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Vietnam: Another Year of War



BOBBY G. SEALE, Black Panther leader, in prison as new year starts; a victim of Nixon's war against the black community.

Index for 1969

Threatened Species

Some grave warnings on the mounting gravity of pollution of the environment were voiced at the thirteenth national conference of the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO, held in San Francisco in November.

"One wonders how long it will be until smog from our East Coast megalopolis adds to Europe's burden of air pollution," said Cornell University ecologist Dr. Lamont C. Cole. "Or," he added, "until pollution from an industrialized Asia will add to California's problems."

Dr. Cole was not engaging in wild

Next Issue

This is the final issue for this year, since we do not publish during the last week in December or the first week in January.

Our next issue will be dated January 12, 1970.

We hope that you found the 1,152 pages of Intercontinental Press a "best buy" in 1969. Stay with us for some special items planned for coming issues in 1970.

speculation. Last summer, he observed, Thor Heyerdahl had found the mid-Atlantic to be visibly polluted. The Sea of Japan is already polluted. "How long will it be before Japan's pollution becomes a contributor to the local problems on the U. S. West Coast?" he asked.

"Our problems," he said, "are not national, they are global."

Dr. Michel J. Batisse, director of the Natural Resources Research Division of UNESCO in Paris, said at the same conference that man is a "threatened species" just like the whooping crane.

"But unlike the whooping crane, he is only threatened by himself, by his own proliferation, by his fatal pride to conquer and dominate, by his greed and his carelessness, by his inability to plan his collective needs and to cope with his own wastes. The trouble is that the problems of man's own conservation are unfortunately not

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Copain	1129	Drawing: Bobby G. Seale

commensurate with those of the conservation of the whooping crane.

"The problems are formidable," continued Dr. Batisse. "It is not only a question of laws, of regulations, of gadgets and dollars. It requires a will, a collective will of all nations. It requires a new philosophy of the relationship of man with nature, accepted by all. It requires a new ethic based on ecological principles. It requires a complete reassessment of many values which will affect economic theory, social structure, political institutions, as well as individual freedom. It will hurt and is not going to be accepted lightly."

It would have been well for Dr. Batisse to stop beating around the bush and come out with the flat truth. Capitalism is incapable of solving the problem. Pollution of the environment can be adequately counteracted only on a worldwide scale through the united planning of all mankind. Businessmen have but one concern—profitmaking.

Consider the following public warning issued October 21 by Austin N. Heller, New York City's commissioner of air resources.

A new type of plastic, he said, called polyvinyl chloride, or PVC, now being used for containers, "throws off hydrochloric acid when it is incinerated."

Hydrochloric acid, even in small amounts, is not recommended as a

beauty treatment for a person's skin nor as a tonic for the respiratory system.

"In 1961," said Heller, "the United States produced 1.2 billion pounds of PVC. In 1968 this figure more than doubled to three billion pounds.

"Until now PVC has been used mainly for such items as baby pants and containers for cosmetics and household products but the Food and Drug Administration has just approved PVC for food containers, and use of PVC is now expected to grow very rapidly. Bottles alone are expected to increase from 55 million in 1968 to four billion in 1973."

PVC containers should be separated from other refuse prior to incineration. This is done in Sweden where PVC is used for beer containers. In the United States it is not feasible to separate billions of containers of a particular composition from the rest of the garbage.

And why should a country as wealthy as the United States decide to place a government stamp of approval on this new source of air pollution? You guessed it. PVC is cheaper to manufacture than current plastics; and, because it can be made more transparent, it makes for a more glamorous package.

After all, the government represents solid manufacturing interests and not an endangered species.

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Vietnam: Another Year of War

By Les Evans

As the year and the decade are closing together, the attention of the world remains focused, as it has been for so long, on Vietnam. Nixon has taken over Johnson's war and is prepared to pursue it into the seventies in the elusive search for a way to subjugate the Vietnamese people. And yet, against the terrible power of the American imperialist colossus, the Vietnamese revolution has held out for another year and has inspired by its heroism the peoples of the rest of the world—not least of all in the United States itself.

