

# Intercontinental Press

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REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH. Delegates at Ninth National Convention of Young Socialist Alliance in Minneapolis, Minnesota, Dec. 27-31.

**Ernest Mandel:**

## **Bonn's Ascendancy in Common Market**

**Soviet Union:**

## **Opposition Journal Widely Circulated**

**Report from Japan:**

## **Meaning of Liberal-Democratic Victory**

## New DDT Link

DDT, the world's most widely used pesticide, is a man-made molecule, not found in nature. It is almost indestructible. After thirty years of massive use, it is found virtually everywhere on earth and in most living creatures.

Scientists have recently discovered a disturbing side effect of DDT. Irving S. Bengelsdorf, Ph. D., described the findings in the December 4 issue of the *Los Angeles Times*.

"Take some laboratory rats," he wrote, "and inject them with progesterone, one of the female sex hormones. The progesterone acts as an anesthetic and knocks out the rats. . . ."

"Now take some other rats and give them an injection of diphenyldichloroethane, the well-known insecticide known more commonly as DDT. Then follow this with an injection of progesterone. This time the progesterone does not act as an anesthetic. The rats remain active."

The same neutralizing effect was noted for a number of drugs in addition to hormones. It seems that when DDT passes through the liver, that organ is stimulated to produce enzymes to destroy the alien molecule.

"Since DDT is a molecule foreign to life," Bengelsdorf wrote, "it induces the liver to give rise to hydroxylating enzymes. But, once produced, these hydroxylating enzymes are indiscriminate in action. They also go after the 'good guys' and hydroxylate progesterone, warfarin and pentobarbital as well as trying to hydroxylate DDT. . . ."

"Does this destruction of female sex hormones, anti-blood clotting agents and hypnotics also take place in humans? We do not know. But we do know that all of us are contaminated with DDT."

A study by the Wellcome Research Laboratories in Tuckahoe, New York, has, in fact, shown that many humans have concentrations of DDT approaching those in the experimental rats.

It is possible, the study said, "that such individuals may have elevated levels of liver enzymes that attack and destroy drugs and sex hormones."

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## How the Press Viewed YSA Convention

By Les Evans

One indication of the growing influence of the Young Socialist Alliance, the American Trotskyist youth organization, was the coverage given by the daily press to its national convention in Minneapolis December 27-30. Newspapers ranging from the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* to the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* and the *Chicago Tribune* featured accounts of the proceedings. In Minneapolis itself the press carried daily reports of the convention decisions and interviews with the participants.

"Protests by veterans' groups and a charge that the United States had denied a visa to a British delegate enlivened the eve of the convention of the Young Socialist Alliance here today," *Washington Post* correspondent Austin C. Wehrwein reported from Minneapolis December 26.

"Larry Seigle, YSA chairman," Wehrwein said, "charged that the American Embassy in London had denied a visa to Peter Gowan. Seigle said that Gowan, a leader of the British counterpart of the Trotskyist-Marxist YSA, had sent a cable Thursday night saying 'visa denied.'

"Seigle blamed Attorney General John N. Mitchell, and added, 'It is kind of silly for the Attorney General to get worried about one or two Marxists when there will be 1,000 here.'"

The *New York Times* singled out the YSA's support for the antiwar movement as the most newsworthy feature of the gathering. A United Press International dispatch appeared in the December 29 issue of the influential Eastern daily, reporting that delegates "attending an international convention of the Young Socialist Alliance voted today [December 28] to support a new round of antiwar demonstrations planned for the spring of 1970. A secret vote by about 900 of the 1,000 delegates from the United States and nine foreign countries was said to be unanimous, but there was reportedly heated debate over protest tactics."

The *New York Post* contrasted the YSA convention to a gathering of the

"Weatherman" faction of Students for a Democratic Society held simultaneously in Flint, Michigan.\*

"Eight-hundred Young Socialist Alliance delegates, meeting in convention here, claimed they have pushed Students for a Democratic Society out of first place in the struggle for leftist leadership on the campuses," wrote *Post* correspondent William Woodward in the December 29 issue.

"'YSA has [more] active members than any of the SDS factions,' said Jon Rothschild, 19, a student organizer from New York."

"YSA," the *Post* reporter added, "although less publicized than SDS, claims to have doubled its membership during 1969 . . . and now says it is a major anti-war group among students.

"'One of the reasons for our growth is the demise of SDS,' said Frank Boehm, 19, a staff worker in YSA's national office in New York.

"SDS has disintegrated on many campuses and virtually whole SDS chapters have come to us,' he said."

The *Post* said 400 persons attended the nationwide Weatherman SDS meeting in Flint. The *Post* noted the involvement of the YSA in the struggle against the Vietnam war. It also reported the SDS discussions on this question:

"Mark Rudd, SDS national secretary, and Bernardine Dohrn, Saturday's keynote speaker, told their supporters in a North Flint ballroom that the Vietnam Moratorium and

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\* SDS, previously the largest radical youth organization in the United States, has undergone a series of splits since its convention last June. At that meeting a minority of the delegates, representing the "New Left" founders of the organization, undemocratically expelled the convention majority, composed of the pro-Maoist Progressive Labor party [PLP] and its supporters in the Worker Student Alliance. Both tendencies have declined rapidly since that time and the "New Left" group has split into two separate organizations, the Weatherman faction, which still uses the name SDS, and the Revolutionary Youth Movement.

other peace protests had accomplished nothing."

The press seemed puzzled by the fact that the YSA did not seem to fit the stereotypes of how revolutionists are supposed to look and act. "Larry Seigle," the *Minneapolis Tribune* said December 14, "looks the way the Establishment is supposed to look—conservatively dressed, conservatively maned."

The *Minneapolis Star* interviewed Nelson Blackstock, the YSA's national organizational secretary, on December 25. The reporter commented that there was "nothing garish" about Blackstock's clothes. His background, the interviewer said, was "poor, white, and Southern," which "might disqualify him for membership in the 'impudent snob' corps popularized by Vice President Spiro Agnew."

The solidarity between old and young revolutionists, evident at the December 27 rally during the convention honoring the leaders of the 1934 Teamsters' strikes, flew in the face of another favorite notion of the press, that youth do not trust anyone over thirty.

"Old militants met young militants at the University of Minnesota Saturday night," the December 28 *Minneapolis Tribune* reported, "and there was no generation gap.

"The old militants were leaders of the 1934 truck drivers strike in Minneapolis, and the young militants were delegates to the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) national convention.

"As honored guests on a stage at Coffman Memorial Union's ballroom, 10 of the strike leaders were given enthusiastic applause by about 1,000 delegates to the convention.

"One of the strike leaders, Farrell Dobbs, in a keynote address to the convention, gave the young Marxist revolutionaries some pointers in building their movement based on the strategies used in the 1934 strike.

"And Dobbs paid tribute to the under-30 YSA group for infusing new life to its associate group, the Social-

ist Workers Party, of which Dobbs is now national secretary. . . .

"Afterward, the young socialists gave Dobbs a standing ovation. Then the old militants and the young militants joined in singing 'The Internationale,' ending with fists raised." On the previous day the paper had recalled for its readers that the "Minneapolis Truckers' Strike of 1934 changed this from an open-shop city to a strong union town."

Two of the three national television networks, the National Broadcasting Company and the Columbia Broadcasting System, filmed Farrell Dobbs' speech in its entirety.

In addition to summarizing the resolutions passed by the convention—which, except for two sessions, was closed to the press—reporters interviewed YSA members and leaders extensively.

"By contrast with the long-haired, bitter, cynical rebels of the New Left," the December 30 *Minneapolis Tribune* wrote, "members of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) tend to be clean-cut, cool, confident and optimistic. . . .

"The way they look reflects their aim of winning support from all segments of American society.

"They reject arrogance and elitism—what one of them calls the 'liberal-intellectual milieu.' And they eschew the individualistic pleasure-seeking of the hippie and drug subcultures. . . .

"Ultimately, the YSA believes, there must be a worldwide socialist revolution. It sees a massive general strike as a prelude to the revolution, and now supports strikes such as the one against General Electric.

"It supports GIs opposed to the war, favors control of universities by students, urges revolt by high school students and endorses the cause of 'women's liberation.'"

Reporters were particularly interested in the YSA's participation in the new upsurge in the movement for women's rights. Several papers interviewed women leaders of the YSA. The December 29 *St. Paul Dispatch*, for example, carried an extensive interview with Angela Vinther.

"Angela Vinther says women are oppressed," staff writer Robert Protzman began. "And as a participant in the women's liberation movement of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, she and

thousands like her hope to do something about it. . . .

"What she and others in the liberation movement are against is the role they say they are forced by society to play. . . .

"A socialistic society in which women were totally equal to men would be the only way to liberate women and men and children, she says. 'The supportive role of women in our society also warps men, and even children.'

"So Angela's battle is with society, not men. And in that society the major target is the family. . . .

"She says women are tired of having as their major role the job of holding the family together, being made to feel that is their full-time job, that they must care for children 24 hours a day. . . .

"They are looked upon as sex objects, rather than human beings, she added, and their bodies are used to sell everything from cars to refrigerators. And they are expected to have sexual relations with their husbands at the husbands' beck and call."

Local television also gave coverage to interviews and discussions relating to the convention. On December 26 WTCN-TV taped a debate between YSA spokesman Lee Smith and Jack O. Kirkham, the mayor of Fridley, Minnesota. Kirkham had led an unsuccessful attempt to have the YSA barred from using University of Minnesota facilities for its convention.

The December 28 *Minneapolis Tribune* summarized the interchange:

"I don't think I should be forced to pay taxes to support communism," says Fridley Mayor Jack O. Kirkham, 47.

"I pay taxes to build roads for white supremacists," replies a 24-year-old Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) official debating Kirkham about the right of the Marxist-oriented group to hold its convention at the University of Minnesota. . . .

"Kirkham argued that 'since our nation is fighting communism, it's incongruous that we should be subjected to supporting it through the use of tax-supported facilities.'

"YSA has no quarrel with others not sharing their views, Smith said, but objects to efforts to block use of state facilities. This 'introduces witch-hunt hysteria and thought control,' he said.

"Smith argued that YSA is a legal organization, that it is paying for the university facilities, and that its rights are protected under the free-speech guarantee of the Constitution. . . .

"The 'university wouldn't even be there if [it] weren't for the present form government,' the mayor said. Use of the school grounds is actually use of tax money for 'pushing communism,' he said.

"When the United States does go socialist," Smith said, 'we will have universities galore and much better ones than exist under capitalism.'

"He said YSA seeks to 'create a massive majority' desiring socialism. The group seeks peaceful change of government, Smith added, but violence might be necessary if 'the establishment' does not allow a peaceful transition."

The December 31 *New York Post* reported the closing of the SDS and YSA conventions.

From Flint, the *Post* said the 400 SDSers were "disappointed as they end a five-day convention here that has been more an ideological bull session than the war council that was planned." To avoid "factionalism," the Weatherman leadership had decided that no concrete plans would be made and no policy statements adopted, with the result that the sessions "went no further than general agreement on the need for armed revolution some time in the future."

The mood, according to the *Post*, was summed up by one delegate who complained: "Abstractions, nothing but abstractions."

From Minneapolis, *Post* correspondent Bill Woodward wrote:

"Pledging 'to continue the revolution,' 800 Socialist students ended their convention here today. They left in a cloud of rhetoric, preaching the thoughts of Marx, Trotsky and Che Guevara, and arguing for a new democracy and an end to war."

The YSAers, the reporter said, "adopted a program of building their own campus chapters and organizing students for this spring's planned anti-war demonstrations."

#### British Majority Favor Vietnamese

A recent poll in Britain showed that six out of ten persons sympathize with the Vietnamese as against the Americans. Before the news about the Songmy massacre, the figure was five out of ten.

## YSA Convention Registers New Gains

By Dick Roberts

The Ninth National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance [YSA], held in Minneapolis, Minnesota, December 27-29, and attended by more than 800 persons, marked a new leap forward in the growth and development of the American Trotskyist youth movement. It ushered in the decade of the 1970s with the confidence that revolutionary socialism will become the dominant tendency of youth radicalism in the United States.

Enthusiasm over the successful recruiting of new cadres to the YSA program pervaded the reports and discussions on the convention floor. This corresponded on one side to the massive upsurge of the American antiwar movement and its student spearhead, the Student Mobilization Committee [SMC], in which the YSA plays the leading role.

On the other side it reflected the breakup of the Students for a Democratic Society [SDS] into warring factions and registered the disrepute of ultraleft, Maoist and Stalinist ideas within the American youth movement.

A black cadre of the YSA expressed this confidence in the revolutionary socialist program in his discussion of the resolution on Afro-American activities. He recalled that at the time of the last YSA convention, in November 1968, he had still placed great hope in the Black Panther party to provide leadership towards building a mass black party.

