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## ANTIWAR APPEAL GIVEN AMERICAN GI'S IN JAPAN

An unusual, but probably one of the most heartfelt messages received by American GI's during the Christmas holidays was the handbill, written in English, which was distributed to them in Japan appealing to them to try to pull out of Vietnam. The message appealed to the American servicemen to "go back to your native towns where your parents, brothers, sisters, wives and sweethearts are anxiously waiting for you."

The leaflet was sponsored by the Japan Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, the Japan-Vietnam Friendship Society, Japan Peace Committee, and the Japan Council Against A- and H-Bombs.

As reported by the December 26 Japan Times, the message began: "Merry Xmas! Dear GI. Fortunately you have been able to survive up to now. But if sent back to Vietnam again, you may be killed tomorrow."

Following this arresting opening, the leaflet continued:

Reba Hansen, Business Manager,

P. O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station,

New York, N.Y. 10010

"All the people in Vietnam are Vietnamese people. For what purpose are you forced to slaughter the same human beings?"

"Can you imagine your parents, brothers, sisters, babies and sweethearts being slaughtered by foreign invaders?"

"No matter how just the invaders try to make their motive for invasion appear surely your heart can only be filled with rage, and so with the same feelings as you would naturally have -- the Vietnamese patriots who are under the same mentioned bitter circumstances are determined to fight through until victory is won to free their people from foreign invasion.

"L.B. Johnson, Dean Rusk, R.S. McNamara, W.C. Westmoreland are waging the war in the interests of U.S. war industries and big business who are all living in the lap of luxury while you are bleeding -- fighting an unjust war.

"Cease this senseless war in Vietnam and go home to your country and loved ones!"

The message ended with the following appeal: "Go home to your country with healthy bodies -- for many Merry Xmasses comfortably at home now and in the future."

The Japan Times did not report whether the four organizations that collaborated in issuing and distributing the leaflet intended to follow up with more along the same line. Nor did the newspaper report the reaction of the American soldiers to whom it was handed at Sukiwabashi, Tokyo, and the naval base at Yokosuka.

#### AMERICAN SOLDIER NO LONGER PROUD OF HIS COUNTRY'S UNIFORM

Unable to square his conscience with what the U.S. armed forces are doing in Vietnam, an American soldier, Specialist-4 J. Harry Muir, 21, of Goldsboro, North Carolina, has refused to wear his country's military uniform any longer. He demanded to be discharged as a "conscientious objector."

Before surrendering to military authorities at Fort Benning January 3, he told the press that he could not participate in "escalation of the war in Vietnam, the bombing of North Vietnam, the continuing troop build-up in South Vietnam and the use of chemicals as outlawed by the Geneva Convention."

He said, "I would violate the laws of my fatherland concerning war and military service before I would continue to compromise what I hold to be holy laws of love, peace and nonviolence."

Harry Muir had been considered to be a model soldier. After a term of service he was given an honorable discharge. He reenlisted in October 1965 for a six-year term in which he expected to become an officer and to be transferred to the Special Forces and go to Vietnam.

"I spent more time studying the ways of war and more time thinking," he said. After sixteen weeks, he quit the Officers Candidate School.

He filed as a "conscientious objector," joining the Protestant Episcopal Church to gain recognized standing in this category. He was given noncombatant duties in the Army Medical Corps but felt that this would contribute to the war effort.

When his request for a discharge was turned down, he decided to resist and to risk imprisonment in the hope that this would "cause the American people to take a serious look at the manner in which conscientious objection to war is dealt with by the armed services and the Selective Service System."

The case created a considerable stir in view of Harry Muir's family background. He comes from one of the most prominent families in North Carolina, being a great-grand-nephew of the late Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy under President Woodrow Wilson and Ambassador to Mexico under President Franklin D. Roosevelt. He is also related to Jonathan Daniels, editor of The Raleigh News and Observer.

Interviewed on a nationwide telecast, the rebellious soldier was asked about the prospect of being sent to prison because of his way of expressing his antiwar views. He smiled and said that at most it would be for five years, the maximum penalty provided under the law.

BROAD CAMPAIGN FOR HUGO BLANCO WAGED IN ITALY

Rome

The second drive in the Hugo Blanco defense campaign, which was launched as soon as the news was received that the death sentence had been demanded by the army's prosecuting attorney, has gained an even broader response than the first and very successful drive in September-October at the time of the trial in Tacna.

It can truthfully be said that rarely has democratic and working-class public opinion in Italy been so deeply moved over the case of a revolutionary militant in a foreign country despite the fact that the big daily press, including the press of the left, has remained almost entirely silent about the Tacna trial and what happened when the sentence was appealed.

World Outlook has already reported two actions of national scope; namely, the telegram sent to President Belaúnde Terry by the Secretariat of the CGIL (the Italian General Confederation of Labor which includes both Communist and Socialist tendencies) and a declaration sent to the same addressee by De Martino and Tanassi, the two secretaries of the United Socialist party.

A few days later a similar action was taken by two vice-presidents of the Chamber of Deputies, Maria Cinciari Rodano (Communist) and Sandro Pertini, one of the leading figures in the Italian resistance during the war. (He is a socialist.)

Telegrams or letters were likewise sent to the president of Peru by Terracini, leader of the Communist group in the Senate, the Socialist senators Vittorelli, Banfi and Lami-Sternuti (the latter is the chairman of the reunited socialist group) and by several Christian Democrat members of parliament.

Telegrams, letters and resolutions expressing solidarity with Blanco were sent, beginning at the end of November, throughout December from a whole series of cities and regions in Italy.

In Rome, the provincial federation of the PSIUP [Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity] sent a message November 28 to the Peruvian ambassador demanding that Blanco be accorded his elementary legal rights and that his life be spared. Local organizations of the left parties also participated in the campaign and the organ of the Italian Communist party, l'Unità, had to publish the letter adopted by the Executive Board of the section of La Balduina expressing solidarity with Blanco and asking the newspaper to associate itself with the international campaign.

The monthly magazine La Sinistra, which reflects the views of the Communist left and the left wing of the PSIUP, published the text of a declaration it sent to the Peruvian embassy in Rome condemning the illegality of the tribunal that tried Blanco and backing the solidarity campaign for the peasant leader.

In Milan, among the various demonstrations, the position taken by the editors of the monthly Falcesmartello was outstanding. Falcesmartello is published by a left current of young Communists and PSIUP socialists. During the Tacna trial, they pasted up placards and distributed leaflets appealing for aid in the defense of Blanco and sent a strong telegram of protest to President Belaúnde.

In Turin, a meeting of the CIMO (a cultural circle led by militants of the left in the workers movement) adopted a document condemning the crime which the Peruvian reaction was seeking to carry out by striking down the leader of the peasants in Cuzco.

In the Emilia region, in the city of Piacenza, the youth organizations of the Communist party, the PSIUP, the Socialist party, the anarchists and the Marxist-Leninists (pro-Chinese tendency) unanimously adopted a telegram of solidarity with Hugo Blanco and all the other Peruvian political prisoners. At Parma similar steps were taken by the Communist youth and the youth of the PSIUP.

In Tuscany solidarity actions were taken in the province of Grosseto by left militants in Follonica. In the province of Arezzo, the revolutionary Communists of the city of Cortona gathered 200 signatures on a resolution in favor of Blanco which was sent to the Peruvian embassy.

In Naples telegrams were sent by the left circle De Sanctis, by the Nuova Cultura circle, by the Communist youth and the provincial federation of the Socialist party, and by the Italian Union of Students. Under the auspices of the city's Anticolonialist Committee an ad hoc committee was set up to distribute an appeal stressing the urgency of a solidarity campaign for the prisoner in El Frontón.

In the Abruzzi region, at a December 7 meeting the members of the organization of the Communist youth of Lanciano passed a resolution condemning the Peruvian reactionaries and expressing solidarity with Blanco and the Peruvian revolution. The resolution was sent to the Peruvian embassy.

At Cozenza, in the southern part of the country, a letter was sent to the Peruvian embassy by the Mondo Nuovo circle, a grouping mainly of young socialists of the left.

In Sicily the Pintor youth circle of Catania pasted up big placards bearing a message of solidarity like that issued by the Peruvian Committee.

"The struggle of the revolutionary movements against capitalism, neocolonialism and imperialism," the placard said among other things, "requires an overall strategy. Solidarity among the peoples of Asia, Latin America, Africa and the European working class must be shown by concrete actions of reciprocal support."

A campaign for signatures was successfully conducted by the revolutionary Communists (Trotskyists) of the province of Trapani. A letter of protest sent to Peru said among other things, "Hands off Hugo Blanco! Hugo Blanco is a friend and comrade of the Sicilian peasants -- he led a struggle in favor of the Peruvian peasants seeking justice and freedom and dedicated his life to them!"

The Socialist students of Palermo sent a letter to the Peruvian embassy demanding the immediate release of Blanco and stating that "Comrade Blanco is guilty only of having promised an agrarian reform and of having struggled against the arrogance, the violence and the abuse of the landowners."

Another letter likewise protesting the condemnation of Blanco was signed by the young Socialists of the village of Polizzi Generosa.

Finally, it should be reported that at a demonstration of solidarity with the Vietnamese National Liberation Front in Livorno December 18 organized by the Italian Communist youth in which many international delegations participated, when a Latin-American delegate took the floor, part of the youth there began to chant the name of Hugo Blanco.

The biweekly organ of the Italian section of the Fourth International, Bandiera Rossa, has conducted a big campaign, publishing articles, documents, news about the solidarity campaign and photographs of Hugo Blanco during the trial. A similar campaign was conducted by the biweekly news bulletin IV Internazionale.