As 1970 opens, Nixon is locked in a confrontation with the newly invigorated antiwar movement of the American people, which has grown to massive proportions. The new year will show the effect of the latest revelations of Washington's war crimes in Songmy—and in how many other Vietnamese villages?—on Nixon's ability to persist in the course he has chosen.

If Vietnam and the antiwar movement dominated the headlines in 1969, revolutionary ferment was on the rise in other quarters as well.

The year opened with a political trial in Poland. Jacek Kurón and Karol Modzelewski, the left-Communist student leaders, were charged with having organized the March 1968 demonstrations in Warsaw and being connected with the world Trotskyist movement. (By November, officials in Washington were using "Trotskyism" in red-baiting the antiwar movement.)

Police clashed with nationalist crowds in Derry City in Northern Ireland January 4 and barricades went up around the predominantly Catholic ghetto.

On January 19, nearly 9,000 police in Tokyo finally retook Yasuda Hall at Tokyo University after a two-day battle with radical students.

On the same day, a young student died in a Prague hospital after set-

ting himself on fire to protest the continued Soviet occupation of his country. More than 500,000 people lined the streets for Jan Palach's funeral, while slogans defending the right of the Czechoslovak people to socialist democracy reappeared on walls throughout the country.

There were important developments in all three of the main sectors of the

world revolution: in the underdeveloped colonial and semicolonial countries; in the countries where capitalism has been overthrown and the struggle against bureaucratic misrule is on the upturn; and in the advanced imperialist nations of Western Europe, Japan, and the United States, where the new youth and working-class radicalization is continuing unabated.

Revival in the 'Third World'

Every continent of the "Third World" saw an increase in mass struggle this year.

The vast Indian subcontinent simmered throughout 1969. In India the ruling Congress party reached an advanced state of disintegration. In the February 12 "mini-general election" the Congress party was badly defeated in West Bengal, the Communist party of India (Marxist) winning a landslide victory. By November the Congress party had split wide open with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi heading a minority government in opposition to the old-line party bosses of the "Syndicate."

The collapse of the bourgeois center promises to plunge the country into a prerevolutionary crisis. The key question for Indian revolutionists will be the construction of a mass revolutionary party that can prevent the crisis from being resolved in favor of capitalist reaction, as happened in Indonesia in 1965.

In nearby Pakistan the crisis of the regime is even more advanced. Student demonstrations at the end of 1968 escalated into mass workers strikes. On February 21 Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan told the nation that he would not run for reelection in the March 1970 presidential elections. But unlike Lyndon Johnson's abdication in 1968, this proved to be too little and too late.

On March 17 some 2,500,000 workers staged a one-day general strike in West Pakistan. In East Pakistan student organizations took over the administration of the capital city of Dacca, while in the countryside people's tribunals were set up to try corrupt landlords, government officials, and hired thugs of the Ayub regime.

On March 25 Ayub handed power over to the military to stem the revolutionary tide. His successor, General Yahya Khan, imposed martial law, but has failed to change any of the social conditions that produced the revolt.

In November the combativeness of the masses began to revive and sharp new clashes took place between the army and large student and worker demonstrations.

In Vietnam itself there was the spring offensive of the National Liberation Front, culminating in the formation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government in June, a major step forward for the people of Vietnam in their fight to topple the U. S.-backed Saigon dictatorship.

In Africa, guerrilla struggles continued against the Portuguese colonial regimes in Angola and Mozambique. But something new took place in Africa this year. Important student strikes, demonstrations, and clashes with the police occurred in at least

ten countries with bourgeois nationalist regimes, ranging from Kenya in January to Nigeria in October. The trouble spots included Ethiopia, both of the Congos, the Ivory Coast, Mali, Senegal, Tanzania, and Uganda.

In Latin America, Argentina was the hot spot of the year. Student demonstrations in Rosario, the country's second largest city, led to a local general strike on May 22 that spread across the country after martial law was imposed May 29. Demonstrators seized a fifty-block area of central Rosario and sealed it off with barricades and bonfires.