He now believed that the only way out of the impasse in black leadership in this country is recruitment to the YSA and Socialist Workers party [SWP]. Black Trotskyists will play a crucial role in building the mass black political party, he stated.

Black, Puerto Rican, Mexican-American, and other Third World comrades now constitute 10 percent of the YSA membership, a new high, it was reported to the convention.

In addition to YSA members and delegates and their invited guests from around the country attending the convention—they came from thirty states

and the District of Columbia—the convention was addressed by six members and cothinkers of the world Trotskyist movement.

They were: Peter Jensen of the Revolutionary Socialists in Denmark; John Percy of the International Marxist League in Australia; George Fyson of the Socialist Action League in ~~Australia~~ <sup>NEW ZEALAND</sup>; Catherine Versene of the Communist League in France; Joe Young of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes [Young Socialist League] in Canada; and Pierre Martin of the Revolutionary Marxist League in Switzerland. These comrades brought greetings from their organizations to the convention and took part in discussions of the reports and a panel on international socialist activity.

The convention was also greeted by three militants of the Palestine liberation struggle. They were: Abu Marwan of the Democratic Popular Front of Palestine Liberation; Ibn al-Mtn of the magazine, *Free Palestine*; Abu Walid of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. They received a standing ovation after calling for unity in the world revolutionary struggle against imperialism and Zionism, and for self-determination for Palestinian and other Arab peoples.

The spirit of internationalism was further expressed in telegrams of solidarity that were sent to victims of political repression: the Trotskyist peasant leader Hugo Blanco and his comrades long imprisoned in Peru; the comrades of the Bolivian Partido Obrero Revolucionario [POR—Revolutionary Workers party], tortured and imprisoned on charges of engaging in guerrilla activities; and the Black Panther party in the United States, whose members are being tracked and gunned down by the Nixon administration. Telegrams of solidarity were also sent to the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and to James P. Cannon, the founder of the American Trotskyist movement.

Minneapolis, the setting for the convention, has significance in the his-

tory of the American working-class struggle and of the Trotskyist party. It was in this city that one of the key battles in the industrial union movement took place, the 1934 Minneapolis general strike. This important labor fight was led by Trotskyists.

The holding of the convention in Minneapolis consequently symbolized the continuity of the revolutionary vanguard in this country, from its first growth and leading role in the working-class battles of the nineteen thirties down to its present-day leadership in the revolutionary youth movement and the struggle against the imperialist war in Vietnam.

That theme of the convention was marked by a speech by Farrell Dobbs, a leader of the 1934 strike and now national secretary of the Socialist Workers party, delivered to the convention on its first night, December 27. Sitting on the stage with Dobbs were eight other participants in the 1934 battle: Harry DeBoer, Max Geldman, Vincent Ray Dunne, Jake Cooper, Ray Rainbolt, Lew Miller, Marvel Scholl, and Orrie Norton. Comrades Dunne and Scholl were greeted with standing ovations for their outstanding roles in building the revolutionary party.

To many of the younger comrades, Farrell Dobbs's speech was a high point of the convention, and it also was evident that it made an impression on the members of the press who were present. (Reporters for the bourgeois press were excluded from all sessions of the convention except the speech by Farrell Dobbs and a report on an attack committed by a fascist organization, the "Legion of Justice," on the YSA local at Northern Illinois University.) The two major national TV networks, NBC and CBS, filmed the entire speech by Farrell Dobbs, and portions of it were shown on news programs throughout the country.

The convention heard reports on, discussed and passed four resolutions.



These were: "The Worldwide Youth Radicalization and the Tasks of the Fourth International," which was reported by Caroline Lund, a YSA national committee member; "The Deepening Radicalization: Revolutionary Perspectives for the 1970s," reported by Larry Seigle, YSA national chairman; "Strategy and Tactics in the Struggle for Black Self-Determination," reported by Tony Thomas, YSA national executive committee; and "The New Stage in the Antiwar Movement: A Strategy for Young Socialists," reported by Susan Lamont, YSA national executive committee.

A report on the organization of the YSA and publications plans was given by Nelson Blackstock, also a member of the national executive committee.

In addition to the reports and discussions, panels were held on: election campaign activity for 1970, to support a number of statewide Socialist Workers campaigns; the movement for women's liberation; antiwar activities and the Student Mobilization Committee; activities of fraternal organizations internationally; Third World struggles and recruitment activities; sales of *The Militant*; and work in high schools.

The central theme of Caroline Lund's report, and the resolution which was adopted,\* is the revolutionary character of the international youth movement and the need for a transitional program corresponding to its objectives.

The resolutions on the political situation, the black struggle and the antiwar movement reconfirmed the basic strategic lines the YSA has been following in the recent period. What each stressed was the fact that the United States is in a period of steadily increasing radicalization and that revolutionary work must be based on this perspective. Discussion consequently tended to emphasize concrete aspects of carrying out YSA activities rather than theoretical elaboration of the proposed documents—and taken in its totality, this discussion was extremely impressive.

Delegate after delegate—and there were 157 delegates representing 51 YSA locals—from one end of the country to the other, from junior high

school to graduate school, white, black, Puerto Rican, Mexican-American, outlined the widespread and many-layered aspects of YSA intervention in the mass struggle.

It was evident that the growth of the Student Mobilization Committee before the October 15 and November 15 antiwar demonstrations, set the stage for its rapid extension since then. A national SMC conference scheduled for February 13-15 in Cleveland, Ohio, is expected to show continuation of this trend.

There are now a number of YSA locals with functioning black fractions, a good percentage of the members being from high schools in working-class districts.

Important contributions in the discussion of Third World and antiwar activities centered on building Third World antiwar committees which could help to bring national-minority peoples into the struggle against the Vietnam war.

There was enthusiastic discussion of ways to link up the student and antiwar movement with the national strike of electrical workers against the mighty General Electric trust, now in its third month. YSA comrades emphasized the warm reception they had received from GE workers when they offered to help them in various strike actions. SMCs on campuses are participating in actions to force universities to participate in the boycott of GE products that has been called by the AFL-CIO.

Mexican-American comrades stressed recognition of the size and social weight of this second largest U.S. national minority. There are probably as many as 15,000,000 Mexican-Americans, largely centered in the West and Southwest, but also occupying many of their own ethnic communities in the bigger Northern industrial cities. The YSA in Austin, Texas, reported plans to run a Texan-born Chicano, Marianne Hernandez, in the 1970 statewide elections, for the office of U.S. senator.

Many YSA locals now have or are in process of building fractions for participating in the escalating struggle for women's liberation. The panel on women's liberation, one of the largest panels in the convention, showed that this will be a key area of revolutionary work in the immediate period.

Eight active-duty GIs, and many

"graduates" of antiwar struggles within the army, gave pointers for further participation in the battle to win constitutional rights for enlisted men. They reported that there are now at least *fifty* "underground" antiwar newspapers at military bases throughout the country. Allen Myers, a former GI who is now an SMC leader, is touring Southeast Asia to help build the international antiwar movement.

The extent of radicalization and the challenges it poses to the YSA was the subject of the organizational report by Nelson Blackstock, editor of the *Young Socialist* magazine.

"Mileage, itself, is a problem for us," Blackstock explained. In some of the large western states like Texas and California, there are colleges that are as many as 200 miles from the nearest YSA locals. But regional fieldwork has shown that practically every one of the colleges—and there are 7,000,000 university students—is a source for revolutionary recruitment.

In order to reach these radicalizing young people, YSA locals and the national office of the YSA have placed regional organizers continually in the field. They travel from campus to campus, spreading revolutionary socialist ideas and literature, recruiting to the YSA, and building new YSA locals. The period of "recruiting by ones and twos," which characterized the early history of the YSA, said Blackstock, is being replaced by a period of "recruiting locals."

In order to help meet this huge demand for socialist ideas and to build the YSA on a nationwide basis, Blackstock outlined two important steps in the area of publications.

Beginning this January, the YSA is going to publish a biweekly newspaper, the *YS Organizer*. This will carry regular reports on all the ongoing functions of the YSA: financial drives; recruitment and organization of locals; engagement in mass work—election campaigns, Third World fractions, the women's liberation struggle, antiwar activities, etc.; sales of literature; reports on opponent radical organizations. And consequently it will serve to better unify the national organization, integrating the activities of locals, "at large" members (that is, members where there are not yet locals), and the work of the national office in New York.

The second step in publications is

\* See *Intercontinental Press*, July 14, 1969, page 723.

collaboration with the Socialist Workers party in the publication of a new, monthly, large-circulation theoretical magazine of revolutionary socialism. "We want to compete in the vital ferment of intellectual work," stated Blackstock.

One session of the convention symbolized the fighting spirit of the YSA and its seriousness in carrying out its tasks. This was the report, also open to the national press, on an attack mounted by a fascist organization, the Legion of Justice, against members of the YSA local at Northern Illinois University, in DeKalb, Illinois.

On December 6, thugs of this group broke into an apartment, gassed and attempted to beat up, six members of the DeKalb YSA.

The Legion is a tiny group, probably numbering no more than twenty members. But it happens to have the tacit support of the Chicago police department.

The YSA responded to the attack in a way that set an example to all victims of right-wing and police repression.

Within *twenty minutes* of returning from the hospital after the late-night attack, the young comrades in DeKalb began mobilizing the support of the entire university and local community against the Legion attackers. Laura Miller, organizer of the DeKalb local, reported the formation of a defense committee, including representatives of such diverse groups as the Young Americans for Freedom, Young Republicans, Arab Club, Students for Israel, and more than 100 prominent faculty members.

The fascists "made a mistake in touching one hair on the head of one of our comrades," Lee Smith, a YSA national executive committee member, said. He reported that a right-wing lawyer, Thomas Sutton, an apparent spokesman of the Legion, had described Laura Miller as "a tool of intellectual prostitutes and moral whores."

"Laura is a Bolshevik leader," Smith said. "We have a movement of leaders, not stooges and tools."

That remark, which was greeted by loud applause, signified the spirit of the ninth national YSA convention. It opened the decade of the seventies with a crystal-clear message: In this mass radicalization of American youth, revolutionary socialism will be the dominant voice.

January 12, 1970

## Greece

# Aegina Prisoners Ask About Panaghoulis

[The thirty-one-year-old Greek revolutionist Alexandros Panaghoulis was arrested August 13, 1968, within minutes after his attempt to blow up the car of the military dictator George Papadopoulos on the Athens-Sounion coastal highway.

[On November 15, 1968, Panaghoulis was sentenced to death by a special tribunal in Athens for deserting from the army during a state of siege and attempting to overthrow the government. He was given fifteen years for trying to assassinate Papadopoulos and three years for illegal use of explosives.

[A worldwide campaign to save Panaghoulis' life forced the colonels to grant a stay of execution, but the sentence was never revoked. Suspicions multiplied that the dictators were taking their revenge on Panaghoulis quietly. In May 1969, Stathis Panaghoulis told the international press that his brother Alexandros was being kept handcuffed nearly all the time in a damp cell and was on the "brink of death."

[On June 6, 1969, a military guard helped Panaghoulis escape. Recaptured three days later, the imprisoned revolutionist was shown to the press once, and then vanished from sight.

[In view of the regime's previous treatment of Panaghoulis, the long silence about his whereabouts and condition has worried the other political prisoners in Greece. The following appeal by a group of prisoners in the Aegina prisons to the International Red Cross, humanitarian, and civil-rights organizations, as well as world public opinion, was written in October 1969. Signers included Spyridon Plaskovitis, the chairman of the writers association, and a number of imprisoned jurists.

[Because of the repression in Greece, it has taken a long time for this appeal to make its way out of the country, but it remains timely because there has still been no word about Panaghoulis' fate.]

\* \* \*

Five months have elapsed, approximately, since the second arrest of Alex-

andros Panaghoulis. All the information attests that no one knows anything about his life or the kind of treatment he is getting from the dictatorship.

The regime refuses continually and consistently to make known even to his nearest relatives, even to his mother, anything regarding him or to allow any communication with him.

For this reason the undersigned political prisoners in the Aegina prisons denounce the behavior of the dictatorship and appeal to the International Red Cross, international organizations, organizations for human rights, and international public opinion:

1. To exercise their influence so as to prevent any peril to his life and health, and to insist that he be allowed, as the law provides, to communicate with his relatives; and

2. To intervene also and express an active interest in the lives and treatment of other political prisoners, who are being held in police stations, concentration camps, and prisons, and especially those who have suffered torture recently or whose condition and manner of treatment by the military regime is unknown.

October 1969.

### Agnew's Anti-Semitism Unintentional?

Vice President Agnew's attacks on newspaper writers and television commentators who "live and work in the geographical and intellectual confines of Washington, D.C., or New York City" have won wide praise from anti-Semites.

Agnew claims that he did not intend to elicit this support. But columnists Frank Mankiewicz and Tom Braden point out in the December 30 *Washington Post* that the "theme that America's press and television is controlled and dominated by a small group of Jews in New York and Washington is dominant among the anti-Semitic lunatic fringe and has been so, at least since the days preceding World War II."

