

# WORLD OUTLOOK

## PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

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### In this issue

Page

SWP Headquarters Fire-Bombed in New York	2
Call Issued for Latin-American Defense Committee	3
Is Invasion of North Vietnam Next on Johnson's Agenda? -- by Joseph Hansen	4
Invasion "Now Inevitable"	6
Unification of Guerrilla Forces in Colombia	8
Student Demonstrations Sweep Brazil	9
Eisenhower Rattles Atom Bomb	10
Electoral Trend in Japan Parallels Industrial Growth	11
Japanese Educator Fears American Way of Life	12
Sato Cabinet Bars Youths from Visiting China	13
Mao's Thought Moves Miracles in Dark Corners	13
Top Secret in Moscow	14
Stormy Internal Conflicts in China -- I -- by Livio Maitan	15
Mao Orders Foreign Students to Leave China	23
A.G. Frank Appeals for Blanco, Gilly, Rico Galán	24
Ottawa Committee Demands Release of Hugo Blanco	26
"The Worker" Was Only Reporting What "Rodong Shinmoon" Said -- by Dick Roberts	27
Democratic Bosses Say, "Johnson, Go Home!"	29
André Breton	30
Price of Entry to "Nuclear Club" Drops to New Low	30
Another Case of Police Torture in Peru	32
"Rally Round the Flag, Boys"	36
Ghanaian Dictator Orders Cuban Embassy Closed	36
Documents:	
Huk Comeback?	31
For the Unconditional Release of the Political Prisoners in Mexico	33
Message to the Surrealist Group	35

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SWP HEADQUARTERS FIRE-BOMBED IN NEW YORK

New York

The national headquarters of the Socialist Workers party, the American Trotskyist organization, were bombed at about 5:40 a.m. September 29. Four unidentified men threw as many as four Molotov cocktails at the windows of the headquarters, which are located on the second floor of a building on Broadway, near Union Square. A witness said he saw the men lighting the gasoline-filled bottles in the street.

One of the bottles hit the window of the office occupied by National Organization Secretary Edward Shaw and the flaming gasoline poured inside. However, the fire was quickly brought under control by firemen from the fire department station which happens to be across the street.

Molotov cocktails thrown at the adjoining office of The Militant failed to achieve their objective, falling back into the street and exploding as the terrorists ran away. One bottle flamed against a window of The Militant but burned out without setting that part of the building ablaze.

There were no injuries although workers were already coming into the building.

At a press conference called a few hours later, which was attended by reporters and camera crews from all the major papers and television stations, Judy White, the SWP candidate for governor of New York pointed out that the bombing was in the same pattern as the bombing that wrecked the national headquarters of the Communist party in New York on September 4, the national headquarters of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs in San Francisco on March 6 and the headquarters of the Vietnam Day Committee in Berkeley on April 9.

"Possibly a single right-wing or fascist-type organization is responsible for all these outrages," she said. "The commandos evidently hope by violent means like this to intimidate organizations that oppose the war in Vietnam.

"It is part of the general climate of violence in the United States that is being given continual impetus by the Johnson administration's escalation of the war.

"This atmosphere inspires the hatemongers to imitate the murderous actions being committed by the Pentagon on a huge scale in Vietnam.

"In Detroit, for instance, a political assassin walked into the headquarters of the Socialist Workers party last May 16, lined up two members of the party and a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and shot them, killing Leo Bernard, a Socialist Workers

candidate for Congress in 1964, and seriously wounding Jan Garrett and Walter Graham.

"If the right-wing terrorists think they can intimidate us by such tactics, however, they are mistaken. We intend to continue our opposition to American intervention in the war in Vietnam and our opposition to Johnson's escalation of the war. We will continue to demand the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops.

"We appeal to all opponents of the war in Vietnam to rally with expressions of solidarity against the pattern of violence being used in hope of silencing opposition to Johnson's drive toward a war with China and a possible nuclear catastrophe. Answer the terrorists by closing ranks."

News of the bombing appeared in the major papers and on TV news roundups. Judy White was interviewed for some minutes on the attack by the National Broadcasting Corporation. As other organizations learned of the attack on the SWP, they telephoned or sent messages to express solidarity.

#### CALL ISSUED FOR LATIN-AMERICAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE

At a well-attended meeting in the hall of the Militant Labor Forum in New York September 30, held to express solidarity with political prisoners in Peru and Mexico -- specifically Hugo Blanco, the Túpac Amaru defendants, Adolfo Gilly, Víctor Rico Galán and their comrades -- Chairman George Novack reported that plans are underway to form a broad defense committee in behalf of political prisoners throughout Latin America. The aim of the committee, he said, should be to strengthen and expand current defense efforts. As cases arise, he said, they should be taken regardless of the particular political views of the opponents of the dictatorial regimes.

The announcement was hailed by the other speakers. These included Paul Sweezy, coeditor of Monthly Review; John Gerassi, author of The Great Fear; Father Felix McGowan of the Catholic Worker; Richard Garza, Socialist Workers candidate for Lieutenant Governor of New York; and Joseph Hansen, editor of The Militant.

The speakers explained the Peruvian and Mexican cases and described the general economic and social conditions that have given rise to revolutionary protest throughout Latin America.

The audience expressed its enthusiasm for the idea of a broad Latin-American defense committee by contributing almost \$200. They voted unanimously to send protests to President Belaúnde Terry of Peru and President Díaz Ordaz of Mexico, demanding the immediate release of Hugo Blanco, Adolfo Gilly, Víctor Rico Galán and all other political prisoners in those countries.

IS INVASION OF NORTH VIETNAM NEXT ON JOHNSON'S AGENDA?

By Joseph Hansen

Two recent moves made by the Johnson administration appear to signal a further sharp escalation of American aggression in Vietnam.

The first was the speech delivered September 22 in the United Nations by Johnson's emissary Arthur J. Goldberg. The speech was publicized as a new "peace" bid, offered with the "full approval" of the White House. In the United States it was universally discounted as at best a piece of campaign propaganda designed to give a lift to Democratic party candidates in the current elections. But it had a more sinister aspect. In the context of Johnson's belligerent foreign policy, it looked like previous "peace" bids that have preceded major steps taking the U.S. deeper into the Vietnamese conflict.

The falsity of Goldberg's rhetoric was underlined by the fact that the day before he spoke, B-52 bombers, for the first time in five months, swept in from Guam to pour down high explosives on the populace of north Vietnam. The day after Goldberg spoke, B-52 bombers again raided north Vietnam. And on the same day that the White House representative insisted again and again on the peaceful aims of the Johnson administration, his fellow cabinet member, Robert S. McNamara, announced that the production of war planes in the U.S. would go up by thirty percent next year.

As if to emphasize the real course of the Johnson administration, McNamara on the following day coolly revealed that the American stockpile of nuclear warheads in Europe had been doubled since 1961, reaching the fantastic total of 7,000. Each one of these warheads is the equivalent of at least the explosive power of the bombs that Truman dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and most of them are far more destructive. McNamara did not mention what the 7,000 nuclear warheads might represent statistically in possible "overkill" of the human race.

The second ominous move made by the Johnson administration was the announcement September 27 that in the interests of "peace," Johnson will attend a "summit meeting" in Manila "on or after October 18." The other summiteers will be the heads of six satellite states, the Philippines, South Vietnam, South Korea, Thailand, Australia and New Zealand; that is, Hitler's admirer Ky of South Vietnam and the five governments that have bowed to State Department pressure and become involved enough in Vietnam to enable Johnson to picture his war as an "Allied" operation.

The origin of this meeting of six seals and their trainer was indicated by James Reston in the September 28 New York Times: "An effort has been made here [Washington] to give the impression that Mr. Johnson was merely responding, despite the urgent pres-

tures of the election campaign, to a surprise invitation to attend the Manila meeting, though of course the plan was hatched here recently during President Marcos's visit."

Occurring on the eve of the November elections in the United States, the "summit meeting" will provide Johnson with another stage setting for oratory before the TV cameras. In his inimitable style, he will deliver an elocution on "peace," and then reach for the latest polls to see how well his demagogy paid off in allaying the deepening opposition among the American people to repeating the Korean experience.

At the same time, the conference itself may well put the finishing touches on the next big step which Johnson proposes to take in escalating the war in Vietnam.

What is this next step? Some leaks as to its nature have already appeared in the press.

In Paris the New York Herald Tribune\* published a dispatch from its correspondent in Saigon stating that Western diplomatic circles thought it quite likely that after the November elections in the United States, American troops would invade north Vietnam. The pressure for a move to block communication lines between the National Liberation Front and north Vietnam was emanating from American military circles, according to the correspondent. The first landings would not be massive, he said, but would involve "two or three divisions" in the immediate vicinity of the seventeenth parallel.

That there is substance to the Saigon report is indicated not only by the way it dovetails with Johnson's moves in escalating the war, but by reports circulating in Washington. Pete Hamill, writing in the September 26 New York Post, declared that "everywhere in Washington last week, people were saying that before the year is out we shall invade North Viet Nam....According to these people in Washington, the invasion of North Vietnam is now inevitable." [See full text of Hamill's column on page 6.]