Violent fighting erupted in Córdoba May 30-31, six persons being killed.

Fierce repression by the Onganía regime failed to turn back the workers movement, and a new general strike paralyzed Córdoba June 17-18. This was followed by two national general strikes, in August and September. The military dictatorship has been unable to "pacify" the angry students and workers, and new clashes may be expected in 1970.

Relations between Washington and the military junta in Peru have deteriorated, while in Bolivia General Ovando has also taken over U.S. property since his seizure of power September 26.

Both Ovando and his Peruvian

counterparts, however, have shown the limits of their nationalist pretensions by their fierce persecution of the left. In Bolivia the government is still holding many militants of the ELN [Ejército de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Army—the guerrilla army initiated by Che Guevara] and the POR [Partido Obrero Revolucionario—Revolutionary Workers party—the Bolivian section of the Fourth International] who were arrested in July. Several members of both organizations were killed by police, including Inti Peredo, the main leader of the ELN.

The Middle East was the most explosive area in the Third World outside of Vietnam this year. Most significant was the increasing power and influence of the Palestinian movement shown by its clashes with the pro-imperialist regimes in Jordan and Lebanon. The Helou regime in Lebanon used troops against Al Fatah guerrillas near the village of Majdal Selm October 18, touching off a minor war and a major crisis for the government. The Palestinians, with wide popular support in Lebanese cities, fought the army to a standstill and negotiated an armed truce at the beginning of November. This first test of strength—which went badly for the pro-American government—is not likely to be the last.

The Fight for Socialist Democracy in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union

The continued Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia has remained a major embarrassment to pro-Moscow Communist parties throughout the world. In Czechoslovakia itself, the mass opposition to the reimposition of a Stalinist dictatorship has made it impossible even at this late date to achieve the "normalization" demanded by the Kremlin as the price of removing its troops. In its efforts to crush the mass resistance, the Kremlin has reimposed the totalitarian practices of the Novotný regime.

The Kremlin's strategy was to play on the fears of the bureaucratic reformers who led the "Prague Spring," wringing concession after concession from them. A major turning point came in April when Alexander Dub-

cek was removed as first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist party. Gustav Husák, Dubcek's replacement, while not Brezhnev and Kosygin's model of a modern major general, has served the Kremlin's purposes adequately. Very likely he will be replaced in due time by an even more servile figure.

But the struggle of the Czech students, workers, and intellectuals for socialist democracy has not ended despite the purges at the top and the implicit threat of wider reprisals. Thousands of persons took part in demonstrations throughout the country August 21, marking the first anniversary of the invasion. Four demonstrators were killed by police, and nearly 2,000 were arrested, accord-

ing to the official Czechoslovak press agency CTK. Especially significant was the report that left-Communists in Prague had founded a new organization, the Revolutionary Socialist party of Czechoslovakia. This new party distributed leaflets for the August 21 demonstrations.

The Stalinists instituted sweeping purges in the CP, the government, the mass media, the trade unions, and academic institutions. This was met by a general slowdown in the workplaces throughout the country, accounting for a drastic decline in productivity. The Kremlin-appointed regime threatened to lengthen the workweek at the beginning of next year if this passive resistance does not stop.

In the Soviet Union, repression continued against advocates of proletarian democracy.

Two of the best known leaders of the Soviet dissidents were jailed last spring, along with many who are not so well known.

Ivan Yakhimovich, former chairman of a Latvian collective farm, was arrested in Riga March 25 and has yet to be brought to trial.

Former Major General Pyotr G. Grigorenko was seized by the secret police in Tashkent May 7. He had gone to the central Asian city to act as a lay defense counsel at the trial of a group of Crimean Tatars who had been jailed for demanding an end to the persecution of their nationality. Grigorenko has since been railroaded to a mental hospital, a particularly vicious form of punishment commonly used by the bureaucrats when they do not want the embarrassment of a formal trial.