Gerald L. K. Smith, the notorious anti-Semite, in his November 21 bulletin described Agnew's attack on the communications media as "a courageous address."

Mankiewicz and Braden add that "one of the major Jewish organizations reports that professional anti-Semites are using Agnew's speeches to justify their hate campaigns and urging their followers to support him."

# The Liberal-Democratic Victory

By Wataru Yakushiji

## Osaka

The ruling Liberal-Democratic party registered an unprecedented victory in the general elections for the 486-member lower house of parliament December 27, winning 288 seats.

The relative standing of the parties is shown by the following figures:

	1967	1969
Liberal-Democratic	277	288
Socialist	140	90
Komeito	25	47
Democratic-Socialist	30	31
Communist	5	14
Independent	9	16

Of the 16 independents, it is expected that 14 will form a bloc with the Liberal-Democrats, giving them a working majority of some 300 seats.

The size of the victory is largely ascribable to the imbalance between the urban and rural constituencies, since the vote for the Liberal-Democrats dropped 1.2% (about 560,000 votes) as compared to 1967. In Osaka, for example, a Communist party candidate who won more than 120,000 votes failed to gain a seat, while in Chiba, a Komeito candidate picked up a seat with a little more than 30,000 votes.

The percentage decrease was not just a reflection of the smaller number of candidates run by the Liberal-Democrats. It was a consequence of the erosion the party has suffered in the past ten years among its petty-bourgeois supporters, including the peas-

antry. In the six constituencies of Osaka, where the ruling party put up as many candidates as in the last election, the percentage of votes dropped from 28.5% to 26.2%.

In big cities like Tokyo, Yokohama, Nagoya, and Osaka, where less than 10% of the working population is engaged in agriculture, fishing, or mining, the Liberal-Democrats got 39.0% of the votes; the Socialist party, 19.3%; Komeito, 17.4%; the Democratic-Socialists (a group that split to the right from the SP in 1960), 12.7%; and the Communist party, 11.6%. These figures contrast with the percentages in rural areas. In part of Chiba, for instance, where more than 40% of the working population is engaged in agriculture, fishing, or mining, the Liberal-Democrats got 63.0%; the Socialist party, 22.4%; Komeito, 7.5%; the Democratic-Socialists, 2.2%; and the Communist party, 4.5%.

The working population, affected by the war in Vietnam, the agitation over the "security" treaty with the U. S., the militant campus struggles, continued inflation and similar problems, were inclined to discount the regime's campaign propaganda.

The Socialist party suffered a sharp decline in percentage of votes. Its loss in popularity began three years ago, deepened in the elections last July 13 for the Tokyo prefectural assembly, and now appears to be irreversible.

The bureaucracy of the Socialist party formerly wielded influence through the trade-union structure of Sohyo

[General Council of Japanese Trade Unions]. But the union brass now have little contact with rank-and-file workers.

Chairman Narita held that the party should boldly turn toward the militant youth movement. However, no serious discussion was held on this, and the Sohyo bureaucrats persuaded the SP to exclude militant students and "hansen" [antiwar] workers. During the election campaign, the SP did not even defend the wildcat struggle of the Tokyo railway workers, who protested a train crash caused by lack of safety equipment at railway crossings.

Thus the vote shifted away from the SP to Komeito and the Communist party.

Komeito is a Buddhist sect that entered the political arena in the elections for the upper house of parliament in 1956. It ran candidates for the lower house for the first time in 1967.

Both Komeito and the Communist party appeal to the petty bourgeoisie in parliamentary politics. They are displacing the SP. Komeito ran ahead of the CP, thanks to intensive campaigning and the fact that the CP followed a proregime policy in relation to student struggles.

Abstentions were very high in the elections, registering widespread disillusionment with parliamentary politics. In Tokyo, abstentions ran as high as 43.65% as compared with 35.77% in 1967. In Osaka, abstentions were 41.71% as compared with 31.61% in 1967.

While the Liberal-Democrats have scored a remarkable success, it is dubious that they can maintain their position in the long run.

As for the SP and Sohyo bureaucrats, they can be expected to drift still further to the right.

The more militant workers, on the other hand, will certainly turn toward the left in search of genuinely revolutionary leadership.

## Electoral Pattern

	May 1958	Nov. 1960	Nov. 1963	Jan. 1967	Dec. 1969
Liberal-Democratic	57.8%	57.6%	54.7%	48.8%	47.6%
Socialist	32.9%	27.5%	29.0%	27.9%	21.5%
Komeito				5.4%	10.9%
Democratic-Socialist		8.8%	7.4%	7.4%	7.7%
Communist	2.6%	2.9%	4.0%	4.8%	6.8%
Independent, etc.	0.7%	3.2%	4.9%	5.7%	5.5%
Abstentions	23.01%	26.49%	28.86%	26.01%	31.49%
Total Vote (in millions)	3.97	3.95	4.10	4.59	4.69

## End of Gas Buggy?

According to the Opinion Research Corporation of Princeton, New Jersey, a recent random sampling showed that 62 percent of the American public are in favor of legislation to outlaw the internal combustion engine in 1975 so as to compel automobile makers to develop a power source that will not pollute the atmosphere.



## Demands Mount to Free Régis Debray

General Alfredo Ovando Candia, the dictator of Bolivia, turned down a recent series of appeals by well-known European and American intellectuals and political figures on behalf of the imprisoned French radical intellectual Régis Debray. Ovando likewise ruled out a Christmas amnesty to the scores of Bolivian political prisoners.

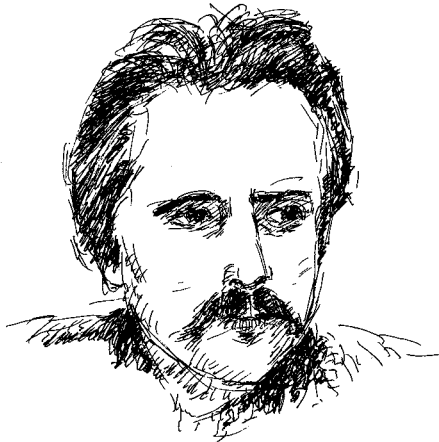
Debray, along with the Argentine painter Ciro Roberto Bustos, was sentenced to thirty years' imprisonment by a military court in 1967 for allegedly participating in the guerrilla uprising led by Che Guevara. In fact, Debray had visited Guevara as a journalist to interview him for the world press, and never took part in the fighting.

Ovando, according to a report in the December 25 *Washington Post*, refused the amnesty on the grounds that there are no political prisoners in Bolivia.

The *Post* said that about twenty Bolivians are presently in prison for alleged participation in the guerrilla movement. The paper did not indicate whether this number included those members of the ELN [Ejército de Liberación Nacional — National Liberation Army—the guerrilla army founded by Che Guevara] and the POR [Partido Obrero Revolucionario—Revolutionary Workers party — the Bolivian section of the Fourth International] arrested last July.

Debray's attorney challenged Ovando's statement. A dispatch from Buenos Aires in the December 27 *London Times* said: "Dr. Jamie Mendizabal . . . today [December 26] accused President Ovando of deceiving the Bolivian people by rejecting amnesty appeals on the ground there were no political prisoners in Bolivia to pardon. Dr. Mendizabal, of Argentina, who took part in the 1967 proceedings before a special military tribunal in Camiri, commented in La Paz that his client could hardly be called a common criminal as the Government now claims."

Since Ovando seized power September 26, he has been subjected to mounting demands to release Debray. On November 3, three internationally



REGIS DEBRAY

known authors, the Gaullist André Malraux, the Catholic François Mauriac, and the existentialist Jean-Paul Sartre, sent a joint letter asking Ovando to grant amnesty to the young Frenchman.

More than fifty intellectuals signed a telegram to Ovando on Debray's behalf early in December. The December 13 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* said the signers included such figures as Samuel Beckett, Luis Bunuel, Aimé Césaire, Charles Chaplin, René Clair, Alba de Cespedes, Graham Greene, Alfred Kastler, Herbert Marcuse, Alberto Moravia, Pablo Picasso, Jean Rostand, and Igor Stravinsky.

Some 750 eminent personalities signed a letter to Ovando asking for "a gesture of clemency" for Debray. The December 17 *Le Monde* quoted from the text and gave some of the names.

"Encouraged by the liberalization measures already taken by your government," the signers wrote, "as well as by your declarations, and setting aside all political considerations, we want to draw your attention to the case of M. Régis Debray." The signers declared themselves "profoundly upset by the state of health of the young prisoner and by the isolation in which he is kept."

Five Nobel Prize winners were among the endorsers of the letter: René Cassin, Alfred Kastler, André Lwoff, Bertrand Russell, and Philip Noel Baker. Other signers included

Cardinal Daniélou, Chief Rabbi Jacob Kaplan, Miro, Picasso, René Char, Laurence Durrell, Graham Greene, Maurice Escande, René Capitant, François Mitterrand, Francis Perrin (director of the French atomic energy commission), and Jean Rostand.

Circulated as a petition, the letter was signed by more than 2,000 persons, including Sir Laurence Olivier, Stephen Spender, Norman Mailer, and Dr. Jonas Salk.

In response, Ovando hinted about a Christmas amnesty that would include Debray. His decision to the contrary caused some surprise in Bolivia. The December 26 *Le Monde* reported:

"Everyone was wondering in La Paz what the reasons were for this last-minute shift. According to informed circles, the text of the amnesty decree was ready to be signed, which explains why as late as Tuesday [December 23], a day after the head of state intimated that the amnesty would be proclaimed, the minister of information, Alberto Bailey, was quoted by the newspaper *Presencia* as having announced that the measure would be approved that night by the council of ministers.

"Certain observers feel that the government gave up the project so as not to risk a clash with a section of the army."

The government sought to placate those who had appealed for Debray. On December 28 Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz, the minister of mines and petroleum, said in a public statement that Debray would eventually be freed, but he refused to say when.

Debray himself was interviewed by French television for the first time since his imprisonment. The interview was broadcast January 1.

"We must work for the prisoners in Brazil," Debray said. "There has been a remarkable movement of solidarity for me from the students and the workers, but I think it is rather of the tortured comrades in Brazil that one should think."

### Oldest Human Tool

A French team of palaeontologists, working under Professor Camille Arambourg, who died on November 19, recently reported finding the oldest human tool yet discovered. It is a small chunk of quartz unearthed at Oldoway in Tanzania.

Estimated to be 2,200,000 years old, it is a "pebble tool," chipped on both sides and having a curved cutting edge.

## Students on Hunger Strike

Four months after seizing power, the so-called progressive military junta in Peru moved to eliminate academic freedom and student self-government from the universities.

With its Decree Law 17437, issued in February 1969, the junta sought to pattern the Peruvian universities on the American model, giving absolute power to the administrators, and liquidating the right to a free education that had been won in bitter struggles in the past.

The junta's reorganization of higher education ran into intense resistance from the start. Despite repeated police invasions of the campuses, many universities have been unable to function since the law was proclaimed.

The student struggles against the "corporate university" rose to a peak as the time came for the installation of the new academic governing bodies on November 12.

As a sop to the defenders of democratic rights, Decree Law 17437 provided for "university assemblies," representing all sections of the campus community. The assemblies were designated in a formal way as the highest authority.

When the rector of the Universidad Nacional de Ingenieria [UNI], Santiago Agurto Calvo, found himself confronted with strong student opposition on the day the "university assembly" was to be inaugurated, he ordered the food that had been prepared for meals thrown out, closed the student cafeteria, locked the dormitories, cut out medical, library, and thesis guidance services, and closed the university.

The students reacted by occupying the university and restoring cafeteria, water, and electrical service. Since then the students have operated the university by themselves, doing the cooking, cleaning, and maintenance work. They have received help from students in other universities and food from the market and dock workers.

On December 11, ten students at the UNI began a hunger strike, demanding that Agurto Calvo resign. The protesting students were seized by the police and dragged from one

prison to another until they were finally held in the Dos de Mayo Hospital to await trial.

They are still continuing their strike, although many of them are showing signs of serious physical weakening—incipient ulcers, pharyngitis, and dehydration.

Many more students have been arrested, including the president of the Peruvian student federation.

On December 15, ten more students joined the hunger strike, occupying the Liberal Arts Center at the University of San Marcos, the country's top school. On December 23 there was a general strike of the nine universities in Lima. On December 26 a one-day strike in solidarity with the hunger strikers was held at the University of Cuzco. The number participating in the hunger strike is reported to be growing steadily.

Although the students have won wide support from trade unions and prominent personalities, including Julio Ramón Ribeyro, Alejandro Romualdo, Guillermo Thorndike, and Antonio Cisneros, the government has shown no

sign so far of retreating from its brutal repressive attitude toward the students.

Fears have been voiced widely in the Peruvian press for the health and lives of the strikers. The participants in the strike have threatened to refuse all liquids as well as food if their demands are not met.