An invasion of north Vietnam by American ground troops may appear to be an act of madness. Indeed it could turn out to be an act of madness. But as the Pentagon and State Department read the answers emerging from their electronic calculators, the move makes sense.

The electronic calculators may well indicate another wave of revulsion against the United States as the smell of flesh bubbling with napalm reaches a new intensity, but this is of small concern

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\*This was formerly the European Edition of the New York Herald Tribune. With the demise of the parent publication in New York, the Washington Post bought the Paris edition and has continued to publish it under the same masthead.

to the masterminds in Washington. So long as international public opinion does not become converted into mass actions or does not greatly affect stock portfolios in the U.S., it can be discounted.

The electronic calculators may also indicate further stiffening in verbal protests from Moscow and new levels in verbal denunciations from Peking, but again this is of small concern to the brains that do the thinking for Johnson. As long as the two major workers states fail to close ranks against the imperialist escalation and as long as Moscow in particular undertakes no countermoves beyond paper protests, the Washington strategists feel that they still have a green light in Vietnam.

From the viewpoint of the Pentagon and the State Department, the continued disarray in the camp of the workers states, including the current purge in China, makes it possible to continue advancing in Southeast Asia without touching off a reaction forceful enough to compel reconsideration. In brief, for the war hawks, pickings are still to be had in Vietnam.

Thus Johnson is continuing the policy he opened following his victory over Goldwater in 1964. The policy is not to fear getting into a ground war on the Asian mainland but at the same time to make preliminary tests before advancing, to proceed step by step in a graduated way, to leave open the possibility that it might be necessary to halt, even to draw back somewhat, if the "main enemy"; i.e., the People's Republic of China and ultimately the Soviet Union evince signs of a vigorous response. Johnson has seen no such signs as yet.

The great danger in this policy is that Johnson may become so deeply committed, may escalate the war to such a degree, that when Moscow or Peking eventually do take alarm and react, singly or in unison, he may not be able to draw back except at such loss of face as to have ruinous implications for himself and the fortunes of the Democratic party -- if not the world standing of the United States. Thus he may feel that no choice remains open to him as the top statesman of the capitalist system but to plunge still deeper -- straight into a genuine showdown. That could mean the beginning of a nuclear conflict.

This is the harsh reality underlying Johnson's current "peace" propagand.

### INVASION "NOW INEVITABLE"

[The following is the full text of Pete Hamill's column in the September 26 New York Post reporting the talk in circles close to the White House about a decision having been made to invade north Vietnam after the November elections. The column appeared under the

title, "The Warrior."]

We heard all the treacherous rhetoric only two years ago, but the cancer of Viet Nam has been eating at us with such steady ferocity that it feels as if a decade has passed. That summer of 1964, Lyndon Johnson criss-crossed America, his face concerned, the language compassionate, the Texas drawl repeating the same message over and over again. The message was very simple. It said we should play it cool in Viet Nam.

"Sometimes our folks get a little impatient," he told an audience in Akron, Ohio. "Sometimes they rattle their rockets some, and they bluff about their bombs. But we are not about to send American boys 9,000 or 10,000 miles away from home to do what Asian boys ought to be doing for themselves."

In the fall, he told a visitor: "We know there are 200,000,000 in the Chinese Army. If one little general in shirt sleeves can take Saigon, think about 200,000,000 Chinese coming down those trails. No, sir! I don't want to fight them."

On Sept. 25, he told another audience: "There are those that say I ought to go North and drop bombs, to try to wipe out the supply lines, and they think that would escalate the war. But we don't want to get involved in a nation with 700,000,000 people and get tied down in a land war in Asia."

Because he said these things, and because Barry Goldwater was saying the opposite, we elected Lyndon Johnson President. Today we are involved in a major land war in Asia. We are dropping bombs on the North and the South at a rate that is far heavier than that of World War II. While our cities rot and the roots of poverty grow deeper here at home, we are spending as a nation \$2,500,000,000 a month on that war.

And everywhere in Washington last week, people were saying that before the year is out we shall invade North Viet Nam. The idea would have been preposterous five years ago, extremist two years ago, and very, very dangerous six months ago. But now, people close to power have accepted it.

According to these people in Washington, the invasion of North Viet Nam is now inevitable. The military long ago sold the President on the necessity of a great victory. So, we bombed the North and defoliated in the South, we threw 300,000 men into the field, we tried pacification programs, we offered Ho Chi Minh bribes in the form of TVA programs. And, still the little men of the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese army kept coming on.

We can't seem to beat them. And though they certainly cannot

defeat us now, they seemingly can't lose either. But here in America, patience is being exhausted. People want to know why the most powerful nation on earth has been fought to a standstill in a tiny half-country in Asia. They want results. They want action.

The invasion of the North would at least give the illusion of action. We have gone through a series of drastic changes in this commitment in South Viet Nam that started off as advisory, shifted to the defense of military installations, turned into "search and destroy" operations as our allies, the South Vietnamese, started quitting in droves. Now we need something that looks like an offensive.

\* \* \*

On paper, the troops will land north of the 17th parallel, probably around Vinh. The American voter will cheer, the President's popularity will zoom (as it did after bombing oil dumps in Hanoi and Haiphong) and the North Vietnamese will collapse and sue for peace. Only the military mind is capable of such self-deception.

I just wonder what the situation would be in Washington if 300,000 Chinese Communists were fighting in Mexico, in a war whose roots were political, on the side of the Mexican Communists. Back in 1964, Lyndon Johnson had some idea of what would happen. We might yet find the Chinese armies coming down those jungle trails, and if that happens, I hope I'm working on something urgent in Tierra del Fuego. Arrogance and abstraction might yet kill us all.

#### UNIFICATION OF GUERRILLA FORCES IN COLOMBIA

Representatives of the Colombian guerrilla movement, en route through Paris, told Agence France Presse [reported in the September 24 Le Monde] that the fighting forces in the provinces of Tolima and Huila have been reorganized, uniting in a new movement called the FARC [Forces Armées Revolutionnaires Colombiennes, according to Le Monde, translating it into French].

For the time being, the FARC is maintaining ties with the pro-Moscow Communist party. Differences with the party may exist, however; since, according to the report, "the CP seems at times to doubt if armed struggle is opportune when the new government appears to favor trading with the countries of Eastern Europe."

The pro-Peking Marxist-Leninist Communist party accuses the pro-Moscow organization of "revisionism" and of "complicity with the enemy." The pro-Peking formation is attempting to achieve closer coordination among several groups that up to now have favored Peking's side in the Sino-Soviet dispute. These include the ELN [Ejército de Liberación Nacional] and the MOEC [Movimiento de los Obreros, Estudiantes y Campesinos].



STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS SWEEP BRAZIL

Every possible safeguard seems to have been thought of in arranging for a successorship to the Castelo Branco regime in Brazil which seized power in a coup d'état April 1, 1964. Another army general, Marshal Artur da Costa e Silva, was selected to run as president in the October 3 election. No one was permitted to oppose him. In addition, the election was confined to the legislature. And in the past two years this body has been thoroughly purged, sifted and hand selected by the military. When Costa e Silva is sworn in next March 15, it should come as close to a routine changing of the guard as such things can be under a tight military dictatorship.

Yet the reports from Brazil indicate "serious concern" among the ruling clique. Their concern is not over the rigged up election for Costa e Silva but over the sudden flaring up of student demonstrations from one end of the vast country to the other.

During September, students by the thousands struck, demonstrated and battled with police from Belém in the north, near the mouth of the Amazon, to Porto Alegre in the south. Among the many cities involved were Santos, the coffee port, São Paulo, the main industrial center, Brasilia, the national capital, Niteroi, near Rio de Janeiro, Salvador, capital of Bahia, Natal, on the Atlantic bulge, and Recife, the center of the endemic peasant movement.

The demonstrations in Recife were typical of those elsewhere. As reported by Juan de Onís, in a September 17 dispatch to the New York Times, about 400 students gathered in the patio of the Catholic university. "Two squads of helmeted military policemen with clubs and tear gas had taken up positions in the vicinity. Student leaders used a loudspeaker to encourage many nervous students to enter the patio.

"But in a few moments, girls were jumping with glee as Pedro Roberto Lucio, a young Roman Catholic priest studying journalism, raised a ballpoint pen to the police and said, 'This is my only arms, because ideas are stronger than bayonets.' The assembly applauded wildly."

The meeting was called to protest the imprisonment of a student leader held by the military for five months without charges on the accusation of being a "subversive."

Leaflets appeared during the assembly denouncing the "fascist dictatorship in Brazil that plunders the country for the benefit of the North American imperialists."

A fourth-year law student, Marco Antonie Braga, who took the floor was quoted by the Times correspondent as saying: "The Government says peace but we don't want this peace of the tomb! We want freedom and the right to be heard!"

Some of the demonstrations were marked by police brutality and considerable heroism on the part of the students.

At the medical school in Rio de Janeiro on September 23, for instance, police forced students, including coeds to run a gauntlet of flailing nightsticks.

The students had piled bricks in second and third story windows and pushed desks against doors. The action was part of a protest against continuation of the dictatorship.

After a police siege, the students met to discuss whether they should hold out longer. The police charged in and the students ran up the stairs to a lecture hall which they barricaded with desks. The police broke down the door, and twenty of them entered.

