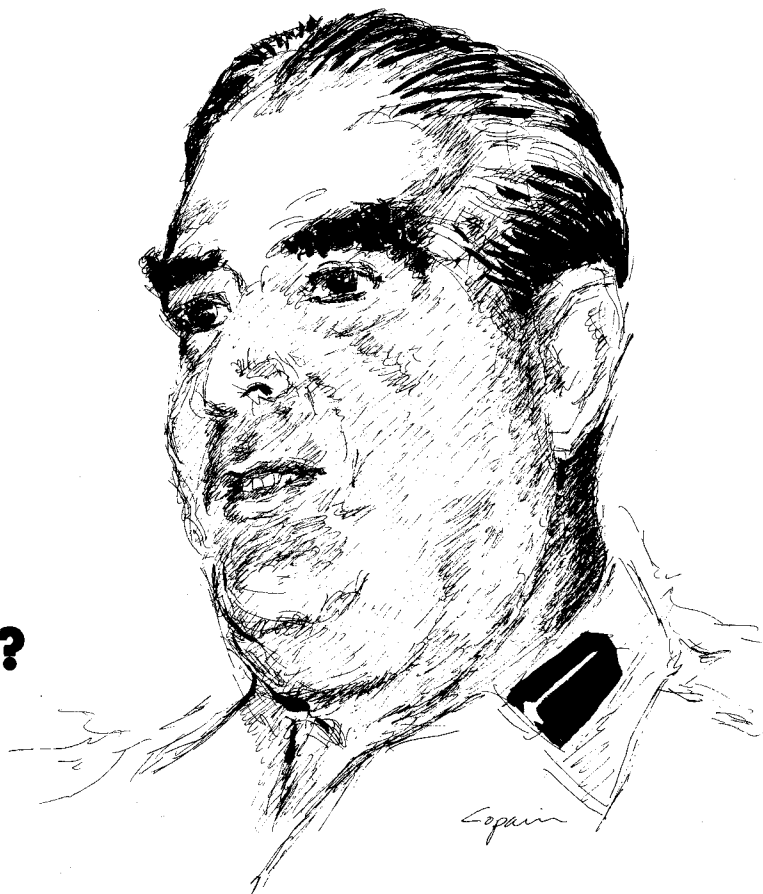


Nixon's Foray in North Vietnam

Mexico:

**The Talk of Amnesty
for Political Prisoners**

**A 'Peruvian' Solution
for Argentina's Generals?**



YAHYA KHAN: "Very satisfied" with relief fiasco in East Pakistan. See page 1055.

European Trotskyists Meet:

3,500 Young Revolutionists at Brussels Congress

It's Raining Acid

With all due respect to the writers of the old song, when it rains in Norway it's not violets but sulphuric acid. Not pure acid, it's true, but a heavy enough dose so that lakes in the southern part of the country already have such a high acid content that a government report predicted that trout in them cannot survive. Metal exposed to the rain becomes corroded.

Norway's acid showers are caused by air pollution. Oil burned in factories and homes releases sulphur into the air. Combined with moisture from the atmosphere, the sulphur becomes sulphuric acid.

The irony of the situation is that Norway's acid rain is not caused by Norwegian air pollution. The most likely sources of the sulphur are the factory regions of the Ruhr in West Germany and the Midlands in England.

Clyde H. Farnsworth reported in the November 27 *New York Times* that the Environmental Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD] has decided to conduct a study to determine the precise source of the sulphur in Norway's air.

Nobody seems to know what the next step will be when the culprit is found. The Norwegian government has regulations requiring homes and factories to burn only oil with a low sulphur content. But this can require expensive changes in equipment, and Norway cannot force such changes on England or West Germany.

As for the OECD, Farnsworth observed sadly that it "can not compel its members to do anything they don't want to do."

Through Mao-Tinted Spectacles

"... the American workers, the oppressed Black people and other minority nationalities, *poor peasants*, revolutionary intellectuals and other revolutionary people constitute more than 90 per cent of the total population of the country." (Emphasis added.)—Hsinhua, November 4, 1970.

According to the 1970 *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, farmers constitute 5.1 percent of the country's total population.

In This Issue

		FEATURES
		European Trotskyists Meet
	1051	3,500 Young Revolutionists at Brussels Congress
	1052	How "Le Monde" Reported the Congress
		VIETNAM WAR
	1054	Nixon's Commando Foray in North Vietnam
		PAKISTAN
Les Evans	1055	Thousands Dead for Lack of Aid in East Pakistan
		GUINEA
	1056	Portugal Implicated in Invasion Attempt
		TUNISIA
	1057	Student Strikers Defy Government Ban
		NEW ZEALAND
	1057	Antiwar Actions in Five Cities
		MEXICO
Ricardo Ochoa	1058	Talk of Amnesty for Political Prisoners
		ARGENTINA
Gerry Foley	1060	A "Peruvian" Solution for Buenos Aires Generals?
		SOVIET UNION
	1061	The Kremlin Keeps Solzhenitsyn at Home
		PARAGUAY
	1062	Mother Asks U Thant to Help Win Son's Release
		YUGOSLAVIA
	1062	Stock Exchange to Be Established?
		CHINA
	1063	Mao Rolls Out the Carpet for Yahya Khan
		U. S. A.
	1063	Blacks Call for Solidarity with Palestine
		THAILAND
Allen Myers	1064	Professors Confirm SMC Expose
		AUSTRALIA
	1065	Electoral Setback for Governing Parties
		SOUTH KOREA
	1065	Student Strike in Memory of Chun Tae Il
		IRELAND
	1066	Interview with Eoin O Murchu
		REVIEWS
	1069	Revolution and the Threat of War
		DOCUMENTS
	1069	Goldstucker Explains Why He Is Still a Communist
	1071	Why Maspero Joined the Ligue Communiste
		DRAWINGS
Copain	1049	Yahya Khan; 1056, Amilcar Cabral; 1057, Habib Bourguiba; 1060, Roberto Levingston; 1061, Mstislav Rostropovich; 1065, John Gorton

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3,500 Young Revolutionists at Brussels Congress

Brussels

The Congress for a Red Europe, called by the Ligue Communiste [Communist League] of France and the Jeunes Gardes Socialistes [Socialist Young Guards] of Belgium and organized by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, brought 3,500 revolutionary activists to Brussels November 21-22. Delegations came from every country in Europe.

Representation at the congress was as follows: France, 1,300 persons (1,100 from the Ligue Communiste; 200 from *Lutte Ouvrière*); Belgium 600 (Jeunes Gardes Socialistes, 500; Parti Wallon des Travailleurs [Wallon Workers party] and other members of the Confédération Socialiste des Travailleurs [Socialist Workers Confederation, which includes the previous organization as well as formations in Brussels and Flanders]), 100; Great Britain, 310; West Germany, 300; Sweden, 115; Italy, 95; Switzerland, 80; Denmark, 70; Luxembourg, 50; other delegations (the Netherlands, Spain, Greece, Finland, Ireland, Norway, Portugal, Turkey, Cyprus, and East European countries), 100; visitors and observers from Belgium and non-European countries, 500.

The first plenary session was chaired by comrades Henri Weber (Ligue Communiste) and Guido Totté (Jeunes Gardes Socialistes); the final plenary session by comrades Charles Michaloux (Ligue Communiste) and Guido Totté.

In his opening speech Henri Weber denounced in particular the French police's harassment of the French and British delegations by holding them at the border for hours checking their identification, while the French government claims to adhere to the principle of "free movement of persons and goods" within the Common Market. After these introductory remarks, Comrade Ernest Mandel presented the political report of the congress on behalf of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

This report, entitled "Against the Europe of the Monopolies and for a Socialist United States of Europe," reviewed the principal reasons that led

the West European monopolies to set out on the road of economically integrating capitalist Europe, and the pernicious consequences of these attempts from the standpoint of the European workers, consequences that can be overcome only in a socialist Europe.

Mandel delineated the rise of working-class struggles and the radicalization of the youth in Europe. He indicated the chances for a convergence, for the first time since the birth of the workers movement, of a simultaneous rise in the combativity of the French, Italian, British, West German, and Spanish proletariats. He outlined broadly the program of the socialist revolution and called on the participants in the congress to integrate themselves tightly into the worker and student vanguard in each of their countries, with the objective of building revolutionary parties and the revolutionary International, without which victory of the socialist revolution is impossible in Europe.

Following Mandel's report, the congress broke up into ten workshops devoted respectively to the following subjects: drawing balance sheets of (1) the workers struggles, (2) the student struggles, (3) the anti-imperialist struggles, (4) the antibureaucratic struggles in Eastern Europe, (5) workers control, (6) the needs of the struggle against the Spanish, Greek, and Portuguese dictatorships and the threat of the strong state asserting itself throughout Europe, (7) the new needs and demands produced by the new development of the productive forces (notably in the areas of public health, the fight against pollution, housing, public transportation, education, etc.), (8) the women's liberation movement, (9) the demands of the high-school students and their movement, and (10) building the party and the International.

The objective in dividing the congress up into workshops was to permit discussion and participation by the largest possible number of activists in the debates, which was not possible in meetings attended by 3,500 persons.

In the Sunday afternoon plenary session, in an atmosphere super-

charged with revolutionary enthusiasm, where every speech was punctuated by chanting of slogans and singing, the congress heard some reports from the workshops. Comrade Livio Maitan (Italy) reported for the industrial workshop; Comrade Tariq Ali (Great Britain), for the workshop on anti-imperialist struggles; Comrade Charles-André Udry (Switzerland), for the workshop on "new needs and new demands"; Comrade Henri Weber (France), for the student workshop; and Comrade Brigitte Denaeke (France), for the workshop on the women's liberation movement.

Then Comrade Alain Krivine, speaking on behalf of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, delivered the final report of the congress, which was devoted to the problems of building revolutionary parties and the revolutionary International. He pointed to the importance of the new young vanguard that has irrupted onto the political scene everywhere in Europe, and indicated the broad currents into which it is presently divided—Maoism; spontanéism; and revolutionary Marxism, that is, Leninism. He stressed the impasse into which the Maoist and spontanéist currents are rapidly leading the revolutionary vanguard. Krivine explained the reasons why the Leninist conception of the vanguard party, built in association and close symbiosis with the mass movement, is more valid than ever. This concept, he said, also involves establishing a correct attitude—that is, neither sectarian nor opportunist—toward the trade unions and the traditional mass workers organizations.

In its opening session, the congress heard greetings from our American comrades of the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance read by Comrade Susan LaMont, as well as letters of greetings from Japanese and Ceylonese Trotskyist comrades; the Partido Operaria Comunista [Communist Workers party] of Brazil; the Unity Movement of South Africa; the Sandinista Liberation Front of Nicaragua; and the students of Burundi.

The final session of the congress

was concluded by the reading of messages sent to political prisoners in the jails of the imperialists and the Stalinist bureaucracy, notably comrades Hugo Blanco (Peru), Psaradelles (Greece), Carlos Sevilla (Mexico), Neville Alexander (South Africa), Kuron and Modzelewski (Poland), Pyotr Grigorenko and Ivan Yakhimovich (USSR), and many others. The resolution of solidarity with the political prisoners noted the congress's joy at the fact that our Bolivian comrades Felipe Vásquez, Chambi, and their friends had just been released, their prisons having been stormed by the insurgent masses.

The congress adopted a statement of greetings to the revolutionary fighters in the colonial countries, above all the Vietnamese, Palestinian, and Cuban fighters. It also voted a brief appeal to the workers and revolutionary youth of Europe. Likewise, the congress sent greetings to two veterans

of the world Trotskyist movement, themselves cofounders of the Communist movements in their respective countries: Comrade Peng Shu-tse (China) and Comrade James P. Cannon (United States).

All the documents and reports of the congress are scheduled to be published soon.

The congress concluded with a vibrant singing of the "Internationale." It was sung in all the languages of Europe by thousands of revolutionists who stood with their fists raised. In the course of the congress, they had seen the important advances achieved by the Fourth International since the French May and the opportunities for extending and stepping up the work of building revolutionary parties and the revolutionary International in close association with the liberation struggles of the European and world working class.

'The Red Flag Flew with Full Honors'

How 'Le Monde' Reported the Brussels Congress

[The size and breadth of the November 21-22 Brussels Congress for a Red Europe drew unusual attention from the bourgeois press. One of the most objective accounts was that of Thierry Pfister, the correspondent of *Le Monde*. We have translated this report in full from the November 25 issue of the widely read Paris daily.]

* * *

Saturday and Sunday [November 21-22] the red flag flew with full honors over the Université Libre de Bruxelles. But the police did not feel it necessary to ring the campus with strong contingents. In response to a call sent out by the French Ligue Communiste and the Belgian Jeunes Gardes Socialistes, some 3,000 Trotskyists crowded into an amphitheater built to seat 2,000.

It was particularly difficult to find a place Sunday since many delegates had been held up the day before at the French border, where the identification of all those traveling in spe-

cially chartered vehicles was systematically checked.