The campaign against dissent was broadened by the November 12 expulsion of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn from the Soviet Writers Union. Solzhenitsyn, unlike other recent victims of Stalinist "justice," has an international reputation and is probably the Soviet Union's best-known living writer. Solzhenitsyn warned the bureaucrats that their victory was a hollow one. "The day is near," he told the official pen pushers who sat in judgment of him, "when every one of you will try to find out how you can scrape your signatures off today's resolution."

The Ussuri River Clashes and the Ninth Congress of the Chinese CP

Relations between the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic, reached a new low with the armed clashes on the Ussuri River March 2 and 15. The two giant workers' states appeared to be on the brink of open war. Kosygin met briefly with Chou En-lai in Peking September 11 and the two agreed to open talks between the two governments. These were proceeding behind closed doors in Peking as the year came to a close.

The Sino-Soviet confrontation dominated the world conference of pro-Moscow Communist parties which opened in the Soviet capital June 5. The advanced state of disintegration of the Stalinist monolith was indicated by the fact that the Kremlin was unable, despite considerable maneuvering, to win endorsement of its anti-China policy or of its invasion of Czechoslovakia. After five years of preparations, the best Brezhnev and Kosygin could squeeze out of their "fraternal parties" was a declaration of platitudes about unity.

The Ninth Congress of the Chinese Communist party, held in April, did little better from the standpoint of its Maoist organizers. Virtually no delegations from foreign parties attended the gathering, the first to be held in eleven years. The congress sealed the expulsion of Liu Shao-chi from the party. It adopted the new constitution

that named Lin Piao as Mao's political heir, thus establishing the Chinese CP as the first such party in the world to institutionalize succession in the style of a feudal monarchy.

One-third of the congress presidium were from the military, and the generals who now head twenty-one of China's twenty-nine provinces were among the delegates.

The Maoists were looking inward, not outward. Lin Piao had little to say in his report about revolutionary prospects or developments in other countries. He studiously ignored the mass struggles taking place in Pakistan while he was speaking (Peking had cordial diplomatic relations with Ayub that have continued under Yahya; in exchange, the Chinese government and press have refrained from supporting or even mentioning the struggles of the Pakistani masses against the dictatorship).

In China, the Maoists have begun the monumental task of rebuilding the apparatus of the Chinese CP, shattered during the years of intrabureaucratic infighting that went by the name of the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." The indications are that Mao has made his peace with many of the old bureaucrats and is concentrating on suppressing the mass energies that were brought into play in his effort to crush Liu Shao-chi.

A Warm Spring in Europe and the Fall of de Gaulle

A new revolutionary awakening of the European proletariat, marked by the French general strike in May-June 1968, continued in 1969. Italy proved to be the most tempestuous, but there was continuing ferment in France and new working-class militancy in West Germany.

The general slowdown of the key imperialist economies since 1966 stimulated a broad offensive against the standard of living of the workers in Great Britain, France, Germany, and the United States (in the latter case, through the mechanism of spiraling inflation).

The development of a new youth vanguard, combined with the example

of the Vietnamese struggle in the colonial world and of the Czechoslovak bid for proletarian democracy in the bureaucratized workers states, provided the catalysts for the new working-class revival.

The first strikes of the year hit Italy on January 10, when tens of thousands of textile, metal, and transport workers downed tools. Rank-and-file committees in the unions were already taking the strikes further than the Communist and Socialist union bureaucracies wanted.

On February 5 the whole country was paralyzed by a one-day general strike for increased pensions. Union

leaders estimated that 16,000,000 workers took part in the action.

French workers followed suit March 11 after the government and employers refused to discuss new wage increases at the "rendezvous of March," which had been scheduled after the May-June 1968 events to review the agreement that brought that upheaval to a close. The Stalinist union officials had succeeded in diverting the revolutionary mobilization of 1968 into a purely economic settlement. But the employers simply raised their prices, and by March the workers' gains from the strikes were virtually wiped out by inflation.

Some 200,000 workers and students demonstrated in Paris during the March 11 strike. Throughout the country plants were shut down by the work stoppage.

On April 28 de Gaulle stepped down after the defeat of a referendum on constitutional changes that he had chosen to turn into a vote of confidence. Essentially the general was a casualty of the May-June events. He succeeded in 1968, with the aid of the Communist party, in staving off a social revolution. But he did it by raising expectations among the masses that the French bourgeoisie had no intention of fulfilling.