The students prepared to leave the room, but the police compelled them to pass in front of a line of police stretching 200 feet. "One by one the students ran through a hail of flailing nightsticks, many of which splintered in the assaults," said the UPI. "One policeman replaced his club with a piece of lumber three feet long."

The editors of the New York Times issued reassuring words to the Brazilian ruling class September 26. "In reality the disturbances are still superficial and the Government of Marshal Castelo Branco is quite strong."

But looking beyond the immediate situation, the Times had to admit that "the future is uncertain."

The fact is that the current student movement, surging up only a little more than two years after establishment of a military dictatorship and a savage nationwide witch-hunt, testifies to the acuteness of Brazil's unresolved economic and social problems. The workers and peasants, it is to be hoped, will take courage from the example set by the students and once again move into action, this time with a revolutionary party capable of leading them to the socialist victory that alone can open the way to the future.

#### EISENHOWER RATTLES ATOM BOMB

In a taped interview over an American television network September 19, former President Eisenhower said he had been prepared to use atom bombs in Korea if there had been no armistice. He also talked about using nuclear weapons "if the hordes from the East are coming"; and he said he didn't see "any difference between gas warfare and this kind of warfare." Eisenhower's belligerent remarks were aimed at bolstering the war hawks in the U.S. who are itching for a war with China.

ELECTORAL TREND IN JAPAN PARALLELS INDUSTRIAL GROWTH

A study of the censuses and elections during the past decade in Japan reveals an interesting parallel between the degree of industrialization and the growth of popular support for the leftist parties.

"This was most palpably demonstrated," writes Kiyooki Murata in the September 13 Japan Times, "by data concerning what the nation's demographers have come to call the Tokaido Megalopolis-- the vast industrial belt stretching from the Kanto region to Kansai, comprising 13 prefectures and Metropolitan Tokyo. The prefectures are (from east to west) Chiba, Saitama, Kanagawa, Shizuoka, Aichi, Gifu, Mie, Shiga, Kyoto, Nara, Wakayama, Osaka and Hyogo."

In this urban region population increased by ten million between 1955 and 1965. This is roughly 10% of the nation's total. The increase was from 42.2% in 1955 to 47% in 1965.

During the same period, the country's population increased by only 9 million. The increase in Tokaido Megalopolis is thus ascribable to a population shift rather than births. Further evidence of this is that the eligible number of voters in the region rose from 35% of the nation's total in 1958 to 40% in 1960 and then to 49% in 1963.

"In other words," Murata points out, "almost one-half of the nation's voters are found living in the Tokaido Megalopolis."

The voting trend has paralleled these figures. "The total popular vote received by the Socialist, Democratic-Socialist and Communist parties in the 1958 general election was 40.2%. But it went up to 44.3% in 1960 and to 47.3% in the 1963 election."

The ruling Liberal-Democratic party declined proportionately from 55.9% in 1958 to 54.6% in 1960 and to 50.9% in 1963.

In the July 1965 election for the House of Councillors, the trend reached the point of actually reversing the relationship between the Conservative and Leftist vote as shown by the following table:

	<u>Conservative</u>	<u>Leftist</u>
Chiba	43.2%	51.1%
Tokyo	21.8	55.9
Kanagawa	34.5	58.1
Kyoto	34.2	65.8
Osaka	30.1	46.4
Hyogo	33.7	49.0

"What has caused the phenomenon is obvious," declares Murata. "Industrialization means an increased number of workers in urban areas, many of whom move from rural areas. And industrial workers mean organized labor, which in turn means electoral support for the leftist parties."

Projecting the trend, Murata comes to the following conclusion: "Demographers forecast that in 10 more years as much as 75% of the population will constitute the urban population -- living in a larger version of the Tokaido Megalopolis. It would almost certainly mean a shift in the seat of political power."

Murata notes that the Liberal-Democratic leadership, concerned about the possibility of losing the majority vote, are thinking of reorganizing their machine along the lines of "a European or American political party" in hope of breaking the trend.

Much more likely, however, is the possibility that Japan's ruling circles are looking ahead to a reactionary solution. Up to now, in no country have the capitalist rulers bowed to a popular mandate on anything as fundamental as ending capitalism and introducing socialism. Instead they resort to some form of totalitarian power. Any number of examples of this can be pointed out. Spectacular instances occurred in Italy, Germany and Spain.

Will it happen in Japan, too? Or will the working-class parties recognize in time that it takes something more than a victory at the ballot box to win socialism?

#### JAPANESE EDUCATOR FEARS AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

The "American Way of Life" -- highly touted in the United States and even recommended for imposition on the rest of the world -- has no attraction for Kazuo Okochi, president of Tokyo University. Writing in the September issue of Bungei Shunju, he views the pattern as the "American Type of Poverty." It is characterized, he contends, by high living on installment buying.

In Japan, the people are now being "railroaded" as in America "by mass media and salesmen into believing that enterprise sets the pattern of life for them to follow."

If the Japanese are to imitate any other people, the professor prefers the British. In his opinion, "The Japanese would be far better off if they went the British way of conservative living instead of the American way of going into debt."

Okochi feels that the trend is at the bottom of the growing radicalization of the working class. "Organized labor is no exception to the general rule," he says. "It fights for a pay

raise and a year-end bonus year in and year out. It does not do so for reasons of stark poverty. Its reasons are a biting sense of relative and psychological poverty plus the guided pattern of spending under the 'American type of poverty.' Labor strikes are singularly tied in with the agitated mood for higher living."

#### SATO CABINET BARS YOUTHS FROM VISITING CHINA

The passport applications of 39 youths who wanted to visit the People's Republic of China were unanimously rejected at a cabinet meeting of the Japanese government September 20.

Chief Cabinet Secretary Kiichi Aichi told the press that the decision had been made in view of the "greatly aggressive and revolutionary" nature of this year's Youth Exchange Program. He cited the New China News Agency which said that the Red Guards were "enthusiastically" preparing to participate in the program and to welcome the visitors with an "aggressive" spirit. He also said that some of the youths who had participated in the exchange last year are "now actively engaged in antigovernment activities."

It seems dubious that the real reasons for the decision were those released to the press. It is to be noted that although it was a question of only 39 youths, the decision to block their trip was taken at the very highest government level and in a quite ostentatious manner. Thus in all likelihood a diplomatic move was involved.

The Japanese government has been inching toward a relaxation of relations with China. This policy may now be suspended or even reversed until the dust raised by the "cultural revolution" in China dies down.

The Japan Socialist party at once issued a statement protesting the government ban on the student tour. Describing the government action as "utterly groundless" and "a flagrant violation of the passport law and the constitution," the statement went on to score the Sato administration as having shown once again that it is "hostile toward Communist China." The party promised "all-out efforts" to pressure the government into reversing its decision.

#### MAO'S THOUGHT MOVES MIRACLES IN DARK CORNERS

The following dispatch, bearing a Peking dateline, was sent over the wires of Agence France Presse September 20:

"Thirty Red Guards from Shenyang (Manchuria), who came to Peking to learn from experience in the big Chinese cultural

revolution, became night-soil collectors in this city Monday, and have carried out all the operations pertaining to this profession under the guidance of Shih Chuang-hsiang, 'the all-China model night-soil collector,' according to the New China News Agency.

"These Red Guards had decided to learn the profession of night-soil collector following the appeal of Mao Tse-tung, who advised all the Red Guards to acquire experience from the workers, peasants and soldiers.

"Before accompanying them on their rounds through the city, Shih Chuang-hsiang explained to the Red Guards the importance of the tasks they were to carry out, telling them: 'In emptying out the latrines, you not only help in a clean-up job, but you also uproot capitalism and revisionism, which we must extirpate from all the dark corners of our country.'

"The work of the Red Guards was completely satisfying to the old night-soil collector, and he was moved to congratulate them again and again, telling them each time: 'You are really good revolutionary fighters, educated in the spirit of the thought of Mao Tse-tung.'"

TOP SECRET IN MOSCOW

Despite the liberalization measures conceded by Khrushchev and his heirs as conciliatory gestures to Soviet citizens who would like an end to bureaucratic practices and the restoration of proletarian democracy, the atmosphere in the Soviet Union remains stifling. Just how stifling it is can be judged from an anecdote told by Vladimirovich Finkelstein, editor of the scientific magazine Knowledge Strength and a regular writer for Pravda and the Literary Gazette, who recently defected in London and asked the British authorities for asylum.

As reported by René English, special correspondent of the New York Post, September 20:

"The aspect of Soviet life that drove him to get out was the all-pervading censorship in Russia. Its repressiveness. Its illogicality carried to the point of madness. You want an example? Finkelstein has it. Taking a page proof of his scientific magazine to a woman censor, he reported that the officer sat up with a bolt when she saw a diagram giving the diameter of the earth.

"'You'll have to strike that figure out.'

"'Why? Has this now become secret too?'

"'Yes, there is a directive -- not to publish the exact size of the planet.'"

STORMY INTERNAL CONFLICTS IN CHINA -- I

By Livio Maitan

[The following article is part of a study of current developments in China undertaken by Livio Maitan in July. The first half of the study considers Peking's official version of happenings, numerous quotations from the foreign-language publications of the People's Republic of China being cited. Since much of this material has already appeared or been referred to in various accounts in World Outlook, we are reproducing only the second half of Livio Maitan's study in which he poses some tentative conclusions. We have divided this into two parts of which the first part follows. The concluding part is scheduled for our next issue.

