Livio Maitan

Il Manifesto's publication of the theses of the tendency it represents has aroused a very lively interest in Italian political circles. The magazine, which has been appearing for fifteen months, is a center of regroupment for leaders and cadres who have broken from the Communist party.

The speculations of the sensationalist press and the bourgeoisie's natural desire to exploit this split in order to weaken the PCI [Partito Comunista Italiano] have played a role in this. But that does not diminish the intrinsic importance of the initiative the editors of the magazine have taken, which has already had very wide repercussions within the various "splinter groups" of the revolutionary left.

The launching of the operation was unquestionably well timed. The Maoist groups are in continual crisis, seriously reducing their ability to engage in effective action. The spontanéists have also suffered setbacks and many of them are questioning the basis of their conceptions. A considerable number of far left militants are reflecting on the lessons of 1969. Above all, they are pondering the reasons why a very powerful mass movement, in which the revolutionary left played an important role on several occasions, did not produce any political results—and why it did not cause a dislocation of the traditional apparatuses, which were considerably weakened from several standpoints.

The *il Manifesto* group grasped the situation and figured that there were possibilities which it could exploit. It broke with the hesitations that characterized its attitude for a whole period and took the initiative by formulating these theses in hope of functioning as a catalyst.

The analytical starting point of the theses is indisputable—that is, that the objective situation in Italy requires the formation of a revolutionary party and that subjective forces have existed for some years, not only in the student movement but in the working-class vanguard, that could make a start in accomplishing this task.

It is also indisputable that the PCI and the unions retain their predominant influence and that "without a fruitful crisis in the majority organization of the working class it will be impossible to construct a new revolutionary force capable of leading the movement and testing an adequate strategy."

Il Manifesto's bid, in which the publication of its theses is only the first step, is aimed precisely at regrouping the forces of the revolutionary left, which have been fragmented up to now, and drawing groups of critical cadres and activists out of the PCI and the PSIUP [Partito Socialista Italiano d'Unità Proletaria—Italian Socialist party of Proletarian Unity, a left Social Democratic formation in the orbit of the PCI].

In this way, the *il Manifesto* tendency hopes to create an organization capable of serving as a pole of attraction and taking political initiatives both nationally and

in various sectors, thereby opening up widening breaches in the control of the big apparatuses.

The theses call on the revolutionary left groups and all those who recognize the necessity for a deep-going renewal of the workers movement to develop a common debate "without sectarianism or narrow tactical considerations," a debate which would not be limited to theoretical confrontation alone but would involve testing theoretical positions in action.

Such a debate could have two different outcomes: (1) the creation of "an initial common organizational structure" uniting all the forces that accept the same strategic line; (2) the continuation of discussion and unity in action "not only on specific points or defensive issues, but also on platforms promoting strategic unification."

After all the ravages of sectarianism, we would be the last to minimize the merits of such language. There is a real need for a political and theoretical confrontation in which debate would not be replaced by an exchange of epithets and insults, and every possibility of unity in action corresponding to a real necessity would be sought. This is why the Italian section of the Fourth International has decided to accept the invitation offered it by the editors of *il Manifesto* to join in this confrontation.

But what conceptions and orientations does *il Manifesto* propose in its 200 theses? It is obviously impossible either to summarize these theses or analyze them in the limits of a single article. I will try, then, to establish a few fundamental points.

Il Manifesto's analysis of the world situation revolves around two axes—condemnation of the Soviet leadership and adherence to the Chinese cultural revolution. More specifically, their analysis claims that the Soviet Union has switched camps, that its social nature has changed, and that "the Chinese revolution represents the only alternative to the crisis of Soviet strategy and the Communist movement, the international reference point for the revolutionary forces throughout the world."

It is worth pointing out that, insofar as we can tell from the theses, *il Manifesto* accepts none of the many conceptions of capitalist restoration in the USSR that have circulated up till now. But while outlining the well-known arguments that others have advanced, *il Manifesto* sought to add an "original" interpretation. The restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, according to the theses, is developing as the result of "annexation to the imperialist world market," of the "massive extension of trade," and a "substantial homogeneity in the type of development and level of productivity."