Voters who had momentarily turned to de Gaulle in the anticlimatic elections that followed the June 1968 strikes turned away again in 1969. In addition, the bourgeoisie saw an opportunity to rid itself of an unpopular symbol who was also an arbitrary and unpredictable ruler. The working-class and the bourgeois suburbs of Paris both voted "no" on de Gaulle's referendum.

The departure of de Gaulle was an indication of the bankruptcy of the so-called strong state, of which he had been the principal architect. As an instrument to regulate wages and prices — to the disadvantage of the working class — the strong state had really been defeated in the May-June days. It remains questionable whether such an authoritarian structure can function under a figure like Pompidou.

The most significant feature of the June elections, in fact, was not the shadow contest between the conservative nonentity Poher and the old Gaullist Pompidou, but the campaign

of Alain Krivine which helped to consolidate the new youth vanguard.

Krivine, the candidate of the newly formed Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International, won some 239,000 votes, 1.06 percent of the total cast. Con-

sidered as a conscious vote for a candidate to the left of the Communist party, this showed that a sizable revolutionary vanguard had come out of the May-June events and was preparing for the next stage of the struggle.

The World Congress of the Fourth International

The founding of the Communist League was an important step forward for the French Trotskyists, on the road to the creation of a mass revolutionary party. The Communist League was hailed by the World Congress of the Fourth International held in April, which recognized the League as its official French section.

The congress was itself an important event for revolutionary Marxists. It showed the solidity achieved by the world Trotskyist movement since a ten-year split in its ranks was healed in 1963. It was the third world congress since the reunification, and registered important political and organizational advances for the movement, including the creation of a new and larger French section (the former French affiliate, the Parti Communiste

Internationaliste, was banned by de Gaulle in June 1968), and the recognition of a section in Great Britain, the International Marxist Group.

The congress was also the ninth since the founding of the International by Leon Trotsky in 1938 and showed the continuity of the program and tradition of Leninism and of the Russian October revolution. Despite difficulties, including repression in many parts of the world, delegates attended from some thirty countries. In compiling our index for the year, we have noted the interest our readers have shown in the discussions that took place at the congress evidenced by the unusual demand for our July 14 issue containing the text of the major documents and reports presented there on many aspects of world revolutionary developments.

Revolt in Northern Ireland

Northern Ireland erupted in August after a half century of dormancy.

The crisis began in late 1968. Young Northern Irish socialists and radicals, inspired by the massive October 1968 antiwar demonstrations in London and by the French events in May, spearheaded marches and demonstrations protesting political and economic discrimination against the Catholic, nationalist minority of nearly 40 percent in the British-ruled enclave.

These militant united-front actions aroused the hopes and the latent combativity of the oppressed and terrorized Catholic population. When pro-British fanatics, inspired by the Reverend Ian Paisley, made repeated brutal attacks on the civil-rights marchers, the Catholic ghettos exploded.

Barricades went up in February around the Bogside ghetto in Derry City. A community defense force ruled the area for ten days.

When a pro-British mob led by police attempted to storm Bogside August 13, heavy fighting broke out all over Northern Ireland. The Catholic minority barricaded its ghettos and refused to allow the police or British troops to enter for nearly two months.

The Lynch regime in the South was not overly enthusiastic at the resurgence of mass struggle by the nationalist population in Northern Ireland. The dynamics of the upsurge threatened to detonate a wave of revolutionary nationalism south of the border as well, which could sweep away the capitulationist bourgeois regime in Eire.

The August outbreak showed that the religious caste system in the North had become dangerously unstable. It was, after all, an artificial creation in the first place, established by the British conquest and the planting in Ireland of a relatively privileged Prot-

estant community tied to British imperialist rule.

Troubled with labor unrest at home and a tenuous balance of payments abroad, it seems unlikely that the British bourgeoisie can grant meaningful economic concessions to the Catholic workers. Without improvements in housing and employment, reforms in voting rights will only whet the appetite of the oppressed minority for a real change in their conditions of existence. The ruling Unionists and their fanatical vigilantes know this and will fight desperately to preserve their privileges.