[The numbering of the footnotes has been maintained to conform with those in the manuscript. The translation is by World Outlook.]

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An Interbureaucratic Conflict

The official version claims, as we have seen, that the present events have their origin in the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. But not a single concrete fact emerges from the numerous and lengthy documents published by the Chinese press which could serve to support the hypothesis of a genuine development of restorationist forces. There are only altogether general allusions to the possibility that dangerous breaches might be opened up in the area of ideology which might subsequently produce political catastrophes, quotations from Lenin on the tendency of the petty-bourgeoisie of the towns and the country to reproduce bourgeois elements, or commonplace references to the inevitable attempts of the overturned classes to return to power.(32) This, obviously, is too little to convince us of the correctness of the official "analysis."

On the other hand, there are no elements present which suggest the existence of seriously strained relations between the leaders and the masses. In 1956, conflicts occurred not only between the leaders and the intellectuals but also between the leaders and the masses (demonstrations and strikes). This time nothing indicates that such phenomena have occurred.

I believe, therefore, that the present conflicts are of an essentially interbureaucratic nature and that they have been

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(32) See, for example HNA [Hsinhua News Agency, London edition], June 19, p.5.

developing under the pressure of domestic and international problems within the context of the crisis existing in the international Communist movement. It goes without saying that the problem of relations with the masses still exists for the leaders and influences their attitudes in the last analysis -- but at this stage, it is not a direct and immediate factor.

If one accepts this interpretation, the present polemics are in large measure clarified, and it is possible to grasp the real issues behind the frequently ritualistic and Byzantine verbiage.

The polemics and discussion of the past months all echo a central leitmotiv -- politics in command, the primordial role of the party and the thought of Mao Tse-tung in all sectors of society, from the army to literature and the sciences. What does all this signify if not reaffirmation of the primacy of a particular layer of the bureaucracy, the one's most purely political, the only group in position to guarantee the cohesion and dynamism of the regime? Isn't it logical, fundamentally, that differentiations and conflicts of the type which have weighed so heavily in the life of the USSR and the people's democracies in the past ten years should also appear in China?

Let us look at the official documents. The first symptom of the crisis appeared in the communiqués on the conference of the political department of the army which ended on January 18. "The general view taken at the conference," said the first communiqué, "was that the principle of keeping politics in the fore formulated by Comrade Lin Piao complies with the consistent teachings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung; it was put forward in accordance with the historical experience of the Chinese people's armed forces and the present situation, in accordance with the laws of development and the economic basis of socialist society, and with the fact that classes and class struggle still exist in socialist society. The principle is the foundation on which to strengthen the revolutionisation and modernisation of the army.... Chairman Mao Tse-tung's ideas on party building must be followed in order to strengthen the work of building party organisation in the army..." (HNA, January 19, p. 9-10.)

Hsiao Hua's report, furthermore, gave a clear enough indication of the line of the leading group as well as its position in regard to certain criticisms that were said to have been made. "Some people say," his report declared among other things, "'military affairs are politics,' 'military affairs and politics are of equal importance' and 'military affairs and politics should be given first place in turn.' Such views are absolutely wrong, they are most harmful and run counter to what Chairman Mao Tse-tung has always taught." (See HNA, January 25, p. 4 and following.) The implications of these general statements were drawn at once: "Carry through the principle that military affairs must be run by the whole party and strengthen the party's absolute leadership over the



army... The system of dual leadership by the military command and the local party committees, under the unified leadership of the party's Central Committee, must be resolutely enforced....The nucleus of the leadership and unity in the company and the bulwark in the struggle is the party branch."

One can understand what the underlying basis of the debate was. Elements in the army wanted to have a free hand in their own domain and not submit to constant interference from the party bureaucracy; and, in the presence of an accommodating attitude on the part of the political leadership (for example, certain statements by Chen Yi last fall), they emphasized the importance of the factor of military technique. They are supposed to have said, "Weapons decide everything." The reply to this was, "We always rely for our victories on the factor of man, the factor of politics. This is the moral atom bomb which our side alone possesses."

Tightening up in the army was thus necessary for the ruling group, which executed this operation first of all, reaffirming its primacy and reenforcing the position of Lin Piao. It was only after this move that the army and its press were mobilized for the battle in other areas.

Did similar polemics develop in the industrial sector? It is probable that here the leading group only perceived symptoms, since there is not yet as structured an economic bureaucracy in China as there is in the Soviet Union or Czechoslovakia. But the themes are roughly the same. Primacy belongs to the party and to the thought of Mao, the capital methodological importance of which in the construction of industry, technological progress and new discoveries, is exaggerated to the point of absurdity. In April, a little before the opening of the attack against the oppositionists, two conferences were held, one on work in industry and transportation, the other on political work in the industrial and transportation department. (The conferences were organized jointly by the state economic commission and the appropriate subcommittee of the party's Central Committee.) The article reporting these conferences in the People's Daily (HNA, April 4) bore the eloquent title: "Run the Enterprises in Accordance with Mao Tse-tung's Thinking."

After emphasizing the necessity of resolutely adopting a proletarian class point of view and of educating the workers (who need education because of their petty-bourgeois peasant origins) and recalling the need for threefold cooperation between the leadership, the technicians, and the masses, the commentator concluded: "To run the enterprises in line with Mao Tse-tung's thinking it is necessary to ensure absolute leadership by the Communist party...Ensuring absolute leadership by the party over the enterprise calls for unified leadership by the party. That is to say, on the one hand, all tasks from the higher administrative, technical and other organisations should, without exception, be under the unified control of the party committee of the enterprise and be carried out according to actual conditions in the enterprises.

On the other hand, all work in various spheres, such as that of the enterprise's Communist Youth branch, trade union branch, women's association branch, and the militia, should be done under the unified leadership of the party committee of the enterprise."

These ideas were reiterated in an editorial in the Liberation Army Daily praising the experience of an industry in the military sector where the principles of the Central Committee and of Lin Piao had been put into practice. Here, once again, they polemicize with phantom oppositionists: "Some people say that the job of factories is production and that they should turn out products... Our factories must persist in the socialist direction, take the socialist road and serve socialist construction and the broad masses of the working people. How are they different from capitalist factories if their sole purpose is to turn out products?" (See HNA, June 23, p. 2.)

The offensive which took its inspiration from the slogan of politics in command is aimed moreover at all who might want to emphasize the importance of the work of the specialists. "Some of our comrades who have come under the influence of bourgeois thinking have consciously or unconsciously developed the tendency to pay attention to technical matters only. They immerse themselves in their job and pay scant attention to politics and so lose sight of the correct direction for their work... If in the question of building socialism, it [a socialist country] considers that 'cadres decide everything' or 'technique decides everything,' then in practice the tendency will arise to get immersed in the job while neglecting politics, and there will grow up the style of work of commandism and isolation from the masses, and, as a result, bourgeois elements and political degeneration will find their way into various branches of work in the guise of 'specialists' and 'scholars': and will seize the leadership in some places and some institutions." (See HNA, April 15, pp. 5-6.) (33)

With regard to the polemics on cultural questions, matters are still clearer and the objectives are quite openly proclaimed. The ruling group does not at all hide its preoccupation over a dialectical process in this realm carrying over to political questions proper, thus inducing the formation of oppositionist groups and tendencies. (This fear was expressed not less clearly

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(33) See also HNA, April 23, p. 7 and June 11, p. 4. ("The watershed dividing Marxism-Leninism from revisionism, revolution from counter-revolution lies between the alternatives of whether one supports or opposes the placing of Mao Tse-tung's thought right in the forefront, whether one supports Mao Tse-tung's thought in command, supports 'politics in command,' or one advocates money-making in command and the placing of professional skill in command.")

by Khrushchev at the time of his campaign against some circles of the intellectuals a few months before his downfall.) It must be said that on the basis of the available information this worry was not without foundation. To prevent the possibility that certain groups of intellectuals might consolidate important positions of influence or control; that is, create real bastions, the ruling group intervened, reaffirming the primacy of the party, of politics and of Mao's thought; more concretely, they lashed out against all those suspected of not being entirely in accord with the line and promoted others more disposed to play the role of spokesmen loyal to their orientation and views. (34)

In order to better understand the present struggle as well as the official interpretation of it, it is necessary to recall another vital element; that is, the explanation given by the Chinese leaders for the evolution of the Soviet Union. According to them, Soviet revisionism has a bourgeois class content and, in fact, a process of capitalist restoration took place after Stalin's death. But how could such an evolution occur? What were the factors that facilitated it? Without going back to the numerous Chinese documents on this question, their views are clearly indicated even in the documents of recent months dealing with the crisis. Thus, according to the Maoist theoreticians, it was primarily in the realm of ideology that revisionism won its first battles, opening up dangerous breaches which weakened the socialist system as a whole. The social base of this occurrence resided in the formation of privileged layers that tended to crystallize out, particularly among the specialists, the technicians, leaders that separate themselves from the masses, etc. Concepts dealing with material incentives and introducing the category of profit into a socialist economy presumably reinforced these tendencies. Along with the Petöfi circle, the constantly recurring negative example is Khrushchev, whom they claim carried out a real coup d'état after resistance had first been broken down on the ideological front. (35)

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(34) Kuo Mo-jo can be indexed as the symbol of the absolutely orthodox intellectual type. Distorted reports last April led to the impression that Kuo Mo-jo had been attacked and that he had made a degrading self-criticism. It must be concluded on the contrary that Kuo Mo-jo made his statements, which received considerable attention, precisely to align himself with the "cultural revolution" orientation--to confirm the fact that he was still at the disposal of the ruling group. (In 1956 he made speeches perfectly in tune with the line of the time.) (See HNA, May 7, pp. 42-43 and July 5, pp. 12-13.)