At the end of a conference in Naples attended by a big audience, Livio Maitan, secretary of the Italian Trotskyist organization, spoke briefly about the Tacna trial and read the letter of Blanco's comrades asking to be given the same sentence he received. The crowd, deeply stirred, applauded for a long time as a sign of solidarity with the courageous militants of the Peruvian revolution.

#### LATIN AMERICANS IN PARIS CABLE BELAUNDE ABOUT HUGO BLANCO

Paris

Three telegrams to President Belaúnde speaking in behalf of Hugo Blanco have been sent by residents of the French capital with a special interest in Latin-American affairs.

On November 28, Colombian students living in Paris cabled Belaúnde. On December 1 Professor François Perrous of the University of San Marcos sent a similar cable. And on December 3, the Center for Latin-American Students in France did likewise, the latter cable being signed by H. Torres, as chairman.

#### CHARLES BETTELHEIM VOICES SOLIDARITY WITH HUGO BLANCO

Paris

On December 19, the well-known author and economist, who is a professor at the Sorbonne, sent the following telegram to President Belaúnde Terry:

"I register a solemn protest against the threat of death hanging over Hugo Blanco."

PROMINENT PARIS PROFESSORS INTERCEDE FOR HUGO BLANCO

Paris

The following letter was sent to President Belaúnde of Peru on December 30:

"Mr. President,

"The members of the teaching staff at the University of Paris and other French university centers which we represent have been deeply shocked at the threat of death facing Mr. Hugo Blanco and some of his comrades.

"As professors we are very much attached to the universal principles underlying the rights of Man, respect for human beings and the free expression of their ideas. We have permitted ourselves to write you in order to ask you to devote more of your attention to this trial in order to prevent the sentence of death threatening Hugo Blanco from being carried out. We would also like to ask you that this trial be transferred to the jurisdiction of the civil courts.

"In drawing up this petition, Mr. President, we have relied on your benevolence and the deep social sensitivity that has always inspired you. In this knowledge, we have permitted ourselves to hope that you will accept our request in behalf of Mr. Hugo Blanco and his comrades.

"Directeur de l'Institut de Formation I.F.R.E.D.

"Chombard de Lauwe, Directeur d'Etudes.

"Gohe, Directeur de l'Institut d'Ethnologie Sociale.

"Lambert, Professeur de Sociologie Urbaine à l'Université de Paris.

"Berthe, Professeur à l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes et à l'Institut des Etudes Politiques de l'Université de Paris.

"Directeur général adjoint de l'I.F.R.E.D.

"Pollkers, Professeur de Géographie à l'Université de Paris.

"François Chevallier, Professeur à l'Institut des Hautes Etudes de l'Amérique Latine de l'Université de Paris; Directeur de La Casa de Velasquez, Espagne; ancien Directeur de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines à Lima, Pérou.

"Pierre Vilar, Professeur à la Sorbonne et Directeur d'Etudes à la Section de Sciences Economiques et Sociales de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes de l'Université de Paris.

"Ernest Labrousse, Professeur à la Sorbonne et Directeur d'Etudes à la Section de Sciences Economiques et Sociales de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes de l'Université de Paris."

FRENCH ACTRESS CIRCULATING PETITION FOR HUGO BLANCO

The French actress Françoise Bertin has informed the French Committee for Solidarity with the Victims of Repression in Peru that she is circulating a petition for funds and signatures among members of the Actors Union to help Hugo Blanco.

PARIS SCHOOL UNION VOICES SOLIDARITY WITH HUGO BLANCO

Paris

The following letter was sent to President Belaúnde Terry on November 26:

"Your Excellency,

"The Cartel of Ecoles Normales Supérieures learned with indignation on reading Le Monde of November 26 that the former student and peasant union leader Hugo Blanco is threatened with death in your country. We beg you to transmit to your government the following resolutions:

"We affirm our sympathy with the work of Hugo Blanco which gave the peasants of Cuzco valleys their first chance for economic development and human development;

"We call your attention to the fact that this sentence constitutes a political crime, a judgment before a military court not providing any guarantee for the legal rights of the defendants;

"We proclaim once more our attachment to political rights and the right to organize unions and our resolute opposition on any occasion when the freedom of the unions is threatened."

"Le Cartel des Ecoles Normales Supérieures.  
"Ecole Normale Supérieure d'Ulm.  
"Ecole Normale Supérieure de Saint-Cloud.  
"Ecole Normale Supérieure de Jeunes Filles de Sevres.  
"Ecole Normale Supérieure de Jeunes Filles de Fontenay.  
"Ecole Normale Supérieure d'Enseignement Technique.  
"Ecole Normale Supérieure d'Education Physique.

"L'HUMANITE" ADDS ITS VOICE TO PROTESTS IN BLANCO CASE

Paris

In its December 7 issue, l'Humanité, the official daily newspaper of the French Communist party, expressed solidarity with the political prisoners in Peru and called special attention to the case of Hugo Blanco.

The item was of unusual interest inasmuch as Hugo Blanco is well-known for his outspoken Trotskyist views and adherence to the Fourth International.

CHILEAN CP DECLARES THAT HUGO BLANCO MUST BE SAVED

By José Valdés

Santiago, Chile

Various Chilean periodicals have given wide publicity to Hugo Blanco's trial. The magazines Vea and Flash each devoted a number of pages to the heroic life of the peasant leader, with full-page photographs in color bearing the headline, "Trial of the Peruvian Fidel Castro."

The daily El Regional de Coquimbo (in the north of Chile) published an extensive article December 5 signed by Mario Lobos, head of the union of Empleados Particulares [Ordinary Employees] and leader of the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria [MIR] in the northern provinces, in which he says among other things:

"Because he belongs to the Trotskyist tendency, Hugo Blanco is not liked by the sectarians who hold high posts in the leaderships of the revisionist parties. A fighter for the liberation of the people must not die. Hugo Blanco must be saved through a united struggle of all us men and women who believe in a free and socialist America."

El Clarín, the daily newspaper with the biggest circulation, published an article November 30 by Oscar Waiss, in which the MIR leader said:

"Once I heard Clotario Blest speak on heroism. Heroes don't reveal themselves in electoral campaigns but give themselves up entirely in a total holocaust that includes their feelings, flesh and blood. Hence Hugo Blanco is a hero. He is a fighter in the cause of the proletariat; the peasants raised him up as their leader and a broad solidarity campaign must be organized to try to save his life. Solidarity cannot be doled out in bits. The social fighter emerges from a continental reality which he cannot ignore or disguise."

Oscar Waiss criticizes the "dailies of the left that have remained silent or, at the most, made the record with a few words. This is because Hugo Blanco does not belong to the 'faith' of these dailies -- he is a Trotskyist."

Waiss's criticism, aimed in reality at the sectarian silence of El Siglo, was felt. On December 5 the Communist party daily, in a long article on the editorial page signed by Rodrigo Rojas, felt compelled to come out in favor of the Hugo Blanco solidarity campaign that is developing in Chile. After recounting the story of Hugo Blanco's trial and his valiant attitude in face of the Military Tribunal, El Siglo declared:

"Last Friday [December 2], under the auspices of the Comité Peruano Pro Defensa de los Derechos Humanos [Peruvian Committee for the Defense of Human Rights], the Communists organized a huge meeting in the Plaza San Martín in Lima in defense of Hugo Blanco...

"The struggle for the life of Hugo Blanco," continued the daily newspaper of the Chilean Communist party, "is the task of not only the Peruvian people. It is the obligation of all progressive people in America and the world. The powerful hand of international solidarity must save the guerrilla leader from the claws of the butchers."

#### SANTIAGO MUNICIPAL WORKERS DEMAND RELEASE OF HUGO BLANCO

Santiago, Chile

The provincial congress of the Municipal Workers of Santiago, which was held on December 18-19, passed a motion demanding the release of Hugo Blanco.

The motion was presented by a delegation from the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria headed by the working-class leaders Humberto Valenzuela and Luis Ulloa.

The delegates at the congress represented 8,000 workers.

#### CHILEAN MIR PAYS TRIBUTE TO HUGO BLANCO

Santiago, Chile

The delegates of the Second National Congress of the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria, held here recently, voted unanimously to designate Hugo Blanco and other revolutionary fighters in Peru as honorary members of the presidium. By a similar vote, the MIR also decided to redouble its campaign throughout Chile to win freedom for Hugo Blanco.

#### "PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL" DEVOTES ENTIRE ISSUE TO HUGO BLANCO

Perspectiva Mundial, the Spanish-language edition of World Outlook, devoted its entire issue of January 2 to the Hugo Blanco campaign under the headline "HUGO BLANCO NO DEBE MORIR!" [Hugo Blanco must not die.]

One part of the issue explains the case and the issues involved in it. Drawings that appeared in World Outlook are reproduced.

A second part contains a number of expressions of solidarity and letters of protest sent to President Belaúnde.

The third part outlines the activities which won Hugo Blanco the hatred of the Peruvian oligarchs and their government. Included is Che Guevara's tribute to Hugo Blanco and some passages from Hugo Neira's book about the Cuzco peasants and why they rallied to his leadership.

The special issue is well designed and should prove of great value for all Spanish-speaking partisans of democratic rights or the struggle for socialism who are interested in this important case.

The editors do not list the cost for a single copy or for bulk orders. The address, however, is Perspectiva Mundial, Apdo. Postal 27-509, Mexico 7, D.F., Mexico.