If an effective Irish revolutionary movement can be built, the outlook is for the development of a powerful struggle throughout the island that should pass very rapidly from democratic demands to socialist demands.

Fall Strike Wave in Europe

The scattered strike battles of the spring proved to be a prelude to the largest strike wave in postwar Europe, a series of actions extending to Italy, France, West Germany, and even Great Britain. While the events in each country were shaped by national conditions, the scope and simultaneity of the strike actions left no doubt that a general radicalization was in process. The European proletariat is recovering the self-confidence it lost in the terrible defeats preceding the second world war.

The first major wildcat strikes in a generation broke out among West German coal and steelworkers in early September, and rapidly spread to public service employees. The Social Democratic union bureaucrats were largely bypassed.

In Great Britain in October, wildcat strikes by refuse collectors (dustmen) affected virtually all of London. Other public service employees joined in, including road sweepers, welfare-service drivers, park keepers, and even gravediggers. On December 1, some 4,500 teachers walked out of primary and secondary schools in support of their demands for wage increases.

France and Italy have seen almost continuous labor turmoil since September. From metro and railway strikes in September to gas and electricity strikes in November, French

workers kept up the pressure on the Pompidou regime.

On November 19 an estimated 10,000,000 Italian workers staged a twenty-four hour general strike that paralyzed the country. Millions of strikers participated in protest meetings in public squares to demand construction of decent, low-rent housing for hundreds of thousands of workers who have come to northern industrial centers from the impoverished south of Italy. It was the third general strike this year (only the fourth since World War II).

In many of the strikes, especially in Italy and France, the workers' demands have gone beyond simple wage increases. Transitional demands such as the right to examine the company books and workers control have become common. Factory occupations are more and more employed as a tactic of the strikers.

The spontaneous character of the strikes in Germany and Great Britain, and at least some of the strikes in France and Italy, indicates a growing distrust of the union bureaucracies by rank-and-file workers. Under pressure from the ranks, the Social Democratic and Stalinist bureaucracies have been forced to move to the left to keep from losing their influence.

But more significant than the maneuvers of the ossified union tops has been the formation in many strikes of rank-and-file committees. This happened in FIAT and several other large Italian factories, and even in the Kloeckner ironworks in Bremen during the September strikes in West Germany.

Japan: Dress Rehearsal for 1970

The struggle for the return of Okinawa, for abrogation of the Japan-U. S. Security Treaty, and an end to the Sato government's complicity in the war in Vietnam reached a new high this year. But the real fight still lies ahead, when the security treaty comes up for renewal in 1970.

More than 160,000 persons demonstrated throughout Japan April 28 for the three demands of the Japanese antiwar movement, while in Okinawa another 170,000 took part in marches and rallies. Sharp clashes

between students and police left 106 injured and nearly 1,000 under arrest. The government invoked its new Anti-Subversive Activities Law against student leaders, intensifying the witch-hunt begun in 1968.

On October 21 more than 1,000,000 people staged rallies in at least 700 places throughout the country, adding to their demands, opposition to Premier Sato's scheduled visit to the United States. The demonstrations were the largest since 1960.

Massive strikes involving more than 4,000,000 workers were held November 12 under the sponsorship of Japan's two largest union federations.

The workers were protesting Sato's November 17 departure for dis-

The United States

Richard Nixon was inaugurated on January 20. An associate of Joseph McCarthy during the witch-hunt of the early fifties; a factotum of the Eisenhower era; the loser in the 1960 presidential election and the 1962 gubernatorial race in California, Nixon was a right-wing political has-been. He was able to stage a comeback because of the widespread popular opposition to Johnson and his war in Vietnam.