(35) See among other references, HNA, April 7, p. 4. ("In a socialist society, the new relationship has its concentrated expression in the relationship between the functionaries and the masses. At all levels functionaries of the Communist party and the state are servants of the people, not overlords riding on their backs. They

From such premises and the concomitant analysis, the Chinese leaders draw the conclusion that it is necessary to fight with extreme vigilance not only certain ideas and the pursuit of material privileges but also all centrifugal tendencies within the bureaucracy itself. If the so-called de-Stalinization movement involved a certain loosening and "liberalization" to the advantage of various sectors of the bureaucracy desirous of limiting the grip of the political bureaucracy of the party, a process that culminated in the last analysis in a kind of redistribution of power within the ruling stratum; it is logical that the Maoists, who now condemn the de-Stalinization in its entirety (forgetting or rectifying their own judgments of 1956), should seek to move in the opposite direction, countering any tendency toward "autonomy" in specific areas. This implies reinforcing the central apparatus and bureaucracy of the party, the ideological expression of which is the universal primacy of Mao's thought.

### The Cultural Revolution

One of the central themes of the campaign of the ruling group is the "cultural revolution."

We must note, however, that the ideas expressed in the last two months are not new. It is symptomatic that in supplying theoretical and methodological generalizations, the official press utilizes essentially Mao's old contributions. It could be said that the Maoist group, in denouncing the penetration of "revisionist" and "bourgeois" ideas, seeks at the same time to defend what it considers to be the main thread of orthodoxy; and, to this end, it is striving to popularize once again, on a vaster scale and in more

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should show themselves among the masses as plain working people and they must not enjoy any privileges. To put this principle completely into effect, it is necessary to place proletarian politics in the forefront, strictly practise socialist principles and thoroughly change the old relationship between man and man, in production and labour, left over by the old society. Otherwise it will be possible for the functionaries to use their power to place themselves in a privileged position, with the result that a privileged stratum will come into being to the detriment of collective ownership and socialist ownership by the entire people. The social base on which the Khrushchov revisionist clique is effecting the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union is precisely a privileged stratum of this kind.") See also HNA, May 6, p. 4 on the corrupting role of material incentives; June 3, p. 4 on the danger of a bourgeois mentality in privileged specialists; June 8, p. 5 on breaches in ideological front; June 12, pp. 3-4 for a historical analogy -- a quite dubious one -- with the methods used by the bourgeoisie to assert itself as a ruling class.

dramatic tones, its basic notions on the primacy of the party, on adopting the political point of view in all realms, on cultural production by the masses themselves, on the necessity of living among the masses in order to be able to understand their needs and their feelings, etc.

Moreover, on the cultural front the battle has gone on almost uninterruptedly, as we already knew and as we are now informed by new reports (for example, Mao's intervention in June 1964 mentioned above). The point of departure in the current polemic, as we have indicated, goes back some years, linking up ultimately with the debates of the thirties and forties. Let us recall, for instance, some important arguments of the years 1962-64 -- the polemic between the supporters of the official views and the partisans of the philosopher Yang Hsien-chen, who is supposed to have counterposed the concept of "two fuse into one" against the concept of "one divides into two"; the polemic against those who thought that it was necessary "to write about average people"; and the polemic over modernizing the Peking opera. (36) The attacks against such Soviet intellectuals as the movie director Chukrai and the writer Sholokov are also quite likely a reflection of debates among the Chinese intellectuals.

All these polemics have always had a rather direct political significance and the aim of the supporters of the official line has been to demonstrate systematically that the questions under discussion are not of an exclusively methodological or artistic nature, but in the final analysis put in question the line of the party and Mao's thought. (37) That is precisely why these polemics are interesting and often rather lively. If one were to judge them contrariwise, solely in accordance with their intrinsic cultural merit, the balance sheet would be lamentable. On the one hand, the representatives of the official views base themselves on a moderate Zhdanovism, continually resorting to the same commonplace arguments and using a scholastic methodology replete with quotations from the classics of Marxism and Chairman Mao. On the other hand, the oppositionists also have had to respect certain taboos, giving the impression of timidity and inconsistency. Thus the philosophic

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(36) The discussion on the philosophical topic was opened through an article by Ai Heng-wu and Tin Tsing-chan in Guanming Ribao (May 29, 1964) and it was developed in particular in a seminar organized by the staff of Red Flag. (See Peking Information, No. 38, 1964.) The notes on the discussion concerning "average people" appeared in Wenyi Bao, September 30, 1964.

(37) See the arguments of the defenders of the official theses in the debate against Yang Hsien-chen (Peking Information, No. 38, 1964, p. 9); and the denunciation with which Yao Wen-yuan closes his article against Wu Han, which has already been cited several times

debate referred to above was -- at least as it was presented in the press -- painfully scholastic. The debate over whether in literature priority should be given to average people or to heroes verges on the grotesque, repeating arguments often advanced in the Soviet Union in the Stalin period. Even the polemic over Hai Jui Ousted revealed a contrived character, the only valid arguments being elementary methodological statements made by some of the timid defenders of Wu Han.

At bottom, the fervor of the "cultural revolution" campaign is explained not by a real ferment of new ideas but by the decisions of the ruling group to launch a noisy assault against all critics and oppositionists. It was precisely the constant reappearance of discussions and polemics and the role played in these by persons holding important positions in the party and in the government which no doubt convinced Mao and the faithful behind him that after all the results obtained in the realm of culture were ephemeral and that a new drive was needed to sweep away elements considered particularly dangerous. They seized the occasion for a purge, for striking down some old mandarins, bringing in replacements and promoting relatively new cadres, more docile in relation to an apparatus to which they owe their positions.

It was in this more general framework that the campaign on educational organization was probably conceived. Here one gets the impression of a campaign analogous to that of the most frenetic phase of the "great leap forward" when, for example, the revolutionary experiment of backyard furnaces was extolled. The agitation has taken on an iconoclastic tempo, often in seeming defiance of the most elementary norms and criteria.

It is not hard to believe that outdated systems remain in Chinese education, along with well-rooted "idealistic" tendencies. (The sudden nature of the discovery, however, is somewhat surprising.) Likewise it is not hard to believe that the sons of workers and peasants have in practice been put in a position of inferiority. The proposed remedies, however, do not seem to be of a kind likely to engender a positive outcome. Some of the measures are conspicuously conjunctural, empirical, motivated by the immediate requirements of the current battle; others seem to concern limited sectors and may have incidental goals. (38) As for indications of more general import, it is difficult to believe that the

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(38) The suspension of examinations and the six-month postponement of admission to institutions of higher learning were announced June 18. (See HNA, June 19, p. 10.) On this question, see also HNA, June 20, passim, and June 14, p. 3 and following, where, in particular, a critique is offered of the system of examinations in effect, now considered to be a rampart of the former ruling classes. It is possible that need for cadres in the various sectors is at the bottom of the measures intended to reduce the time in school.

educational system in China will gain much if the decried "idealism" is replaced by compulsory teaching of the works of Mao, if the scholasticism is countered with indoctrination of a vulgar, stultifying politics and if a preponderant amount of time is devoted to demonstrations, meetings and assemblies, etc. (39) Participation in practical activities in labor in the factories and in the fields is likewise not the panacea which the partisans of the ruling group proclaim it to be. Experiments in this respect were made in other workers states, particularly in the Soviet Union, with very dubious results. I venture the hypothesis that sooner or later this question will be posed anew and in very different terms from those now employed in the official propaganda.

[To be concluded in the next issue.]

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(39) The students of a school in the capital of Hunan province reproached their teachers for not permitting them to devote more than ten days a month to the current political campaign. (See HNA, June 20, p. 13.) We have seen that the question of the time to be devoted to political activity per se is more generally a subject of heated polemics. It should be recalled that in 1956, Chou En-lai said in a report: "The Central Committee considers it essential to make sure that the intellectuals can devote at least five-sixths of the work week for their work (i.e., forty hours per week)."

#### MAO ORDERS FOREIGN STUDENTS TO LEAVE CHINA

The Tokyo Yomiuri Shumbun reported September 22 that its Peking correspondent had learned that the Mao regime had told all foreign students to leave China by September 30. The reason given for the decree was that teachers are too busy at present with the "cultural revolution" to devote time to foreign students.