The cost for 26 issues of Perspectiva Mundial is US\$4 for South America, Canada and the U.S. Elsewhere the cost is \$8.

#### MILITANT CALIFORNIA FARM WORKERS LEADER APPEALS FOR BLANCO

By Vilma Sanchez

Delano, California

Cesar Chavez, leader of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee AFL-CIO, rang out the year of the Huelga [strike] with an act of international working-class solidarity. On December 31 he sent letters in Spanish to Peru's President Belaúnde Terry and the Supreme Council calling for amnesty for Hugo Blanco.

In this Grapes of Wrath valley, the Filipino and Mexican-American farm workers

have conducted strikes against the big grape growers almost continually for more than a year. They won contracts with Schenley Industries and DeGeorgio and are now conducting a boycott of Perelli-Menetti Products. Farm workers from eleven states have requested them to send organizers to build unions and negotiate contracts.

In addition to sending the letters in support of Blanco, Chavez has arranged for a speaker to tell the union members about Blanco's case and the conditions of the farm workers of Peru.

Chavez has been invited to visit Peru and will be leaving soon. He had not heard of Blanco before and knew nothing of the campesino movement of Peru. Chavez wanted to receive more information and be kept informed on the case.

#### WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL SENDS FIRST TEAM OF INVESTIGATORS TO VIETNAM

Paris

The first investigating team of the recently organized War Crimes Tribunal left here December 29 for an intensive inquiry into the extent of indiscriminate bombing by American military forces in north Vietnam.

They plan to visit the areas of intensive destruction, gather relevant information, interview witnesses and survivors and prepare the results of their finding for the consideration of the tribunal itself which is scheduled to meet in Paris this spring.

The team members are Roger Pic, the well-known photographer; Leon Matarosso, a French jurist; Dr. Malcolm Caldwell, British authority on Southeast Asia; the American expert in Latin-American affairs Dr. John Gerassi; Professor Jean-Pierre Vigier; and Professor Setsure Tsurishima, a Japanese economist and specialist in urban development.

They will coordinate their work with a ten-man team already in Vietnam which was sent there by the Japan Committee for the Investigation of United States War Crimes. The latter body has the support of 1,700 Japanese scientists.

The first investigation will be carried out during January. A second team is now preparing to leave within a few weeks to follow up the preliminary work. This will be followed by a third and fourth team.

Each group will have its own specialists and will concentrate on whether or not there is evidence of the use of noxious chemicals, gas, napalm, the torture of prisoners, etc.

The governments of both the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and Cambodia have indicated that they will do everything possible to facilitate the inquiry.

The cost of the investigative work is being borne entirely by the War Crimes Tribunal. A worldwide appeal is being made for financial support. National affiliates of the tribunal have already been set up in various countries to mobilize such support and to keep the public informed of the progress of the investigation.

The pressure against the tribunal is very heavy. The December 15 issue of the New York Herald Tribune, an English-language newspaper published in Paris, reported that the State Department has cancelled Ralph Schoenman's passport. Schoenman is an American associated with the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation who is now serving as the general secretary for the War Crimes Tribunal. The State Department move is considered here to be a petty maneuver aimed at harassing the work of the tribunal.

The State Department, it is believed, is quite concerned about the work of the tribunal and is anxious to block publicity for its inquiry which it views as a "propaganda trial." Many prominent newspapers appear to share the State Department's worry. Quiet pressure is being applied, it seems, to close off normal channels of publicity around the War Crimes Tribunal.

The facts reported by Harrison Salisbury of the New York Times are a good indication, however, that the inquiry launched by the War Crimes Tribunal will uncover a good deal of material. Salisbury's accounts of what he alone has seen in north Vietnam shocked circles that have hitherto remained skeptical about charges that the Johnson administration has been committing war crimes.

A series of teams can be expected to uncover further evidence in great detail.



CHINA AS I SAW IT IN OCTOBER

By P. Mayorga

[The following report is by a Latin-American revolutionary socialist who visited the People's Democratic Republic of China last October. The translation from the Spanish is by World Outlook.]

\* \* \*

It is not my intention to offer political conclusions on what we saw in the twenty days that we spent in China. For this I refer the reader to the articles by Farien, Novack and Livio Maitan which have appeared in World Outlook and which have sought to interpret the events that have been occurring there and to determine the origin and meaning of the Cultural Revolution. In addition, my lack of knowledge of the language was a barrier in grasping the thinking of the Chinese people as well as members of the Communist party. Nevertheless what we saw and what we heard from people with whom we could discuss through interpreters will, I think, prove of interest.

In our tour of China we first went from Hong Kong to Canton, entering at Lo Wu, the frontier post. To enter a socialist country, whatever the situation may be there, is an emotional experience for a Marxist for obvious reasons. The Chinese comrades greeted us with genuine affection. True, we were officially invited guests, but our status was that of professional people of various skills and not that of political figures.

The fields we passed in our itinerary were extraordinarily well cultivated and flourishing. Few mechanical implements were to be observed and few draft animals, these all being buffalo. But this might have been due to the fact that the greater part of the fields were rice paddies requiring hand labor. Similarly we were not able to learn if the fields had always been worked in such a perfect way or whether this was a result of the Liberation, as the Chinese call the period that began with the triumph of Communism. But the fact that modern practices in soil conservation could be seen, indicated that the new regime had brought about an improvement in agriculture. The buildings were old ones on which repairs had been made.

These observations hold for all the rural areas we visited, although the crops varied according to the zone.

The trains were all equipped with diesel engines and the coaches were comfortable some of them being double-deckers. The ordinary coaches in which the majority of the people ride, were always in good repair, clean and comfortable. They were made in Shanghai.

Canton is a clean, beautiful city, like all the Chinese cities, despite the absence of sewers, since the waste is picked up from the homes in trucks to be transported to the fields and used as fertilizer. In the streets there were innumerable low-storied old buildings, the doorways crammed with small traders. The sprinkling of tall modern buildings are illuminated at night along all the edges. Small steam vessels and sampans navigate the Pearl River and its tributaries. The climate is hot and humid.

We were put up at an elegant mansion in the center of the city in front of a beautiful park. The official automobiles -- there are no others -- are of Russian, German and Chinese design, made in Shanghai. The chauffeurs are expert drivers and keep the cars clean and bright.

The first thing the traveler notes in all the cities is the density of the population -- in the doorways, at street corners, everywhere, continually, there are groups of people -- and the absence of motor vehicles. But we saw no great difficulties in organizing collective mobilizations. There are thousands of bicycles and numerous "rickshaw" tricycles.

Another thing that strikes foreigners is the uniformity of dress. Women and men wear a simple blouse with three big patch pockets and loose, unhemmed trousers, made out of washable blue, black or khaki cloth.

The youth have taken over the streets. Boys and girls with red arm bands gather together and march in various directions.

The police carry neither clubs nor arms and their uniform is blue trousers and an olive-green shirt with red ribbon at the collar, the style being the same as that

worn by civilians. Soldiers wear olive-green. Their caps are soft. We never saw them carry arms even in the big mass demonstrations. Their commanders wear the same uniform and, according to what we were told, live with the troops, eating at the same mess.

Our first contact with the Red Guards came when we visited the Museum of the Revolution at Canton, which is the school for revolutionaries set up by Mao in 1926. Hundreds of youths were visiting it. Their ages ran from ten to twenty-one. Every one of them carried in his hand the small red book, a kind of breviary, containing the writings of Mao. Gilt medals bearing his effigy shone on the red ribbons they wore as arm bands. As guests we were greeted warmly. They were quite interested in talking but the language limited us.

The museum is an old house retaining all the humble aspect of a school of this kind. From there we went to the park to visit the austere tomb commemorating the revolutionists murdered by Chiang Kai-shek in 1927.

I got the impression that the Red Guards in the various cities we visited, especially those in Shanghai, are not as "Maoist" as the ones in Peking.

We flew to the capital in a jet plane made in China, quite comfortable, all seats filled. The loudspeaker system never ceased transmitting speeches and slogans in Chinese, in a strident, sharp, singsong feminine voice which named Mao every moment throughout the flight which lasted almost four hours.

The evening of the next day we went to an official reception at the monumental People's Palace where Chou En-lai received 3,600 foreign delegates at a banquet that lasted exactly an hour and a half, to be followed immediately by another group, just as large, of banqueters.

Chou's speech was given out in advance to each one of the guests. It was brief and superficial, with constant allusions to the "Great Cultural Revolution" and to Mao Tse-tung.

Upon returning, I asked my interpreters if I could go out alone to wander around the city. They replied that I could do so but that it would be better if one of them went with me. I knew that with my insignia as a guest I did not need to fear the least incident. That was how I came to submerge myself in the dense Peking crowds.

It was the evening before the celebration of the day of Liberation. Peking was seething with trucks filled with Red Guards who were still arriving, converging here from all parts of China, taking advantage of the privileges made available by the government consisting of free transportation, lodging and meals.

Many were arriving on foot, on bicycles, in buses. The trains had added coaches and increased the number of runs. They were lodged in schools, barracks and designated buildings and patios. The arrangements were carefully worked out.

On Saturday, October 1, at 10 a.m., the parade began before the reviewing stands, the one for officials being the gate of the old imperial palace facing Tien An Men Square located between the enormous buildings of the People's Palace and the Museum of the Revolution. The plaza was completely filled with thousands of participants who utilized various colors to form phrases tied in with the demonstration and paying homage to Mao. They changed these constantly with clock-like precision, giving the appearance of an immense signboard on which the letters kept changing.