This international conference on the theme of "Red Europe" and "For a Socialist United States of Europe" brought together the European sections of the Fourth International and a certain number of sympathizing groups. Besides the Ligue Communiste (the French section), which sent a delegation of a thousand persons, the following formations were represented.

- The *International Marxist Group* (the British section), whose delegation was headed by the local Cohn-Bendit, Tariq Ali. This movement and its leader distinguished themselves primarily in connection with demonstrations of solidarity with Vietnam that assembled tens of thousands of people. With the same perspective they have just set up a movement of solidarity with Ireland. They also influence a youth organization which was represented at Brussels as well, the Spartacus League.

- The *Revolutionære Socialisten* (Danish section). This group is based

primarily in Copenhagen and in the country's biggest university town, Aarhus. It was this movement that led the demonstrations against holding the World Bank congress in the Danish capital. It works as a tendency in the SUF [Socialistisk Ungdoms Forbund — Federation of Socialist Youth].

- The *Gruppe Internationale Marxisten* (the German section). This organization was formed in 1969. Since that year it has given impetus to a broader movement, also represented in Brussels, the Revolutionary Communist Youth [Revolutionär-Kommunistische Jugend], which is seeking to fill the place left vacant by the disappearance of Rudi Dutschke's SDS [Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund — German Socialist Student Federation].

- The *Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari* (the Italian section). This organization, formed following the war, systematically practiced "entryism" into the Italian Communist party. In the 1968 student demonstrations, this policy placed them in an awkward situation, resulting in a major internal crisis. Since then the groups of the organization have taken advantage of the continual strikes in Italy (the so-called creeping May [referring to May 1968 in France]) to win a base in the factories. They have succeeded particularly at FIAT, where they helped to form a workers council, and in the Bari-Taranto foundries.

- The *Kommunistische Liga* (the Austrian section), an essentially student group.

- The *Internationalist Communist party* [Kommounistiko Diethnistiko Komma tes Ellados — Internationalist Communist party of Greece] (the Greek section). This is one of the oldest Trotskyist organizations, and one which has operated underground virtually since 1936.

Besides these sections of the Fourth International, the following Trotskyist groups were represented, besides the *Lutte Ouvrière* group in France, which sent 300 delegates:

- The groups organized around the Spanish journal *Comunismo*, which was started up a year and a half ago.

- *Revolutionära Marxister* and *Bolsjevik Gruppen* (Sweden). The first movement is quite clearly Trotskyist and has taken its inspiration from the wildcat strikes in Kiruna and Göt-

borg to struggle against the co-opting of the unions into the capitalist system. The second group developed from a split in the Maoist movement. The two formations are engaged in unity talks.

● The *Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire* (Switzerland). This group was formed a little more than a year ago in French-speaking Switzerland, as the result of a split in the local Communist party.

● The *Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire* (Luxembourg). This group was formed in the fall and comes out of the revolutionary socialist left. It represents the first serious Trotskyist attempt to gain a base in this country.

● The *Jeunes Gardes Socialistes* (Belgium). This group was originally the youth movement of the Socialist party. Since their split with the Social Democratic current, the Jeunes Gardes have moved toward Trotskyism, and last year they asked to be recognized by the Fourth International as a "sympathizing organization."

● The *Parti Wallon des Travailleurs* (Belgium). This group was formed in 1965 as the result of a split in the PSB [Parti Socialiste Belge—Belgian Socialist party].

The Brussels conference was the first international and internationalist demonstration since May 1968. It reflected in fact an important turn in the political activity of the Fourth International. As Alain Krivine was to note in his speech concluding the conference, for thirty years the Trotskyists were the only communist current struggling against Stalinism. As a result they were very isolated and particularly vulnerable to repression.

In this connection, the former candidate for the presidency of the French republic pointed out that the Kremlin leaders received invitations from the "bourgeois democracies," while Ernest Mandel, a member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and a noted scholar, is still banned from France. This proves that the bourgeoisie can tell who its real enemies are, Krivine concluded.

During this entire previous period, the Trotskyist strategy was one of "entryism" in which the militants sought to gain control of the main working-class organizations from within. Despite the scant success achieved by this practice, it has not been officially abandoned. But the leaders of the

Fourth International consider it possible now to go over into a new stage.

Already in February 1968, the Trotskyists, together with the SDS, organized a Europe-wide demonstration in Berlin in support of Vietnam. At the time, this rally reflected the rising mobilization of the students which a few months later was to culminate on the barricades in Paris. Nevertheless, the ideological references at the Berlin conference were diverse. Trotsky appeared on the banners side by side with Mao Tsetung and Fidel Castro. With the international "Red Europe" conference, the political clarification progressed.

When the Trotskyists assembled in Brussels talked about "new revolutionary vanguards," they were referring to the "new generations trained in the example of the Cuban and Vietnamese revolutionists." They believe that these new generations have been awakened by the colonial struggles; for example, the Algerian war in the case of France; and that over the last three years this has produced a political awakening of the European workers movement.

This radicalization was expressed especially by the "French May" but also by the Belgian, English, and German wildcat strikes and by the Italian "creeping May." Recent experiences having clarified the political options and made it possible to develop a strategy, the Trotskyists consider themselves now in the best position for building a "Leninist organization." The lack of such a formation, according to them, has prevented the social agitation from rising to the political level.

The Trotskyists note that politically incoherent groups like the SDS have broken up. They point to the "great collapse" of the various Mao-spontaneous groups, which have proven themselves incapable of offering any perspectives. "They only make a theory out of their impatience," Krivine declared. Strengthened by this evolution that offers it an open field, the Fourth International has decided to abandon the "entryism" of the period of "crossing the desert" to begin to take the leadership of struggles. To do this, new sections will be set up by means of uniting the Trotskyist cadres and the revolutionary organizations of the new generation, as has already occurred in France with the fusion of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste [Internationalist Communist par-

ty, the former French section of the Fourth International] and the Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire [Revolutionary Communist Youth].

In his opening report, Ernest Mandel stressed these new perspectives of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. He said, among other things: "The great collective memory of the European working class which seemed to have slept for a generation or two is reawakening. This consciousness shows clearly to those who want to see and understand that the time of workers councils, the time of soviets, is approaching in Europe. This awareness reflects the important advance in the consciousness of the class since May 1968 in France.

"The fundamental weakness of the May 1968 revolutionary upsurge was the absence of organs directly representative of the struggle of the French strikers. The rise of the struggles since then promises that there will be no such lack the next time! . . . The new, the crucial fact on the European political scene is that the traditional organizations have essentially lost their control over the youth—the working-class youth as well as the student youth. A renewal and accelerated rise of revolutionary movements are thus assured. It is this renewal and this rise that are changing the relationship of forces, that are giving the radicalized workers, union oppositionists, and revolutionary militants, who only yesterday were still isolated, the courage and the opportunity increasingly to challenge the bureaucratic apparatuses. . . .

"Our political opponents will talk of conspiracy. The only intellectual argument they command is in fact the cop's bludgeon and the riot squads' water cannon. But we are not dynamiters or bomb-throwers. We are not spinning any plot. We have nothing up our sleeves and nothing in our pockets. We proclaim our program to all."

Air-Traffic Congestion in Laos

"So many American planes are bombing the Ho Chi Minh trail in southern Laos that military officials have established traffic patterns similar to those in use at major American airports."—*New York Times*, November 8.

The U.S. air force's command center in Colorado, which is supposed to be able to survive a nearby nuclear blast, suffered \$94,000 damage from a rain-storm in October.

Nixon's Commando Foray in North Vietnam

The Nixon administration publicly admitted November 23 that it had landed an armed commando force in North Vietnam early in the morning of November 21.

The helicopter-borne force of approximately 50 troops landed at Sontay, only twenty-three miles from Hanoi, at the same time that U. S. planes were engaged in bombing wide areas of North Vietnam, including the districts around Hanoi and Haiphong.

Nixon and his secretary of defense, Melvin Laird, presented this dangerous new escalation of the war as a "humanitarian" attempt to rescue American prisoners of war. But in the November 26 *New York Times*, William Beecher gave a more accurate appraisal of the aims of Nixon and his advisers. Reporting on the planning that led up to the Sontay raid, Beecher wrote:

"Some senior officers even talked among themselves of an amphibious landing by a Marine division in North Vietnam aimed at so unnerving Hanoi's leaders they might quickly sue for peace and release all prisoners."

The attack on Sontay clearly threatens North Vietnam with similar, perhaps even larger raids in the future. The raid conveyed this message clearly, despite its failure to achieve its avowed aim.

Laird became positively indignant when anyone suggested that the failure to bring back any prisoners meant the raid was unsuccessful. He even went so far as to defend the intelligence reports that claimed American prisoners of war were located at Sontay.

"This was not a failure," Laird told a hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee November 24. He continued:

"I would like to tell you, Mr. Chairman, that we have made tremendous progress as far as intelligence is concerned."

At this point, the chairman, William Fulbright interjected the query: "You mean since Friday?"

Tad Szulc reported in the November 25 *New York Times*:

"Members of the public and many newsmen in the crowded hearing room

burst out laughing when Mr. Laird insisted that United States intelligence in planning the rescue operation was 'excellent.'"

The only real problem, Laird insisted, was that "we have not been able to develop a camera that sees through the roofs of buildings."

Pending the development of such a camera or similar science-fiction devices, the administration clearly would have preferred to keep all information about the attack secret. Laird himself said as much to the House Foreign Affairs Committee November 25:

"It was not my plan to bring [the raid] to the public attention, necessarily."

Nixon decided to reveal the Sontay operation, Laird said, because of a "credibility problem."

In announcing the November 21 bombing raids, Laird claimed that they had been confined to the area below the nineteenth parallel. This was immediately denied by the North Vietnamese and by Agence France-Presse, which reported bombs falling near Hanoi.

In his testimony to the House committee, the November 26 *New York Times* reported, "Mr. Laird . . . said that the United States had been accused by North Vietnam of 'what we did not do — sending waves of planes on Hanoi and Haiphong,' and, therefore, 'we have a certain problem of credibility in our society.'"

During the Sontay attack, Laird said, U. S. planes had only dropped "flares" as a diversion. He suggested that explosions in the Hanoi area were caused by anti-aircraft missiles falling back to earth.

Unfortunately for Laird and Nixon's "problem of credibility," the North Vietnamese were able to show an Agence France-Presse correspondent the remains of Shrike missiles near Hanoi. The Shrike is an air-to-surface weapon carried on American planes. The North Vietnamese do not possess any.

The credibility gap was getting so large that Nixon in effect tried to dissociate himself from Laird. At a Thanksgiving Day dinner at the

White House, Nixon admitted in front of a number of servicemen that U. S. planes had attacked "military installations" in the Sontay area. (The Agence France-Presse correspondent reported seeing Shrike missiles in rice fields five and six miles from the center of Hanoi.)

The next day, Daniel Henkin, the assistant secretary of defense for public affairs, told *New York Times* reporter Tad Szulc: "I would not say flatly that no bombs were dropped in the area."

The disclosures of the Sontay raid and bombing attacks near Hanoi were accompanied by hints of a possible resumption of full-scale bombing of North Vietnam.

In his testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Laird said: "I would recommend calling off that cessation of bombing should there be major violations of these understandings."

The "understandings" of which Laird spoke were allegedly concluded two years ago, when Lyndon Johnson halted the daily bombing of North Vietnam. The U. S. government claimed that Hanoi had agreed to permit reconnaissance flights over the North, to refrain from shelling South Vietnamese cities, and not to send major forces across the demilitarized zone. The North Vietnamese government has consistently denied the existence of such an agreement.

Setting aside Nixon's pretexts, the November 21 attacks on North Vietnam can be seen as an attempt to "soften up" the American public to accept further escalation of the war.

Nixon's strategy does not take into account the antiwar movement around the world. He is very much mistaken if he believes that the capitulation of the Senate "doves" to his prelection "peace" maneuvers is an accurate measure of the real depth of the opposition. The antiwar movement has the power to answer Washington's stepped up aggression by organizing the kind of massive protests that can put a halt to the war.

Thousands Dead for Lack of Aid in East Pakistan

By Les Evans

Two weeks after the devastating hurricane struck the low-lying delta region of East Pakistan November 12, some kind of relief operation appeared finally to be getting under way. But it was too late for thousands—perhaps tens of thousands—of those who had miraculously survived the wind and waves. By the time help arrived they were dead from exposure, hunger, and thirst.

"Virtually the entire water supply of the stricken region was polluted," the *New York Times* reported November 29, "—either by the massive saline waves or by the decomposing bodies of the dead, many of which still lie unburied under the cruel sun."

The death toll, according to the *Times*, may exceed 1,000,000 persons. No one is saying how many of these died days after the cyclone struck. But the *Times* added: "Some areas and offshore islands still have no fresh water, and very little has yet been brought in. No water is being air-dropped, apparently because of the lack of proper containers, and only small amounts have been brought in by boat."