The least to be said about such a line of argument is that it is downright ludicrous to think that trade, which is so low even in absolute terms, could have had consequences of such importance. At best the *il Manifesto*

people are confusing a possible long-term tendency with an actual reality. Their "innovation," then, cannot be taken too seriously.¹

Il Manifesto's attitude toward China fundamentally follows the same logic that inspired the attitude of a large part of the international workers movement toward the USSR during the 1930s and 1940s. When these comrades explain that it is impossible to envisage the construction of a revolutionary party without an international "point of reference," we of course agree with them. We founded the Fourth International precisely because we were convinced that it was impossible to develop a revolutionary strategy without a worldwide perspective, that it was impossible to create real revolutionary parties on a purely national scale.

We Trotskyists, moreover, have no need to review our appraisal of the historical portent of the Chinese revolution and of the importance of the existence of the Chinese People's Republic. Nor need we even go back over our evaluation of the significance of the Chinese leaders' polemic against the leaders of the Communist party of the Soviet Union and other CPs.

However, the *il Manifesto* comrades make their methodological error above all in abandoning the materialist criteria for analyzing Chinese society. This leads them to an interpretation of the cultural revolution and the situation in China that does not correspond to the reality. The political reflection of such a method is an attitude of uncritical support, although this was not typical of the *il Manifesto* tendency in the first months of its activity.

Thus, the theses declare the universal validity of the conceptions of Mao and the cultural revolution; they consider that a real proletarian democracy exists in China and that the Chinese leadership is manifesting a "new internationalism" that "relies on the coherence and richness of revolutionary growth (in China) and the autonomous and parallel growth of revolutionary initiative in other sectors of the world."²

All this, among other things, is in contradiction to other parts of the document that expound conceptions differing palpably from Maoist conceptions, especially regarding the structure of revolutionary society and the conception of the party. If in fact the Maoist experience was of universal validity, why did they have to reject it on such fundamental points?

It is not without significance that the theses do not say a word on the position taken by the Vietnamese leaders vis-à-vis the conflict within the Communist movement and that they discuss Latin America without mentioning Cuba. This point is revealing both of a tendentious impression-

ism in analysis and a desire to avoid expressing any differences with the Chinese positions and attitudes.

A part of the theses to which the *il Manifesto* comrades obviously attach a central importance deals with the ripeness of the conditions for establishing communism. "For the first time in history," thesis No. 71 explains, communism in its radical meaning, and thus socialism as a transitional phase, has become an immediate question and a possible political program." And in thesis No. 79 communism is presented "as a concrete political program in whose name the working class struggles and demands power."

From these premises, the *il Manifesto* group derive—most importantly—the general strategic line they hold to be generally valid for the present stage. The justification for such an orientation is that a "qualitative leap" has occurred in the development of the productive forces and that "human society in the most advanced countries has reached a level where the decisive source of expanded production is, or could be, not direct human labor but the social patrimony of knowledge."

All this theorizing is expressed in sufficiently elastic and imprecise forms to permit a "flexible" defense against the criticisms the authors could easily anticipate (some of them were not trained in the school of Togliatti for nothing). But beyond a few more or less happy formulations, the very clear tendency of the theses is to minimize the problems of the transitional phase precisely because they assume that the advance to communism—and it is in fact communism that they have in mind—will be relatively rapid. (In this, let it be said in passing, they are not orthodox Maoists.)

Likewise, the theses underestimate the necessity of objective preconditions for building a communist society (making apparent concessions to pre-Marxist methods) and overestimate the level attained by the productive forces. In other words, the theses confuse possibilities with realities and build a strategy for achieving communism on such an extrapolation. In this, they link up with formulations that can easily be traced to the "theories" of the spontanéists of the new wave.

We are entirely in agreement with the comrades of *il Manifesto* when they reject the conceptions of the parliamentary road, the "model of development," and the whole arsenal of reformism and gradualism that distinguishes the theory and practice of the Italian CP. Likewise, we note with pleasure their clear affirmation of the irreplaceable role of the working class in the advanced countries. We also largely share their appraisal of the significance of the 1968-69 upsurge in Western Europe³ and of the present situation in Italy and its most probable tendencies. However, some important observations must be made.