On the sidewalk bordering the square numerous military bands played. The buildings were decorated with big pictures of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao.

The parade passed in closed ranks of 150 demonstrators who marched rapidly and with astounding energy to the rhythm of the anthem of the Red Guards, "Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman." Thus it was mostly a presentation of the Red Guards with their distinctive arm bands, carrying the compass of Mao's small red book. Flags, placards and enormous portraits of Mao were frequent.

The reviewing stands were jammed with delegates from all parts of the world, many of them dressed in their national costumes. In the official stand, Mao, Lin Piao, Chou En-lai and numerous party leaders observed the parade in which the absence of military elements was conspicuous. The military stood in ranks on both sides of the sidewalks and down the entire length of the street.

The parade ended at 3 p.m. and it was estimated that a crowd of 1,500,000 persons had marched by, the immense majority of them being youth. Despite the impressive-

ness of the parade, some friends resident in China said that it was not as big as the year before.

The speeches of the foreign delegates showed how isolated China is from the rest of the Communist world. After Lin Piao spoke, speeches were made by a delegate of the Australian Communist party, a North American Negro delegate and a guerrilla heroine from North Vietnam, who, unlike the others, made no references to Soviet revisionism.

At the end, Mao went from one end of the stand to the other to greet the crowd and came close to our stand as films and photographs were taken of him without any restrictions. Then he came down and went toward the Tien An Men Square and the crowd poured toward him. Thereupon, detachments of the army, who had no arms, not even belts, moved on the run toward the spot to handle the crowd. They did this without any violence, by interlocking their arms.

I noted that when some of the soldiers on the street wore their caps to the side or their uniforms unbuttoned, their commanders ran up to them personally to see to it in a courteous way that they adjusted their uniform.

Mao moved into the street for a few yards, the crowd itself opening a way for him. Nothing seemed staged in all this. At the beginning the crowd was a little disorderly, showing that it was spontaneous and that it was not feared that something unexpected would happen. The Red Guards rushed up to shake hands in a genuine Maoist frenzy.

That evening in the same plaza spectacular fireworks were staged, an art in which the Chinese are masters. For four hours the sky was illuminated with the most fantastic colors covering a big area and at a great height. In some instances rockets were launched from different angles, meeting in an arch where they disintegrated to form thousands of birds that chirped as they fell. Finally, to close the show, enormous globes were exploded.

Peking, Shanghai and the other cities and sites which we visited -- like the home near Changsha where Mao was born -- were always filled with Red Guards, occupied with meetings, discussions, visits, or writing "datsibaos" -- the wall newspapers which are made by painting characters on sheets of the daily newspapers and posting these on the walls. They carried criticisms of school teachers, functionaries and elements who have been charged with something.

One morning we went to a secondary coeducational school in Peking. The youths who participated with us in a round table discussion answered our questions readily. According to them forty percent of the students were Red Guards and seventy percent were sons of poor peasants and workers.

The classes were to remain suspended for six months while plans were recast to teach and to study the works of Mao. In addition they were to carry out military exercises and help the peasants with their harvests.

When the questions became troublesome, they turned to a small red book and would read a paragraph that would provide them with an elastic answer.

I asked them what they read, aside from the writings of Mao and they replied that they also read Lenin. I asked them what they had read by Lenin and they were disconcerted. But after consulting among themselves several times, they told me that they studied articles.

When I asked them to give me a precise title in these works, I couldn't get a satisfactory answer.

Then one of them explained to me that the books of Mao had assembled, amplified and brought Marxism up to date, consequently, it was sufficient to read them.

Later, in various areas, this was the general reply given to me.

On one occasion I asked a Red Guard interpreter where I could find one of the articles that appeared in the Peking daily entitled, "Notes from Three-Family Village" and "Evening Talks at Yenshan." He said there was a pamphlet containing a commentary on them which cited paragraphs and demonstrated that they had a counterrevolutionary character. When I said that I had already read this and that this was not enough for me, and that I also wanted to know more about the personality of Peng Chen, the former Mayor of Peking, and Teng To, the former editor of the newspaper referred to, he became troubled and begged me not to require him to speak about people who had sold out

to Chiang Kai-shek as it was very disturbing to him.

When I persisted in my doubts, he promised to arrange a conversation with members of the party better versed politically than he was. This meeting never took place; he would not resume the subject despite my hints. The only political talk to which we were invited dealt with the gains in the development of industry and agriculture since the liberation.

The receptions in the factories, people's communes and technical centers, began and ended always with the assertion that everything that had been gained was the result of applying "the teachings of Mao" and that the present phase of the revolution is one in which political understanding is primary. I began to be able to distinguish those with a more independent judgment through a nuance -- the more rapid and brief way in which they enunciated these declarations.

Near Shanghai when we visited a plant devoted to heavy industry, it was explained to us that the big 12,000-ton press used for forging large sheets of steel, and which is one of the three or four largest in the world, was made exclusively by workers sent abroad. Moreover they had reduced the height and weight traditionally called for and introduced original improvements in its design. First a Soviet technician had come there on a trip. He didn't think much of the project, saying that China did not have the capacity to undertake it. After "eating a lot of apples," he went back home. When he returned and saw the press, he asked for the blueprints so he could study them and give his opinion. "He ate a lot of apples again and left and we are still waiting to hear from him."

The story indicates the depreciative and ironic way in which the Chinese regard the Russians. But it is not only that; day by day this attitude is being transformed into hate; since they are sure that they have an understanding with the North American imperialists and that the latter will attack them in the near future. In short, they seek to completely deny whatever aid the Russians have been able to give China.

I asked how many Chinese technicians participated in the calculations, and, to my surprise, the response was that when Mao's thought is intimately linked with a proposition, science is of no great importance since it is rapidly superseded by this thought and the experience of the workers; but that science nevertheless used to be used perfectly by the specialists who worked in line with Mao's thought. I noted that the person who offered us this explanation and others that were superficially scientific, was a member of the plant's administrative staff, not a skilled worker.

Here I will offer my impression of the factory workers. In my opinion, the trade unions -- to which we were never invited by those who decided on our itinerary -- and the majority of the workers, are not much involved in the Cultural Revolution. The propaganda, most certainly, is so persistent and totalitarian that for many it would be difficult not to be influenced. But it is not less certain that they are directly aware of the errors that are being committed and which become a living part of the process of production, I never saw any forty-year-old workers caught up in the vertigo of the Cultural Revolution. The fact that the enthusiasm is to be found only in the layers of youth, who are less politically advanced, reveals a resistance, the depth of which is difficult to estimate. In addition, the workers are more familiar with the history of the party and its internal struggles.

Another interpreter spoke to me about the war in Vietnam and how the Russians are failing to help the people in arms to win. I replied that in my opinion, neither the Russians nor they, the Chinese, were helping as much as they ought to. This reply wounded him deeply and he told me that he had already been recruited to go and fight in Vietnam and that they were only awaiting Hanoi's call to mobilize. I said that I did not doubt his eagerness to participate in the struggle, but that the official declarations were to be considered a mere pretext to justify their failures.

The Chinese ballet, which is marvelous, has been utilized in the Cultural Revolution and has suffered variations reflecting its twists and turns. Thus for example, the plot of "The Child with White Hair" has been altered various times. The truth is that some of them constitute powerful revolutionary propaganda for the masses such as the one depicting the Congo and featuring Lumumba as the main figure.

The political literature placed in headquarters, hotels, railway stations, etc., is composed ninety-five percent of the writings of Mao and the same is true of the photographs, busts and statues which are profusely displayed in all such places and the means of transport. To indicate how distasteful we found this tiresome repetition to be, I told our interpreters that we Latins believe that "good perfume should be kept in a small bottle" or that "when it's good a little goes a long way." But this veiled

criticism, even after being explained to them, did not appear to make the slightest impression, from which I concluded that they consider what is happening to be completely natural.

Speaking of Stalin, I told them that the revolutionary youth in South America do not think much of him and they told me that they too understand that he committed grave errors, like the big purges, but that in general they considered his qualifications outweighed his defects. They would never utilize violent methods with political adversaries since they believe that all of them can be reeducated into accepting the correct line.

I was informed by another guide that those who fall into disgrace with respect to the Red Guards must undergo continuous chastisement like being shoved around, being spat at, the beating of gongs, and sometimes destruction of their personal effects.

The Red Guards always told me that persons they tried had the right to defend themselves and that on certain occasions part of the Red Guards themselves defended them.

In conversations with other youths it was evident that they wanted to go into certain political questions more deeply, but caution prevented them.

On leaving Communist China, I found that I had become deeply attached to those who had accompanied us continually, despite their political defects, limitations and positions. Thanks to them I had been able to come into close contact in a minimum way with the feelings and emotions of millions of human beings who are engaged in a historic experiment of immense sweep and whose destiny is uncertain. And I must confess that, like my comrades on the tour, at the frontier station of Lo Wu tears were in my eyes.

#### SHARPENING CONFLICT AT THE TOP IN CHINA

By George Novack

Throughout 1966 the Chinese Communists were embroiled in two gigantic schisms. One is the Sino-Soviet split which has eventuated in a definitive rupture of relations with the Soviet leadership on both the state and party levels. The other is the deep division within the Chinese Communist hierarchy itself which came to a climactic point as the year ended.

There is a not implausible story in circulation about a man at a UN reception who was asked what he did. "I am an expert on Chinese affairs," he said. "Can you tell me what is going on there?"