The United States and the other Western countries have tried to shift the main blame for the shameful failure of the relief effort onto General Yahya Khan's military government. There is no lack of evidence that the Pakistani regime hardly stirred itself until a worldwide outcry and massive protests in East Pakistan threatened to provoke a political crisis.

But Pakistan alone, even if its government had the will, did not have the resources to cope with a disaster of the magnitude that struck it. The *New York Times* admitted this in its November 26 issue when it editorially lamented the "pitifully small fleet of helicopters airlifted from the United States," adding that America had the resources and the ability, "if we can only summon the will, to put our own treasure and technology and planes and power into the rescue of the East Pakistanis." No such effort of will was forthcoming in Washington. Not one

of the 4,000 American helicopters assigned to Vietnam was sent to Pakistan. The "fleet," pitiful or otherwise, numbered only ten helicopters at its peak.

Nixon suggested that the best contribution would be cash. Washington's contribution to the fund was \$8,000,000, less than one-fifth of the \$41,000,000 Nixon spends on the war in Vietnam every day.

In East Pakistan itself, the surviving victims, at first stunned by the tragedy, began to organize to take care of themselves as best they could and to bring the government to account for its criminal negligence.

"The population of Dacca, the capital of East Pakistan, demonstrated its anger Wednesday [November 18] at the slowness and the inadequacy of the operations to rescue the survivors of the Bay of Bengal catastrophe," the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported November 20.

"Students, supported by leftist militants and Bengali nationalists, paraded in front of the radio station, accusing it of broadcasting incorrect information on the cyclone and of deliberately concealing the scope of the disaster from the population."

Although the "official" death toll stands at 175,000, government representatives and the East Pakistani press have given much higher figures. The November 21 *Le Monde* cited "official figures" that at that time already listed the dead at 780,000. *Le Monde* gave this breakdown: 500,000 on the islands of Bhola and Patuakhali; 100,000 on the island of Hatyia; 130,000 in Noakhali district; and 50,000 in the region of Chittagong. "According to the authorities," *Le Monde* added, "98 percent of the children under sixteen years old were killed in the areas hardest hit by the cyclone."

As the deaths have mounted, the protest has increased as well. As a Bengali daily *Express* headline declared, "Nature Isn't the Only One Guilty!"

"In Dacca and other cities of East Pakistan," *Le Monde* reported Novem-

ber 24, "meetings have taken place demanding the postponement of the elections [scheduled for December 7] and the mobilization of all national resources to aid the devastated regions."

"Numerous Pakistani observers were of the opinion Sunday [November 22] that the catastrophe in Bengal threatened to provoke a political crisis which could create a revolutionary situation in the country."

A statement issued November 23 by eleven East Pakistani bourgeois political leaders charged the Yahya Khan government with "gross neglect, callous inattention and utter indifference." In a telegram to Yahya the eleven accused the government of "sinister attempts to play down and stifle news coverage of the greatest single havoc in human history."

"Not one single [cabinet] minister is here," the cable said. "You yourself left the province after a cursory glance at the first flush of news of the tragedy."

The following day a mass protest rally was held at Dacca, which United Press International estimated was attended by at least 50,000 persons. Maulana Bashani, the aged Maoist leader of the National Awami party, addressed the crowd, accusing Yahya of inefficiency and mismanagement, and calling for his resignation.

The rising protest prompted Yahya to make his first visit to the stricken area on November 25. He had had a brief glimpse from the air ten days before on his way home from a visit to Peking.

The general, with plenty of photographers in tow, "patted the heads of children orphaned by the disaster and passed out blankets to which were pinned a piece of paper saying, 'Gift From President of Pakistan,'" as the *New York Times* reported November 26.

Yahya made a point of praising the army. "These troops of ours are wonderful," he told the reporters. There were many press reports that hun-

dreds of soldiers spent the first week after the flood playing handball at their bases instead of distributing supplies.

The day after Yahya's visit, Sheik Mujibur Rahman, the best known and one of the most conservative of East Pakistan's political leaders, accused the government of "criminal negligence." At a well-attended news conference the sheik declared: "Our present experience has only brought into sharp focus the basic truth that every Bengali has felt in his bones, that we have been treated so long as a colony

and a market that we have been denied our birthrights as the free citizens of an independent state." He called for a struggle for a separate East Pakistani state if the December 7 elections were postponed.

Yahya Khan replied with his own press conference in Dacca November 27 where he admitted for the first time that his government had made some "odd slips," and some "odd mistakes." "My Government is not made up of angels. . . ." he declared. "But by and large I'm very satisfied that everything is being done and will be done."

vasion has become available, Touré's charges that Portugal is directly responsible have gained weight. Fredric Hunter, for example, writing from Nairobi, Kenya, in the November 27 *Christian Science Monitor*, reported:

"The substance of the Radio Conakry reports has been confirmed by the head of the United Nations Development Program, Roger Polgar, in Conakry. Mr. Polgar cabled Secretary-General U Thant that he had personally seen four landing craft and fighters flying over the city. . . .

"One thing seems certain: the invasion attempt was no small undertaking. Observers wonder just what organization planned, coordinated, and financed it; recruited, assembled, and trained the mercenaries and staged an invasion which enjoyed naval and air support.

"The obvious suspect is the Portuguese military which currently is fighting a determined insurgency in neighboring Portuguese Guinea. It has the military equipment, the money, and the territorial base to stage such an operation."

Conakry radio announced November 28 that a second mercenary group had entered Guinean territory in the Coundara region near the border with "Portuguese" Guinea. The latest invasion attempt was said to involve about 200 men whom the radio identified as Portuguese troops. Portugal has denied responsibility for both incursions. Lisbon maintains some 30,000 colonial troops in Guinea (Bissau).

Keita Mamadou, one of the invaders, who was captured during the November 22-24 fighting, gave this account of the operation over Conakry radio (as reported in the November 24 Paris daily *Le Monde*):

"We arrived this morning off Conakry on board six boats. Before landing, we received our instructions from a Portuguese general. There were 150 marines on the boats and 150 commandos, as well as fifty Guineans trained in Portuguese Guinea who were to guide us.

"One group had the mission of capturing the ministry of defense, another was to attack the airfield, and a third group was to cut the road to Alfayaya camp and later attack it.

"We were to be met in Conakry by counterrevolutionary Guinean elements, recognizable by their green armbands.

"If our mission succeeded, the co

Guinea

Portugal Implicated in Invasion Attempt

Reports by witnesses to the white mercenary invasion of Guinea's capital, Conakry, November 22-24, strongly suggest that the operation was staged by the Portuguese government despite denials from Lisbon. European travelers arriving in Algiers from Conakry "expressed the conviction . . . that the Portuguese had been deeply involved in the invasion," the *New York Times* reported November 30. "An Eastern European doctor reported that he had treated a Portuguese officer who was wounded and captured by the Guineans during the attack. The prisoner was identified as a Captain Ambrosio."

According to these witnesses, the principal objective of the attacks by some 350 commandos was the nationalist movement of Guinea (Bissau) [Bissau is the capital of the Portuguese enclave in Guinea] which maintains headquarters in Conakry. The mercenaries, the *New York Times* quoted the travelers as saying, took as their main targets the house of Amilcar Cabral, the leader of the Parti Africain de l'Indépendance de la Guinée dite Portugaise et des Iles du Cap-Vert [PAIGCV—African party for the independence of so-called Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands]; the house of President Sékou Touré; and the offices of the PAIGCV.

President Touré's palace was reportedly burned and the invaders succeeded in capturing the main prison, but they were driven off after three days of heavy fighting.



AMILCAR CABRAL: According to press reports, the Guinean independence leader was out of the country when white mercenaries seized his home in Conakry.

The *New York Times* continued:

"The attackers were successful at first because Guinea's Army was concentrated away from Conakry, the observers said, adding that the civilian population had reacted with 'astounding vigor.'"

The Western press at first questioned whether an attack had taken place at all and later tended to attribute the operation to domestic foes of the Touré regime, abetted by hired mercenaries. But as evidence of the scope of the in-

mand was to have dropped paratroopers on the seized objectives."

Immediately after the attack on Conakry began, Touré appealed to the UN to send airborne troops to help in "wiping out, with our national army, the last positions occupied by the Portuguese mercenaries and to pursue the aggressors' ships in our territorial waters."

Touré also called on African states

for aid against the invasion. The Nigerian government announced November 23 that its embassy in Conakry had informed it of "clear evidence of foreign involvement" in the attack. Nigerian Foreign Minister Okoi Arikpo said:

"From all indications it appears that they [the invaders] took off from the neighboring territory of Guinea, which is under Portuguese control."

The *New York Times* reported November 28 that token forces of troops from the United Arab Republic and Nigeria were en route to Conakry in response to Touré's appeal for aid.

The same article reported that five ships that had supported the invasion had departed from Guinean waters on November 27. A submarine, "presumably Portuguese," still remained off the coast.

Tunisia

Student Strikers Defy Government Ban

Persistent student unrest at the University of Tunis exploded the third week of November in violent protests against the budgetary policies of the neocolonialist Bourguiba regime. After carrying out a partial strike earlier in the month against arbitrary expulsions, the Tunisian students were exasperated by a decision to alter a bus route serving the university to suit the convenience, as they believed, of a group of military officers.

Over a hundred students attacked buses November 16 and 17, according to the November 21 issue of *Le Monde*, slashing tires and throwing stones at bus windows. The youths reportedly also tried to tear down the

shelter at the new bus stop near the officers' quarters.

Police intervened November 18 and invaded the campus. In the ensuing clashes, three policemen and five students were injured and twelve protesters were arrested.

The official student organization, the UGET (Union Générale des Etudiants Tunisiens—General Union of Tunisian Students), called for a halt to protests, claiming that it alone was competent to represent the students. The organization admitted that it "had not been aware" of the grievance.

Despite the declaration of the UGET, the students launched a general strike November 19. The government responded with threats of repression. The National Ministry of Education published the following declaration November 20: "Starting Saturday, November 21, classes must resume normally in all schools and departments of the University of Tunis. If

the disruptions and disorders persist, the government has decided to take all the steps dictated by the gravity of the situation."

The students defied the government order to return to classes. "The strike was almost total Saturday on the Tunis campus. . . ." *Le Monde* reported in its November 24 issue. "The great majority did not heed the calls for moderation by their existing organizations."

Two of the youths arrested in the November 18 clashes have reportedly been released. The rest are scheduled to appear in court. In the past, the Tunis regime has staged extensive roundups of "political undesirables" and imposed harsh sentences. One of the students demonstrating against the imperialist support for Israel during the Six-Day War in 1967 was originally sentenced to twenty years in prison, although he was later released in an amnesty.



HABIB BOURGUIBA: Cracks whip but students refuse to back down.

Antiwar Actions in New Zealand Cities

Antiwar actions were held in five New Zealand cities October 30 in solidarity with the October 31 demonstrations in the United States. Although student participation was limited by examinations, the protests were generally successful.

The largest demonstration was in Auckland, where 600 persons joined a night march following a rally in Albert Park.

In Dunedin, Bill Richards, president of the Otago Trades Council, and poet Charles Brasch addressed an antiwar meeting that had been preceded by a march.

Some 300 persons joined a solidarity meeting at the war memorial in Christchurch's Cathedral Square. Earlier, there was a demonstration that passed through the central area of the city.

In Wellington, the diplomatic mission of the Saigon regime was picketed by about eighty persons. A leaflet distributed to the public denounced Nixon's phoney "peace" maneuvers and called on the New Zealand government to refuse recognition and aid to the Lon Nol government in Cambodia. A small picket also took place in Palmerston North.

Talk of Amnesty for Mexico's Political Prisoners

By Ricardo Ochoa

Mexico City

With the sentencing of the majority of the political prisoners jailed in the 1968-69 repressive roundup, the Díaz Ordaz government committed its last savage act against the student movement and the people of Mexico in general. Eighteen days before turning power over to his successor and disciple Luis Echeverría, Díaz Ordaz sought to avoid passing on the bloody "legacy" of the "student question," slamming the prison gates shut on most of those jailed in the suppression of the student movement.

But the venal Judge Eduardo Ferrer MacGregor's very haste in passing sentence was a sign of the weakness of the totally discredited Díaz Ordaz government. Immediately after the court's pronouncement, protests began to take form. The first one did not come from the student movement, but very significantly from the rector of the National University, Pablo González Casanova, a "progressive" intellectual and sociologist, whose close friendship with Luis Echeverría is well known. In the corrupt world of Mexican politics, for a figure like the present rector (who has clear political ambitions) to dare ask amnesty for the student political prisoners (although not for the others) is something out of the ordinary, according to the political patterns prevailing before 1968. But since then a crisis has been evident here in the top government circles, where a series of disputes, battles, and frictions have been unleashed that will not fail to exert pressure on the new chief executive.