The Comité de Defensa de los Derechos Humanos [Committee to Defend Human Rights] in Lima issued an appeal to world public opinion December 26 to come to the aid of the striking students.

This appeal ended as follows: "We call on you to send telegrams or letters supporting our demands and opposing Decree Law 17437. Send a copy to the UNI authorities and one to us. We also ask that you inform the student federations in your countries of this matter because we lack material resources."

This appeal was signed by Rosa Alarco, on behalf of the Comité de Defensa de los Derechos Humanos, and Jorge Zumaran for the engineering students' federation.

Protests should be sent to Rector Agurto Calvo, Universidad Nacional de Ingenieria, Lima, Peru.

Copies of the protests should be sent to the Comité de Defensa de los Derechos Humanos, Apartado 10149, Lima, Peru.

## Trained for Murder in Vietnam

Francis T. Reitemeyer and Michael J. Cohn, both former lieutenants in the United States army, have issued a statement to U. S. senators, testifying that they received training for organizing the murder of Vietnamese civilians deemed sympathetic to the National Liberation Front.

The two former officers say that while at Ft. Holabird, Maryland, in 1968, they were instructed on the hiring of mercenaries to kill "male or female civilians of any age."

According to a report in the December 12 *Los Angeles Times*, "The statement attributed to the officers claimed also they were told that frequent 'resort to the most extreme forms of torture was necessary.'

"They said they were assigned to the 'Phoenix Program' which, they were informed, sought to accomplish

through capture, intimidation, elimination and assassination what the United States, up to this time, was unable to accomplish through the conventional use of military power, i.e., to win the war."

Reitemeyer and Cohn, who were granted discharges from the army as conscientious objectors, testified that the officers in their combat intelligence school were instructed that they might each "be required to maintain a kill quota" of fifty civilians a month.

William H. Zinman, the attorney for the two lieutenants, told the *Times* that copies of his clients' testimony were being delivered to Senators J. W. Fulbright, Edmund S. Muskie, Edward M. Kennedy, John Stennis, and Charles McC. Mathias. To date none of these "doves" have commented on the allegations.

## Dissident Underground Journal Widely Circulated

"For the past 14 months the Chronicle of Current Events has been secretly published bimonthly in the Soviet Union," according to a report by Paul Wohl in the December 24 issue of the Boston *Christian Science Monitor*. His account is the most detailed report in English on the appearance of a regular oppositional press in the USSR.

"The Chronicle's ninth issue of Aug. 31, 1969, has more than 10,000 words and is distributed in typewritten form," Wohl said. "Some copies are duplicated or photostated; others are printed."

The *Monitor* reproduced a photostatic copy of the first page of the *Chronicle's* third issue, which was set in type.

A number of the documents that have appeared in the *Chronicle* have become available in the West, either in the original Russian or in translation, but Wohl was able to supply some important information on its circulation inside the Soviet Union:

"This sub rosa publication originally was dedicated to the 'Human Rights Year in the U. S. S. R.' (1968) It dealt with almost a thousand cases of infringement of civil rights concerning individuals and ethnic groups.

"Since it appears at regular intervals, it must be gaining new supporters and distributors. Written in a non-polemical, coldly factual style, the *Chronicle* is primarily a documentary record, nearer to journalism than literary magazine. . . .

"The scope of its news coverage shows that the magazine has contributors all over the Soviet Union and that its editors receive the many underground publications, unpublished open letters, and manifestos of other groups."

This news is especially significant inasmuch as the Western press has for some time given the impression that the movement of opposition to the Soviet bureaucracy is limited to a tiny, isolated, and steadily shrinking group of dissidents in Moscow and one or two of the small oppressed

nationalities such as the Crimean Tatars.

Wohl quotes from the *Chronicle's* own description of its purpose and organizational structure.

"The *Chronicle* says of itself that 'it is not an illegal publication, [but] the conditions of its work are hampered by the peculiar concepts of legality . . . developed over many years by certain Soviet agencies. Therefore the *Chronicle* cannot, unlike any other newspaper, give its postal address on the last page.

"'Everyone interested in seeing that the Soviet public is informed of events in the country can easily transmit information available to him to the *Chronicle*. Give this information to the person from whom you receive your copy, and he will pass it on to his supplier, etc. Only do not try personally to reach the top of the chain in order that you shall not be thought to be an informer.'"

Soviet law does not explicitly prohibit the publication of a private newsletter, but the ubiquitous law against "slandering" the Soviet system has been frequently used to silence any opposition.

The *Chronicle* has frequently published demands by Soviet citizens that such police-state laws be abolished. In its fifth issue, for example, dated December 31, 1968, the underground journal summarized a letter from a group of Estonian natural scientists and technicians who criticized the proposals by Andrei Sakharov, the Soviet nuclear scientist, who favors deepening peaceful coexistence with Western capitalism. The Estonian scientists, according to Wohl, counterposed the demand for "a thorough democratization of Soviet society." He paraphrased their program as follows:

"Minorities were to be given the right to form an opposition; the administration was to be publicly controlled; the Supreme Soviet was to become a free forum of discussion; there should be several parties; an amnesty for all dissenters; the non-Russian peoples were to govern themselves freely.

"One passage said: 'We ask our gov-

ernment for reforms. We are ready to keep asking for some time and to wait. But ultimately we shall demand and act. And then it may be necessary to deploy tank divisions, not in Prague and Bratislava, but in Moscow and Leningrad.'"

Many of the cells that publish and circulate the opposition journal are said to have been dissolved and some of its editors have been arrested. But, the *Monitor* report adds, "new ones seem to be coming up faster than the secret police can ferret them out. The news recorded is fresh, significant, and exciting. Much of it never has reached the outside world before.

"Its publication in the *Chronicle* is evidence that inside the sedate Soviet establishment dissent is rife.

"Not only parts of the youthful literary and scientific intelligentsia, but many other groups wronged by the authorities demand the rights to which they are entitled by law or the righting of old injustices. . . .

"The *Chronicle* seems to have become the principal mouthpiece of this protest movement. It not only publishes extracts from the most important open letters and manifestos, but also reports on demonstrations, trials, arrests, deportations, labor unrest, attempts of escape from the Soviet Union, stirrings in the armed forces, and apparently even among the personnel of the security police."

### Mandel Case and "Free" America

"They say that in Russia there's no freedom, and they say that in the United States there is freedom. I'd like to believe that," wrote Jeannot, the featured columnist of *Col Blanc* [white collar], organ of the Union of Municipal Employees of Montreal, Canada, December 1.

"But how is it," the columnist asked, "that they've just denied entry to the U. S. to Ernest Mandel, Belgian marxist economist and editor of the Belgian weekly, 'La Gauche'? There would thus be more freedom in Belgium than in the United States. . . . In the U. S. it's probably like it is for certain municipal workers in Montreal. Freedom would only exist for the hypocrites and the supposed silent majority. Are those who freely give their opinion persecuted, and those who hide theirs tolerated?"

## Bonn's Ascendancy in the Common Market

By Ernest Mandel

[We have translated the following article from the December 20 issue of the Belgian revolutionary-socialist weekly *La Gauche*.]

\* \* \*

To judge the results of the Hague conference,\* precise answers must be given to certain questions concerning the European Economic Community [EEC], that is, the Common Market. These questions are more complex than they might seem at first glance.

*Socially*, the Common Market is a "superstructure," that is, a body of legal institutions of a semigovernmental type set up by the European bourgeoisie to defend their interests against their enemies (the working class and the noncapitalist states of East Eu-

\* The December 1-2 meeting of representatives of the governments of the six Common Market countries. — IP



KIESINGER: "Deutsche Mark Uber Alles" — especially Gen. Charles de Gaulle.

rope) and their competitors (above all, American imperialism).

*Economically*, the Common Market is an expression of the growing international interpenetration of capital in capitalist Europe. It is therefore a product of the international concentration of capital which existed to a certain degree previously, and at the same time it serves as a stimulus in bringing this concentration to a higher level.

*Juridically*, the Common Market is a peculiar form of international capitalist "integration" limited to six countries and supported by specific institutions (a common external tariff, agricultural protectionism, etc.), which are the result of laborious negotiations among the various bourgeois classes belonging to the EEC.

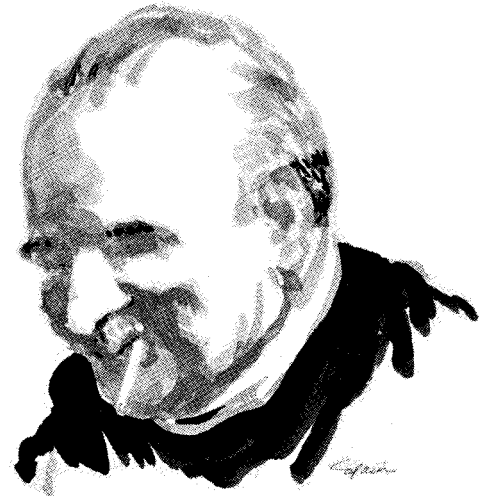
*Politically*, the Common Market reflects a pattern of forces, which are very tangled but which in general have been frozen on the basis of the relationships existing among the classes and imperialist powers in 1958.

For years we reached the same conclusion in our analyses. De Gaulle was "working for the King of Prussia."\* The Hague conference has confirmed this once again.

A year ago, at the time of the November 1968 monetary panic, various European journals appeared simultaneously with the headline "Deutsch Mark, Deutsch Mark Uber Alles." After the Hague conference, most commentators noted that West Germany has now established a discreet political leadership within the Common Market. Some romantics attribute this to the disappearance of "General de Gaulle's strong personality" from the European political scene. Obviously there is nothing to this.

It was not the disappearance of de

\* "Working for the King of Prussia" is a French proverbial expression meaning to work for poor wages. It derives from the fact that the kings of Prussia were notoriously stingy patrons. — IP



POMPIDOU: Can a winning smile make up for a losing hand?

Gaulle that opened the way for the drab Willy Brandt to become the "leader of free Europe"; it was the rise of German imperialism toward political hegemony in Europe that was one of the reasons for de Gaulle's disappearance.

If a section of the French bourgeoisie decided at the time of the last referendum to rid itself of de Gaulle, it was because the general had "obstructed" the functioning of the EEC in such a way as to directly threaten survival of the Common Market. Blackmail is, in fact, a weapon that can be used on both sides of a negotiating table. And it happens that the French bourgeoisie today needs the Common Market more than do the West Germans.

The French capitalists sell 45 percent of their exports in the Common Market area, the West Germans only 37 percent. In view of the different starting positions of the two capitalisms, the race was decided in advance.

The rise of West German imperialism in the past ten years has been primarily a result of its economic and financial power. It has been realized despite pronounced military weakness and despite a crisis of political leadership which has long hampered Bonn's

diplomacy within the framework of the imperialist world.

Now, ten years after the Treaty of Rome (which provided for the establishment of the Common Market by stages) went into effect, the relationship of forces is no longer the same as in 1958. Despite its very French atom bomb and its "own" submarines, French imperialism has been far outdistanced by its West German ally and rival.

In 1958 West German and French total exports were valued respectively at \$6.4 billion and \$4 billion; in 1968 this proportion had become \$15.5 and \$7 billion. Some unkind observers even say that this was because of "the general's personal gadgets," because, if French capitalism had invested the money wasted in building the "force de frappe" [striking force] in ultramodern factories and machines, it would have been better able to get the jump on its competitors.

West German imperialism's economic and financial dominance has, moreover, had another unexpected result. During these years the Gaullist regime sought to be the champion of a "détente" and "technical collaboration" with the USSR. But in this affair as in many others the general's eyes were bigger than his stomach (or his treasury).

All that was necessary was for Brandt to succeed Kiesinger and for West German diplomacy to shift its line slightly, and Moscow agreed to open up its doors to a promising East-West trade, which has brought the Mannesmann trust the biggest order the USSR has ever given to a Western capitalist firm (including the famous FIAT order). As can be seen, in commerce as in war, God is definitely on the side of the biggest battalions.

The delicate compromise the Common Market was based on included the following quid pro quo: "We (the French) will let 'your' (German) industrial products enter duty free—which will cost us a part of our domestic market—on condition that you pay substantial subsidies to 'our' big cereal producers and sugar-beet growers, including those who impose their tribute on these products (the sugar industry, the big agricultural exporters, the food industry, etc.)."

This compromise also reflected com-

plex relations of forces in France, an unstable balance among various social forces, that made Gaullist bonapartism highly sensitive to the reactions of the "notables" who politically controlled the French countryside.

Now, ten years later, the relationship of forces within the Common Market has deteriorated markedly from the standpoint of the French bourgeoisie. Now, *in order to get what it had already gotten in 1958—i.e., a common agricultural policy—French imperialism had to make an important additional concession.*

The French imperialists had to agree to open negotiations in the near future with Great Britain, Ireland, Denmark, and Norway for membership in the EEC. In place of the general's flat "nyet," there was Pompidou's sullen and reserved "oui."