Any interpretation of the political turmoil churning up China must be fragmentary and provisional. There are many mystifying aspects about these momentous developments; and, due to the censorship and gagging of the opposition, solid facts are hard to come by. Moreover, the struggles and shifts at the top are still unfolding and far from concluded. However, even if the full pattern remains obscure, some pieces of the Chinese puzzle can be fitted together.

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There appear to be three distinct groupings in the 10-man Political Bureau which governs China. The weightiest force is the team headed by Communist party Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Defense Minister Lin Piao. They are pitted against China's Chief of State Liu Shao-chi and Communist party Secretary General Teng Hsiao-ping. Between them stands a vacillating tendency represented by Premier Chou En-lai and Foreign Minister Chen Yi which is aligned with Mao but which, the evidence indicates, has reservations and misgivings about his measures. They seek to moderate the conflict between the contending factions and prevent it from ending in an irreconcilable break.

Mao and Lin have initiated, directed and intensified the "great proletarian cultural revolution," organized the young Red Guards as its spearhead, and carried forward a remorseless campaign against the "bourgeois restorationists." This is an omnibus epithet applied to any and all recalcitrants in the party and the country who fail to accept the directives inspired by Mao's thought as holy writ.

After numerous hints in the press over the past months about "monsters" lurking

in the highest places, the head of the Chinese People's Republic and the chief executive of the CCP were publicly pilloried for the most heinous offenses at the year's end. On December 27 some 100,000 Red Guards swarmed into the Peking Workers' Athletic Hall for "A Rally for Thoroughly Criticizing Liu and Teng for Their Bourgeois Reactionary Lines."

The speakers denounced President Liu as "the Khrushchev of China" and "the boss of the capitalist class." His associate Teng was condemned in similar terms. These are the most contemptible and damaging accusations in the arsenal of Maoism.

Wall newspapers posted by Red Guards referred to self-criticisms made by the two leaders before a party meeting in October. The statements contained self-denunciations, pledges of loyalty to Mao and Lin Piao, promises to respect party discipline and expressed a determination to "do useful work for the party and people." Liu admitted "lack of understanding" and "miscalculation" of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and said, "I have decided to submit faithfully to the regulations of the party and not to be of two minds in party matters."

Teng is supposed to have said, "My present ideology and political level does not make me fit to be in charge of leadership work in the party central committee." The two men were accused, among other misdemeanors, of opposing Mao's thought and the studying of Mao's books, favoring revival of capitalist enterprises and advocating in 1956 that private businesses be set up to compete with state enterprises, and opposing the Great Leap Forward.

While full texts of the recantations they made October 23 are not yet available, reports from Hong Kong have summarized a no less abject 3,000-word confessional written October 11 by the Premier's wife in which Mrs. Liu declared: "I betrayed the Party and Chairman Mao's trust, solicitude and teachings. This has greatly troubled me." She avowed that she had "piled error upon error" in assisting "bourgeois reactionaries" to subvert Mao's doctrines.

She said that, in collaborating with Mao's foes, she had worked to promote the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, suppress democracy, create a reign of terror and repress the masses. She divulged how, as a member of the work team that went to purge the Peking Tsinghua University in June and July, she sabotaged her assignment in a right-wing opportunist manner. For example, her team had demanded "adequate preparation" before launching attacks upon alleged culprits and she had dismissed critics of her conduct as "troublesome schemers" and "fake leftists."

Mrs. Liu disclosed that her mistakes "were personally discovered and reversed by our great leader, Chairman Mao" at the turbulent Central Committee plenum held early in August.

Regardless of their motivation, these admissions of guilt are unlikely to satisfy the powers that extorted them. Red Guard posters which carried Liu's statement denounced it as inadequate, shallow and insincere. A Peking-based Yugoslav correspondent has predicted that Liu and Teng "do not have much time left in liberty." Trucks with loud-speakers drove around the capital on December 26 announcing that the two men "were leaders of the so-called black or anti-Mao Tse-tung lines and that they have to be crushed."

Mao's wife, Chiang Ching, who has been giving many cues in the prosecution of the cultural revolution, has demanded the arrest of all opponents of her husband's teachings. She said that every real revolutionary had the right to arrest such people.

The fate of these major figures may be foreshadowed by the treatment of the Peking party leader and Politburo member Peng Chen who was deposed in disgrace earlier in the year along with hundreds of cultural and propaganda officials. At a mass meeting on December 12, addressed by the acting Mayor of Peking, Peng had to stand with bowed head while the crowds shouted accusations at him.

He was denounced as one of the three leaders of "a revisionist clique" which included Lu Ting-yi, former Minister of Culture, and Lo Jui-ching, former army chief of staff. Peng and Lo are reported to have been arrested. The ex-Army head belonged to a circle of top officials close to the government chief Liu and Secretary General Teng.

Liu and Teng fell from grace when they attempted to curb the Red Guard movement and its attacks upon the party apparatus throughout the nation. This was confirmed in a secret speech made early in December by Tao Chu, fourth ranking member of the Politburo and the party's present propaganda director. He said that, after Mao had personally

ordered the cultural revolution last May, President Liu and Secretary General Teng violated his line and, during his absence from Peking in June and July, briefly succeeded in suppressing its development. Through work teams under their jurisdiction they tried to keep the youths from doing any real harm to the national party organization.

They issued orders in the party's name that almost strangled the cultural revolution during its first fifty days, Tao said. He declared that the "poisonous damage" they had done had spread widely in China and "they must bear the main responsibility." Even after the August plenum had called them to account and the work teams were disbanded, they kept up their resistance.

But now Tao Chu himself appears to be in disgrace if a report from Tokyo is to be believed. According to this source, Tao Chu was subjected January 6 to a curbside kangaroo court.

The Peking correspondents of Asahi and Yomiuri said that Chairman Mao's wife, Chiang Ching and a purge committee had called Tao a "bourgeois reactionary." Only four months ago when he took office as propaganda chief, he was considered to be one of the architects of the "Cultural Revolution."

The disarray created by the inner party conflicts can be gauged by what has happened with the Peking municipal party organization, the most important in the country. The old committee was headed by Peng Chen who was replaced in June by Li Hsueh-feng. The decision was hailed at that time in a People's Daily editorial as "a new victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought...Now, all work in Peking is bound to be well done."

Six months later, on December 4, Mao's wife accused the new Peking committee of being "as rotten as ever...It is the same old stuff as the old committee." She said: "They are reactionary, two-faced, they insult Chairman Mao. They attack us. They must be wiped out once and for all. For if we do not wipe them out, how can we carry on the revolution?"

What kind of atmosphere prevails in the ruling circles, when members of the families of officials are dragged in and compelled to make the most degrading spectacle of themselves?

According to a January 5 dispatch from Prague, the son and daughter of President Liu accused their father of "betraying the revolution." They repudiated him. A Red Guard leaflet in Peking said that they had learned about their father's "bourgeois and reactionary line" from their mother.

Three members of Foreign Minister Chen Yi's family -- husband, wife and daughter -- were upbraided for their derelictions.

The fissures and frictions in the leadership have spread to the party, the intellectuals, the army high command, and even the Red Guards. On December 12 Hung Chi, the party's ideological journal, acknowledged that armed clashes had broken out between rival factions of the Red Guard and that Red Guards, as well as party members, had been "duped" into opposing the regime by "the handful of persons within the party who take the capitalist road." Four days later, Red Flag stated that the internal struggle is "extremely fierce, acute and profound" and that Mao's opponents still wield "relative superiority" in the cultural and ideological spheres.

Apparently the Red Guards, mobilized to ferret out and beat down "those in authority who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road", have encountered stiff resistance and failed to dislodge many of the provincial, regional and even central party and government leaders who have been selected for attack. These have fought back, as a December 13 editorial in Red Flag, the policy organ of the CP Central Committee, complains. "The one peculiar feature among those in authority inside the party who are taking the capitalist road and a very few who adhere stubbornly to the bourgeois reactionary line is that they stay back of the screen and pull strings of mass organizations of students and workers who have been blinded by them, sow discord, create factions, instigate struggles by force and even resort to all kinds of illegal means to deal with the revolutionary masses while they themselves sit on the mountain to watch the tigers among themselves."

If the Mao-Lin faction has not yet broken the opposition's hold upon the party machinery, neither has it been able to keep the Red Guard movement under strict control. Thirteen million young people, taken out of school and encouraged to assail the constituted authorities, could hardly be expected to abide by the directives communicated by the officials in charge. Some segments of this volatile, zealous and militant

mass would tend to acquire a will and a way of their own which deviated from the intentions of their elders. Further, each of the contending factions has tried to steer the hectic movement in a direction most suited to its interests.

This would account for the repeated calls for restraint during the summer and fall activities of the Red Guard as well as for denunciations of high personages beyond those clearly marked for disgrace by Mao and Lin.

Thus, Tao Chu, the newly installed party propaganda chief, has recently been several times stigmatized as "a new bourgeois element." Red Guards have denounced Foreign Minister Chen Yi, his wife and son, for interfering with the mass actions. And a few posters have even been put up criticizing Mao and his "close comrade-in-arms," Lin Piao.

Are these developments less bewildering to the Communist party ranks, the functionaries on every rung of the party and state hierarchy, and the workers and peasants than they seem to most supporters of revolutionary China abroad? Judging from what is published in the Chinese press, it is doubtful that they are more adequately informed about the issues at stake, the real views of the antagonists and the true meaning of the convulsions or that they are better prepared for the surprising twists and turns of "the cultural revolution."