The demand raised by Pablo González Casanova for an amnesty was immediately seconded by others. The days following the rector's November 14 statement have seen other sectors of the population — the intellectuals first and then other currents — join in this demand. We were already used to reading positions in *Excelsior*, the country's most important daily, that diverged sharply from the present political course of the dominant faction of the bourgeoisie. However, we were

astonished to see its famous cartoonists and astute editorialists come out in support of an amnesty.

It was inevitable that the rector's appeal would have repercussions among the politically most active elements of the country. In the student milieu, a discussion began immediately over what steps to take and what tactic to adopt. As was to be expected, a whole gamut of attitudes developed, differing according to the various ideologies. Some leaders lined up unconditionally behind the rector's statements, which were absolutely respectful of the "present and future" government. On the other hand, the revolutionary sectors put things more in their proper context. I will note two cases here that contrast, for example, with the attitude followed by the PCM [Partido Comunista Mexicano — Mexican Communist party], whose course might be considered tailending the rector.

Hoja Popular is a very simple-minded student publication but one that is widely read in university circles and a little less so in the polytechnic schools. It reflects the views of the broad "independent" student population, that is, those students not directly linked to any specific political current, although they are considered "Marxists." These compañeros said: "After the rector's statement calling for amnesty for the imprisoned students, numerous declarations of support have followed one after the other, some of which have extended the appeal for amnesty to the nonstudent political prisoners. All this unquestionably represents an important contribution to the cause of freeing the revolutionary fighters . . . a contribution which must not be rejected for the sake of verbal radicalism or dogmatic narrowness. To the contrary, we must try to get more declarations and more actions from the most diverse groups, organizations, and individuals. . . . However, the most important thing is to achieve the greatest possible mobilization of the popular sectors, because only they can guarantee the re-

lease of their most outstanding fighters."

The second case is that of the magazine *La Internacional*, the organ of the Grupo Comunista Internacionalista [Internationalist Communist group, an organization in fraternal solidarity with the Fourth International]. In one of its broadsheets published in the last few days, it said: "Amnesty is a matter primarily of pressure on the government. But it is also clear that our compañeros are not being kept in prison on Díaz Ordaz's will alone, no matter how stubborn and despotic we know him to be.

"It is evident that all the attacks and violations of democratic freedoms that have occurred represent something more than personal quarrels. They confirm, in the last analysis, the fact that the *political prisoners will not be released* by way of any generous concession nor as the result of pressure like that some forces are trying to build up behind the demand for amnesty, no matter how important this is.

"Even if we can all sign the petition, will the president and the new president, 'the present and future government,' reform and *release the political prisoners*? Obviously not. Neither 'the present' nor the 'future' government will forget its anti-Communist phobia."

After referring to Echeverría's visit to Nixon the past week and his declaration in the White House about "the threat of Communism," the magazine added: "We Marxists are not averse to democratic statements like those supporting the amnesty. Our tactics are always flexible and we are always ready to listen to liberal sectors which, although not revolutionary, may join with us in a specific struggle. But the struggle to be developed now on the campuses cannot be restricted to fighting solely and exclusively for an amnesty."

The political prisoners have expressed similar views. In a letter sent to the November 18 meeting on the National University campus, Raúl A.

varez, Eduardo Valle, Luis González de Alba, and other prisoners stated that they were grateful to the rector for his demonstration of solidarity with the student prisoners but they noted that the 1968 student movement had declared for the release of *all* political prisoners, those arrested both before and after 1968; National University as well as polytechnic schools; and also worker and peasant prisoners.

The problem of what attitude to take toward the amnesty question has developed in this way owing to the new situation that is slowly taking shape in the country. The new government, of which González Casanova will be a very close collaborator, knows the importance of the political prisoners question. At first glance it might seem strange that a problem secondary in the revolutionary struggle in other countries has assumed such crucial importance in Mexico. The reason for this is that, in contrast with other countries, *almost the only means* the government has left to control the masses in Mexico is police repression. Its loss of prestige and the marked shrinking of its popular base, which was so broad in the 1940s and part of the 1950s, have put the government in a difficult situation. More than ever it relies on police control of the trade-union organizations and the mass organizations in general. The workers and peasants, subjected to daily police repression through the intermediary of their "leaders," see no possibility for breaking this monolithic control.

The students, in their own sector of society, threw off this control. This enabled them to struggle more effectively for their political prisoners than the railway workers could, for example, whose leader Demetrio Vallejo remained in prison more than ten years and got out only because of the mass pressure of the 1968 movement. The surprising thing about the student movement is that, in spite of its coming under the guns of the army and police more than any other movement in the modern history of the country, it has recovered in less than two years, and last Wednesday (November 18) was able to hold a giant rally on the National University campus attended by 10,000 students. And it was able to do this also in spite of the fact that the polytechnic schools were on vacation.

The National University remains the political brain of the student opposition, and the polytechnic schools its heart. These two educational centers have achieved an exemplary alliance, which the government thus far has been unable to destroy completely.

Last Wednesday the southern part of the city was in fact occupied by police forces, which surrounded the university campus. At about 6:00 p.m. the police contingents were reinforced by the army. The rally proceeded in a militant spirit and the students could see what strength they could count on in holding further rallies next week, which will mark the last week of the Díaz Ordaz government. There are already proposals to usher out the old government and usher in the new one with a national student strike (remember the polytechnic schools are on vacation).

High governmental circles are certainly discussing what attitude to take toward the students. There is one fact first of all that supports the supposition that Díaz Ordaz's "hard" line will continue without letup. On December 1, for the first time, the inauguration of the new president will include a military parade.

In addition, on November 18 the daily papers carried a long interview with Díaz Ordaz, which was in fact his "farewell" to Mexico. Among other strange things (such as the statement that José Revueltas was one of his favorite writers "as a novelist" and that Octavio Paz had not resigned from the government but has asked to be relieved of his duties, and so on), he repeated his ultrareactionary denunciations of the 1968 student movement. This indicated that he approved and agreed completely with the sentences handed out a week before. The outlook for an amnesty darkened considerably.

But Luis Echeverría has a very difficult task ahead of him. The first embryonic signs of a revival of the workers struggle have appeared with a series of strikes breaking out in the most diverse types of factories—Ayotla (textiles), Automex (automobiles), Celorio (cooking utensils), Alpa (textiles), etc.

The strikes have begun to shake up the trade-union bureaucracy. Yesterday, November 19, Rafael Galván, the leader of one of the electricians' unions, published a statement in sev-

eral papers accusing Fidel Valázquez (the top bureaucrat of the CTM [Central de Trabajadores Mexicanos — Mexican Workers Federation]) of dishonesty and wanting to destroy his union because Valázquez opposed his line of selling out the workers.

Little by little the students are seeing a new contingent begin to line up at their side. Will Echeverría let the students give impetus to this beginning workers' struggle? Today the UNAM [Universitario Nacional Autonomo de México—Autonomous National University of Mexico] and the IPN [Instituto Politecnico Nacional — National Polytechnic Institute] are the center of continual debates on the perspectives for unity between the workers and the students and of continual contacts between the workers and the students.

Will Echeverría let the students pursue the fight for the release of their imprisoned comrades, thus allowing the working-class mobilization in the offing to coincide with the student agitation? But at the same time, Echeverría knows that releasing the political prisoners of the 1968 movement would be the greatest spur to the struggle that would permit the consolidation of an alliance between the workers and students.

What course will he follow in fact? The events will very soon give us the relevant answers.

November 20, 1970.

Botha Warns of Napalm

The South African government has threatened to use napalm against members of any guerrilla movement that attempts to overthrow the rule of the white minority.

The threat came in a speech by Defence Minister P.W. Botha, and was reported in the October 25 London *Sunday Times* by John MacLennan. Botha went on to claim that the government was nearly self-sufficient in helicopters, jet fighters, and ammunition.

MacLennan wrote that Botha's speech was seen as a sign that the South African government was worried by attempts of Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda to organize an arms boycott against South Africa.

Nixon to Call for Belt Tightening?

Herbert Stein, one of Nixon's top economic advisers, announced November 7 that the administration cannot reduce unemployment and slow inflation unless the rate of wage increases declines.

A 'Peruvian' Solution for Buenos Aires Generals?

By Gerry Foley

Only four months after its installation by a military coup June 8, the regime of General Roberto Marcelo Levingston shows signs of cracking under the same pressures that caused the downfall of the preceding military dictatorship of General Juan Carlos Onganía.

The third nationwide work stoppage in a month took place on schedule November 12-13 in spite of a last-minute stiffening in the government's attitude: "With the grip of military government in Argentina more relaxed than at any time since 1966, organized labor paralyzed the nation today with a general strike and five political parties demanded an immediate return to elective democracy," *New York Times* correspondent Malcolm W. Browne cabled from Buenos Aires November 12.

"Industry, businesses, restaurants and theaters throughout the nation closed at noon for the 36-hour strike, and most transport halted, including subways and buses. For the first time in many years, the strike shut down even the national railroad system."

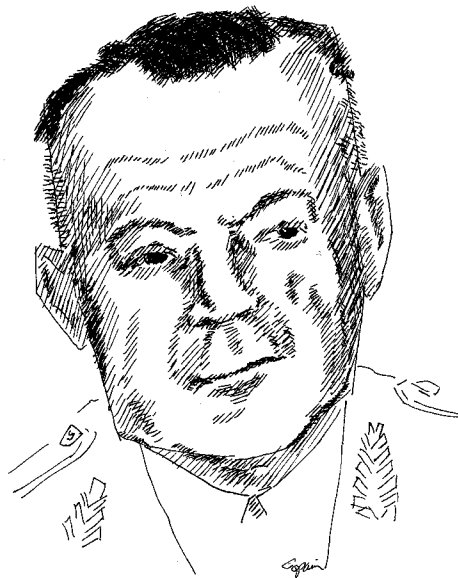
Tense confrontations accompanied the strike. "Clashes between strikers and the police were reported in several provincial cities, but in this capital of 8 million people, the strike began quietly," Browne wrote.

A November 13 Agence France-Presse dispatch reported: "The strike in public transport caused a gigantic traffic jam in downtown Buenos Aires, where about 600,000 vehicles were halted."

The clashes spread to Buenos Aires. Agence France-Presse continued:

"Violent confrontations have occurred in the capital where students from the school of medicine built barricades with automobiles and bombarded the police with stones. In Córdoba, strikers from the FIAT factories clashed with police during a march to the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo — General Confederation of Labor] offices."

The strikes indicate the union bureaucracy's difficulty in keeping a rein



ROBERTO MARCELO LEVINGSTON: Lackluster general on political tightrope.

on the combativity of the workers, according to *Le Monde* correspondent, Philippe Labreveux. In the November 13 issue of the Paris daily, Labreveux wrote: "Several union leaders were ready to 'get off a war footing,' to use a military expression they are very fond of. But the pressure of the rank and file and fear of reprisals from the far left changed their minds."

The military government appeared to be wavering in face of the popular discontent, unable either to institute thoroughgoing repression or make sufficient concessions to reduce working-class militancy.

"For its part," Labreveux wrote in *Le Monde* of November 13, "the Levingston government, at least initially was very careful not to threaten the unions. At the beginning of the week, Ferrer [minister of the economy] assured them that the CGT would not be placed under official control and that the strike would not be declared illegal. But the tone changed. Wednesday evening [November 11], the minister of the interior, in fact, accused the strike organizers of 'wanting to consolidate their personal power and preserve irri-

tating privileges.' General Cordon Aguirre [the minister of the interior] added that 'the law will be applied in its full rigor against those who are trying to transform the unions and the national union federation into a political organization.'"

The first national work stoppage of the current series, which took place October 9, forced the government to experiment with a new course. On October 14 two right-wing officials — Carlos Moyano Llerena, minister of economics; and Eduardo McLoughlin, then minister of the interior — resigned, charging the Levingston government with "weakness."

"The general strike October 9, which gained massive support in the provinces as well as in the capital, dealt the coup de grâce to Mayano Llerena," Labreveux wrote in *Le Monde* of October 23. President Levingston hastily named Aldo Ferrer, who up until then had held the public works portfolio, as his successor. This change implies rejection of the economic stabilization program conceived in 1967 by Adalberto Krieger-Vasena."

In an October 16 dispatch, the Associated Press described Ferrer as a "controversial left-of-center economist" and said his appointment "indicates a desire to experiment with new solutions to the nation's problems."

In line with this shift, General Alejandro Lanusse, reputedly the real power behind the government of the lackluster Levingston, has made declarations reminiscent of the "military reformist" line adopted by the dictatorships in Peru and Bolivia.

"In the name of the armed forces, General Alejandro Lanusse approved the selection of Ferrer," Labreveux wrote in the October 23 issue of *Le Monde*: "He made a statement of principles that certain observers have not hesitated to describe as 'Peruvian': 'It is necessary to increase the nationalization of the economy and gain more freedom of decision in order to place the economic system at the exclusive service of the country.'"