Of course, the matter is by no means settled. The Six must negotiate with each other on how the negotiations with Great Britain are to be carried out. In the debate among the Six, French imperialism will stand virtually alone against the desire of its partners in the EEC to broaden the Common Market.

The reasons for this alignment are diverse (in the case of Germany, and partially Italy, the hope of winning new markets; the Benelux countries want special ties with British imperialism; the Italians and the Benelux countries hope to "neutralize" German or French dominance through the British role, etc.).

But this alignment is a fact. It does not leave Paris much choice since the obstruction has been eliminated. Either French imperialism, putting up a good front, will end by accepting expansion of the Common Market, once again at the expense of sectors of its internal market, or it will have to pull out of the game. The latter possibility is by no means excluded.

The paradox in the situation is that while French imperialism is sacrificing a part of its industrial interests to defend those of the richest layers of the French peasantry (and industrial and financial circles specially linked to these layers), the mass of the French peasantry is more discontented than ever and has entered into almost open rebellion against the agricultural policy of the government and the Common Market!

This, moreover, is one of the rea-

sons why there has been a shift in the economic imperatives of French imperialism, the interests of the export industries holding assured outlets in the EEC exerting today a greater



With most profitable contract ever awarded by Moscow, Willy Brandt now rates as "free" Europe's top salesman.

weight than those of the big peasantry in determining the attachment to the Common Market.

Therefore, it is within French industry—in the conflicts between the firms and sectors facing the risk of losing their outlets if Great Britain joins and those facing the risk of losing their outlets in the Common Market if it breaks up—that the future of the Common Market is being decided today. The rest is just rhetoric, even when the "loftiest sentiments" are invoked.

The future of the Common Market obviously does not depend solely on the conflicts of interest within the EEC. It depends also on developments in a broader context.

Two movements have been in progress for some months in the international capitalist economy which in part determined the attitude of the participants at the Hague conference—the beginning of the American recession and the drop in the price of gold. These two movements are linked together.

The start of an American recession

is inspiring hopes in the other bourgeoisies that the inflation of the dollar will soon be halted. As a result the demand for gold is diminishing. The revaluation of the deutsche mark and the (temporary) reestablishment of the British balance of payments has done the rest.

But the link between these two movements, which has been producing a "détente" in the international monetary crisis, is entirely temporary. *The détente hinges exclusively on the minimal character that the recession has had so far in the USA.*

If this recession does not deepen, there is no reason for storm signals to go up in Paris, Frankfurt, Zurich, or the City of London. If the American recession were to worsen, instead of producing a détente, it would cause a profound crisis of the international monetary system and world trade.

A deepening recession in the United States would have the initial effect of reducing the market in America and several Third World countries for exports from Great Britain and the EEC. The reestablishment of the British balance of payments would be finished. The expansion of Common Market exports to the USA would be finished.

An intensified recession would have as its second effect a resurgence of inflation of the dollar. It is unthinkable that American imperialism, hard pressed everywhere, would assume the additional burden of millions more unemployed (and the social crisis this would involve) for long. But renewed inflation of the dollar could not help but revive the international monetary crisis.

All these perspectives—and some others besides—are chilling to the experts of the European bourgeoisie. To prevent the worst, to check new assaults of speculation, to prevent a general panic in the event of a deepening American recession or monetary crisis, these experts *would like to open up a process leading to the creation of a European currency.* Appeals along this line have steadily multiplied for years in the most "responsible" imperialist circles.

At the Hague a modest "first step" was made toward a European currency. But it was a first step that could be withdrawn at the first pretext. Here also no definite commitments were made and nothing was definitively decided—everything depends on the

struggle in the months and years to come among antagonistic social, political, and economic forces.

In this struggle, the European working class has not yet made its collective and international voice heard. The international of the trusts and the bankers is still ahead of the mass international of the workers. But while the capitalist international is by nature divided, riven, and rent by the imperatives of profit and competition, the workers international, in spite of a multitude of obstacles and difficulties, is relearning the basic lessons of international solidarity.

The workers movement is paving the way through the French May which has spread in a special form to Italy. It is paving the way by the

factory occupations that are continuing in France. It is paving the way through the still timid and hesitating contacts developing among the automobile, chemical, electrical, construction and dock workers in various countries, who are threatened by dangers, manipulated by the same trusts, and subjected to the same diktats from the same capitalists.

Tomorrow this advance will lead to joint actions by workers in several countries. The day after tomorrow it will lead to a combined struggle for a socialist United States of Europe. It is this Europe and not the Europe of the Hague that will attract the hopes of the workers and the young revolutionists of our continent.

December 15, 1969.

## Australia

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# Trade Unions Join Antiwar Action

By Ivan Dixon

O'Connor

The Australian trade-union movement has marked its first effective action against the Vietnam war with a strike. Waterside workers in the port of Sydney refused to unload the Vietnam supply ship *Jeparit*, later modifying their action to agreement to unload but refusal to reload the ship with supplies for the Australian troops in Vietnam.

(The *Jeparit* has been manned by a navy crew for two years, since seamen refused to man her for the Vietnam run.)

The government has since backed down, by commissioning the *Jeparit* as a navy ship, thereby making it possible to use servicemen to load and unload it.

A widespread strike was threatened on December 18 when the navy attempted to use civilian tugs manned by naval crews to move the *Jeparit* from berth to berth in Sydney harbor. In the face of union threats, the navy backed down and called in a tug belonging to the army.

On December 15 a meeting of 200 shop stewards from twenty-six of the largest and most militant unions took place in Melbourne. The shop stewards passed a resolution calling on

conscripts in Vietnam to "lay down their arms in mutiny against the heinous barbarism perpetrated in our name upon innocent aged men, women and children in Vietnam." The meeting was presided over by the Victorian president of the Australian Labor party, Mr. G. Crawford, who is also state secretary of the Plumbers and Gasfitters Union.

This resolution was later supported by a petition circulated amongst delegates to the annual conference of the New South Wales Teachers' Federation. Some 180 out of the 550 delegates supported the unionists' stand.

In reply, the government announced that it was investigating the possibility of charging the unionists under the Commonwealth Crimes Act for inciting troops to mutiny. The penalty for conviction under this statute is life imprisonment.

Victoria Labor party president Crawford was reported to have said that he was not worried by these threats and that the government would not be wise to proceed with them as its position on Vietnam was not supported by the majority of the Australian people.

In the same week Prime Minister Gorton announced that Australia



would withdraw 1,000 of its 8,000 troops from Vietnam by July 1970. The *Canberra Times* of December 17 reported that this news was greeted

with shouts of jubilation by the Australian troops in Vietnam. The army quickly banned comments by soldiers on the withdrawal, but as it promises

to be a long tedious process, integrated with Nixon's plans, the attitude of the troops could be guessed with some accuracy.

## Australia

# 'Withdraw Troops Now!' Shout Sydney Protesters

By P. J. Knowles

### Sydney

Some 3,000 persons took part December 15 in the most militant street demonstration ever held here to protest the war in Vietnam. The action was called in solidarity with an appeal of the U. S. Student Mobilization Committee for international protests from October 15 to December 15. The main slogan of the action was "Withdraw All Troops from Vietnam Now!" (There are 8,000 Australian troops in Vietnam.)

The demonstrators assembled in Chifley Square, in front of the Commonwealth Centre, headquarters of the federal government's Department of Labor and National Service (the draft agency).

Police refused to issue a permit to march in the streets, but the protesters, through force of numbers, spilled out onto the roadway shortly after leaving Chifley Square.

Large squads of cops made repeated attacks on the marchers as they headed up the narrow canyon of Pitt Street, past the U. S. consulate, toward the town hall. But the police were unable to disperse the demonstration or make it keep to the sidewalks.

At the corner of Pitt Street and Martin Place, the city's "business heart," the police used vans and buses to barricade the road. The cops sought to prevent the marchers from outflanking the roadblock. After a sharp clash in which a dozen persons were arrested, the police line broke. A few hundred demonstrators, who were unable to get through the break, quickly circled the block and rejoined the main contingent.

The police made several further attacks but did not succeed in halting the march. The demonstrators were

in a triumphant mood when they reached the town hall.

The rally was enthusiastic and militant. One of the main speakers was Allen Myers, a former GI now on the staff of the Student Mobilization Committee in New York. He is editor of the *GI Press Service*, a biweekly news service for the more than fifty GI antiwar newspapers that have sprung up inside the U. S. army around the world. Myers twice successfully fought courts-martial for his antiwar activity in the army.

The crowd proved too large for the meeting hall and officials of the Tory city council ordered the doors locked while hundreds were still outside. Those who had been barred demanded to be admitted and the whole audience burst into prolonged cheers when the doors were finally reopened.

The other main speaker was Dr. Jim Cairns, a left-wing Labor party leader. Whenever he mentioned immediate withdrawal of Australian troops he was given a standing ovation.

One scheduled speaker, Bob Gould, the convenor of the Vietnam Action Campaign, was arrested during the march. Released on bail, he was cheered by the crowd as he arrived just in time to deliver his speech.

Other speakers included Pat Clancy, secretary of the New South Wales branch of the Building Workers Industrial Union and a member of the fourteen-man executive of the Australian Council of Trade Unions; Alan Roberts, a lecturer at Monash University; Phil Sandford, who was recently deported from the U. S. where he was active in the Students for a Democratic Society [SDS]; Stewart West, a waterside worker from Wollongong who was recently gaoled over

a sit-in protest on conscription; Brian Glover, secretary of the Sydney SDS; and Jack Mundy, New South Wales secretary of the Builders Labourers Federation.

Demonstrations were also held in other cities around Australia the same weekend. There were protests in Canberra, Melbourne, Newcastle, and Manly, a suburb of Sydney. In Canberra, eight persons were arrested, one of them for climbing the Christmas tree in the prime minister's garden and affixing a large star reading "Get Out of Vietnam Now!"

The Sydney demonstration was organized by the Vietnam Mobilization Committee, a coalition of young radical groups spearheaded by Resistance (a militant, left-wing youth organization), the Vietnam Action Campaign, High School Students Against the War in Vietnam, Students for a Democratic Society, and the Labor clubs at Sydney and New South Wales universities. The action was successful in spite of the virtual abstention of part of the more conservative section of the peace movement and a significant section of the Communist party of Australia.

When plans were already under way for the December 15 action, the Association for International Cooperation and Disarmament, the main moderate peace organization, called its own action for November 15. This date fell in the middle of university examinations. Only 800 persons took part in a demonstration around the slogan, "An Act of Conscience to End the War."

Both sections of the movement, the younger antiwar activists and the older peace movement, have now called for mass actions in April or May.

# The Split in the Congress Party

By Kailas Chandra

Bombay

The Indian National Congress, the traditional party of the Indian capitalist class, which spearheaded the nationalist movement against British imperialism and which played the role of the sole ruling party at the Centre during the last twenty-two years, has split between the so-called Syndicate and supporters of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. The split is a result of the factional manoeuvres between the two rival groups in the leadership.

Mrs. Gandhi has had the better of it. With her decision to sack Morarji Desai as finance minister and her dramatic promulgation of bank nationalisation, she won the initiative in the factional conflict, utilizing it cleverly to isolate her political rivals.

Mrs. Gandhi has now secured a decisive majority in the Congress parliamentary party. The Syndicate group has been driven into the opposition in both houses of parliament. On the first day of the winter session of the Lok Sabha [House of the People, the lower house of parliament], November 17, her government faced a censure motion sponsored by the Swatantra party. The house rejected it by a remarkably large majority of votes, although Mrs. Gandhi now heads a "minority" government at the Centre. Her party does not have a clear majority in the lower house.

The government received the support of the various "left" opposition groups, including the two Communist parties, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam [DMK, a regional communalist party], independents, etc.

Among those who supported the censure motion—the motion, strangely enough, was on the issue of India's participation in the conference of "Muslim" countries at Rabat on the Arab-Israeli conflict—were the Syndicate wing of the Congress, Swatantra, Jan Sangh, and sections of the Praja Socialist party [PSP] and Samyukta Socialist party [SSP]. This is indicative of a new realignment of forces taking



INDIRA GANDHI

place on the "parliamentary arena" in Indian politics.

The split in the Congress is indeed a reflection of the wider political crisis faced by the ruling capitalist class. But it has thrown the entire traditional left movement into disarray, posing a serious challenge to the revolutionary Marxists.

Politically speaking, there are no fundamental differences between the group led by Mrs. Gandhi, and the Syndicate comprising the "old guard." Both swear by "democratic socialism"; both support the ten-point programme adopted by the All-India Congress Committee [AICC] at Bangalore in June last—aimed at bringing some "radical" reforms within the existing capitalist framework, including nationalisation of the fourteen major banks.