Looking back over the past year, they cannot help but ask: who will next be enrolled among the "counter-revolutionaries," "the open and hidden representatives of the bourgeoisie," "double-dealers" and "restorers of capitalism?" These are questions the new year will have to answer as the gravest political struggle since the Chinese Communist party took power is fought to a finish.

#### DOWN THE DRAIN FOR ALL-CHINA MODEL NIGHT-SOIL COLLECTOR?

Shi Chuan-hsiang, described by the New China News Agency only last September as "the all-China model night-soil collector" [See World Outlook October 7], may be in political trouble. Red Flag, the organ of the Red Guards of the Peking Institute of Aeronautics, reports in its January 1 issue that he has been arrested.

"Down with the traitor Shi Chuan-hsiang!" the report said. "He is a protégé of Liu Shao-chi [the head of the republic now under public attack]. He was heard to shout, 'Long live Liu Shao-chi!' He is also the head of the reactionary group called Detachment of Defense. We know very well who is behind Shi Chuan-hsiang and we have learned from a good source that he has been arrested."

Shi Chuan-hsiang is a deputy in the National Assembly who has often been in the news. Last spring he wrote an article denouncing the "black gang of intellectuals" who had refused to make a film on the life of night-soil collectors.

In September considerable publicity was given to the way he indoctrinated a group of Red Guards in the cultural revolution. Before accompanying the group of apprentices on the first round in learning the trade, he told them: "In emptying out the latrines, you not only help in a clean-up job, but you also uproot capitalism and revisionism, which we must extirpate from all the dark corners of our country."

After the Red Guards had made their rounds, the old night-soil collector congratulated them profusely, saying, "You are really good revolutionary fighters, educated in the spirit of the thought of Mao Tse-tung."

The September 29 issue of the daily bulletin of the Hsinhua News Agency carried another inspirational story about Shi Chuan-hsiang in which he was quoted as saying, "Chairman Mao's teaching has brought me enlightenment. Carrying the night-soil bucket, I keep the whole world's affairs in my mind."

It seems astonishing that such an ardent advocate of Mao's thought would suffer political eclipse. However the Chinese characters for his name seem unmistakable and there appears to be no one else of the same name prominent enough to have caused a mix up leading to a case of wrong identification.

But even if he is in trouble, Shi Chuan-hsiang may again bounce back. All the evidence seems to show that he is a genuine connoisseur of Mao's thought.



SIGNS OF RECESSION IN WEST EUROPEAN ECONOMY

By Henri Valin

For the first time since the beginning of the big postwar economic boom in Western Europe, a majority of the capitalist countries there clearly show signs that the many years of nearly uninterrupted economic growth are coming to an end and that many of them now face an economic recession. True, several of them -- especially Britain, Belgium and Sweden -- have undergone recessions since 1945, particularly in relation with the regular recessions of the U.S. economy. But up until recently the biggest countries on the continent escaped these recessions. The biggest of all, West Germany, has not experienced a single year of downturn in industrial production since 1948.

The first indications that this long summer -- falsely attributed by some observers to the creation of the European Common Market -- was over, came with a recession in France in 1963 and one in Italy in 1964. Both recessions appeared to have been engineered by the government; i.e., they were precipitated by stringent credit restrictions put into effect by the central bank and government authorities. In reality, the restrictions were a response to indicators signaling even sharper recessions if the governments had not reacted as they did.

A more ominous indication was the failure of the French and Italian economies to restore full employment after the recovery. A recent survey in the Paris daily Le Monde shows that unemployment in France now stands at its highest since 1945 although industrial production is again booming.

But what has affected the West European capitalist economy more than anything else is a turn in the economic tide in West Germany. The boom came to a halt in 1966 and there are many signs indicating that the country is on the verge of a recession.

Demand for additional workers and white-collar employees in business has declined sharply from more than 500,000 at the beginning of 1966 to less than 300,000 at the end of November. The number of unemployed rose from a few tens of thousands as the year opened to almost 300,000 currently. Thousands of workers have been laid off due to the closing of coal mines and steel plants -- the two basic industries most strongly affected by the crisis. The auto industry also seems to be in trouble. The "Big Three" (Volkswagen, Daimler-Benz and Opel) have put hundreds of thousands of workers on part time for December and January; and some of them have even decided to close down entirely for several weeks in view of the backlog of unsold cars.

The West German recession has had a sharp impact on neighboring countries like Belgium and Holland, which are dependent on the West German market for a considerable part of their exports. In these countries unemployment figures have risen steeply. The worst hit is the tiny country of Luxemburg which is completely specialized to produce steel.

Finally Britain is in the throes of the recession engineered by Prime Minister Wilson mainly for the purpose of creating a pool of unemployed large enough to act as a depressant on the unions and the more militant sectors of the working class, thereby making it easier to "rationalize" and modernize the British economy at the expense of the workers.

The coinciding of recessions in the two main capitalist countries of Western Europe -- West Germany and Britain -- could have touched off a major recession throughout the capitalist world economy were it not for a single preventive factor: the still rising military expenditures for the U.S. imperialist war of aggression against the people of Vietnam and the resulting situation of nearly full employment in the United States.

This induces a rise in exports from Japan and many semicolonial countries to the U.S., enabling these countries in turn to increase their imports of industrial and transport equipment from Western Europe, especially West Germany. The effects of the recession in Western Europe are cushioned in this way. Another mitigating factor is the constant, although as yet modest, rise in the export of goods and capital to the East European workers states. (The big West German, Italian and French automobile companies have started to build plants in many of these countries; Krupp is doing the same; and the British capitalists are busy assisting the USSR to build a new chemical industry.)

As one official in the European Common Market put it rather cynically, the outlook is not somber, provided there are no cutbacks in American military expenditures...

## UNEMPLOYMENT IN BRITAIN CONTINUES TO RISE

By John Walters

London

As a Christmas bonus for sundry foreign bankers, City brokers and all those who have been urging the need for more discipline for the workers, the figures for unemployment were announced December 22 by the Ministry of Labour. The total of jobless now stands at 601,771 (November's total was 541,585). This figure is for the whole of the British Isles, including Northern Ireland.

This is 2.4% of the working population, but in certain regions the figure is higher. In Northern Ireland the figure is 7.4%, meaning that one family in fourteen is now affected. In Scotland it is 3.6% and in Wales 3.9%. Such regions have had a persistent record of lagging behind the rest of the country in the economic upswings, and are the first to register recessions. This time it is no different despite claims by the Labour government to have protected these special regions.

Had these figures been available at the December 3 conference in London called by the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions there is no doubt that the organisers would not have been able to get away with merely verbalising the opposition; they would have been forced to recommend concrete actions.

Many of the speeches by the delegates were far more militant and forthright than was reflected in the ultimate statement adopted. The "Declaration of Purpose" called for a campaign of opposition to the wage freeze, unemployment and state intervention into trade-union rights. However, little in the way of practical activities were suggested to implement these very worthy sentiments.

Without doubt the limitations of the platform were due to the influence of the delegates adhering to the Communist party, who had a large role in organising the conference. But it would be sectarian stupidity to see this conference merely as a Stalinist jamboree as the leaders of the Socialist Labour League picture it. The delegates whose views reflected or coincided with those of the SLL merely succeeded in isolating themselves from the bulk of the delegates by their strident denunciations of Frank Cousins and other leaders of the left in the Labour party as being the main enemy. In so doing they helped the opportunists on the platform to carry the day.

Nevertheless, the conference, attended by some 850 delegates from all over the country, was representative of a wide cross section of shop-floor militants and indicative of their mood. Far from losing heart, they are in good spirit for the battles ahead. The biggest need shown by the conference is for a programme of transitional demands to unify and raise the level of the present struggles and lead them on to the road of revolutionary socialism.

Closely following on the conference came some hostile reactions by trade-union officials to a series of government actions.

On December 16 it was announced that a five-shilling a week pay rise due to three million engineers on March 3, 1967 would be frozen. The increase was part of a three-year "package deal" negotiated in 1964 by the Amalgamated Engineering Union. Hugh Scanlon, a member of the Executive Council, commented: "This shows the inability of the Government to predict the state of the economy under capitalism for six months, let alone three years. This is a warning not to repeat the mistake of the much criticised package deal." The latter part of the comment was aimed at the right-wing boss of the AEU, Sir William Carron, who represented the union in the negotiations.

On the same day it was announced that a pay award for 56,000 electricians had been postponed from January to March. The Electrical Trades Union's general secretary, Frank Chapple (a former Stalinist who is now very right-wing) said that his Executive was "bound to take a very serious view" of the postponement. For the ETU this is strong talk indeed, since this union has been one of the most ardent supporters of the government's policies and of close cooperation with the employers since it became right-wing dominated.

Along with these wage freezes came a stalling move on the recommendation of the Prices and Incomes Board to grant a small wage increase to 400,000 farm workers and 430,000 drapery workers. The PIB was asked by Economics Minister Michael Stewart to look at the two awards in the light of the government's policy on lower paid workers. This policy is very ambiguous. [See World Outlook, December 9, 1966.]

Commenting on the pay-freeze orders Frank Cousins said they were "A quite unjustified and massive extension of the freeze which will delay badly needed increases for some lower paid workers....Many trade unionists who have previously accepted Government policy will join the wave of indignation against the way things are going."

The day before these orders were announced, Dan McGarvey, the Boilermakers president (one of the unions affiliated to the Shipbuilding and Engineering Confederation which negotiated the package deal) warned that the future of all long-term agreements was in danger if the engineers' rise was frozen. How effective in practice this and all the other critical comments will be remains to be seen. One thing does emerge quite clearly, however, and that is there are great pressures building up in the trade-union movement for a real fight to be mounted against the wage freeze.