The Peking office of Agence France Presse confirmed the report two days later, saying that the foreign students and individuals doing research work had been given a month "at the most" to get out of the country. AFP said that last July when the universities and higher schools were closed for six months, pending revision of curricula and examinations, foreign students were told they could resume their courses next February, but this assurance has now been rescinded. They will not be accepted again until September 1967. All nationalities are affected, including some 200 Vietnamese, 30 Cambodians, and 6 Algerians. It is not clear whether it applies to students who are political refugees from their native lands.

Teachers of French will probably not return from their vacations in view of a rule that they can use only French translations of the works of Mao Tse-tung as textbooks in teaching French.

A.G.FRANK APPEALS FOR BLANCO, GILLY, RICO GALAN

[The following statements were released to the press by Andre Gunder Frank on September 30. An internationally known student of Latin-American affairs, Andre Gunder Frank is at present a professor at Sir George Williams University in Montreal, Canada.]

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On Hugo Blanco and the Other Victims in Peru

I must express my complete solidarity with Hugo Blanco, Luis de la Puente, Guillermo Lobatón, and thousands of their companions who have become victims of political oppression in Peru.

Growing economic exploitation and poverty accompanied by increasing political repression obliged de la Puente, Lobatón, and others to take the hard road of armed defense of the Peruvian people's rights. They were brutally killed through Peruvian army campaigns -- conceived, organized, equipped, and accompanied by the Armed Forces of the United States, which brought their experience in Vietnam to bear in Peru where the people are now also victims of napalm bombing. Hugo Blanco had made himself the leader and hero of countless Peruvian peasants who seek to recuperate the land that the bourgeoisie has taken, and still takes, from them. For doing so, Blanco was kept in jail for three years without trial, and is now sentenced to 25 years in Peru's dungeon prison. It is thus that the alliance of American imperialism and the Peruvian bourgeoisie seeks to decapitate the Peruvian people's struggle for their political liberation and economic development.

When President Belaúnde was running for President, he did so under the banner of "democracy" and in opposition to the parties of the ex-military dictator, Odría, and the new ally of American imperialism, Haya de la Torre. After his election, President Belaúnde even encouraged peasants to invade some of their lost lands to recuperate them. Soon, however, he inevitably began to travel the road of reaction that had already been laid out before him by Venezuela's ex-democratic Rómulo Betancourt, and which is now also followed in all haste by Chile's Christian Democratic Eduardo Frei. As each of these governments increase their concession of oil, copper, and other national resources and markets to American imperialism, they also increase the political repression of their own people.

On Adolpho Gilly and Victor Rico Galán

I feel obliged to add my name to the increasing denunciation of the recent miscarriage of justice in Mexico, in the cases of Adolpho Gilly and Victor Rico Galán. These are not merely cases of injustice and inhumanity per se, but they are part of an ominous political trend with deep roots in Mexico and with wide ties in the world as a whole, which ultimately come to rest in Washington.



Gilly and his co-prisoners were arbitrarily arrested by the Mexican government after the student strike at the National Autonomous University of Mexico. The Government itself had had a hand in this strike, thereby de facto if not de jure violating the university's autonomy. The government had sought to oust the rector and availed itself of student dissatisfaction -- on quite different grounds from those of the government -- with the rector and with the organization of the university. Once the removal of the rector was achieved, the government immediately turned to oppose the continuation of the strike for university reforms. Part of this government maneuver was to produce a foreign and "extremist" scapegoat on which to blame the behind the scenes maneuvering of which the government itself had been the author while it suited its purpose. The chosen scapegoat was Gilly and three other foreigners, who happened to be visiting Mexico at that time.

To intimidate the students with an iron fist, a few Mexicans were clapped in jail to boot. Having achieved its own aims, the government sought to block the students from achieving the reforms they sought.

Galán and his companions, including other left-wing intellectuals, were arrested on the charge of attempting a violent overthrow of the government with an array of arms that, if we were to believe the government's list, would hardly suffice to storm a teacup. And they were charged with incitement to rebellion, as the still jailed leaders of the 1958 railroaders and teachers strike were charged with violating the law against "social dissolution," which most knowledgeable Mexicans regard as unconstitutional.

These are not isolated instances in Mexico. They are part of a marked trend of the Díaz Ordaz government to increase political repression against progressive and simply nationalist political activity and thought. Part of this same trend was the government's sacking -- with a week's notice after 17 years in his office -- of the internationally prestigious director of Latin America's largest publishing house, the Fondo de Cultura Económico, whose board of directors is controlled by the Mexican government. Another instance was the government's refusal, after having only just renewed his residency permit, to permit the prestigious progressive journalist and professor, Rudolfo Puiggrós, to return to his home in Mexico after a brief Christmas visit to his native Argentina. Further instances are the temporary detention of members of the Mexican Communist Party for periods of days -- whose dates strangely coincided with similar detentions in Colombia, Panama and elsewhere -- when the United States was anticipating unfavourable international repercussions of escalating its war in Vietnam. Non-communist led anti-American demonstrations were also broken up at the same time.

This marked pattern of increasing political repression in Mexico is in turn contemporaneous with -- and we may suspect part and parcel of -- the increase of political repression, including ultra-reactionary military coups d'état in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, with which the imperialist counterrevolution is today

marked throughout the world. This reaction has not gone as far in Mexico as it has elsewhere -- including in its self-proclaimed democratic sister republics of Venezuela, Chile and Peru, where, respectively, demonstrators are jailed and tortured in Venezuela, strikers are machine-gunned by police and army, in Chile, and peaceful citizens are periodically rounded up and jailed by the police while peasants are increasingly harassed and killed by the army in Peru, not to mention the mass repressions of all human freedom and life by the American supported military governments of Brazil, Argentina, Indonesia, Ghana, and others. But Mexico proclaims its total political and increasing economic independence from imperialism; yet reaction is increasingly threatening the Mexicans as well. Whatever interference in Mexico's internal affairs there is, then, is organized in Washington and New York and not by individual progressive intellectuals.

#### OTTAWA COMMITTEE DEMANDS RELEASE OF HUGO BLANCO

Ottawa

The Ottawa Committee for the Defense of Hugo Blanco sponsored a demonstration in front of the Peruvian embassy in Ottawa September 21. The demonstrators carried signs which read, "Free Peruvian Peasant Leader Hugo Blanco."

The demonstrators wound up by sending a delegation into the embassy with a petition addressed to the Peruvian ambassador. The petition was signed by Garry Porter, chairman of the committee.

The Ottawa committee was formed shortly after the trial for Hugo Blanco opened in Tacna. Its purpose is to acquaint the people of Ottawa with the facts about Hugo Blanco's activities during the peasant uprisings in Peru and what happened during the trial in which he was unjustly condemned to 25 years in prison.

The text of the petition addressed to the Peruvian ambassador is as follows:

"For three years a jail cell in Peru has been occupied by a man who is respected, followed and even loved by the immense majority of the people of Peru. This man is Hugo Blanco. Being held incommunicado, particularly in seclusion from the world press, Blanco has been subjected to all forms of inhuman and degrading torture. This is callously labeled as 'interrogation.'

"What is the charge against this man, this hero of the Peruvian people? The officials of the government, adopting an air of honour and justice, accuse Blanco of shooting three Army officers while leading a peasant uprising against low wages and other social inequalities existing in Peru. (Three percent of the population owns almost ninety percent of the arable land.)

"It is questionable whether Blanco committed the 'crimes' he is accused of; but if he did, it cannot be disputed that he was defending himself and the people around him from the police who are notorious for their brutality and terror against the peasants.

"Hugo Blanco is not in prison for murder. He is in prison, along with 28 of his colleagues, because of the idea they represent -- an idea of social equality, freedom and land reform. Blanco is one of the few men who has been able to rally the exploited against the dictatorship and corruption of the Peruvian government.

"We Canadian students and workers identify ourselves with Hugo Blanco and the gallant struggle of the Peruvian peasants against the undemocratic dictatorship of President Belaúnde.

"We demand an end to the repression of the peasants movement and the immediate release of Hugo Blanco and his fellow comrades."

"THE WORKER" WAS ONLY REPORTING WHAT "RODONG SHINMOON" SAID

By Dick Roberts

The North Korean Communist party's attack on "Trotskyism" [see World Outlook, September 30] has been put to new purpose. This time it has been reprinted in The Worker, twice-weekly organ of the United States Communist party. And the purpose here is to smear Trotskyism directly, especially as it is expressed by the American Socialist Workers party.

When the North Korean editorial first appeared in the official party newspaper Rodong Shinmoon, the main intent was to associate Pyongyang with the Kremlin position in the Sino-Soviet debate. By declaring the Peking line to be "Trotskyist," Rodong Shinmoon was simply employing an old device in the Stalinist handbag -- guilt by association -- to demonstrate its true sympathies to Moscow.

The Sino-Soviet debate itself first emerged through such highly regarded "signals." On one side, the Kremlin diplomats showed their disfavor with Peking by attacking Peking's ally Albania; and on the other, Peking returned Moscow's trusts by attacking Tito and Yugoslavia. Only when Moscow and Peking were prepared for an open break, did the respective bureaucracies engage in direct polemics. Presumably, Pyongyang is on the same route.