The open rupture in the Congress leadership came in fact after several bids at achieving "unity" failed. On November 22 and 23, a majority of the

AICC members met in New Delhi to formalize the split by proclaiming their support to Mrs. Gandhi's leadership. Leading members of the Congress party in different states, who were sitting on the fence when the fight initially began, have started going over to Mrs. Gandhi. Notable among the fence-sitters were Union Home Minister Y. B. Chavan, who has the support of the party in Maharashtra Congress, and the chief ministers of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh.

From the point of view of the working-class movement, however, there is nothing to choose between the Syndicate and the "Indicate." They are two seemingly conflicting tendencies within a capitalist party which appears to be divided mainly on the question of tactics to be adopted to preserve capitalism in a period of unprecedented crisis.

While the Syndicate, in common with the other rightist capitalist parties—Jan Sangh and Swatantra—would like to continue a policy of ruthless suppression of workers' and peasants' resistance to the capitalist state, the Indicate proposes to present a "liberal" face of capitalist rule, by offering minor concessions to the masses in an attempt to contain the growing popular discontent. How far Mrs. Gandhi succeeds in checking the mass discontent by her empty talk of "socialism" is a different matter altogether.

But for the present at any rate, she has succeeded in rousing popular imagination, and, in the process, causing confusion in the traditional left and working-class parties, some of which are also anxious to jump onto the Indicate bandwagon.

The pro-Moscow Communist party of India [CPI] led by S. A. Dange seems to have taken the initiative in mobilizing "mass" support for Mrs. Gandhi, who, according to the latest national council resolution of the CPI, represents the progressive national bourgeoisie in India with which the CPI seeks to build a "national democratic front" against the "monopoly"

bourgeoisie supported by imperialism.

The Communist party of India (Marxist) [CPI(M)—the pro-Peking group that split from the CPI in 1964 and that has since been denounced by the Maoists as "revisionist"] extended its "conditional" support to Mrs. Gandhi's government, ostensibly as a way of demonstrating its opposition to the Syndicate. But the CPI(M) leadership also appears to be divided on the question of a long-term coalition with the Congress government at the Centre.

Even a small group like the Revolutionary Socialist party [RSP], which has only two members in the Lok Sabha, has hastened to participate in an opportunist alliance with "independents" (like Hindu Mahasabha's N. C. Chatterjee), forming a so-called Progressive Independents' Group in anticipation of a grand national coalition that is supposed to be in the offing.

The reformist socialist groups like the SSP and the PSP are also split on what attitude to adopt in relation to the Indira government.

Indeed, a new process of differentiation is taking place within every traditional "left" party in the country. The leaders of most of these parties, corrupted by their opportunist practice of bourgeois parliamentarianism, are abandoning the pretense of being leaders of independent class movements of the working class and the peasant masses, and turning to the chimera of bringing a "social change" from above, through the intervention of a capitalist state.

The stress is now more on political manoeuvre in New Delhi rather than on building independent political action of the masses. Mrs. Gandhi has been shrewd enough to disown any move to seek a coalition with the Communist parties—as a sop to her right-wing critics—while she is said to be prepared to coalesce with "non-Communist groups in the opposition."

A major controversy has erupted inside the Indicate Congress party over the nomination of three "former CPI members" on its Working Committee by "interim" President Subramaniam.\* This has not deterred

\* The plenary session of the Congress party (Indicate) is being held in Bombay in the third week of December to elect a new president and adopt new policy decisions.

Dange & Company. In fact the Dangeite CPI is moving in the direction of splitting the only militant trade-union organization, the All-India Trade Union Congress [AITUC], in the name of vengeance against its rival in the left movement, the CPI(M).

The CPI has already sponsored a "Mini-Front" government in Kerala



SHRIPAD AMRIT DANGE

headed by the CPI's Achuta Menon after ousting the CPI(M) Namboodiripad ministry in that state. There are reports that the police department in Kerala, headed by a Muslim League minister, is being systematically utilized to terrorize the ranks of the CPI(M) now that it is out of the ministry. As if to justify the terror campaign, Home Minister Koya alleged on November 29 that "Marxist communists were collecting arms for a violent uprising in Kerala under the cover of alleged non-Marxist Police terror." (*Times of India*, November 30.)

Two supporters of the CPI(M) were killed and several others injured in Kerala on December 1 when the police opened fire in various towns on CPI(M) demonstrators protesting against police repression and demanding an immediate session of the legislature to test the strength of the "Mini-Front" government.

There are indications that the CPI(M)-dominated United Front ministry in West Bengal is also threatened with being toppled by the CPI in collaboration with its allies such as the Bangla Congress (which is now seeking to reenter the "parent body," the Congress party led by Mrs. Gandhi).

According to the Calcutta bureau of the Bombay *Economic Times* (November 30), "inspite of loud accusations that the CPM [CPI(M)] is being pushed out of the UF Ministry in West Bengal and the right Communists' equally loud protests against any such intentions, the possibility of the former leaving the 'Ajoy'\* Ministry cannot be ruled out any more."

The report added: "So far as can be gathered the CPM has no wish to stick to office at all costs because of serious limitations of the State Governments and particularly of the U. F. Government, in financial, industrial and even labour matters. There is a significant section in the CPM membership which wants the party to stay out of the Government and thus build a more forceful mass political base in West Bengal."

Referring to the tactics pursued by the CPI-Bangla Congress-Forward Bloc to edge the CPI(M) out of the ministry with the support of the official pro-Indicate Congress legislature party led by Sidhartha Ray, the *Economic Times* reported:

"Both these tactics are likely to lead to the CPM's exit and also the exit of the smaller satellites like the Bolshevik Party and the Workers' Party from the U. F. The SSP dissidents among the State PSP and RSP now seem to be on the side of the new combine rather than with the CPM."

The object of the CPI manoeuvre is clearly to oust the CPI(M) from office at the bidding of Mrs. Gandhi. The CPI(M), now accustomed to the opportunist practices of parliamentarianism, is in a quandary as to whether it should also follow the crowd or incur the displeasure of the central

\* The United Front ministry in West Bengal is headed by Ajoy Mukherjee, leader of the Bangla Congress, who, along with his 1,500 supporters in Calcutta and other centres, undertook a three-day fast on December 1 supposedly to rouse "popular action" against "lawlessness and chaos" in the state. The insinuation is that the CPI(M) is responsible for the "chaos" and for a series of clashes between UF parties that resulted in several deaths in the state.

government and be hounded out "into the wilderness" for a period.

This is indeed a crucial test for the CPI(M). It must decide whether it is going to succumb to the pressure of a false "socialist euphoria" or spearhead the emerging mass upsurge against capitalist rule not only in West Bengal and Kerala but in the rest of the country. Unfortunately the CPI(M)'s programme of a "peoples democratic front" based on a four-class alliance with the national bourgeoisie, and its refusal to accept the perspective of a socialist revolution, act as major inhibiting factors preventing it from orienting to a clear anticapitalist, socialist class action against the bourgeois state headed by Mrs. Gandhi.

As far as the capitalist parties of the extreme right are concerned (the Swatantra, Jan Sangh, and now the Syndicate), their strategy appears to be that of waiting patiently to strike at Mrs. Gandhi's government when the mass enthusiasm she has roused cools down. Meanwhile, the right-wing reaction is consolidating itself, with all the weapons at its command: communalism, regionalism, caste-ism, etc. They are raising a bogey that Mrs. Gandhi is succumbing to "Communist" pressure.

It is obvious that popular enthusiasm created in the wake of nationalisation of commercial banks cannot be sustained for long without effective steps to strike at the roots of capitalist

property relations. The central government has been slow in its follow-up action, promised after the bank takeover. The old administrative setups of the banks are not even disturbed, lest the big business interests be alienated in the process. Even the limited objective of making bank credits available to wider layers of the propertied classes—particularly to the rich and middle peasants as well as to the middle-class entrepreneurs—has not been achieved so far.

During her recent "encounters" with industrialists and businessmen, the prime minister has gone out of her way to assuage their feelings by assuring them that her government would not do anything that would disturb the equilibrium of the capitalist class.

In fact her advice to the capitalists has been that they should "modernize" themselves and be more mindful of the changing times, lest they be swept away by a "bloody revolution." No wonder big industrialists like Birla and Tata have come forward to openly pledge their support to the leadership of Mrs. Gandhi. The Indian capitalist class does not seem to have much use for the "outdated" old guard of the Congress party as represented by Morarji Desai, S. K. Patil, Kamaraj, etc.

As for the "socialist" measures proposed to be launched by the Indira Gandhi government, it is obvious even today that no serious "reform" affecting capitalist property relations can be undertaken by the government within the existing capitalist constitutional framework. But Mrs. Gandhi only talks of proper implementation of "land reforms" and other measures already initiated by the state governments and the Centre and not of touching capitalist property.

Some ministers of the central government indeed talk glibly about breaking the "monopoly control" of the capitalists. A new school of officially approved "progressive" and "Marxist" (Stalinist) economists has emerged with theories of a gradual and peaceful "switchover" to socialism with governmental intervention. This is sheer nonsense.

During the last two decades, most of the monopoly houses in India have been built with the financial resources made available to them by the financial institutions of the government such

as the LIC, Industrial Finance Corporation, as well as by the now nationalised scheduled banks. It is estimated that the LIC and other credit institutions hold 27 percent of the equity shares of the companies of monopoly houses.

The fourteen nationalised banks, in addition, control another 16 percent of the equity capital of these companies—bringing the government control of equity capital of monopoly houses to 43 percent. Here is an ideal picture of the state sustaining a backward capitalist economy.

It has been suggested that the central government can take "without any new legislation" the managements of these companies under the provisions of the existing Companies Act. But the big question is, will Mrs. Gandhi's government dare do this? She dares not! The capitalist class will not permit it without unleashing a civil war. Socialism can be achieved only through conscious revolutionary action of the masses and not through political gimmicks from New Delhi.

The split in the Congress party unfortunately has caused a temporary disarray in the traditional working-class parties. These parties reject the historical need for achieving a socialist revolution in India as the only answer to the present chaos caused by capitalism. But the present crisis can rapidly develop into a revolutionary situation in the country, provided that a working-class party can intervene with a programme of liquidating the existing property relations. Otherwise the danger is that bourgeois reaction will plunge the country into a veritable bloodbath à la Indonesia.

The tasks before the revolutionary Marxists at the present juncture are clear: They should not be carried away by the current euphoria of pseudosocialism and play the role of tailists to the bourgeois Congress led by Mrs. Gandhi. They must come forward to organize independent mass actions of the working class, middle-class wage earners, and the rural poor for ending capitalist rule.

#### DDT Pollutes Ocean

Thousands of cases of mackerel canned in San Pedro, California, were condemned in early December because of contamination by DDT from agricultural wastes dumped in rivers that empty into the Pacific.



AJOY MUKHERJEE

## 85 Political Prisoners Still on Hunger Strike

Eighty-five political prisoners in Mexico City's Lecumberri prison were continuing their hunger strike as of the end of 1969. The prisoners began their action December 10 to protest against arbitrary and unconstitutional confinement and the failure of the courts to observe the minimum judicial norms in conducting their trials.

Spokesmen for the protesters expected the hunger strike to continue into January despite the fact that many of the participants in the action were seriously ill even before it began. Three — Eli de Gortari, José Revueltas, and Raúl Bejarano — are diabetics. Five others, including Manuel Marcue Pardiñas, suffer from epilepsy. As of the end of December, only the elderly Eli de Gortari had been forced to abandon the hunger strike.

After refusing food for more than two weeks, the prisoners declared that they intended to continue their strike until their demands were met, no matter what the consequences. They have not been deterred by the brutal indifference of the government nor by a combination of threats and political pressure.

The authorities have intimated that the *granaderos*, Mexico's riot police, may be ordered to suppress the protest action. The hunger strikers have also been threatened with isolation from other prisoners. Political figures linked to the government, like Luis Quintanilla, have visited Lecumberri in an attempt to persuade the participants to abandon their strike.

In an apparent effort to dissuade moderates from supporting the Lecumberri protest, the state prosecutor's office issued a statement declaring that the hunger strike was "neither a proper nor a legal recourse."

None of the government's attempts to bloc growing support for the hunger strike have succeeded. Many prominent liberals, including leading church figures, have gone on record in support of the prisoners' demands.

In the last two weeks of December, hundreds of prominent Mexican intellectuals and artists, including Carlos Fuentes, David Siqueiros, and

José Luis Cuevas, petitioned President Díaz Ordaz to submit an amnesty proposal to the congress. The legislature adjourned, however, without any such proposal having been submitted.

In a statement issued at the start of the hunger strike, the participants demanded that the government drop its charges and release them.

The protesters cited the following grounds for their demands: (1) their trials have been in progress for more than a year, which exceeds the constitutional limit; (2) the acts they are accused of were pretexts for repression of the student movement and in nowise attributable to them; (3) the trial hearings have been a farce; (4) no proof of any kind has been presented to show that they are responsible for the acts with which they are charged; (5) granting of bail has been made subject to specific political conditions and although many requests for bail have been made since last January none have been allowed; (6) the political character of the arrests and jailing are obvious to all; (7) some political prisoners have already been granted asylum, possible only in cases of political persecution.