Another sign of this developing mood is the December 20 decision of the locomotivemen's union to initiate a work to rule, and a ban on rest-day working, starting January 16. This action arises over a dispute on bonus payment for short-haul freight trains. The union has been trying to obtain the same bonus for this type of work for long-haul and passenger work. Protracted negotiations with the Railway Board were fruitless, the board refusing to move from its position that to grant bonuses in the present situation would go against the government's incomes policy.

On December 22 the union had a meeting with Minister of Labour Ray Gunter. It announced afterwards that it had agreed to meet the board again, but did not make clear if the threatened go-slow had been called off.

The possibility remains that this dispute could be the first major one in 1967. Perhaps the British working class could send no better New Year's greetings to Harold Wilson.

ADDITIONAL RETURNS IN CHILEAN STUDENT ELECTIONS

Santiago, Chile

To complete the report that appeared in the World Outlook of December 23, here are additional results in other university centers:

Center of Medicine (Concepción)

Center of Philosophy (Santiago)

	<u>Votes</u>		<u>Votes</u>
Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria	148	FRAP [Communist and Socialist parties]	75
Democracia Cristiana	96	Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria	43
Partido Radical	40	Democracia Cristiana	16

(The CP and SP did not run)

Temuco (in the south of Chile)

Partido Comunista	190
Partido Radical	180
Democracia Cristiana	170
MIR-PS-PCR	123

These additional results confirm the fact that the Christian Democracy is losing strength, although slowly, in the student movement. The Communist party has gained, the Socialist party has gone down and the MIR has consolidated its influence in the student movement, obtaining the chairmanship of the Center of Medicine in Concepción, some delegates in the Center of Philosophy at Santiago and a leader in the Regional College of the province of Temuco.

In a balance sheet drawn up at the end of the year by the Chilean political magazine of biggest circulation, the conclusion is drawn:

"The political force displaying the most aggressive action was the Left Revolutionary Movement (MIR), which initiated spectacular struggles in the Institute of Pedagogy at the University of Chile." (Ercilla, December 28, 1966, p. 25.)

SIQUEIROS SAYS ATTEMPT ON TROTSKY'S LIFE WAS PLANNED IN SPAIN

By Joseph Hansen

The November issue of *La Batalla*, the monthly organ of the POUM [Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista -- Workers Party of Marxist Unification], calls attention to an interview which the Mexican painter David Alfaro Siqueiros granted to the journalist and designer Luis Camnitzer while he was in Uruguay last summer. Siqueiros, it will be recalled, headed a contingent of agents of Stalin's secret police in a machine-gun raid on Trotsky's home in Coyoacan on May 24, 1940. Trotsky escaped this attempted assassination only to fall victim to another Stalinist agent a few months later on August 20.

Camnitzer asked Siqueiros, "How did Trotsky die?"

"Well, he was killed by a man of Belgian origin, some say Spanish."

After an embarrassed pause, Siqueiros added: "I had nothing to do with the death of Trotsky; with the assault on the house, yes. Trotsky's house was a fanatic anti-Communist center, guarded by the Mexican police and with hired gangsters in the basement. In reality, a group of us military men had already planned it in Spain and, finally, we did it in 1940 to destroy the archives."

In the interview, Siqueiros then attacked the Spanish anarchists. By way of "excuse" for his activities, according to the interviewer, Siqueiros concluded: "But I was only a cog in the machine. The orders came from above. I had no voice."

Siqueiros' reference to "hired gangsters in the basement" is not without interest. Immediately following the May 24 assault, the Stalinist press in Mexico advanced the "theory" that the assault had been planned by Trotsky himself as a publicity stunt. At the same time their agents sought to discover how Trotsky and his wife Natalia had managed to survive bursts of machine-gun fire directed at their cots. They refused to believe that the two had survived by rolling out of bed and lying on the floor.

When the Mexican authorities finally unraveled the plot against Trotsky and arrested most of the participants, who proved to be members of the Mexican Communist party, Siqueiros went into hiding.

During the court investigation of the affair, Pavon Flores, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist party and an attorney for the arrested Stalinists, persistently questioned Trotsky about his escape, demanding to know if he had not really been hiding all the time in the "basement." Evidently Stalin's secret police agents wanted the information to better prepare the next attempt on Trotsky's life.

Trotsky's home, however, had no basement. There was a very small cellar in which back issues of newspapers were kept although they soon suffered from mold due to the dampness of the earth.

"Hired gangsters" is Siqueiros' term for the devoted and self-sacrificing youths who served as Trotsky's guards and secretaries. One of them, Robert Sheldon Harte, was kidnapped by the gang headed by Siqueiros.

Harte's body was later found by the Mexican police. One bullet had been fired into the base of his brain, another into his temple.

Siqueiros was eventually captured but disclaimed that he personally had shot Harte. Released on bail, Siqueiros skipped the country, remaining abroad a few years before quietly returning to the streets of the capital of Mexico. Apparently he commanded a sufficient source of funds to allay any eagerness in official circles to follow up the case; and he was never tried for the murder of Robert Sheldon Harte or his role in the plot that finally succeeded in placing one of his Stalinist cothinkers in position to bring a pick hammer crashing into Trotsky's brain.

CHINESE PENS SPELL MARKDOWN FOR JAPANESE PROFITS

Japan, which has flooded the world with felt- and nylon-tipped pens, is now being flooded with hundreds of thousands of pens from China. Named Hero 329 and Hero 440, the two models have proved so cheap and so popular as to hurt Japanese manufacturers. The Japanese press reports that "security agency authorities" are worried over Peking's "motive" for the sudden surge of pens.

ON ELECTORAL POLICY IN INDIA

By Kailas Chandra

Bombay

The Revolutionary Socialist party has come under criticism from the Trotskyist journal Marxist Outlook because of its participation in electoral coalitions at the expense of revolutionary-socialist principles. A reply that is not without interest appeared in the November issue of The Call, the official organ of the Central Committee of the RSP.

The editors state that the RSP does not entertain the illusion that it can win a majority in a state legislature. Further, "the RSP as a Marxist-Leninist party does not believe that it is possible to usher in socialism and to establish the power of the toiling people over the state through bourgeois parliament, howsoever wide the popular franchise on which these elections may be held."

In fact the RSP also rules out the possibility of any left party securing an absolute majority "as a single party" in any state legislature except in Kerala and West Bengal. In these two states, it thinks, the possibility exists of a combination of opposition parties emerging as a majority party and providing a "'leftist' alternative."

Again, the RSP disclaims any illusions. The "anti-Congress united fronts" that have emerged in Kerala and West Bengal, it holds, "are basically nothing but bourgeois-democratic electoral coalitions." Their aim is either that of "breaking Congress monopoly of power in one or two States," or "increasing the proportion [!] of leftist and opposition representation vis-a-vis the Congress within the legislatures."

The Call further asserts that the RSP certainly does not believe that these electoral fronts "aim at the revolutionary overthrow of capitalist system, not at least directly or immediately."

Why then should a self-proclaimed "Marxist-Leninist party" join such "bourgeois-democratic electoral coalitions" which are expected to provide only a bourgeois alternative to Congress rule basically serving the capitalist system? This question has been raised before the RSP leadership not only by the Socialist Workers party but also by sections of the RSP membership in Kerala and other states.

In Kerala, four district units rebelled against the decision of the leadership to join an opportunist electoral front consisting of the left and right Communist parties and reactionary communal parties like the Muslim League and the Krashak Thozhilali party led by the one-time anti-Communist Catholic Father Vadakkan. Some of these dissidents have joined the SWP.

The Call offers an ingenious, if not very convincing, answer to the question concerning why the RSP joins opportunistic electoral alliances. It believes that "Neither the level of political consciousness of the masses at large, nor the strength of their class organisations" have reached the stage where the masses demonstrate their "readiness for any kind of revolutionary alternative." Even in Kerala and West Bengal, the masses who are "utterly disgusted and disillusioned with the Congress Party" want, for "a variety of reasons [?]," only to replace it with a "'leftist' alternative"!

The Call, in fact, warns us not to mistake the disillusionment of the masses with the Congress for disillusionment with the "bourgeois democratic parliamentary system" or with readiness to fight for a "revolutionary alternative." A devastating revelation, indeed!

The Call adds: "The very fact we are facing the fourth general elections in India indicates that the bourgeois democracy (which is really the political basis of capitalism) and capitalism has been stabilised to a considerable extent. To forget this basic fact and to ascribe some imaginary revolutionary character and content to the current political situation in the context of elections would not only be incorrect and unrealistic; it would be taking a very exaggerated romantic view of parliamentary politics verging on what Lenin called 'parliamentary cretinism.'"

This is the defense offered by the RSP for its electoral aims, which, it maintains, "assume basic political and revolutionary significance in spite of the reformist bourgeois democratic milieu within which it moves in the immediate present and the compromises it is forced to make."

The key point in this is the contention that capitalism in India has gained

stability. The fact is that even the staunchest apologist politicians would hesitate to affirm this despite the preparations for the fourth general elections.

The bourgeois rulers are in fact haunted by an unprecedented economic crisis facing them. And if what is happening in other underdeveloped countries is any indication, the bourgeois rulers themselves are losing faith in their own "parliamentary institutions" and the tendency in most of these countries is towards military coups.

The spectacular mass movements that erupted in West Bengal and other states, which came close, despite their limitations, to toppling the Congress regimes, do not seem to have registered with the leaders of the RSP, who are now trotting out their theory regarding the stability of Indian capitalism.