However, the new economic minis-

was faced with immediate difficulties. "After Mr. Moyano Llerena's resignation became official," UPI cabled October 15, "the president of the Argentine central bank, Egidio Ianello, closed the markets. During a three-hour period yesterday, when it was rumored that Mr. Moyano Llerena would resign, the bank's dollar reserves diminished by \$300,000."

In face of a 13.4 percent rise in the cost of living this year and a 40 percent increase in the price of meat, the basic Argentinian staple, Ferrer made only marginal concessions to the workers. He has raised the minimum wage from 200 to 300 pesos [350 pesos equal US\$1] effective April 1. This measure will affect about 300,000 workers, out of a population of 25,000,000. He has agreed that wage committees will meet April 1, 1971, but he has not raised wages overall. The only increase foreseen for the first part of next year was already granted by former minister of the economy Moyano Llerena.

Under the pressure of rising popular unrest and increasing isolation in society, the military government apparently considered trying to reach an agreement with the old parliamentary parties and the reformists grouped around the symbol of ousted nationalist dictator Juan Perón.

Before the start of the new campaign of union agitation, rumors were already circulating that the regime would allow the exiled nationalist leader to return. "The great majority of the political leaders have indicated their approval of this measure," Labreveux wrote in *Le Monde* of October 10. "As for President Levingston, it is being said in the corridors of the Casa Rosada [the presidential palace] that he is preparing to decree an amnesty. This would enable Perón to resume his rank of general and would involve dropping the charges still being pressed against him (rape, indecency, and contributing to the delinquency of a minor)."

According to an October 15 UPI dispatch, ex-Minister of the Interior General McLoughlin resigned in protest against this policy: "General McLoughlin's disagreement was with Enrique Gilardi Novaro, the Assistant Secretary for Political Affairs in the Interior Ministry. Mr. Gilardi Novaro was reported to have drafted a pro-

posed amnesty law that would clear the former dictator, Juan D. Perón, of all charges."

However, following the resignations of the two rightist ministers, General Lanusse reiterated the armed forces' opposition to Perón's return. Moreover, General Levingston refused to offer any hope for elections in the near future and has continued to enforce the law banning open activity by political parties.

A broad spectrum of purely bourgeois parties joined with the labor-oriented Peronistas in support of the November 12-13 general strike, indicating a clear split in the bourgeois political leadership. The front included both wings of the Radicals [bourgeois

liberals] as well as the Popular Conservative party.

At the same time there are persistent rumors of an impending split in the army. "A certain malaise prevails in the armed forces," Labreveux wrote in *Le Monde* of November 13. "Rumors of a coup d'etat are circulating. Hardly had the Levingston government gotten over the crisis provoked last month by the resignation of two of its ministers than it suffered a new defection, with the departure of General Juan Guglielmelli, secretary of the National Council for Development." Guglielmelli declared that Ferrer's economic policy was leading to "clashes between different sectors of Argentinian society when unity is more urgent than ever."

The Kremlin Keeps Solzhenitsyn at Home

Soviet novelist Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn announced November 27 that he had decided not to travel to Stockholm to receive the Nobel Prize for Literature. Solzhenitsyn reported his decision to Gunnar Jarring, the Swedish ambassador to the Soviet Union.

When the award was first announced on October 8, Solzhenitsyn said that he hoped to be permitted to go to Stockholm for the ceremony, which

was scheduled for December 10. However, he apparently became concerned that the Soviet bureaucracy might take advantage of such a trip to exile him from the country.

The November 28 *New York Times* reported: "... unofficial Soviet sources indicated that there was a good chance that if Mr. Solzhenitsyn applied for the Soviet exit visa, he might receive the necessary document to leave the country but might be barred from returning."

The article said that a recent meeting of Communist party activists in the Writers Union had called on the government to issue the dissident writer a "one-way ticket."

The *Washington Post* suggested November 28 that Solzhenitsyn had attempted to discover what action the bureaucracy might take if he went to Stockholm to accept the prize:

"Solzhenitsyn apparently never applied for a passport. Moscow observers speculated that he had made unofficial inquiries about his fate if he went abroad and had received answers that did not satisfy him."

Solzhenitsyn has been living in the home of cellist Mstislav Rostropovich and is reported to have just completed a novel about Russia at the beginning of the first world war.

Rostropovich, who is now on a concert tour in Western Europe, sent an open letter to four Soviet newspapers October 31 defending the award of the



MSTISLAV ROSTROPOVICH

Nobel Prize to Solzhenitsyn. It has not been printed in the Soviet Union.

"Talent, of which we are proud, must not be submitted to the assaults of the past," Rostropovich said in his letter. "I know many of the works of Solzhe-

nitsyn. I like them. I consider he seeks the right through his suffering to write the truth as he saw it and I see no reason to hide my attitude toward him at a time when a campaign is being launched against him."

is not up to doing more. And my son must not die. He is young; he is good; he is honest; and he has never committed any crime. Seven years in prison without any reason, seven years locked up in a maximum-security prison is a lot for an innocent man. Some of his companions have been in prison for more than ten years in the same circumstances. I feel for all of them, but it is my son who is dying.

Pardon me for bothering you but I need help. The heart of a Paraguayan mother will always pray for you in profound gratitude.

Faithfully,

Signed: G. Santander Vds. de González

P.S. My son's name is Livio González Santander.

Mother of a Paraguayan Political Prisoner

Asks U Thant to Help Win Son's Release

[The following letter from the mother of a victim of the repression in Paraguay was transmitted to the Movimiento por la Vida y la Libertad de los Presos Politicos Paraguayos (Movement to Defend the Lives and Win the Release of the Paraguayan Political Prisoners) in Buenos Aires. This organization has asked that the Paraguayan mother's appeal be published as widely as possible. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Asunción, Paraguay
October 23, 1970

Dear Mr. U Thant:

I have been told that you may be able to help me and so I am writing to you. I know that you are a very important person and I am only an ordinary woman, the mother of a worker. But I am a mother desperate to save her son's life. And I know that because you are a good person, you will listen to my appeal.

My son has been imprisoned in the Comisaria Tercea [Third Police Station] here for seven years. All of my efforts to get permission for a lawyer to visit him have been in vain. They have not even told me why he is being held. Often whole months go by without me being able to see him, to know whether he is in good or bad health, because they never let him out of the jail where he is, nor any of the others who are being held with him.

But now, since September 28, my son has been on a hunger strike. He says that he will either get free or die, because he cannot stand it where he is any more. And I do not know what to do. I go from one minister to another, from one chief to another; I visit bishops, deputies, doctors.

They all make promises but the days go by and my son is dying

in prison. Therefore, I beg you to do something for him, for me, for all of us. You will be doing it for honorable people, that I can assure you.

If I were young and stronger, I could fight harder for my son's life. But I am old and sick; my strength

Wall Street Notes with Interest

Stock Exchange in Yugoslavia?

The Yugoslav government is considering the establishment of a stock exchange. A bill to regulate such an exchange was introduced into the national legislature in October, Harry Schwartz reported in the November 15 *New York Times*.

Schwartz said that the bill "would legalize the issue of bonds, certificates and securities by Government authorities at different regional levels as well as by banks and productive enterprises. The proposed law would give purchases of such securities such benefits as an interest rate above that paid in savings banks, a reduction in income tax proportional to purchase of securities and the right to benefit in gains realized by the issuing enterprise."

Such a step is apparently seen as a means of obtaining capital for investment. Many enterprises have had difficulty in finding funds for expansion, and attempts to solve the problem by monetary issues of the National Bank have contributed to inflation.

Something of a precedent for the stock-exchange scheme was provided by the Crevena Zastava automobile factory, which in 1968 issued bonds

worth 100,000,000 dinars [12.5 dinars equal US\$1]. The bonds, providing 6 percent interest, were purchased primarily by suppliers and other factories.

The stock exchange, if established, would permit purchases by both individuals and enterprises. This obviously opens the possibility for individuals to amass sums of capital, although it is not clear what restraints, if any, the government might impose. Schwartz wrote that the plan had aroused opposition on the grounds that "a socialist stock exchange would be a dangerous step toward reinstating capitalism in Yugoslavia."

An alternative plan for raising investment funds "has been introduced by a small Yugoslav factory called Mehanika in the town of Orasje. It has turned to Yugoslav workers in West Germany and offered to guarantee them jobs when they return home if they lend Mehanika money to expand its facilities. The first to accept were 20 Yugoslavs working . . . in West Germany who provided \$28,000. Hundreds of other Yugoslav workers employed in West Germany are reported to have expressed interest in the scheme."

Mao Rolls Out the Carpet for Yahya

"The Chinese people regard victory in the anti-imperialist struggle of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America as their own victory and give warm sympathy and support to all their anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggles."—Mao Tsetung.

No doubt the above quotation does describe the attitude of the Chinese people. Mao himself, however, is less discriminating about the recipients of his "warm sympathy and support."

This was demonstrated quite graphically November 10 when Pakistani President Yahya Khan arrived in Peking on a state visit. His reception was described in the November 13 issue of *Peking Review*:

"A grand welcoming ceremony took place at the airport. The band played the national anthems of Pakistan and China. Accompanied by the Chinese leaders, President Yahya Khan . . . reviewed a guard of honor of members of P. L. A. [People's Liberation Army] ground, naval and air forces, militia-men and Red Guards. The distinguished guests walked round to meet the crowd of more than 5,000 welcomers, leading members of the Chinese departments concerned and the diplomatic corps in Peking.

"Accompanied by Premier Chou En-lai and others, President Yahya Khan and the other distinguished guests then drove to the city proper where they were welcomed by hundreds of thousands of people lining the streets.

"When President Yahya Khan and Premier Chou En-lai, in an open car, drove past the welcoming crowds lining the several-kilometre-long thoroughfare, cheers sounded above the beating of drums and gongs. Waving the national flags of China and Pakistan, coloured ribbons and bouquets, the welcomers enthusiastically shouted: 'Long live the friendship between the people of China and Pakistan!' 'We resolutely support the people of Pakistan in their struggle to safeguard national independence and oppose foreign aggression and interference!' . . . President Yahya Khan waved again and again to the crowds in acknowledgement.

"The welcome reached its peak when the distinguished guests drove past Tien An Men Square. Countless coloured balloons soared into the sky. Using paper flowers, the welcomers on the reviewing stands flanking Tien An Men Gate formed the word 'welcome.' Thousands of revolutionary artists in the square performed the dance *People of the World Are Sure to Win* and other revolutionary dances."

The Maoist regime hasn't put on such a welcome for a visiting head

In 'New York Times' Advertisement

Blacks Call for Solidarity with Palestine

Fifty-seven Black Americans placed an advertisement in the November 1 *New York Times* expressing solidarity with the Palestinian revolution and demanding an end to United States support of the Zionist state of Israel.

The advertisement was sponsored by the Committee of Black Americans for Truth about the Middle-East. The committee's chairman is Paul Boutelle, who was a Socialist Workers party [SWP] candidate for Congress in this year's election.

Signers of the ad included George Banks, president of the Berkeley, California, branch of the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees; Vince Benson and Bernard Nicholas, conational coordinators of the National Association of Black Students; the Rev. Albert B. Cleage, former leader of the Freedom Now party; and Charles Hightower, Washington director of the American Committee on Africa.

Also Phil Hutchings, former chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee [SNCC]; attorneys Florynce R. Kennedy and Conrad Lynn; Willie F. Petty of the Third World Solidarity Committee With Vietnam; Jacqueline Rice of the Third World Committee of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam; Askia Muhammad Toure and Halima Agila Toure, editors-at-

of state since the time of the late Indonesian President Sukarno. Sukarno paid for his lavish receptions by giving lip service to socialism and heading the "bloc of four classes," which Mao has proclaimed to be the road to socialism in the underdeveloped world.

Since the military coup that resulted in the annihilation of the Indonesian Communist party, blocs of four classes have become more difficult to conjure up. Presumably this is why Mao is now reduced to feting Yahya—a bourgeois military dictator who makes no pretense of favoring socialism.

Mao's bloc of four classes, it seems, doesn't require the other three as long as the bourgeoisie is represented.

large of the *Journal of Black Poetry*; Kenneth J. Watson, member of the executive committee of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers; and Robert F. Williams.

The ad declares that the signers "are in complete solidarity with our Palestinian brothers and sisters, who like us, are struggling for self-determination and an end to racist oppression."

It condemns Zionism as "a reactionary racist ideology that justifies the expulsion of the Palestinian people from their homes and lands, and attempts to enlist the Jewish masses of Israel and elsewhere in the service of imperialism to hold back the Middle East revolution."

After giving examples of the Israeli government's cooperation with imperialism and the racist regimes in South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portugal, the ad concludes:

"We demand that all military aid or assistance of any kind to Israel must stop. Imperialism and Zionism must and will get out of the Middle East. We call for Afro-American solidarity with the Palestinian people's struggle for national liberation and to regain all of their stolen land."

Tax Benefits

A study recently conducted in Java found that 90 percent of taxes collected in one district were stolen by government officials.