The prisoners wrote that they had decided to resort to a hunger strike because the courts had arbitrarily de-

clared their trials concluded although the prosecution had failed to present any credible evidence, and no adequate defense had been permitted.

Furthermore, the prisoners noted that individuals and groups had appealed repeatedly to the government to respect the constitution in its treatment of the political prisoners without effect. The only response was a statement that "there are no political prisoners in Mexico."

Although the government seemed embarrassed by ex-President Lázaro Cárdenas' declaration on the fifty-ninth anniversary of the Mexican revolution, refuting this claim, it has so far not shown any inclination to retreat from its rigid position.

The hunger strike by the overwhelming majority of the political prisoners is expected to receive strong support from the students when they return to school. However, immediate international support is needed.

Letters and telegrams supporting the prisoners' demands and protesting the treatment they have received can be sent to Lic. Gustavo Díaz Ordaz, Presidente de México, Palacio Nacional, México 1, D. F.; or Lic. Luis Echeverría, Secretario de Gobernación, Av. Bucareli y Calle General Prim, México 1, D. F.

## Calcutta Strikers Win Bonuses

Porters in the Burrabazar section of Calcutta in West Bengal, India, settled a month-long strike against local merchants December 8. The porters demanded payment of bonuses, which was agreed to under a formula of "ad hoc payments."

On December 3 the merchants organized attacks on porters throughout the city. A spokesman for the strikers told the *Calcutta Statesman* [December 4] that "'hired goondas' of the merchants attacked about 25 porters who had gheraoed the house of a cloth merchant on Mahatma Gandhi Road. The spokesman alleged that individual porters were attacked throughout the day and that the police were 'inactive.'"

Some 5,000 merchants surrounded the assistant police commissioner, demanding that the police be withdrawn from the Burrabazar area "so that the merchants could have a 'free hand' in dealing with the porters."

Groups of merchants armed with lathis [clubs] roamed the area.

About 3,000 porters assembled at Kali Krishna Tagore Street and Strand Road, where they prepared to defend themselves against the merchants. The police fired tear gas into the crowd.

Three persons were killed December 4 when police fired into a crowd of armed merchants that sought to take control of the area.

# A Memoir of 'Ignace Reiss'

By Michel Lequenne

*Our Own People, A Memoir of 'Ignace Reiss' and His Friends*, by Elisabeth K. Poretsky. Oxford University Press, London. 278 pp. 42s. 1969.\*

"Ignace Reiss" (one of the pseudonyms of Ignace Poretsky) held a high post in the Soviet secret service network in Europe before World War II. In 1937, in protest against Stalin's purges, he resigned. Through Henryk Sneevliet, a member of the Dutch parliament and well-known figure in the Communist movement, he sent a warning to Leon Trotsky that Stalin had marked left oppositionists for liquidation outside, as well as inside, the Soviet Union.

[On July 18, 1937, Reiss, then in Paris, sent a message to the Central Committee of the Communist party, declaring that he had broken with Stalinism and was joining the Trotskyist movement.

"The day is not far," he wrote, "when international socialism will sit in judgment over all the crimes committed in the last ten years. Nothing will be forgotten, nothing forgiven . . . The 'Leader of genius, Father of the peoples, Sun of Socialism' will have to give account for all his deeds."

[Reiss sought to persuade some of his friends and comrades in the secret service to join him in his political course. Among them was Gertrude Schildbach, a Soviet agent stationed in Italy. He went to meet her in Lausanne on September 4. The appointment turned out to be a trap. The dissident Communist was machine-gunned by Stalin's agents.

[The following review of the French edition of the book, *Les Nôtres*, has been translated from the September 1969 issue of *Quatrième Internationale*.]

\* \* \*

The most powerful personal document I have read in a long time, a book modest in tone, sober in language, has just been published without any fanfare under the gray cover of the "Dossiers de Lettres Nouvelles" series.

The author's name means nothing to anybody, not even political activists. The man who bore it and whose wife today tells his tragic story, had not only to live under a false name but died and made his mark in history under pseudonyms. He was the man we knew as Ignace Reiss. In the Communist International, he was "Ludwik."

He was dear to us, little as we knew him, because he lost his life in the perilous move that took him from the secret service of the Soviet Union, which had become Stalin's secret service, into the ranks of the Fourth In-

ternational. He will remain forever one of the honored dead of the Trotskyist movement—*one of our own people*.

The woman who was his companion has succeeded in writing today something quite different from a mere biography. She has written the tragedy of a "lost generation," the tragedy of the young Communists of the buffer countries that came into existence or were turned topsyturvy following the first world war—Poland, Czechoslovakia, etc.

Most of their lives these young Communists had been members of national minorities. For them only the road of October seemed to offer any future—the future of the world revolution that would abolish all borders. The ebbing of the revolutionary tide in the 1920s left them only one "home"—the USSR, the fatherland of all workers. For them this bulwark was a solid base from which to wage the struggle—most often under clandestine conditions—in Europe where reaction was triumphant . . . temporarily, they hoped.

But already things were changing in the Soviet Union. The best of these upright young fighters were asked to become . . . spies. They were reluctant to accept, because while no work useful to the revolution can be rejected, it was a hard thing for them to follow the routine of breaking with the party—and to break in fact with their comrades—pretending to be traitors to the party in order to better serve it.

Reluctant to join the ranks of the INO [Inostrannyi Otdel—Foreign Department], the foreign service of the NKVD [Narodnyi Komissariat Vnutrennikh Del—the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, the police agency], most of these young militants preferred to join the Comintern or Red Army foreign services.

They were, then, unwilling secret agents, but they were excellent ones. Sorge attests to that, the only one to be glorified, the only one of that generation to be rehabilitated. Elisabeth Poretsky, who knew him better than did the official historians, punctures the myths woven around his achievements; still, in the chapter she devotes to him, Sorge emerges as an example of the qualities of this generation.

The meaning of the book naturally escaped *Le Monde's* critic, who was disappointed at not finding any interesting spy stories. On this score, so far as I am concerned, allusions about "Krivitsky's helping to break the Japanese code or Ludwik's placing an agent high in the British services" (page 71) are sufficient. This British agent might well be Philby in view of the dates and facts cited.

These first generation agents, who acted out of conviction, were selfless. This virtue had a negative side in the period of bureaucratic degeneration; they were neither blind tools nor declassified elements without strong ties to the proletariat. In each of their sojourns in the USSR, they saw with dismay how much the gulf had widened

\* The book is not yet for sale in the U.S., probably because of some trade agreement. We suggest ordering it from Pioneer Book Service, 8 Toynbee St., London, E.1, England.



between the early aspirations and perspectives and the catastrophic reality.

Elisabeth Poretsky does justice to the shoddy spectacle of a Russian worker, who, defeated, sank unresistingly and unthinkingly into Stalinism, following a guide accepted as Lenin's brilliant continuator. She calls this epoch by its right name—the terror.

And it is clear that this was not revolutionary terror but Thermidorian terror against a backdrop of chilling poverty for the workers and moral annihilation for the Communists preparatory to their physical annihilation. This situation left the most courageous Communists no way out but suicide.

A characteristic page of the book portrays a party among foreign Communists in Moscow in 1929 where the festivities were dampened by the unexpected appearance of a Russian colonel close to the inner circle. His presence made the hosts tremble when a Ukrainian described the state of "Russia's breadbasket":

"He began to tell us about the Ukraine, the famine in the cities, the bloated corpses in the streets, the hordes of abandoned children hanging around the railway stations, the ghostly villages where people were dying of starvation and typhus.

"Listening to this terrible tale, we completely forgot our red-headed friend. He sat throughout the recital, his head bent, then suddenly started to sob. Between sobs he said: 'He, he is doing this, he, that'—followed a string of obscenities—'he is ruining the country, he is destroying the party.' Then he got up, opened the one movable pane of our window, stuck his head out and was sick." (Page 103.)

The guests at the party who ran into the colonel again did not remind him of this scene, and he himself said nothing about it. Such was the climate of the period of forced collectivization.

A few years later, the disappearances began. In Victor Serge's phrase, it was the midnight of the century. Elisabeth Poretsky portrays the demoralization that descended over the Communist world. In the Soviet Union, no one believed in the hideous rigged trials but everyone felt powerless. Trotsky's way seemed to lead nowhere, to be unrealistic.

Most Communists looked to a different star of hope—the Spanish revolution that was beginning. The meaning of volunteering for Spain did not escape the Thermidorians. The volunteers were allowed to sign up; they departed. They were intercepted near the frontier and deported to labor camps.

Spain was not a permissible way out for secret agents. They had to maintain their roles. Madrid and Barcelona were swarming with police. They had to continue to do a job whose meaning was changing. In this work some were corrupted. Also, appearing in ever greater numbers and ever more powerful were *their own*, the agents of the new generation, the products of an opposite kind of selection, ignorant, brutal, unscrupulous individuals—killers and scum like Ramón Mercader and Marc Zborovski.

Some, perhaps, might wonder why agents who had the relative good fortune to be on a foreign assignment did not stay far away from the Stalinist hell. They tried. A simple call home, to report, often meant a one-way trip. Run away? They carried secrets of too great an im-

portance. If the NKVD did not get them, these Communists to the marrow could not imagine seeking the protraction of the enemy—as the present day spies who "choose freedom" do.

Later Krivitsky, "in safe keeping" in the United States, committed suicide in his hotel room, probably sunk in shame and despair. This dilemma held back most of them. Some, again, preferred to die in the USSR, wandering for months in the streets of Moscow with bitterness on their lips and hatred of Cain Dzhugashvili in their hearts until the inevitable arrest and bullet in the back of the neck.

Ludwik alone was more clear-sighted and more heroic. He understood that the way out was the straight and narrow path taken by Trotsky. The infernal machine for killing revolutionists, which was so powerful that it was to trap Trotsky himself, after his own son, could not miss Ludwik. The stakes were too vital for the Stalinist reaction.

The revolutionists' very virtues worked against them. Ludwik made two errors—one out of the rectitude of a Communist militant, the other out of humanity, friendship (it is choice to see the astonishment of the bourgeois critics over an experienced secret agent being so naïve as to send a declaration to the Central Committee of his party, expecting friendship and gratitude in return).

Ludwik was tracked down and killed as one of "their own people." If he had gotten away then, his escape would probably have meant only a reprieve. The NKVD had been able to plant in our own ranks the unspeakable Marc Zborovski, who organized the murders of Leon Sedov and Rudolf Klement (and who is still alive today . . . in the United States).

At least Ludwik did not fall as a victim resigned to despair but as a Communist fighter equal to the greatest fighters for our cause. His name will shine in golden letters on the future monument to the defamed heroes of the revolution and will live in the memory of the working people of the entire planet.

## Garaudy's Book Draws CP Fire

Roger Garaudy, the French Communist party's leading intellectual spokesman and a member of the Political Bureau since 1956, has drawn heavy fire from his party's Stalinist leadership for his recent book *Le Grand Tour-nant du Socialisme* (Socialism's Great Turning Point).

In his new book, Garaudy raised many far-reaching questions about the character of the Soviet block states and parties, and about the future of the international Stalinist movement.

Garaudy wrote that although the CPs in power claim to speak for the working class, they have reduced the workers to silence and passivity. He voiced the feeling that because of the undemocratic structures in these countries and the absence of free debate for many years the system could be changed only by "an explosion or a palace revolution."

Garaudy lamented that in all parts of the world, revolutionary forces are frequently "bypassing" the old bureaucratic Stalinist parties.

## Italian CP in Crisis Over 'Manifesto' Group

[At its November 26, 1969, plenum, the Central Committee of the Italian Communist party suspended three of its members, Rossana Rossanda, Luigi Pintor, and Aldo Natoli.

[The three were associated with the dissident monthly magazine *Manifesto*, which to some extent has spoken for the so-called new left current in the CP.

[Lucio Magri, like Rossana Rossanda a coeditor of *Manifesto*, was also suspended. Another leader, Massimo Caprara, a member of parliament for Naples-Caserta, was suspended December 4 for expressing solidarity with the *Manifesto* group.

[Despite the fact that the "new leftists" were not definitively expelled, the break appeared to be a sharp one. Within a week of their suspension, Pintor and Natoli announced their withdrawal from the CP fraction in parliament. On December 4 more than 200 party members demonstrated at the CP Federal Control Commission offices in Rome in support of two collaborators of *Manifesto* who were threatened with sanctions.

[The "new lefters" had published five issues of *Manifesto* before the party leadership cracked down. The first four issues had a circulation of some 40,000 copies. The fifth issue sold 45,000 copies and went into a second printing.

[The moves against the *Manifesto* group received considerable publicity in the Italian press. The December 7 issue of the liberal Roman weekly *L'Espresso* carried a long interview with the suspended leaders.