In the first place, the theses treat the problem of taking power in too summary a manner. Marxists have never indulged in the sterile casuistry of trying to envisage all possible specific variants. But Marx and Lenin established in the clearest way a series of criteria and guidelines of universal validity—that is, the need to destroy the

1. It is curious that this line of argument on capitalism being restored in the USSR seems to have been discovered by the authors of the theses in the two weeks between the drawing up of the first draft and the publication of the final one. The first draft did not explicitly espouse the capitalist restoration thesis.

2. It is a significant detail that the first draft carried a criticism of China's Indonesian policy. This reservation has disappeared from the final draft. Were the *il Manifesto* comrades convinced, in the time between the publication of the two drafts, that Aidit's line, which was supported by the Chinese leaders, including Mao, was correct?

3. It should be pointed out, however, that the theses place exaggerated emphasis on favorable features peculiar to Italy, thus implicitly underestimating the implications of May 1968 in France and seeing only in Italy aspects that also exist in other countries.

bourgeois state apparatus, the inevitability of revolutionary force, the transformation at a given stage of the class struggle into an armed struggle and a civil war, and so on.

Thesis No. 87 blurs the lines of the problem, reflects a centrist conception, and reveals a vaguely Luxemburgian underestimation of the need for concrete preparation for the revolutionary confrontation. This is expressed also in an underestimation of the problem of dual power—which is decisive in any revolution, no matter what its duration—as well as in a refusal to conceive of workers' councils primarily in connection with a dual-power situation.

As to the conception of the structures of a society emerging from a proletarian revolution, we agree on the primary role of workers' councils and on other criteria noted by the theses. But the comrades of *il Manifesto* neglect to discuss the unions, which must, however, play an important role, according to the conceptions expressed by Lenin in the debate at the beginning of the 1920s and later repeated by Trotsky. More importantly, they should clarify their position on the question of the right to form parties within the context of respecting the legality of the new society, and on the right of tendencies within the revolutionary party. The theses, in their present form, are not clear on this essential point.

Finally, while they rightly reject the PCI and old- and new-style reformism on so-called intermediate objectives, the theses do not comprehend the necessity of a transitional program taking its inspiration from the criteria of Lenin and the first congresses of the Communist International.

This omission represents in part a concession to ultraleft orientations that reject any idea of transitional objectives as "reformist." But it also fits in with the general conception of the ripeness of conditions for establishing communism and of the ways for taking power that I have already mentioned. It corresponds also to a certain confusing of the general socialist aspirations and consistent anticapitalist orientation of the vanguard strata with a decision by the masses to actually mobilize in a struggle to overthrow the system.

As I said in passing, the line of argument of the theses correctly highlights the role of workers' councils both in the struggle for power and in the organization of the new society. Likewise the theses reaffirm, in opposition to spontanéism, the need for a party. And they stress the role of the party even after the taking of power. With regard to the unions, the formulations are ambiguous, however. The editors give evaluations, which we share, on the state of the Italian unions, and the possibilities the contradictions of these unions offer for intervention by revolutionists. But they give the impression of thinking that the unions, as an instrument of the working class, are outmoded, or are tending to become outmoded.

In fact, after noting that "the distinction between the unions and parties was one between the social and political movements," thesis No. 83 explains that "in advanced capitalism the distinction between economic and political struggle is tending to disappear." As a result, you might say, we have a withering away of the unions. I do not need to show here how false such a perspective is (even though it starts from the correct perception that in a period of revolutionary tensions the ties between

economic and political struggles become increasingly close).

The conception of the party in the theses is also faulty. Thesis No. 100 rejects democratic centralism ("as it was manifested in the Third International and as it is manifested to this day"). But this thesis does not specify what alternative it proposes. As if all the experiences of the international workers movement and all the revolutions of our century did not make it possible to settle this question, this passage ends simply with the half-eclectic, half-banal reflection that: "different situations require different institutions and the same structure may have different meanings in different contexts."

The confusion that exists in other parts of the document is especially obvious on the problem of the party, that is, a confusing of Leninism and Stalinism. (In order to slur over this problem, the theses use the expression "Third International" various times without specifying which Third International they refer to, the International of Lenin or of Stalin. In not a few articles that have appeared over the last years, however, some of the authors of the theses have demonstrated that they are not unaware of the distinction they deliberately blur here.)

This result is produced at the same time by presenting some of Lenin's conceptions in deformed, or even caricatured form; by giving an outline of the history of the USSR in Stalin's time that has very little in common with the historical reality, and performing a similar operation with respect to the history of the PCI in the same period.