Thailand Counterinsurgency Condemned

By Allen Myers

Two anthropologists at the University of Michigan have confirmed evidence, revealed earlier this year, of plans by the U. S. government to intervene against guerrilla movements in Thailand. That evidence proved that significant numbers of American social scientists had been and still were involved in this counterinsurgency planning. [See *Intercontinental Press*, April 13, 1970, page 315.]

In an article appropriately entitled "Anthropology on the Warpath in Thailand" and printed in a special supplement to the November 19 *New York Review of Books*, Professors Eric R. Wolf and Joseph G. Jorgensen explain how they came to write on this subject:

"On March 30 of this year, the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam [SMC] submitted documents to us implicating American social scientists in counter-insurgency activities in Thailand."

"Immediately afterward," they continue after a short digression, "the SMC held a press conference in Washington which was covered by *The New York Times* in a confusing report. . . . On April 2, excerpts from the documents were published in a special issue of the *Student Mobilizer*, an SMC publication which was devoted exclusively to the exposure of counter-insurgency research in Thailand. Copies of the *Mobilizer* were subsequently distributed at the annual meeting of the Association of Asian Studies in San Francisco: names were given, reputations were questioned, tempers flared, and, once again, the integrity of social scientists was challenged."

As the author of the summary in the *Student Mobilizer* to which Wolf and Jorgensen refer, I can testify that their review of the documents successfully extracts the key information from some very complex material. In addition, they have done some research of their own and filled in several gaps in that material.

The number and interconnections between the various organizations serving Washington's counterrevolu-

tionary purposes are too complicated to outline here. But a passage in Wolf and Jorgensen's article gives an indication of the scope. They describe a meeting at the Tribal Research Center in Chiang Mai, Thailand, in January 1970:

". . . social scientists from several countries gathered at Chiang Mai at a 'Consultants' Meeting,' together with representatives from forty-three organizations, including ARPA [Advanced Research Projects Agency—a U. S. Defense Department subsidiary], Military Research Development Center, United States Operations Mission, South East Asia Treaty Organization, Thailand Police Department, Thailand Department of Central Intelligence, Thailand National Security Council, United States Information Service, the Peace Corps, and eleven Christian missions."

Wolf and Jorgensen find it virtually impossible to estimate the number of social scientists involved in projects of this nature:

"Fifty-nine names appear in the documents given to us by the SMC. Thirty-two are identifiable as social scientists. Of these, twenty-two are affiliated with US universities.

"This number, of course, represents only a fraction of social scientists taking part in Thailand counter-insurgency research. In November, 1969, alone, ARPA/DOD [ARPA/Department of Defense], in addition to nineteen Thailand projects of its own, maintained sixteen external contracts for this purpose, involving eleven universities and private research institutes. The total number of social scientists employed in these activities is not known to us, but cannot be negligible."

The sort of "anthropological" information provided by these academics is indicated by a proposed "Village Data Card" distributed at a Tribal Research Center meeting. Information requested included the map coordinates of the village, the name of the headman and other influential persons, the period these persons had lived in the village and the names of other villages in which they had lived, the names and

occupations of occasional residents, and weapons present in the village.

The SMC selected Wolf and Jorgensen to receive the Thailand documents because both were members of the American Anthropological Association's Ethics Committee. (Wolf was chairman of the committee.) As a result of their initiative, the full committee at its May 2 meeting in Chicago announced:

"Our examination of the documents available to us pertaining to consultation, research and related activities in Thailand convinces us that anthropologists are being used in large programs of counter-insurgency whose effects should be of grave concern to the Association. These programs comprise efforts at the manipulation of people on a giant scale and intertwine straightforward anthropological research with overt and covert counter-insurgency activities in such a way as to threaten the future of anthropological research in South-East Asia and other parts of the world."

This statement was part of a report from the Ethics Committee to the executive board of the American Anthropological Association.

"Shortly thereafter," Wolf and Jorgensen write, ". . . the executive board reprimanded both of us for actions beyond the charge of the committee, and instructed the committee to limit itself 'to recommendations on its future role and functions.'" The Association, it seems, could not be bothered with the involvement of its members in the schemes of American imperialism.

In the light of their experience, it is little short of amazing that Wolf and Jorgensen are still able to write passages like the following:

"The documents we had received were not classified in the legal sense, but they were copied from the personal files of an anthropologist at a university in California.¹ That is

1. Wolf and Jorgensen are expressing a personal opinion. The SMC has not revealed the source of the documents.

to say, we were presented with Xerox copies of the originals. *We regret this action, and would certainly not have taken it ourselves, nor would we have encouraged anyone else to do so.*" (Emphasis added.)

The U.S. government has indeed succeeded in corrupting the social sciences if even scholars like Wolf and Jorgensen believe that the "right to privacy" of professors engaged in plotting aggression against a people supersedes the right of that people to be left in peace. Their concern for the "privacy" of the criminals extends to the point of omitting their names from the article—even though the *Stu-*

dent Mobilizer had already published them!²

Nevertheless, Wolf and Jorgensen have done a service in bringing this material to public attention again in opposition to the wishes of their professional association's leadership. They may well cause other social scientists who share their sense of responsibility to come forward with additional information about the plans of American imperialism.

2. A small number of copies of this issue are still available. To get one, send \$1 to the Student Mobilization Committee, 15 East Seventeenth Street, New York, N. Y. 10003.

Australia

Electoral Setback for Governing Parties


Results of the November 21 elections to the Australian Senate showed a continuing decline in the popularity of the ruling Liberal party-Country party coalition headed by Prime Minister John Gorton. The coalition received only 35 percent of the vote, compared with 42.5 percent in the elections to the House of Representatives in October 1969.

The largest vote was won by the Australian Labor party [ALP], which received 43 percent. However, this was a decline from its October 1969 total of 48 percent.

Because only 32 of the 60 Senate seats were at stake, the election produced only a small shift in the relative strength of the parties in the Senate. The ALP will have 27 seats, one less than formerly. The governing coalition will have 26, a loss of 1. The Democratic Labor party [DLP] increased its total from 4 to 5. (The DLP is a right-wing, anticommunist split from the ALP. It has a "left" program on domestic issues). There were 2 independents elected.

A major issue in the campaign was the presence of U. S. military bases in Australia.

Gough Whitlam, the parliamentary leader of the ALP, attacked the secrecy surrounding the bases and charged that they could cause a nuclear attack on Australia in the event of a war between the U. S. and the Soviet



GORTON: Voters dislike his U. S. ties.

Union or China. He stopped short, however, of demanding that the bases be removed, saying only that "the Australian people ought to be told" the dangers created by the bases.

Gorton argued in favor of unequivocal support for the Anzus treaty between Australia, New Zealand, and the U. S. Australian voters clearly disagreed.

In Memory of Chun Tae Il

Korean Student Strike

Some forty students barricaded themselves in the library of the law college at Seoul National University November 21 to protest a police attack on a memorial meeting for Chun Tae Il. Chun, twenty-two, was a worker who burned himself to death November 13 to call attention to the terrible working conditions in the garment shops of South Korea under the rule of Chung Hee Park.

The Park dictatorship responded to the student strike by closing the law and liberal arts colleges.

Park evidently feared a revival of the student movement that caused him to close universities all over the country in September 1969. The protests then were directed against a constitutional amendment rammed through parliament aimed at allowing Park to succeed himself as president. [See *Intercontinental Press*, September 22, 1969, page 837.]

The students are attempting to link their struggle with that of the workers. Henry Kamm reported in the November 22 *New York Times* that the student demands "... included calls for academic freedom and freedom of the press and assembly as well as demands for social justice and improvements in the lot of workers.

"Strike leaders who discussed their movement with a visitor said their attempt to forge solidarity between themselves ... and workers was a new element in Korean political life."

Chun committed suicide by fire after the police had broken up a peaceful demonstration he had organized in the garment district. Hundreds of small workshops employ some 27,000 workers, who work thirteen to sixteen hours a day without overtime pay.

Chun, who had worked in one of these shops, conducted a survey of 129 employees. He found that 40 percent of them were girls younger than fifteen years old. Ninety-six of those surveyed had illnesses due to their work.

Chun's appeals to the government's Office of Labor produced little response. When he set himself on fire, he was holding a copy of the government's labor laws.

The Irish-speaking Communities of Ireland

[The following interview with Eoin O Murchu, the Irish republican movement's organizer for the Irish-speaking areas and the West of Ireland, was granted to Gerry Foley in Dublin in late July. The Irish-speaking communities still remaining today are almost all in the far west of Ireland. In these scattered pockets, an estimated 73,000 people speak Irish as a native language. Thousands of Irish-speaking people also live in English-speaking communities in Ireland and in the industrial cities of England and Scotland.]

[The official policy in the formally independent part of Ireland is to revive Irish as the first language of the country. In practice, however, the Dublin government is completely integrated into the Anglo-American imperialist system and makes only relatively unimportant gestures toward re-establishing an independent national culture. Although Irish is a compulsory subject for schoolchildren and a knowledge of it is necessary for civil-service jobs, the language is accorded only a decorative place in national life.]

[Mr. O Murchu has not had the opportunity to check the text of the interview.]

* * *

Question. The problem of the Irish-speaking communities, of course, has two sides to it. The pockets where Irish is still spoken as a natural language are among the most deprived areas in Ireland. They are also representative, in many ways, of much larger declining small-farming areas. As a socialist movement, Sinn Féin is obviously concerned to defend a section of the Irish people whose livelihood is being destroyed by the blind forces of capitalism and who are being forced to emigrate to the English industrial cities as cheap labor.

On the other hand, these small communities are the last living contact the modern Irish nation has with its Gaelic past. One of the main objectives of the leaders of the Irish war of independence and the forefathers

of the republican movement was to make the Irish language once again the vernacular in Ireland. In fact, to a very large extent, modern Irish nationalism has its roots in the language movement.

How do you think these two aspects of the Gaeltacht question are related and what is the fundamental significance of the Irish-language movement for the liberation of Ireland?

Answer. Well, what the preservation of the Gaeltacht and the revival of the language throughout the country represents is the spiritual reconquest of Ireland. Following the occupation of the country, all the various liberties of Irish society and all the various aspects of Irish culture, Irish life, were destroyed. The Irish economic system, which was basically a democratic one, and all the rest of the culture was destroyed successively to the extent that the only ones left with the native Irish culture were small groups of the poorest section of the people of Ireland.

We republicans believe that a culture is a means by which people mirror the reality around them and come to terms with this reality. In this sense, Irish culture is a native and democratic one. It is something that has helped the people fight.

On the other hand, the culture that is being imposed on the people in this country is one that helps project the image of the economic system dominant in the country, the imperialist economic system. We believe that the only way this system can be overthrown is by showing people that its supposed benefits are only illusions.

For this we believe that we need to create for the people, or to give them a far better cultural basis, one worked out through its history from the common struggle of the people; in other words, one which is completely popular and has been at all times, one imbued with the past history of this people and which will give them an identification with the struggles of the generations that preceded them. We believe we must give the people

a culture that will enable them to understand the nature of the conquest and the reconquest of Ireland.

The Irish-language issue is important also, because its meaning has been distorted. It's been used so much by the middle classes as a token of nationality and as a fancy, something to be played with.

In our view, the reason why the Irish language declined and why it's no longer spoken in most of the country is the economic forces that have worked on Ireland, creating unemployment, creating emigration, and robbing people of their self-belief and their belief in a future. These symptoms are most obvious in those areas of the country where the Irish language is still spoken, the Gaeltacht areas.

At the same time, these areas still maintain a far stronger culture than any other part of Ireland. This gives them potential strengths that the other areas don't have.

We believe that attempting, or even discussing the revival of Irish in the abstract, away from the question of the people who speak it, and the reasons why people speak it, is a complete waste of time. It has been shown over the history of the state here since 1922 that this type of language revivalism doesn't touch the ordinary people, because it is irrelevant to their lives.

We believe that the only genuine Irish revival movement is one that bases itself upon the revival of the Irish-speaking people, as well as on the revival of the language they speak. For this reason, the revival of Irish must be based on a resuscitation of the Gaeltacht as an economic unit in order to make the Irish-speaking communities viable in their own environment and reduce the pressure of emigration and unemployment on them.

The reasons why emigration and unemployment are high in the Gaeltacht areas are the same reasons why the country generally is economically depressed—because of the pattern of property ownership. Therefore, the only way we can rescue the Gaeltacht from its economic decline is by a com-

plete social upheaval and building a new type of society, a society in which all men will be equal and will have equal opportunities, in which the wealth of the country will be used for the benefit of the people rather than the profits of the few. This is, of course, socialism.

The revival of the Irish language is therefore, we believe, connected intimately with the building of socialism in this country and any attempts to separate the two will automatically fail.

Q. Why do you think that so many Irish-language enthusiasts have failed to grasp the fact that in Irish conditions the language cannot survive under capitalism?