But assuming the political situation in the country to be far from revolutionary and the masses under the grip of reformism, even if this were so, how could that justify Marxist-Leninists entering what the RSP describes as "bourgeois-democratic electoral fronts"?

The opportunistic nature of the electoral fronts is described by The Call itself: "It has also to be remembered that none of the major leftist parties, e.g., the CPI-Left, CPI-Right, SSP or Forward Bloc with which we are associated in the current electoral unity talks have the objective of socialist revolution in their immediate purview. The association of the Muslim League of Kerala with these electoral arrangements...also emphasises the non-socialist reformist character of the current left-unity moves...Some of the democratic opposition parties like the Bangla Congress, for example in West Bengal, move within the ambit of official Congress ideology and programme and aim only at the ouster of the official Congress group from power and nothing beyond that."

Fortunately for the RSP, "unity talks" between the left Communist party of India and its allies on the one hand and the right Communist party of India and Bangla Congress (of rebel Congress party men) on the other, on the allocation of seats (not political programme) have failed in West Bengal and two rival left-sponsored united fronts have emerged. One includes the left CPI and six other left parties, among them the Samyukta Socialist party, the Revolutionary Socialist party, the Revolutionary Communist party, the Socialist United Centre; the other includes the right CPI, the Bangla Congress and the Forward Bloc. Here again there is not much to choose between in the programmatic positions of the opposition electoral fronts that have come up to fight the Congress party at the polls.

The logical extension of the RSP argument is that since all "major leftist" parties are opportunistic, the RSP also has every right to be opportunistic. Because the major left parties do not stand for a socialist revolution, the RSP, which is organisationally weak should also "compromise" its own programmatic positions. The RSP refuses to endeavour to give a revolutionary socialist lead to the masses and to project a programme of socialist revolution even as part of its election propaganda. It does not even seek to organise a united front of workers and peasants parties as a serious challenge to the bourgeois Congress. This is certainly not revolutionary Marxism but outright opportunism.

The Stalinist leaders of the two Communist parties are at least somewhat more consistent in participating in multiclass electoral fronts. They do not stand for a socialist revolution in India. Their immediate objective is to achieve a "national democracy" or a "people's democracy on the basis of a four-class bloc that includes the proletariat and the national bourgeoisie. But what about the RSP which claims to stand for the programme of socialist revolution? (In the Indian left movement, the RSP is considered by many to be even "near Trotskyist"; a reputation that is fostered by the fact that on certain problems The Call occasionally reprints articles from the press of the Fourth International.)

The electoral aims of the RSP, according to The Call editorial, include taking full advantage of the relative democratic freedom allowed during the elections to propagate its view, to increase its effective representation in the legislatures and to join forces with other parties of the "left and democratic opposition" to break the "monopoly of the governmental power" in as many states as possible. In actual practice there is no difference between the opportunist politics of the RSP and that of other left parties. Despite the self-righteous attitude on the question of joining non-Congress coalitions, the RSP is also not opposed to the idea of joining such coalitions to provide an "alternative government" for the people as against the Congress "whenever necessary"!

Despite its organisational weaknesses, the RSP would have certainly made an impact on the revolutionary left and the rank and file of other left parties had it

stuck to the Marxist-Leninist positions as against the horse trading going on in the name of election fronts. What it has achieved in the bargain is not a mere "compromise" with the "reformist bourgeois democratic milieu within which it moves in the immediate present" but a betrayal of Marxism-Leninism itself.

#### THE GENERAL ELECTIONS IN JAPAN

The general elections in Japan, scheduled for January 29, will be watched with interest in many capitals and particularly in Washington, which is worried over the mounting antiwar sentiment among the Japanese people and the attrition of the ruling Liberal-Democratic party, which has collaborated so closely with the Johnson administration in the pursuit of U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam.

The elections were forced by the opposition parties, particularly the Japan Socialist party. They boycotted the Diet, their action being so effective as to compel Prime Minister Eisaku Sato to dissolve that body and set new elections.

This is the tenth dissolution of the Diet since the end of World War II. Each of them has been given a name such as "surprise dissolution," "you fool" dissolution, etc., depending on the particular circumstances under which it occurred. The present one was labeled in advance the "black fog" dissolution; or, to use a word of relatively recent vintage in the U.S., the "thick smog" dissolution. The smog refers to the scandals and corruption that have come to light and that have greatly damaged the public image of the Liberal-Democratic party although others have not escaped either, exposures having been made of members of the Japan Socialist party in the Diet accepting "political" contributions from industrialists.

Polls show the Liberal-Democratic party at an all-time low in popularity but there has been no comparable rise in the popularity of the Japan Socialist party, at least as registered by the polls, due to the scandals in which some of its leading figures were implicated.

Nevertheless, the Japan Socialist party is singling out the antiwar issue as the most important one and is coupling it with another issue of wide public concern -- the need to establish relations with the People's Republic of China on a normal basis.

Kozo Sasaki, the chairman of the Japan Socialist party, announced December 24 that his party "will appeal for promotion of friendship and restoration of diplomatic relations between Japan and China" in the forthcoming general elections.

"The United States," he said, "is now provoking a war with China, using Japan as its bastion.

"But if Japan shakes hands with China with courage, then the United States will not be able to make war with China."

While it is seeking to consolidate its position as the main opposition party by appealing to the widespread antiwar sentiment and general recognition of the need to establish normal relations with revolutionary China, the Japan Socialist party is not advancing a revolutionary-socialist program.

In fact, Chairman Kozo Sasaki stated publicly December 29 that in his opinion the election would return a balance of forces giving the Liberal-Democratic party such a slender majority that it would have to again dissolve the Diet within a year or a year and a half. The situation would become so unstable politically that the Liberal-Democrats would have to seek other means of rule than maintaining a monopoly of power. Sasaki then said significantly:

"The JSP will continue its political activities with a view to forming a coalition government before 1970 and establishing a JSP government in 1970."

Sasaki's major aim is thus clearly to put the JSP in position to serve as a salvage team, coming in at the critical moment to save the capitalist system when the Liberal-Democrats are no longer able to do it by monopolizing government posts.

If the JSP should succeed in carrying out such a betrayal, Japan would then become ripe for the swift rise of a fascist movement. The pattern would be much like that in Germany following the default of the Social Democratic and Communist parties during the twenties and thirties.

The JSP expects to run 210 candidates, of which 175 to 180 can count on being elected, according to Sasaki. In the previous election the JSP won 146 seats.

Five parties are vying for the 486 seats at stake in 123 constituencies. Besides the Liberal-Democratic party, which hopes to return to power although with a reduced majority; and the Japan Socialist party, which is counting on strengthening its position as the main opposition party; the election is being contested by the Democratic Socialist party, which is running 60 candidates; the Japan Communist party, which hopes to increase the number of seats it holds from four to eight, and the Komeito (Clean Government party), which is running 32 candidates.

The showing of the Komeito organization will be watched with special concern. This is a new formation, constituting the political wing of the Soka Gakkai, a reactionary Buddhist society. Komeito is reported to have a membership of about 200,000, but the Soka Gakkai is supported by nearly six million families of whom about four million persons are considered to be eligible to vote. The Soka Gakkai, appealing to fanatically reactionary sentiments, has been expanding dangerously.

The rise in political dissatisfaction in Japan is indicated by a poll taken by the Kyodo News Service on December 10-11. Support of the Liberal-Democratic party had slumped to 41.5% of those polled. Only 25.1% expressed support for the recently shuffled Sato cabinet. Last August 34.1% supported the cabinet. Opposition to the cabinet was expressed by 40.8% as compared with 26.7% last August. Even 24.1% of the backers of the Liberal-Democratic party were opposed to the cabinet.

Asked what should be done to remove distrust of the government, 48.9% said a general election should be called. More than one-half, or 55.3%, expressed dissatisfaction with the present situation in the government while only 24.5% said they were generally satisfied. The poll covered 3,000 people picked at random, of whom 81% responded.

#### JAPANESE COMMUNIST PARTY STILL FOR "COALITION" POLICY

The catastrophic defeat of the Indonesian Communist party seems to have made little impression on the leadership of the Japan Communist party. They propose to repeat the policy that ensured defeat for the Aidit leadership in Indonesia; namely, tying their party to the bourgeoisie by following a "coalition" policy.

On December 23 the party leadership stated that its line for the coming elections includes working for the "establishment of a democratic coalition government." This was exactly the kind of government, headed by Sukarno, which the Indonesian Communist leaders supported while the reactionary generals sharpened their knives under its benevolent protection.

The policy, adopted at a meeting of the Central Committee November 22-24, 1966, was described in the December 27 Japan Times as follows:

"1. Put an end to the reactionary administration of the Liberal-Democratic Party and establish a democratic coalition government on the basis of all the democratic forces in the country.

"2. Oppose the LDP administration which is trying to change Japan into a base for U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Scrap the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty and build up an independent, pacifist and neutralist Japan.

"3. Oppose the reactionary administration which is attempting to introduce a single-member electoral system, change the Constitution for the worse and restore militarism. Protect democracy and the people's rights.

"4. Protect the people's life and health. Ensure independent and peaceful development of the Japanese economy.

"5. Oppose the character-building policy devised to serve monopoly capital and militarism. Promote 'democratic' development of education, culture and science in conformity with the people's wishes."

One of the most striking features of this program is the absence of any appeal for a socialist revolution, or indeed the statement of socialist aims -- and this in the most highly industrialized country in the Far East and one of the most advanced in the world!