The *il Manifesto* comrades take a very severe attitude toward the current tendency of the PCI to collaborate with the Christian Democrats. But they dispute the fact that the Popular Front policy was conceived in a reformist perspective. And they go as far as to justify or forget the actual governmental collaboration practiced by the PCI in 1944-47.⁴

All this is at the same time wrong and quite unoriginal. In particular, the tendency to equate Leninism and Stalinism has always been the favorite argument both of the bourgeois spokesmen who want to denigrate communism; of the currents that justify Stalinism; and of all those in the workers movement who endeavor to see degenerate conceptions and organizational forms, that in reality had very precise social roots, as deriving from some abstract logic.

It is still too early to attempt to sum up the initial results of the debate launched by *il Manifesto*. To judge from the first reactions, there are no far left groups or movements that are ready to accept a real dialogue and join with *il Manifesto* in moving toward theoretical, political, and organizational unification. All the responses I am aware of so far have been marked by sectarian self-defensiveness.

Even when these responses have been aimed at real contradictions and weak points, they have been expressed in a sterile form showing a desire to cut off the debate before it has even had a chance to develop. It must be

4. Thesis No. 114 claims that the Togliatti-de Gasperi agreement involved a "mental reservation." Thus, political judgment is replaced by a psychological judgment that is, moreover, questionable.

recognized, however, that, over and above sectarianism, there is a political logic behind these reactions.

The *il Manifesto* comrades declare their apparently uncritical support of the Chinese cultural revolution. But they are necessarily considered as not very consistent people or as heretics by the Maoists who swear by Mao Tsetung Thought and will not accept the slightest bending away, even if only implicitly, from Maoist orthodoxy. Likewise there are a few notions and nuances with a spontanéist flavor in their document. But this is very far from meeting the requirements of the real spontanéists.

The most probable alternative, then, as it looks now, is that the *il Manifesto* group will not succeed in its project of unifying the revolutionary left groups or a part of them. Consequently, the polychromatic panorama, so confusing to foreign observers, to say nothing of impressionistic political tourists,⁵ is destined to persist for a long time and grow even more complicated.

5. We have noticed several times that so-called serious magazines have generously opened their columns to representatives of virtually nonexistent groups or to intellectuals offering advice that nobody takes seriously in Italy. We agree that everybody has the right to express himself, but a completely false perspective should not be given or pictures presented that do not have the least correspondence to reality. I am thinking in particular of the last issue of *Les Temps Modernes*. This issue included articles by figures who have no following in Italy and do not represent even the most modest organized force, figures even who are discredited because of their frequent shifting from one group to another, as, for example, Luca Meldolesi. After playing the role of a student leader tinted with spontaneism in 1968, in 1969 he went over to the miserable Maoist sect, the *Unione*, and in 1970 he joined the *Lotta continua* group. Here then is someone qualified to clear up theoretical questions and spread "new" ideas! Has Andre Gorz definitively forgotten his old acolytes, like Foa, Trentin, and company, whose praises he sang not so long ago? Has he new favorites

The result will be that the new political formation—if it actually sees the light of day—will have great difficulty in building a base among the students and even in establishing sufficiently solid ties with the layers of the working-class vanguard where the far left movements already exercise an influence.⁶

As I said already, the Italian revolutionary Marxists decided at a recent session of their central committee to accept the invitation to discuss tendered to them by the *il Manifesto* comrades. In their organ *Bandiera Rossa* they have stressed the importance of a theoretical and political confrontation accompanied by a practical test of ideas. They have also emphasized that if the revolutionary left proved capable of a general discussion on the key problems of revolutionary strategy and of breaking with a tradition of sterile sectarianism, that would unquestionably represent a step forward no matter what the political and organizational results of such a discussion.

At the same time, the Italian revolutionary Marxists decided to clearly express the differences they have with the theses on fundamental problems that prevent them from envisaging the possibility of a unification or of participating in the political operation underway. But these differences do not exclude seeking concrete points of agreement, constant debate, and unity in actions not limited solely to defensive campaigns. The experiences of the coming months will show to what extent this perspective can be concretized.

October 19.

on the peninsula? A little less subjectivism, Monsieur Gorz, if you please!