A. The general Irish-language organizations have always been dominated by middle-class elements. The Gaelic League is a prime example of this. It was founded by Unionists [supporters of British rule] such as Douglas Hyde and others who were quite openly proimperialist. Although for a short time revolutionaries like Pearse* gained an ascendancy in the Gaelic League, this was a temporary thing. And the Gaelic League is still rather conservative today. Many of its members are genuinely sincere but its overall approach to matters is always one of caution, of working within the system and not seeking changes.

At all times the Gaelic League seeks to separate the question of linguistic revival and cultural struggle from the general social environment in which people live—which is obviously an impossibility. So instead of seeking the real sources of the problems that face the Irish-language movement, they create pseudoproblems and pseudoanswers that don't solve anything. They wander around in circles.

Q. Can you give an example of "pseudoproblems"?

A. Well, for example, they put down the question of why Irish isn't being spoken as due to things like lack of

* Patrick Pearse, or Pádraig Mac Piarais as he called himself in Irish, was the president of the provisional republic of Ireland proclaimed in Dublin April 24, 1916. He was shot by the British authorities for "military rebellion," shortly after the rising was crushed.

Irish textbooks in schools, lack of programs on television and radio, and so on. These things are important, in the sense that it's more difficult to revive a language if you don't have the books for it or the programs that cater to it. But this is not the major issue at all.

The major issue is that the Irish-speaking population, the native Irish-speaking population, is steadily declining. The areas where the Irish culture is living and vibrant are being cut down day by day, and it may be that within a matter of ten years they will have disappeared altogether.

Q. To what extent are the people in the Gaeltacht themselves active in resisting the capitalist system as it exists in Ireland?

A. In the Gaeltacht itself, several organizations have sprung up recently, based on the people's own interest and not promoted by outsiders from Dublin or places like that. This is a very good development. The two most important of these organizations are Gluaiseacht Cearta Shibhialta [the Civil Rights Movement] in Connamara and Coiste Forbartha Chorca Dhuibhne [the Corca Dhuibhne Development Committee] in County Kerry.

The first one, Gluaiseacht Cearta Shibhialta, ran a radio program for a week as part of a program to establish that there was a need for a radio station to serve the people of the Gaeltacht areas. Both of these organizations tend to be comprised of elements basically dissatisfied with the way life has been developing in their areas. This is particularly true of the first. It hasn't as yet evolved a very clear or firm stand on many issues but at the same time it is developing in a very good general direction.

For example, the idea behind its radio broadcasting was that there is a need for a radio station to help people develop a means of answering the problems that face them, of helping people to come to terms with the reality around, and giving them a means of expression so their culture, songs, and music could reach a wide audience.

It was believed that this kind of radio would actually help people. It wouldn't be a sop or something that would keep people calm, or just entertainment. It was intended to encour-

age people to think for themselves, to take an active part in life. In other words, the radio they wanted would not be a drug-type thing, but something that would actually encourage movement and action.

Their newspaper is being worked in the same way. They've been trying to present ideas and arguments and discuss things so as to encourage other people in the area to do the same, not just accept the things sent down from the big politicians. Since stimulating this kind of initiative is the major problem that faces people in Ireland today, it's obviously a very, very good thing that such an organization has sprung up more or less spontaneously.

Q. What elements of the Gaeltacht population are most active in these organizations?

A. The major thing about both these organizations is that they're comprised particularly of young people. Some of them have come out of universities. This is an important thing. One of the few advantages for the Gaeltacht people that came out of the official policy of reviving Irish was the grants provided for Irish-speaking youth to enable them to go to the university.

So the financial hurdles in getting a university education have not been as high for the Gaeltacht as for other areas. So there are a certain number of reasonably well-educated young people in these communities and, of course, without any possibility of finding employment in their fields at home.

Coupled with this, there has been a change in the pattern of emigration from the Gaeltacht. People no longer tend to emigrate from places like Connamara permanently. They're going more on a seasonal basis. So the young people who are in Gluaiseacht Cearta Shibhialta, practically all of them, have been over to England at some time working on the roads or in other hard industrial jobs.

These people have the experience of emigration, they know what the problems are, and they're able to talk with a certain amount of authority. Also, when they come back they're not frightened by the traditional political trickery that goes on in these areas, and this is a very important thing.

At the same time, this pattern does mean that the organization tends to

be weak at times when people go off on the seasonal emigration to find work.

The work that these organizations do on the economic front is of different types. First of all, they carry on agitation against the ownership of natural resources by a few people. They hold "fish-ins" in privately owned streams to press the demand for turning over the salmon-rich rivers of the West to the cooperative ownership of the people.

An example often cited in this respect is the River Foyle, where there is a state-run fishery. This river provides more people with employment than the rest of the rivers of Ireland put together. Obviously if the rivers of Connamara, of which there are very many and some very good rivers, were brought into state control under cooperative ownership, then employment could be given to many people in these areas.

Another thing is that the Gaeltacht organizations themselves have been working out economic surveys of their areas in answer to those produced by government departments. If the people themselves can actually work out by a survey what their manpower is, what their skills are, what work can be done, then they can make a very reasonable demand on that basis and gain support. When people see that a demand has the backing of sense and reason, then they will tend to support it.

The other major agitational issue is the question of hotels and the grounds for them. The old system of tourism tended to be based very much on people staying in private houses. And this to a certain extent did benefit the people of the Gaeltacht areas, especially since many people came there to learn Irish and stayed in Irish-speaking homes.

But what has happened over the last few years has been the development and extension of hotel grant schemes, where the government assumes two-thirds of the cost of building a hotel, two-thirds of the training costs plus the first year's salaries of all staff.

These grants are not given to cooperative organizations of the people, and there's certainly no attempt ever made to bring local people together in a cooperative unit to establish such hotels. These grants are always given

to friends of the government party. One example is a millionaire from America who got a grant to build a hotel in Furbo in Connamara. This hotel hasn't benefited the local people at all because the money has gone to one man, and the tourists who used to stay in their houses have now stopped coming altogether because of the hotel. Also having this business in the hands of an outsider who doesn't speak the language of the people helps to destroy the Gaeltacht. If the people go into the hotel for a drink, they'll have to speak English. They can't speak Irish because the owner doesn't even employ an Irish-speaking staff.

Because of all these issues, there was some very militant agitation against this hotel. At one stage an explosion occurred and certain damage was done to the establishment. Similar explosions have taken place at other hotels in the area.

The Gaeltacht agitation is frightening to the government. They have already yielded on the request for a radio station. Although in a very watered-down form, the government acceded to the people's demand that all road signs be in the Irish language alone, although that has yet to actually materialize. By pushing their demands hard and strong, there's a good chance that the people will be able to force some concessions from the government that would be of benefit to them, enabling more persons to stay in the area.

To go back to the first point I made at the beginning of the interview—by people staying in the areas, by building up the Gaeltacht as a viable economic unit in which people will continue to speak Irish because it's the natural thing to do, this will give a firm basis for any Irish revival movement when imperialism is finally overthrown in this country, when the forces that hold back the Irish people are finally broken, and socialism is established.

Q. What is the attitude of the urban working class toward the idea of maintaining Irish-speaking areas?

A. The urban worker in Ireland will understand an agitation for jobs and employment and against emigration, because most urban workers in Ireland have fairly recent connection

with the country areas. Obviously, if you only talk about the language in the abstract and never talk about its connections to other things, people aren't going to be interested.

But if one bases one's whole struggle on the actual economic problems facing people, pointing out at all times what the causes are, if one points out how these problems affect both the Gaeltacht people and the urban worker, if at all times in one's agitation, one points out that the same cause has the same effect amongst different people, then the people will begin to see that they have common interests. The people in fact are seeing this.

Organizations have sprung up such as Scéim na gCéardcumann [the Trade-Union Scheme] amongst trade unionists in Dublin and Cork and other places, who were interested in Irish and primarily in the Gaeltacht areas. These are organizations of urban workers who understand the connections between these problems.

Moreover, the emigrants who have returned to the Gaeltacht areas have been to places like London, Birmingham, working in tunnels, digging roads, working in some of the worst conditions in the world. These people have real experience of the conditions of the urban working class, of urban slum conditions.

In fact, the Gaeltacht activists are really part of the urban working class because they make their income or a large part of it as members of the lower strata of the working class, of the laboring classes generally. The only difference between them and the rest of the urban working class is that they work on a seasonal basis, returning to a different cultural environment. But they come back with new ideas relating to the broader social problems of mankind.

Given this, the Gaeltacht activists should be able to develop a situation where the people in their own areas will understand the need for a revolution in a true sense and that this will be connected and fully part of the revolutionary struggle of the urban workers and so, when the time comes, the Irish nation as one will strike for the freedom of all.

Prostitution in Java

One out of every seven young girls in a Javanese village, studied by an Indonesian sociologist, leaves home to become a prostitute in Djakarta.

Revolution and the Threat of War

Peaceful Coexistence And World Revolution by Ernest Mandel. Pathfinder Press, New York, N.Y. 31 pp. \$.50. 1970.

The existence of the nuclear "balance of terror" between the Soviet Union and the United States has seemed to many people to provide a justification for the Kremlin doctrine of "peaceful coexistence." The greatest value of this pamphlet may well be its convincing argument that such a doctrine creates far more danger of nuclear war than does a truly internationalist policy of active support for revolutionary movements throughout the world.

Mandel begins with a carefully documented review of the relationship between the Soviet state and the world revolutionary movement. He traces the gradual degeneration of the Communist International from a world party of revolution — of which the

Soviet Union was an important, but subordinate, part — in the days of Lenin and Trotsky to a mere "bulwark" of the Soviet state under the Stalinist bureaucrats.

Drawing on the concrete historical lessons of the defeat of the Spanish revolution and the triumph of Hitler in Germany, he shows that "peaceful coexistence" in the 1930s not only held back socialist revolution, but also failed to achieve its chief "justification," the defense of the Soviet Union.

On the other hand, where revolutions were successful in spite of Stalin — as in Yugoslavia and China — the international security of the Soviet Union was strengthened. The imperialist powers, rather than being "provoked" to attack the Soviet state, were forced to adjust to a new relationship of forces.

Contrary to the arguments of the Kremlin's apologists, Mandel argues,

history proves that imperialism is more likely to increase its aggression against the workers states when the class struggle in the capitalist countries is relatively quiescent. It follows that the best defense of the Soviet Union and the other workers states is active support of revolutionary movements wherever they exist.

This is as true in the nuclear age as it was in the 1930s. Mandel cites the careful escalation of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam to show that the imperialists are unlikely to risk a major confrontation with the Soviet Union in order to defeat a revolution.

But an attempt to "appease" imperialism — which is what "peaceful coexistence" really is — only encourages further aggression. The logic of "peaceful coexistence" thus leads not to peace, but to continued pressure and aggression that can flare into open attacks against the workers states, including the Soviet Union.

The alternative, Mandel concludes, is a revolutionary strategy that takes account of the dialectical relationship between world revolution and the defense of the existing workers states.

— Allen Myers

Documents

Goldstucker Explains Why He Is Still a Communist

[In the November 9 issue of *Intercontinental Press*, we reported the gist of an open letter sent by Eduard Goldstucker to the Czechoslovak government, which appeared in the October 2 London *Times Literary Supplement*. In that letter, Goldstucker defended the 1968 democratization movement and condemned the suppression of democratic liberties in Czechoslovakia since the Soviet invasion.

[The October 16 *Times Literary Supplement* carried a criticism of Goldstucker's letter by J. P. Stern, to which Goldstucker responded in the October 23 issue. We reprint below the complete text of Goldstucker's reply.]

* * *

Sir,—Having read my letter to the Czech Minister of the Interior, Mr.

J. P. Stern, in a mixture of "sympathy and amazement," accuses me (October 16) of "otherworldliness or disingenuity" because, in spite of all the terrible things that, in the past thirty-odd years, have happened around me and to me, I still call myself a communist. I have looked up these delicately chosen words "otherworldliness or disingenuity" and hope I have grasped them correctly as meaning, translated into straightforward language, "stupidity or dishonesty". It is not the first time that such an accusation is levelled at me; nor, indeed, is Mr. Stern the first to assail me with arguments and rhetorical questions purporting to prove the untenability of my position. I myself was, in this respect, well ahead of him and all the others. I see, and have said so publicly, that the communists of my generation—even if they can in-

voke mitigating circumstances — are guilty of substituting blind faith for critical reason which made them suppress their own doubts and reject *a limine* any criticisms concerning developments in their movement and in the Soviet Union of the Stalin period. I went even farther and said that the guilt of persons who, in the interest of a regime that violated the basic principles of socialism while invoking these very same principles, had committed crimes against humanity, is to be judged with even greater severity than that of the Nazis, because the latter acted in accordance with their barbaric programme while the misdeeds of the former were perpetrated in flagrant contradiction of the humanist *raison d'être* of socialism.