[Rossana Rossanda said the basic points of difference between the *Manifesto* group and the CP leadership concerned the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, democracy within the party, and the possibility of a revolution in Italy.

[Natoli said that the dissidents had sought to extend the Italian CP's condemnation of the Kremlin intervention in Czechoslovakia into a general discussion of the nature and shortcomings of the East European and Soviet regimes.

[According to Lucio Magri, the group stood for self-criticism by the party but not the repudiation of a revolutionary outlook, or "any feeling that the revolution has failed." Magri expressed his conviction that an "exceptional revolutionary potential exists in the world and that this potential has not been exploited because of profound errors . . ."

[Luigi Pintor said that the group opposed the CP leadership's aim of entering a government coalition: "There is no room for a reformist operation relying on this or that cabinet combination. The problem is one of power and not of government."

[It was clear from the interview that the dissident leaders were under the influence of the revolutionary upsurge in Italy. Pintor said: "Anyone who followed the extraordinary workers' march through Rome last Friday could not fail to be struck by the discrepancy between the dynamics and political potentialities of the struggle and the purely economic limits imposed on them for years."

[The following commentary is scheduled for publication in *Bandiera Rossa*, the organ of the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (Revolutionary Communist groups—the Italian section of the Fourth International). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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The *Manifesto* question has had broader repercussions than the protagonists themselves possibly anticipated. The impact has certainly been greater than we visualized in our preceding articles (whose hasty, schematic character we acknowledge in self-criticism).

We are not referring here to the hue and cry raised by the bourgeois press of various shadings, from *Corriere della Sera* to *L'Espresso*. The aims of these papers are obvious enough. We are thinking rather about the considerable circulation success of the magazine and, above all, the reactions that the decisions made in the

late November Central Committee plenum have aroused in by no means insignificant sectors of the PCI [Partito Comunista Italiano—Italian Communist party].

If the top Communist group thought that it could settle accounts with these dissidents with the same relative ease with which it liquidated other dissident groups in the past, it must now realize that it miscalculated.

It would be incorrect, however, to regard the party leadership's move as a blunder. From many indications, it is clear that for some time at least a part of the Communist party leaders sought a solution that would prevent a split and, perhaps, make it possible to blur political lines, providing them with a left cover. But neither the current political situation, nor the situation faced by the party and the international Communist movement, offers any real room for such an attempt.

The *Manifesto* question was posed in the context of a situation of profound revolutionary tensions in which, first with the student movement and then with the vanguard worker groups, considerable forces emerged outside the control of the traditional organizations. For this reason, the "heretics" were no longer faced with the drastic choice that confronted dissidents in the past—stay in the party and abandon your views or risk the most utter isolation.

Secondly, and more importantly, it very quickly became clear that to have recognized in a de facto way that publication of *Manifesto* was not in itself incompatible with remaining in the party—a concession substantially implying recognition of the right of tendencies—would sooner or later have inspired other undertakings of the same type (if different in political orientation).

In particular, the tendency most directly tied to the leading group in the Soviet CP—which has sought to exert pressure, bordering on blackmail, of the PCI leaders—would probably have come out in the open, with

all the consequences that can easily be imagined.

For Longo, Berlinguer, and company, the choice became almost inevitably this: Either accept a situation whose dynamics would have led to an ever sharper delineation of genuine political currents and to severe clashes with the Soviet CP, or step in with swift and drastic measures to block the process that was developing. It is all too obvious that the Italian leadership could opt only for the second horn of the dilemma.

The reactions that have developed up to this point have been extremely significant. It is difficult to gauge the numerical, quantitative extent of the repercussions, and the *Manifesto* comrades themselves are unable to make any precise predictions about this.

But a chain reaction has been developing which has profoundly shaken the provincial party organizations in various cities. The very clamor around some episodes, such as the "confrontation" of the leading bodies of the Roman federation or the revolt of the Lenin section in Cagliari, is indicative of the spirit of important sectors of the party membership. Members are openly rebelling against the ukases and bullying of the bureaucrats by resorting even to "direct action."

Further confirmation of the new climate in which the *Manifesto* episode has developed appears in the very tone of the reports and speeches of the two Central Committee meetings devoted to the question.

It is true that the final vote was for sanctions; it is true that the unreconstructed Stalinists seized the occasion to attempt a counterattack and that the middle bureaucrats voiced a spite hitherto kept in check.

But it is also true that many of the participants were forced to keep their arguments on a political plane and in part forego the tone of an inquisition. They went so far as to admit that after being dropped from the party, the supporters of *Manifesto* would still remain within the orbit of the left (such "liberalism" would scarcely be tolerated not only in the Soviet CP and its closest satellites but even in the PCF [Parti Communiste Français — French Communist party], where all critics inside and outside

the party are still "provocateurs in the service of the bourgeoisie").

A perhaps still more important element is that various groups and members in the party, which have been developing critical positions for some time independently of *Manifesto*, have begun to move and to initiate or to advance actions in the conviction that the question of the banned magazine may offer the opportunity for catalyzing the widespread discontent and opposition.

It is natural, moreover, that groups of critics in other Communist parties, especially in Western Europe, which in turn are seeking a focus to converge or coalesce around, look to *Manifesto* with interest and hope.

The question that arises is not whether this is an ephemeral development or whether the *Manifesto* group will be able to take advantage of the opportunities open to it on various levels. For our part, we are convinced, in particular, that the *Manifesto* comrades are or will be faced in the future with an initial fundamental choice.

*Manifesto* could operate essentially on the level of an intellectual review, discussing everything and questioning everything more for the sake of inquiry than to arm the activists in the class struggle. In this case, it would become an Italian replica of experiments that have already been underway for some time in other countries, attracting the attention of left "circles" in Western Europe and constituting a sort of focus for the disillusioned, or for sophisticated intellectuals.

*Manifesto* could, instead, choose the path of linking up—in a collaborative manner — with the new experiments in the last two years in the area of the new worker vanguards and the vanguards of the student movement. It could choose the road of direct participation in action, most often necessarily an uncharted road, the road of contributing to the development of the movements which are arising from the ranks.

It might be replied that these two things are not always incompatible. In principle, it is true that political and theoretical debate is empty—and sterile—if it is not rooted in participation in the real movement; and the real movement cannot achieve positive results if it is not guided by constant analytical reflection and by the

indispensable unifying concepts. But, concretely, what is involved is a very precise practical choice which no group can avoid even if it cannot realistically aspire to accomplish all at once all the tasks that need to be done.

In the second place, after breaking the umbilical cord that bound it to the party, the *Manifesto* group will have to operate primarily politically; it will not be able to sidestep the need to define its own positions on a series of fundamental problems.

A grouping within the party that views its mission to be one of stirring internal debate and breaking up stagnation can limit itself to raising problems rather than providing answers, to affirming the need for new study rather than indicating new solutions. But when a group has reached the point of a break, rejecting both blandishments and blackmail, and wants to take up a struggle, it must say clearly what its interpretation is of fundamental events of these years and what solutions it suggests.

This is all the more true since Italy and Western Europe—to say nothing of other parts of the world—are passing through a period of explosive tensions and struggles which do not permit hedging or suspension of judgment. And the revolutionary left outside the traditional organizations is already numerous and combative and is defining itself on the basis of fundamental concepts and orientations.

From allusions in their articles and speeches, it appears that the *Manifesto* comrades regard all the revolutionary left groups with a certain disdain, singling out their extreme fragmentation and rampant sectarianism. We would certainly not be the ones to minimize the negative effects of a fragmentation which in fact exists and to deny the devastating character of a sectarianism that does not shrink from the worst aberrations.

But it must never be forgotten that, in the last analysis, these phenomena are the consequence of the abyss that exists between a situation highly ripe for all-embracing revolutionary struggles that would put the question of power itself on the agenda, and the crying default of the old formations in the workers movement, which are still capable of exercising a predominant though declining influence.

In such a context, it is inevitable that there will be an entire phase in which fragmentation will prevail over consolidation, in which the feverish search for one's own truth will prevail over concern for mobilizing broad sectors of the masses, in which fear of not standing far enough to the left will preclude the necessary polemics against positions which are in fact extremist and adventuristic in the Leninist sense.

On the other hand, while the groups and subgroups are innumerable, the essential currents can be reduced to three: Spontanéism, Maoism, and Trotskyism (Castroism being limited to Latin America), to three conceptions and three movements which have a whole historic development and an international importance and have surfaced precisely at critical occasions, like May 1968 in France.

The *Manifesto* comrades are declaring now that they do not want to form a new group, that they want instead to provide a meeting ground or a platform of confrontation for the revolutionary left as a whole. Frankly we think that this proposal will be difficult to achieve inasmuch as there is a logic of situations and views which it is not easy to escape. However, such a role, in the present context, would be an objectively useful one, if the *Manifesto* comrades are in fact capable of playing it. For our part, we would regard it as a positive element in the present situation.

The *Manifesto* comrades could, however, play such a role only on two conditions. The first is, as we have already stressed, that they do not choose the path of an intellectual review but show themselves capable of genuine active involvement. The second concerns the method, even more than the content, of their analyses, formulations, and studies.

To be more concrete, more explicit, this means that *Manifesto* will have to settle accounts with the real positions and forces and not think that it can get by with summary judgments that are obviously valueless and in the best of cases represent only a convenient evasion.

As regards us directly, articles like those by Semprun are certainly not the sort of thing to win our consideration. Semprun presumes to dismiss the experience of the *Ligue Communiste* (the French section of the Fourth

International] in a couple of lines, interprets the "Trotskyist theory of revolution" in a ridiculous way, and therefore has no difficulty in drawing the conclusion that "the Trotskyist tradition is outworn."

But is Semprun, and are the *Manifesto* comrades, really aware of the views of Trotsky and the Fourth International? Have they tried to find out what political forces in the French May had the most impact on the revolutionary left? Have they asked themselves why the organization that emerged from this test by far the strongest among the vanguard groups was precisely the *Ligue Communiste*, the section of the Fourth International?

Or is all this unworthy of notice? Is it, perhaps, more important to rehash articles from magazines like *Socialisme et Barbarie*, whose intellectual pomposity is equaled only by their utter political and practical sterility?

It is nothing new for us certainly to see that some people rather than discuss our real views prefer to put labels on us, ignoring both our theoretical and practical contributions. But the fact that a magazine like *Manifesto* should cheerfully continue such a method through the intermediary of Semprun is by no means an encouraging sign.

We have, however, some cause for consolation. Semprun passed a summary verdict on Trotskyism, or on a strawman labeled Trotskyism, for polemical purposes, in a few hasty paragraphs. But Rossana Rossanda with still greater nonchalance—after having already brushed off the Cuban revolution with a single phrase in the first issue of the magazine—in the space of a few pages reaches some astonishing conclusions. According to her, "there is no theory of the party in Marx, since in his theory of revolution there is neither the need nor the room for such a concept." At the same time, the misunderstood Lenin is accused peremptorily of idealism!

We repeat: If *Manifesto* wants to fulfill a role in studying and testing the positions of the revolutionary left, it can do useful work. But it can do this only on the condition that it abandon not only all forms of sectarianism or exclusivism but above all that it choose to stand on the ground of precise and scrupulous analysis in a genuine confrontation of real positions

and not indulge in the facile practice of applying labels, or vague and presumptuous characterizations.

To go back further, this year, both internationally and nationally, the Trotskyist movement made specific contributions, collective and individual, on questions such as determining a strategy for Latin America, a rounded Marxist analysis of the cultural revolution in China, the conception of the revolutionary party in the light not only of the fundamental principles of Marxism and Leninism but also and above all of the French and Italian experiences of this year, the concept of the relationship between the party, the unions, and mass organs of the Soviet type, and the analysis of the policy and views of the PCI over the last twenty-five years.

The *Manifesto* comrades are not obliged, obviously, to follow our practical involvement in the struggles or in the development of theory. But if they want to talk about Trotskyism—and we do not see how they can avoid this theme if they really want to fulfill the function they say they do—then they have the duty of informing themselves, of familiarizing themselves with the facts, of thinking, of arguing directly with precise references.

The remarks we have made have, moreover, a more general importance. If the *Manifesto* comrades want to lay the groundwork for containing and overcoming the fragmentation of the revolutionary left, the only possible method is that of testing positions by involvement in real struggle, in the experiences of participating in the real movement, and in the confrontation of views in discussions and polemics on the basis of their real content and not on the basis of deformations or convenient simplifications (to say nothing of deliberate falsifications).

### Figures Don't Lie...

A Saigon legislator announced December 18 that if the figures of the Thieu regime are to be believed, "there are no Communists at all left in South Vietnam."

At a news conference called by sixteen legislators, Deputy Nguyen Dac Dau pointed out, according to Reuters, that Thieu claimed two years ago there were only 300,000 "Communists" in the country. "But now the government says more than 300,000 have been killed by the armed forces, another 100,000 have defected under the open-arms policy, and 100,000 are in jail."