6. It must be acknowledged that the lukewarm reaction of the far-left groups is justified insofar as the theses devote no attention to analyzing their positions, mixing them all up together too nonchalantly.

Soviet Union

New Report on Fight to Free Grigorenko

[On November 10 the Soviet government freed two American generals it had held for three weeks after their plane "strayed" over Soviet territory under mysterious circumstances. Another general—this one a lifelong fighter against imperialism—was not so fortunate. Former Major General Pyotr G. Grigorenko, a Red Army hero in the fight against Nazi Germany in World War II and more recently an outspoken critic of Stalinist bureaucracy, has remained imprisoned in a Soviet "mental hospital" since May 1969.

[The most recent report on the conditions of General Grigorenko's con-

finement, together with an appeal on his behalf by a number of noted Soviet scientists, including the nuclear physicist Andrei D. Sakharov, appeared in the June 30 issue of the *Chronicle of Current Events*, the widely circulated *samizdat* publication. This issue, No. 14, recently reached the West. Our translation of this material follows.]

* * *

On May 13 academicians M. A. Leontovich and A. D. Sakharov; V. Turchin, doctor of physical-mathematical sciences; and physicist V. N. Chalidze addressed a "request for a review" of the rulings of the Tashkent City

Court and the Supreme Court of the Uzbek SSR in the case of P. G. Grigorenko (see *Chronicle*, No. 12) to USSR Prosecutor-General Rudenko.

They pointed out "serious procedural violations which were permitted during the preliminary investigation and at the trial," for example:

1. The absence of a preliminary investigation at the scene where the acts attributed to Grigorenko were committed. The groundless justification for this by the Uzbek prosecutor's office was "the assertion that the majority of the witnesses live in Tashkent," when, in fact, "of the 106 witnesses

examined, more than eighty resided in Moscow."

2. Use of illegal physical force on the man under investigation, and treatment of him in a manner degrading to human dignity during pretrial detention.

3. Violation of the constitutional right to defense, manifested in "the invariable, at times unjustified, denials of defense counsel petitions that were aimed at rectifying procedural lapses in the investigation and in the trial." (The appeal enumerates the instances of violations of the right of defense.)

4. The absence of a complete and thorough investigation at the trial: a significant difference in the number of witnesses questioned in the case (106) and those summoned to court (thirty), of whom only five actually appeared on the stand. There was a disproportion between the number of documents classified as criminal (300), and the number examined by the court (three). The lack of analysis at the trial of the question of "the intent of the acts charged against P. G. Grigorenko."

5. The lack of a valid decision by the court on the question of Grigorenko's mental competence and denial of defense motions for setting a third examination "to resolve the contradiction" between the first and second ones.

The authors of the appeal requested that the [prosecutor general] condemn the Tashkent City Court's ruling and grant an injunction to set it aside. They asked that P. G. Grigorenko be released from custody.

On May 8 Kh. Gumirov sent a letter to [President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet Nikolai V.] Podgorny, requesting that amnesty be granted to all political prisoners, especially to P. G. Grigorenko on the occasion of Victory Day [the anniversary of Germany's surrender on May 8, 1945, celebrated as a holiday in the Soviet Union] or before the elections [held June 14]. According to the author of the letter, the amnesty should be granted in the interests of legality, strengthening of socialist democracy, and "definitively de-Stalinizing our country."

Since June, P. G. Grigorenko has been held in the special psychiatric hospital in Chernyakhovsk (see *Chronicle*, No. 8 and No. 11 on the



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question of special psychiatric hospitals).

At the beginning of June, two plainclothesmen who did not give their last names visited Grigorenko at the hospital and suggested that he renounce his convictions. P. G. Grigorenko re-

fused to talk with them. After this, he began to be taken on walks with a group of violence-prone mental patients.

On June 15 his wife visited him. They made her wait eight hours. Representatives of the hospital administration were present during the visit.

The main group of patients in this special (i. e., prison) hospital are genuinely psychotic people, sentenced for rape and murder.

The hospital cell measures six meters. Two men are kept in it: Grigorenko and his cell mate, who butchered his wife and is always in a state of delirium. In the cell there is only room enough to take two steps — just enough to stand up and get dressed. The exercise periods take up only about two hours per day; all the remaining time is spent in the locked cell. Grigorenko is deprived of pencil and paper.