Nixon defeated Hubert Humphrey by a narrow margin because of Humphrey's close identification with Lyndon Johnson. In his 1968 election campaign, Nixon claimed to have a "secret plan" to end the war. On November 3, a year later, he finally admitted that his secret plan was to remain in Vietnam until the popular revolution there had been crushed and the Thieu-Ky dictatorship firmly placed on the backs of the Vietnamese people. This was to be accomplished, he said, through the process of "Vietnamization," which meant that U. S. troops would remain in Vietnam until Thieu's conscript army could stand alone. Nixon set no time limit for this.

When Nixon took office the antiwar movement was at a low ebb. Sections of the coalition that mounted earlier national antiwar demonstrations had deserted to support capitalist "peace" candidates during the 1968 elections, with the result that there were no major fall demonstrations in 1968. John-

cussions with Nixon on the future of Okinawa. The fears of the antiwar movement that Sato and Nixon would conclude a sellout agreement were well founded. Sato promised in his November 21 joint communiqué with Nixon that no restrictions would be placed on U. S. bombing raids against Vietnam when Okinawa was formally returned to Japan in 1972. The status of nuclear weapons in the Ryukyus after reversion remained vague.

Sato has called an election for December 27, hoping to win some credit for securing Nixon's pledge to return Okinawa—despite the strings attached. But it is the 1970 negotiations on the security treaty that promises to be Sato's biggest headache.

son's election-eve announcement of a halt in the bombing of North Vietnam raised illusions that Washington was preparing to extricate itself from Vietnam.

Many people were prepared to give Nixon some time to produce on his campaign promises to end the war. Nixon did his best to extend this by cajolery, vague promises, and small concessions such as token withdrawals of troops and draft "reforms." Eventually his game became clear and today he is as much despised by broad sectors both at home and abroad as was Johnson when he was finally forced to abdicate.

The first sign of a revival of the antiwar movement came in the April 5 and 6 demonstrations in cities throughout the United States. A march through midtown Manhattan drew more than 100,000 persons. Many active-duty GIs took part in the demonstrations.

The antiwar sentiment deepened in the fall, when Nixon's stalling became apparent to millions. The October 15 antiwar Moratorium shut down businesses and schools across the country.

Nixon sought to head off the movement by red-baiting its leadership and condemning its aims. Spiro Agnew, acting as Nixon's mouthpiece, denounced the "impudent snobs" who opposed the war, while lesser lights raised the specter of "Trotskyism" in the leadership of the New Mobi-

lization Committee, the sponsor of the November 15 march on Washington and San Francisco.

These outrageous attacks only deepened the popular anger and the November 15 actions proved to be the largest political demonstration for any cause in the history of the country.

On other fronts, the Nixon administration stepped up repression against the black community. The Black Panther party was the special target for police assaults — twenty-eight of its members have been killed to date by police bullets.

The party's principal leader, Bobby G. Seale, was the victim of a blatant frame-up trial in Chicago this fall. As one of the eight radical figures accused of "conspiring" to incite a riot at the 1968 Democratic party con-

vention in that city, Seale was denied his constitutional right to be represented by an attorney of his choice or to defend himself.

The world will not soon forget the picture of the black leader chained and gagged in court at the order of Judge Julius J. Hoffman, nor Hoffman's unprecedented sentencing of Seale to four years in prison for "contempt of court."

An important shift in the relationship of forces among the organizations on the left took place in the U. S. in 1969. This was marked by the breakup of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)—previously the largest radical organization—after its June convention. Although the initial split in SDS occurred between the pro-Maoist Progressive Labor party and the "New Left" factions of the SDS leadership, none of the factions proved capable of relating to the new anti-

war upsurge and all went into sharp decline.

By late fall it was clear that the strongest organization among the radicalized youth was now the Young Socialist Alliance, the American Trotskyist youth group. The YSA won this position through its work in building the antiwar movement.

Nixon has decided to play it tough, to hold out for a Korea-like settlement in Vietnam. Can Nixon succeed where Johnson failed? This remains to be seen; but the odds are against him. The new upsurge of the antiwar movement in the U. S., the worldwide outrage at the Songmy massacre, the working-class radicalization in Europe, and the struggles in Japan against the U. S. security treaty are all working together against Nixon. They promise to make 1970 a stormy year for the president and the imperialism he represents.

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