But the CPUSA has no need for this tactic. The pages of The Worker have long been open for attacks against Peking, and if the CPUSA had been interested in doing so, it would have attacked Peking's position directly. With American Trotskyism, however, it is another story. Confronted with a radical audience aware of the principled record of struggle of the Socialist Workers party, the proponents of Khrushchevism in this country are not quite so bold. In

this case they prefer innuendo. The Worker's reproduction of the following paragraph from the Rodong Shinmoon editorial is an example:

"Slandering Soviet society, Trotsky claimed that differentiation of classes would take place under socialism in the same way as it does under capitalism, that the relations of domination and subordination would revive and class contradictions appear. In accordance with Trotsky's theory material values will accumulate with the development of production and, as a result of the distribution in accordance with the quantity and quality of labor, the 'bourgeois elements' will inevitably grow and gain in strength under socialism, 'all kinds of relations and habits inherent in the bourgeois society' will revive and grow."

Such nonsense has nothing whatsoever to do with Trotsky's actual viewpoint. One is supposed to believe from reading this that the commander of the Red Army during the Russian Civil War held that "socialism" would inevitably lead to the "differentiation of classes" and the restoration of "bourgeois elements."

What Trotsky actually held was that Stalin's regime stabilized a privileged bureaucratic caste at the expense of the Russian peasants and workers; and Trotsky defended the interests of the peasants and workers against this bureaucracy.

Trotskyists do not feel that capitalism has been restored in the Soviet Union or any of the states where the workers have taken power, and Trotskyists unconditionally defend the workers states against any and every attempt by world imperialism to destroy them.

The Korean war is an excellent example of this and one that is pertinent to the case at hand. The record of the SWP in defense of the Korean people against Truman's invasion of their country is unassailable -- a fact that is well known to The Worker, if not to Rodong Shinmoon.

It must be recalled that the climate in this country was not the same as it is today, when millions of people are against American involvement in the war in Vietnam. Korea came during the period of McCarthyism and anti-Communist hysteria. The sensationalized propaganda that South Korea had been invaded by North Korea was accepted by the vast majority of Americans.

But the SWP did not accept this myth for one day. From the very beginning, despite the confusion and hysteria, the American Trotskyist movement stood in the forefront of those who saw through the propaganda and opposed the war. The editors of The Worker know this very well. They are well aware, for instance, of the following letter to the president and members of congress by James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, printed in The Militant, July 31, 1950:

"Gentlemen:

"I disagree with your actions in Korea and in my capacity as a private citizen I petition you to change your policy fundamentally, as follows:

"Withdraw the American troops and let the Korean people alone....

"The American intervention in Korea is a brutal imperialist invasion, no different from the French war on Indo-China or the Dutch assault on Indonesia. American boys are being sent 10,000 miles away to kill and be killed, not in order to liberate the Korean people, but to conquer and subjugate them....

"The explosion in Korea on June 25, as events have proved, expressed the profound desire of the Koreans themselves to unify their country, to rid themselves of foreign domination and to win their complete national independence....

"This is more than a fight for unification and national liberation. It is a civil war. On the one side are the Korean workers, peasants and student youth. On the other are the Korean landlords, usurers, capitalists and their police and political agents. The impoverished and exploited masses have risen up to drive out the native parasites as well as their foreign protectors...."

Throughout the Korean war, week after week, page after page, The Militant carried articles exposing the atrocities of the U.S. invading forces. The lurid racism which presented the North Korean armies as an alien and hostile subverter of South Korean "freedom" was named by The Militant for precisely what it was: the Dixiecrat mentality of the American ruling class.

It would have been in order, one would think, for The Worker to have dealt with the North Korean editorial quite differently. Rather than uncritically reprinting its lies and distortions, The Worker might have done a service to the international struggle against U.S. imperialism by calling Rodong Shinmoon's attention to the role of Trotskyists as staunch allies in the defense of their country.

But to do that would have meant calling attention to the record of the Socialist Workers party. That is what the American Stalinists do not want to do, and that is why the readers of The Worker are supposed to draw the "obvious" conclusion from the misrepresentation in the Rodong Shinmoon editorial on "Trotskyism."

DEMOCRATIC BOSSES SAY, "JOHNSON, GO HOME!"

September 30, midway in a highly publicized tour aimed at helping Democratic candidates in the November election, Johnson cancelled out. His unpopularity is now so great that the local political bosses pressured the president into going back home.

ANDRE BRETON

André Breton, the leading spokesman of the surrealist movement, died in Paris September 28 of a heart attack at the age of seventy. As principle theoretician of surrealism, his views profoundly influenced the avant garde for several decades, beginning in the twenties.

He came under the direct influence of Sigmund Freud in 1921 and became a protagonist of psychanalysis and its discoveries and their meaning in the world of art. The 1917 Russian Revolution was also of primary influence in his thinking. He joined the Communist party in the twenties but left it when it degenerated.

Breton participated in the first efforts to expose the Moscow Trials and was one of the three leading members of the French Committee for an Inquiry into the Trials. This was part of the Commission headed by the noted American philosopher and educator John Dewey which definitively exposed the Moscow Trials as frame-ups after an exhaustive investigation in 1937.

In 1938 Breton visited Leon Trotsky in Coyoacan, Mexico. While there he held a number of discussions with Trotsky and Diego Rivera, the Mexican painter and muralist, on the relationship between art and politics and how this had been affected in the Soviet Union and elsewhere by the spread of Stalinism. Out of the discussions came a manifesto signed by André Breton and Diego Rivera appealing for the formation of an International Federation of Independent Revolutionary Art.

The manifesto ended with the slogan: "The independence of art -- for the revolution; the revolution -- for the definitive liberation of art."

Diego Rivera was soon to give up his opposition to Stalinism. André Breton did not change in this and lived to see his stand vindicated by the 1956 revelations made by Khrushchev and by the appearance of a new generation of poets and artists in the Soviet Union whose development is in the direction espoused by the 1938 manifesto.

André Breton likewise never ceased to lend his name and influence in behalf of victims of injustice and political persecution. His last public act was to join in denouncing the court-martial of Hugo Blanco, the Peruvian peasant leader, and in sending an appeal to President Belaúnde demanding Hugo Blanco's immediate release.

PRICE OF ENTRY TO "NUCLEAR CLUB" DROPS TO NEW LOW

The "secret" of nuclear weapons is now so widely known that the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission admits that any country with a "modest industrial base" can, with an investment of \$50,000,000, produce an atom bomb a year.

HUK COMEBACK?

[Reports have recently appeared in the press about renewed Hukbalahap activity in the Philippines. The "Huks" originated as part of the resistance movement against the Japanese occupation during World War II. After V-J Day, the movement continued to grow, giving promise of being able to take power. A plentiful supply of dollars and arms bolstered the pro-American government sufficiently to enable it to survive, to take advantage of erroneous policies of the Huk leadership, to mount a savage repression and eventually smother the Huks. Luis M. Taruc, a top leader, is still in prison. Another top leader, Dr. Jesús Lava, captured in 1964, is on trial.

[The Huks are said to have elected a new Political Bureau and to have again raised the slogan of a radical agrarian reform. These reports appear to have alarmed President Ferdinand Marcos. He cited them recently in rejecting a proposal to grant an amnesty to the guerrillas. His fears may have motivated him, at least in part, in coming to Washington in September. He offered extravagant praise to Johnson, making it a special point to back the American president in escalating the war in Vietnam. Marcos was rewarded with \$55,000,000 in economic and military assistance.

[The following comments on the reported resurgence of the Huks appeared as an editorial in the September 15 issue of Laging Una. Printed in Los Angeles, California, Laging Una is widely read in the Filipino community in the United States.]

\* \* \*

As far as one can judge from this distance, the reported revival of Huk insurgency in the Philippines is more a reflection of the nervousness of government officials, and the propertied classes whose interests they represent, than of the present reality.

The nervousness is understandable. Unrelieved oppression breeds rebellion. Despite glowing promises by successive administrations, the miserable plight of the landless farmers of Central Luzon (whose interests the Huks have espoused) continues. Sen. Juan R. Liwag of Nueva Ecija tells us that these exploited people "still find themselves in the same deplorable condition they were in twenty years ago."

He should know. Nueva Ecija is part of the dissident area. It may well be that the long-suppressed movement for radical agrarian reform is beginning to revive and that recent developments suggesting a Huk resurgence are storm signals heralding a new upheaval.

According to the chief of the Philippine Constabulary, Brig. Gen. Segundo P. Velasco, the Huks are down to a "hard core" of between 80 and 100 armed men. They operate in the contiguous provinces

of Pampanga, Bulacan, Nueva Ecija and Tarlac. They enjoy the support of the rural population. The big landowners fear them. Out of fear, some give them money and other assistance.

Why are the authorities afraid of an armed force of 80 to 100 men, no more than a company in conventional military terms? Because, in the words of Velasco, they "have succeeded in winning the rural masses in Central Luzon by a new policy of attraction which includes execution of cattle stealers, rapists, and minor wrong-doers, and the giving of money to farmers whose yield is not sufficient to meet their daily needs."

In their alarm, the authorities have reinstated the terror tactics of fifteen years ago. The Constabulary are once again on the rampage in the hunt for Huks and their sympathizers. A number of barrio dwellers have been killed in cold blood by the minions of the law. This brutality can only feed the fires of rebellion against already intolerable conditions.