Forced immobility, sharp pains in his wounded leg, the continuous pressure on his consciousness of severely disturbed mental patients — all this is cause for grave concern regarding the life of the sixty-two-year-old P. G. Grigorenko.

His address is: Kaliningrad Oblast, Chernyakhovsk, Institution 216/ST-2 [Union of Soviet Socialist Republics].

Deutscher Prize Goes to Istvan Meszaros

The Isaac Deutscher Memorial Prize for 1970 has been awarded to Istvan Mészáros for his book *Marx's Theory of Alienation* (Merlin Press, 1970). The prize, first awarded in 1969 to Martin Nicolaus, has a value of £100.

Istvan Mészáros was born in Hungary and studied in Budapest and Jena. In November 1956 he took up a teaching post at Turin. While in Italy he wrote, among other works, *La Rivolta degli Intellettuali in Ungheria* [The Revolt of the Intellectuals in Hungary]. Since 1966 he has been teaching at the University of Sussex. He is also working on a major biography of Georg Lukacs.

Mészáros will deliver the Isaac Deutscher Memorial Lecture on "Alienation and Social Control" early in 1971.

The next Isaac Deutscher Memorial Prize will be awarded in the autumn of 1971. Works, either published or in typescript, should be submitted by May 1, 1971, to the Isaac Deutscher

Memorial Prize, c/o Lloyds Bank, 68 Warwick Sq., London, S.W. 1, England.

This year's jury consisted of Perry Anderson, E. H. Carr, Tamara Deutscher, Eric Hobsbawm, Monty Johnstone, and Ralph Miliband.

Strike Wave in Israel

In recent weeks a wave of strikes has swept Israel. The strikes have involved teachers, airline maintenance workers, meteorologists, electrical workers, port workers, telephone operators, and civil service employees.

Government economists fear that government spending and increased private consumption will cause an inflationary spiral. Tax increases in August have not slowed this trend.

Most of the problem is caused by military spending, which rose from 38 percent of the government's budget in 1966 to almost 70 percent this year.

Cuba for Everyone

Cuba For Beginners by RIUS. Pathfinder Press, New York, N. Y. 153 pp. \$1.95. 1970.

In the original Spanish-language version (*Cuba Para Principiantes*), this book has already gone through six editions and become a hit all over Latin America.

It is not at all difficult to understand its popularity. RIUS (the pseudonym of Mexican caricaturist Eduardo del Rio) has presented Cuban history since 1492 in 153 pages of cartoons and captions that are equally informative and hilarious.

RIUS begins with the arrival of Columbus:

"Columbus' crew thought they had arrived at Bombay and called the Tainos, Siboneyes and Guanatabeyes who were the owners of the island 'Indians.'

"They were peaceful and smoked large cigars (the type that only Che Guevara was capable of smoking) and lived dedicated to the production of children, since the land produced everything, without the aid of the United Fruit Co., the Alliance for Progress or the Ford Foundation . . ."

The island, RIUS assures us, was named "Ave Maria," but "it seems like there was some sabotage by the natives, who were atheists of sorts."

From such inauspicious beginnings, Cuban history continues downhill for the next four and a half centuries. RIUS takes us through the Spanish colonization, slavery, rebellions, "independence," and American-supported dictator after American-supported dictator, with brief stops along the way for both the serious (an outline of Martí's life) and the tongue-in-cheek (the invention of Cuba Libre).