In spite of all this I refuse to accept the thesis that the Stalinist de-

formations and perversions prove the bankruptcy of the idea of revolutionary socialism and that this idea can no longer be of any assistance in the strivings towards a just, beneficial, humanly dignified solution of the problems of my country and my part of the world. I reject this thesis not without a thorough examination of whether a sentimental attachment to the beliefs of my youth—or a reluctance of maturity to throw overboard something that meant so much for such a long time—is not influencing my decision. I do not think so. My rejection is based—however paradoxical it might sound—on experience, both in its bitter and its gratifying aspect. In the light of it I cannot accept that the deformations and perversions of the model of socialism created under Stalin—due mainly to the fact that the socialist revolution won its first victory in a backward country—sufficiently prove that revolutionary socialism is not viable and even harmful and dangerous.

I cannot accept the contention that the Stalinist model of socialism imposed on the peoples of the Soviet Union, and now on the peoples of most socialist countries of Europe by force of arms, is the only model that can be developed on the basis of revolutionary socialism. I see with increasing clarity as the years go by that this Stalinist model, although it was able to change a backward agrarian country into an industrial and military power, is in the long run incapable of successfully coping with the problems of developed industrial societies, that it is less able to do so within the confines of the Soviet Union and still less beyond its European borders, that it is unable to eliminate the contradictions within these societies and that, on the contrary, by trying to resolve them in its inadequate way it is constantly exacerbating them.

The realization of this state of affairs has been gathering strength for a number of years now, and this process cannot be permanently stopped by any amount of physical repression. I have seen all the basic conditions in existence in the Czechoslovakia of 1968 for the construction of a model of socialism corresponding to the state of development of Czechoslovak society, to her traditions and her needs. The Stalinist-type regime imposed upon Czechoslovakia as a re-

sult of the military occupation of August 21, 1968, cannot overcome the economic, political and moral crises created by the Stalinist regime introduced after 1948. Mr. Stern does not seem to have taken notice of the fact that communists in many countries are with increasing strength rejecting the Stalinist model of socialism and fighting for the establishment of democratic socialist regimes.

I am trying to consider all these problems with an open mind and to avoid the pitfalls of dogmatism. So far I have not found any concept, any set of ideas which—in the present state of our world—would hold a better prospect of solving my country's problems and securing the future of its peoples than the ideas of revolutionary socialism, as I discovered them in my youth in the works of Marx and Lenin. Should Mr. Stern wish to put forward any proposals which could be applied in the sphere of reality and not just piously dreamt of, I would consider them most carefully and without any trace of prejudice.

I must admit my surprise at the self-righteous, black-and-white position of Mr. Stern. I must admit my abhorrence of any Manichean simplification of the sometimes terrifyingly complex problems which fell to our lot, because this is the breeding ground of dogmatism and contains the germs of conflicts with unforeseeable and catastrophic consequences. Mr. Stern talks about "the subversion of the Czechoslovak Republic in February, 1948" in a way indicating that that event has a traumatic character in his mind. He reproaches me for having "passed over in silence the years between 1945 and 1949," apparently mistaking my open letter for an autobiography or a confession, which it had no intention of being; and he asks me what my part was "in the overthrowing of President Benes's democratically elected regime." Between 1945 and 1949 I spent altogether only a few months in Czechoslovakia. I was a civil servant and held no position of power in the Communist Party. I rejected such a position when it was offered to me by Rudolf Slánský in the spring of 1946. I know now, incidentally, with absolute certainty that had I accepted it then I would have been hanged with him in 1952. By saying this I wish only

to put the record straight and by no means to dodge the issue.

I was then and am now in full agreement with the action taken by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in February, 1948. With the breakdown of the anti-Hitler alliance and the beginning of the Cold War, the rift separating the two halves of the world ran through Czechoslovakia to such an extent that the government of the country was becoming progressively paralysed; and it was clear to everybody who cared to look that things could not go on like that for long. The alternatives were either for Czechoslovakia to return into the sphere of Western capitalism or for her to take a revolutionary step and establish a socialist regime. The first could not have been achieved without a civil war and possibly an international conflict. Besides, it must be understood that this alternative was not attractive to very large sections of the people, especially the workers, roughly nine years after the Munich agreement and the horror of the consequent six years of Nazi occupation. The revolutionary step of the communists—who were by far the largest political party—was in that situation fully justified; had they not taken it, they would have belied their programme, their character as a revolutionary party, and their whole past. There were, I am sure, not a few people in the past who, like Mr. Stern now, reproached their contemporaries for having "subverted" the regime of Charles I in England, George III in the American colonies, or Louis XVI in France. The crisis in Czechoslovakia is not due to the events of February, 1948, but to subsequent developments which forced the country into a Procrustes bed of foreign make, ill suited to its shape and needs.

I apologize for taking up so much of your space, especially when I consider discussions like this rather futile and am really not interested in resuscitating more or less dormant émigré *ressentiments*. Yet, if Mr. Stern censures my "audacity" in appealing to the Czech and Slovak nations and does not consider it wiser to leave the decision to those nations themselves, I cannot but wonder at the extent to which he has cut himself off from the reality of these years, from the efforts, struggles, and suffering of huge masses although the future of

all of us—and even our very existence—is being shaped there. I know that we all are impatient at times of the slow movement of history in the

desired direction as compared with the short span of our own lives. Impatience makes us jump to conclusions unwarranted by the available evi-

dence. Impatience, Kafka thought, was one of the main causes of our having lost Paradise and the principal cause of our not having yet regained it.

Documents

Why Maspero Joined the Ligue Communiste

[The November 5 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported that François Maspero, France's best-known publisher of radical books and a courageous opponent of imperialism and repression, had decided to join the Ligue Communiste (Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International). In the November 9 issue of their weekly newspaper *Rouge*, the Ligue Communiste published Maspero's letter applying for membership and their Political Bureau's reply. We have translated this exchange, which follows.]

* * *

Dear Comrades,

This letter is to apply for membership in the Ligue Communiste.

In so doing, there is no question of my choosing a political church for any reasons of convenience. For me, the only way I can contribute concretely toward building an authentically revolutionary party in the future is by working in the Ligue Communiste as a rank-and-file member.

Since 1958, when I broke definitively with the Communist party where I had been active as an oppositionist rank and filer, I have striven on my own to combine professional and political work. Insofar as my means have allowed, I have devoted myself to providing information and promoting constant discussion in a still very dispersed revolutionary movement. This movement was endeavoring, and needed, first of all, to escape from the ghetto in which it was being kept by the total blockade of the Communist party on one hand—and the complete lack of political education in its ranks—and on the other, by the solid front of a bourgeoisie that emerged from the cold war with its ranks consolidated.

abandoning the most basic principles of internationalism, to the extent of letting the government shoot and guillotine its Algerian brothers in the PCA [Parti Communiste Algérien—Algerian Communist party], like Yveton and Maillot, I was able to experience this internationalism in practice in the Fédération de France du FLN [the federation in France of the Algerian Front de Libération Nationale—National Liberation Front]. Later I was able to come to know a revolution that had nothing in common with what was going on in Budapest, in Prague, and in Moscow, and to participate in it together with my Cuban comrades. With Fidel Castro, with Che Guevara, I learned what it was to strive continually and sincerely—even though the experiment proved fraught with difficulties and errors—to institute control by the masses, to struggle against bureaucracy and sectarianism, and to attack the profit society at its roots. From Che I learned how far the principle of internationalism could and must be carried.

Until May 1968 I had always thought that no matter how rotten to the core the PCF [Parti Communiste Français—French Communist party] leadership was, it was not possible to break completely from the tens of thousands of rank-and-file members truly representing the working class, who were offered no perspective. I was not one of those surprised by May '68, because I had been working for ten years in the conviction that such an event would occur one day. By the books I brought out and the publications I distributed, I tried to contribute my modest paving stone.

Today everything is different. After its retreats in May '68, after its shameful capitulation before the invasion of Czechoslovakia by Russian tanks, the Communist party is incapable of

cutting itself off from the bureaucratic gangrene now glaringly obvious in the USSR. It itself is too contaminated by this gangrene. The most it can do is seek a renewal of "democracy" by the shabbiest "marketing" techniques ("Tell us, Monsieur Marchais"*). It is incapable of challenging this society in any way except by attempting to "renew it"—just like Chaban Delmas or JJ SS [Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber]. It proclaims a sham internationalism only when others have outstripped it in international consciousness, showing up its incapacity. Vietnam, Cuba, Palestine are all issues that have passed it by, which it is forced to try to catch up with.

At a time when 3,000,000 immigrant workers are modern-day slaves in our own country, the PCF's ideal is still to see everyone driving his own car and reading "Pif le Chien" [a foolish animal cartoon appearing in the party central organ *l'Humanité*] on Sundays. At the same time, the bourgeoisie has ended its period of tolerance. It has moved from the defensive to the offensive, in an ever increasing use of repression as well as a continually more arrogant affirmation of its privileges. As for these bourgeois, the author who had the greatest influence on me, Paul Nizan, said we had to betray them. To betray the bourgeoisie ever more effectively is what I have always endeavored to do.

The Ligue Communiste seems to me to be the only organization working honestly and effectively to build the future revolutionary party. I do not consider it to be this party, but only the most suitable instrument at present

When the Communist party was

* Georges Marchais is the deputy general secretary and real leader of the French Communist party. The CP has been holding a series of carefully stage-managed meetings to answer the public's questions about party policy.

for developing it. In it I have found the principles elaborated and applied by the leaders of the October revolution, Lenin and Trotsky, as well as by the authentic revolutionists I had the opportunity to work alongside in Cuba and elsewhere. These principles mean a constant striving for internationalism, to strike the enemy at his weakest link, to find the real focus of the class struggle, the real interest of the underprivileged and exploited masses — a welcome change from spectacular adventurist activity where violence serves as an alibi for the most inconsistent verbiage.

It must be clear that I am joining the Ligue Communiste in a strictly personal capacity. I am the head of a collectively managed business where fifty-five people work, and through which hundreds of others publish their books, through which different currents of the revolutionary left find expression. No one in this enterprise must be affected by my political activity. The instrument, however small, that I have created (the bookstore, the publishing house, the magazines *Partisans* and *Tricontinental*) has the aim of making it possible for different points of view to confront each other and develop as a result. As in the past, it will remain absolutely open to these points of view, to these movements. The Ligue will find expression here, as it has already done, as one organization among others and without any privilege. But, as concerns myself personally, I repeat, my choice is made and I hope you will confirm it.

Fraternally,
François Maspéro

* * *

Dear Comrade,

In response to your letter and the various discussions we have had, we confirm the acceptance of your application for membership in the Ligue Communiste, the French Section of the Fourth International.

The arrival in our ranks of a militant who has participated actively in all the anti-imperialist struggles of these last years represents a great help to us.

It is in the framework of these struggles that new revolutionary vanguards have appeared throughout the world. It was in this way in France, through the support for the Algerian and Viet-

namese revolutions, that the forces coalesced which gave birth to the Ligue Communiste. But this fight is an integral part of the struggles being waged in the advanced capitalist countries and in the degenerated workers states. It began with the Left Opposition's fight against Stalinism and continues today under the banner of the Fourth International.

The May '68 experience, the Prague events, as well as the impasse of the "foquista" theories in Latin America have only confirmed the necessity for taking up the task on the national and international scale of building the revolutionary party. This question is uppermost today in the minds of all revolutionary militants, especially those who thought they could avoid it by setting up ill-defined, loosely structured formations, which are now in crisis.

Your joining the Ligue Communiste reflects this current of political clarifi-

cation. It is not an isolated event but coincides with the movement into our ranks of PCF worker militants who have also realized that their party is no longer capable of reform. They have understood that today it is through independent activity that we can win those worker activists who still place their confidence in the PCF and whose contribution is essential to creating an authentically communist party.

Since you are joining as an individual, it is clear that this will in no way alter the relationship we have had with your publishing house, which we continue to regard as an enterprise useful for the dissemination of revolutionary ideas and necessarily independent of all political organizations.

Communist Greetings,
Political Bureau of the
Ligue Communiste, French
Section of the Fourth
International

British Strikes Up 82%

Britain in 1970 is experiencing more strikes than at any time since the general strike of 1926, the Conservative government's Secretary for Employment told the Industrial Society November 6.

"There seems little doubt, indeed," he said, "that 1970 will go down as the worst year for strikes since the war — and therefore since the general strike of 1926.

"Last year was a very bad year but 1970 is proving much worse. Up to the end of September this year we lost getting on for 7,500,000 working days, a startling figure, an increase of 82 percent compared with the same period in 1969."

In addition to economic strikes, the government is now faced with the possibility of a one-day general strike on political issues. The November 7 London *Times* reported that support is growing for a December 8 strike called in opposition to the government's Industrial Relations Bill.

Chiang Alerts Nixon

"The United States is now sandwiched between Castro's Communist state and Peiping's infiltration from the north." — *China Daily News*, Taiwan, commenting on Canadian recognition of Peking.

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