The Huk movement arose during World War II as a movement of resistance to the Japanese occupation, combined with land reform. It reached the peak of its power and influence in the 1950's during the Quirino administration. It declined almost to the point of extinction due to a combination of its own programmatic and tactical errors and the crushing might of U.S. imperialism. Its best leaders were killed or captured.

In considering the possible revival of the movement, it is necessary to remember that the imperialist monster is still there, backstopping the Philippine ruling classes and the neo-colonialist government in Manila. However, the monster is now deeply bogged down in a land war on the Asian mainland and this may well encourage the revolutionary forces in the Philippines.

Huk resurgence would illustrate once again the historical truism that a movement of revolutionary reform, standing on the line of progress, does not pass from the scene until its mission is accomplished. When suppressed, it arises again. Genuine agrarian reform -- not the phony substitutes of a Magsaysay, a Macapagal, or a Marcos -- is the Philippines most urgent need. There can be no real peace or progress until landlordism with its many derivative evils is totally abolished.

#### ANOTHER CASE OF POLICE TORTURE IN PERU

A number of cultural and student organizations in Peru have protested the arrest of Walter Palacios, former chairman of the Federation of Students of Peru, according to the September 28 Le Monde. Denouncing the torture of Palacios, they demanded that President Belaúnde Terry investigate Lt. Tumay, the official in charge of the case.



FOR THE UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE OF THE POLITICAL PRISONERS IN MEXICO

[The following statement was issued August 20 by the Liga Obrera Marxista, the Mexican section of the Fourth International. The translation is by World Outlook.]

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On August 12 a number of citizens were arrested by various agents of the police and army without a warrant and in violation of the constitution and held on charges of "subversive activities." The homes of those detained were raided and pillaged. They were held incommunicado (virtually kidnapped and starved) for eight days during which they were subjected to the threats, mistreatment and beatings traditional with the police. The subsequent official communiqués and explanations could not have been more contradictory and stupid. All that can be gathered from them is that a new witch-hunt is underway, aimed at intimidating the revolutionary sectors that have scarcely begun to recover from the defeat suffered during the 1958-59 days.

The unnecessary display of force and brutality (in some instances, in order to seize an unarmed man, the army did not stop to knock but broke down the door and smashed up furniture) well indicates the propagandistic character of the "exemplary lesson" aimed at intimidating new young revolutionists. However, the calculations of the bourgeoisie had an opposite result -- the revolutionary youth have remained firm in their course of creating a revolutionary organization outside the Stalinist and reformist remnants.

Although the repression centered against the members and sympathizers of the Movimiento Revolucionario del Pueblo [MRP], the police "took advantage of the opportunity" to raid one of the local headquarters of our organization. They destroyed furniture and stole thousands of pamphlets and books and other printed material. They did the same to the home of our Comrade Moisés Lozano, including him among those arrested, and carted away a mimeograph, a tape machine, books, educational material and personal belongings. From the headquarters and homes of members and sympathizers of the MRP, the police took among a number of other things, some pistols and rifles to be presented as "proofs" of "crime."

The cynical police action became all the clearer when it turned out that of the 46 who had been rounded up, only 27 were accused of involvement in the "plot endangering the security of the state." Of the 27, only 9 were alleged to know about the "plans," the rest being "hoodwinked" sympathizers. In short, a group of nine plotters and a few sympathizers armed with a dozen rifles and pistols caused the "model country of Latin America" to tremble. Although a sector of the bourgeoisie itself, interested in maintaining a rose-colored Mexico for foreign consumption, is trying to stop the anti-Communist witch-hunt, the anti-Communist bells are pealing and give no indication of dying down. The "big" press, in screaming head-

lines, is demanding Communist heads. The ultra right is saying nothing short of "Let's shoot them like in Cuba." The official left press is shouting, "Let's finish them; they're Trotskyist agents of Yankee imperialism."

This broad anti-Communist chorus comes down to "making an example" in order to satisfy the middle classes. The nine who "endangered" the safety of the state are faced with sentences of up to twenty-four years in prison. The sympathizers of the MRP may be given fines of from 50,000 to 100,000 pesos [12.5 pesos = US\$1]. Since most of them are poor, this is tantamount to pronouncing sentences of up to five years in prison.

In view of this, the Liga Obrera Marxista, Mexican section of the Fourth International, made the following decisions:

First: To appeal to all the revolutionary organizations to constitute a front on a single point: A United Front in Face of Police Repression. The need for organized unity to resist repression by the class enemy stands above all ideological differences, above either passing or principled differences.

Second: To solidarize itself with any campaign for the release of the political prisoners, although it believes that the only way to achieve this, no matter how difficult it may be, is by mobilizing the masses.

Third: To protest energetically against the violation of rights guaranteed by the constitution, and to appeal to revolutionists in countries where it is possible to demonstrate in front of Mexican embassies to protest the illegal arrests, as well as utilizing all available avenues of publicity to denounce the corrupt Mexican bourgeoisie.

Fourth: To reject in particular the attitude and declarations of the Partido Popular Socialista [PPS] which publicly defended the arbitrary police measures. Not only did the PPS declare that it would not aid the nine political prisoners, but it incited the police, saying, "Look for the culprits in the Trotskyist groups." It should be noted that the PPS calls any revolutionary group "Trotskyist," thereby saying in effect to the police: "Gentlemen, let's finish the revolutionaries." Unfortunately for the PPS and the rest of the reformist groups, national and world conditions increasingly guarantee the strengthening of the revolutionary groups despite the fears and wishes of bankrupt leaders and governments that resort to repression.

Fifth: To appeal to the genuinely revolutionary organizations to initiate a discussion on the strategy needed to construct a revolutionary party in Mexico as the only means to guarantee the triumph of the socialist revolution, including analyses on the importance of the various methods of struggle, guerrillas, trade unions, etc., so as to provide guarantees in avoiding adventurous actions that could bring unnecessary defeats to the revolutionary

movement.

For the release of the political prisoners!

For the construction of a revolutionary Marxist party!

MESSAGE TO THE SURREALIST GROUP

[The following message to the Surrealist Group in Paris was signed by Pierre Frank for the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International and by Michel Lequenne for the Parti Communiste Internationaliste, the French section of the Fourth International.]

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The death of André Breton is a grievous blow for us and in the name of our party and the entire Fourth International we send you our condolences which we ask you to transmit to his companion and his daughter.

More than the great writer, the pure poet, the surrealist who opened the way to the deepest subterranean sources of humanity's cultural heritage, the innovator who worked the intellectual soil of our times so profoundly that after him no one remained unchanged, it was the inflexible fighter -- as you will readily understand -- who was close to us and whom we most admired, whom we loved.

The intellectual road he followed was exemplary. From the beginning, among the surrealists, he understood that he could not create except in the path of the revolution, and he took that path, bringing along his entire movement, without humility or concessions, in the face of cruel rebuffs and narrow-minded disputes placed in his way -- the first manifestations of the disease of bureaucratism spreading within the world Communist movement.

The Stalinist degeneration reserved for him the worst tests to which so many others succumbed who lacked his intellectual and moral stature. In the tidal wave of slime, of insults, slander, murder and desertions, he held strong, he spoke up for the truth, stood like enduring granite.

His mind found a similar one in Trotsky and their two names remain linked in history through the manifesto to the revolutionary writers and artists demarcating the line between genuine men and eunuchs.

Since then, at any time of grave trouble we knew he would be there, and also in times of sorrow. He was there with the signers of the Manifesto of 121 and he stood at the grave of Natalia Sedova.

We will never forget that his last public act was to cast the weight of his great name behind the appeal for our comrade, the heroic Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco.

André Breton, too, was a revolutionist. We can pay him no higher honor than to say that, at the moment he leaves us, which is also the time when he is being discovered by thousands upon thousands of youth.

We know that you will let us revere his memory and his works as those of one of us, for the same reasons that you consider Leon Trotsky one of yours. We are convinced that his memory and his example will assure continuation of the combat alliance between the surrealists and the Trotskyists.

### "RALLY ROUND THE FLAG, BOYS"

The Hong Kong branch of the bank of the People's Republic of China hoisted a new flag September 28, according to a dispatch from that city.

In place of five stars in a field of red, the new flag carried a portrait of Mao Tse-tung in the left corner and a picture of four books in the center. These bore the title, "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung."

Upon the appearance of the new emblem, all the other establishments that normally fly the colors of new China, hauled down their flags, leaving the poles bare.

Apparently they were caught by surprise and either had not had time to make up a new flag or were waiting to see if this was just a case of local zeal carried to the ultimate absurdity.

### GHANAIAN DICTATOR ORDERS CUBAN EMBASSY CLOSED

Lieut. Gen. Joseph A. Ankrah, who ousted Kwame Nkrumah from power in a military coup d'état last February, ordered the immediate closure of the Cuban embassy in Accra September 27. Ankrah claimed that the Cuban government was helping to train 2,000 guerrillas in Cuba and Guinea in a project to restore President Nkrumah to office. Ankrah's move, however, appeared not unrelated to his bid for U.S. economic and financial backing. Having won guarantees from him on foreign investments and profits, the imperialists are putting the squeeze on for political concessions. By bowing to State Department pressure and cutting off relations with Cuba, Ankrah further whittles down the political independence of Ghana achieved under Nkrumah.