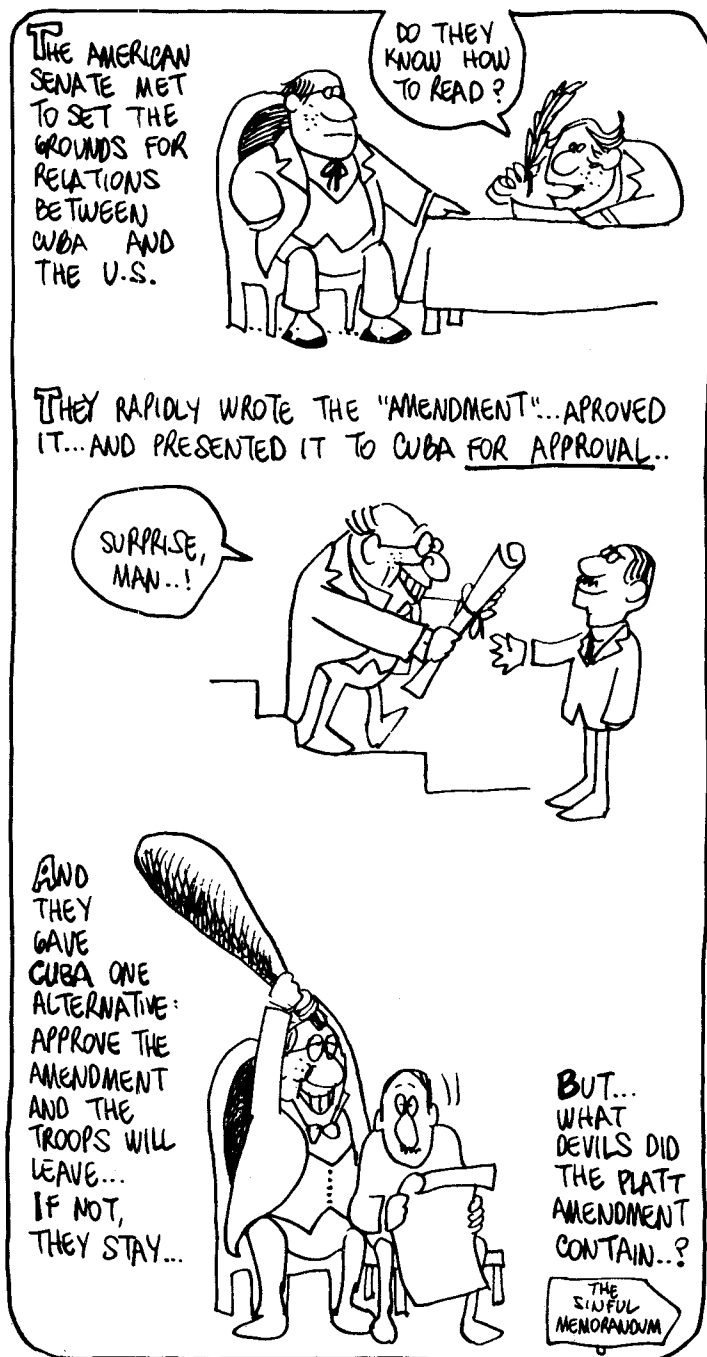
The bulk of the book, of course, is devoted to the period since the triumph of the revolution. RIUS shows an amazing skill at condensing events and situations into a few lines. For example, he illustrates the contradiction between the popular support for the revolutionary measures of the government and anticommunist attitudes instilled by years of propaganda with a dialogue between an ordinary citizen and a bearded guerrilla.

"Oh yes," the citizen says, "I'm in favor of the agrarian reform. Give the land to the peasants. And with those 10 thousand new schools—of course, man! And with the sugar cooperatives and the barracks converted into schools—certainly! I'm in favor too of people's stores, so that peasants don't pay too much for what they eat! I approve shooting war criminals, of course! Confiscation of American companies? Well: Cuba for the Cubans! The urban reform? Sure, it's a wonderful thing!"

"Wonderful," says the guerrilla. "Is there anything you don't like about our revolution?"

He receives the reply: "Yes: the bad part of it is that you and the others are communists!"

RIUS is equally adept at illustrating virtually every aspect of the revolution, from the agrarian reform to the



A "GIFT" FROM UNCLE: The Platt Amendment and Cuban "independence."

Bay of Pigs invasion to the economic difficulties created by the U. S. blockade. Perhaps the most serious flaw of the book is its title. *Cuba For Beginners* will be enjoyed not just by beginners but by *all* supporters of the revolution, no matter how much or how little they already know about Cuba.

— Allen Myers

Solzhenitsyn's Letter to Swedish Academy

[On November 27, dissident Soviet novelist Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn sent a letter to the Swedish Academy, announcing that he had reconsidered his original decision to go to Stockholm to receive the Nobel Prize for Literature. (See *Intercontinental Press*, December 7, page 1061.)

[Following is the text of Solzhenitsyn's letter in a translation taken from the December 1 *New York Times*.]

* * *

In a telegram to the secretary of the Academy, I have already expressed and now again express my gratitude for the honor bestowed upon me by the awarding of the Nobel Prize. Inwardly I share it with those of my predecessors in Russian literature who because of the difficult conditions of the past decades did not live to receive such a prize or who were little known in their lifetime to the reading world in translation or to their countrymen even in the original.

In the same telegram, I expressed the intention to accept your invitation to come to Stockholm although I anticipated the humiliating procedure, usual in my country for every trip abroad, of filling out questionnaires, obtaining character references from party organizations — even for nonmembers — and being given instructions about behavior.

However, in recent weeks, the hostile attitude toward my prize, as expressed in the press of my country, and the fact that my books are still suppressed — for reading them, people are dismissed from work or expelled from school — compel me to assume that my trip to Stockholm would be used to cut me off from my native land, simply to prevent me from returning home.

On the other hand, in the materials you sent me about the procedure of handing over the prizes, I discovered that in the Nobel celebrations there are many ceremonies and festivities that are tiring and not in keeping with my character and way of life. The formal part, the Nobel

Lecture, is really not a part of the ceremony. Later, in a telegram and letter, you expressed similar apprehensions about the to-do that would accompany my stay in Stockholm.

Weighing all the foregoing, and taking advantage of your kind explanation that personal presence at the ceremony is not an obligatory condition to receiving the prize, I prefer at the

present time not to apply for permission for a trip to Stockholm.

I could receive the Nobel diploma and medal, if such a format would be acceptable to you, in Moscow from your representatives, at a mutually convenient time. As provided by the rules of the Nobel Foundation, I am ready to give a lecture or present a written text for the Nobel Lecture within the six months from December 10, 1970.

This letter is an open one, and I do not object to its being published.

With best wishes,

A. Solzhenitsyn

'Izvestia' Editor Slanders Solzhenitsyn

In a recent Teheran press conference reported in the November 1 airmail edition of the Persian-language daily *Keyhan*, the editor of the Soviet government paper *Izvestia*, Leo Nikolaeovich Tolkanov, expressed his views of Soviet Nobel prizewinning author Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn.

"That man [Solzhenitsyn] should be jubilant that we have not shot him," Tolkanov told the reporters, shaking his fist to emphasize the point.

The Soviet press has urged Solzhenitsyn to defect to the West, but it has discreetly avoided raising the specter of the blood purges of the Stalin era, when dissident artists were silenced with a bullet. Perhaps the high Kremlin official — Tolkanov is also an alternate member of the Central Committee of the Communist party — hoped to improve his rapport with the shah by this crude demonstration that they share a common approach to dealing with political opponents.

Tolkanov was in Iran on a ten-day visit to promote the "peaceful coexistence" Moscow enjoys with the shah's dictatorship. He remained soft-spoken and poised throughout the press conference until he was questioned about Solzhenitsyn.

"Solzhenitsyn attacks the Soviet social system in his books," the Stalinist bureaucrat declared. "We tell him to leave the Soviet Union and live in any Western country that he wants.

"In *The First Circle*, Solzhenitsyn claims that Russia has tasted democracy only twice in its history, once during the Napoleonic war and then during Hitler's invasion. How can

anyone believe that!"

A check through *The First Circle* does not produce such a quote. In any case the revolutionary and pro-Soviet character of the book is clear throughout. Many persons speak in a novel; and to tear some phrase out of context and purvey it as the political view of the writer is a cheap deception.

There was no indication that Tolkanov had even read Solzhenitsyn's book. It is banned in the Soviet Union and has never been published in Russian.

The Soviet bureaucrat adopted an altogether different tone in his meeting with the shah. He was jovial in greeting the military dictator who is well known for imprisoning dissident writers and artists, and for shooting revolutionary oppositionists, especially communists.

Tolkanov praised the "progress" that is being made under the shah, according to *Keyhan* (October 31, airmail edition):

"In my recent audience with the Shah-anShah [monarch of monarchs], I received interesting information on the accomplishments of the land reform program. And today during my visit to the Aria Mehr Agricultural Company, I observed at close range how the program of the great land reform is progressing in your country."

This company is named after one of the shah's titles, Aria Mehr [light of the Aryans — which the shah considers himself to be]; it is a showcase built in the southern city of Shiraz.