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# WORLD OUTLOOK

## PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

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### ELECTION REGISTERS GROWING FERMENT IN INDIA

The week-long elections in India February 15-21 ended with a staggering defeat for the Congress party which has ruled the country since political independence was won from Great Britain twenty years ago. With the final count still not in, it was clear that if the Congress party managed to secure a majority, it would be by but a slim margin. In the last parliament, the party held a 70% majority. The three most powerful leaders in the party, its president, Kumaraswami Kamaraj; the treasurer, Atulya Ghosh; and the railways minister, S.K.Patil, were defeated. In addition, three cabinet ministers went down: Chidambaram Subramaniam, Sachindra Chaudhuri and Manubhai Shah. Four chief ministers of state also ended up as losers.

The most spectacular reversal for the Congress party occurred in south India in the state of Kerala. Of the 133 seats in the State Assembly, the party won only 9, against 113 for a broad front in which the "left" [pro-Peking] Communist party won 52 seats. Even the "right" [pro-Moscow] Communist party came out ahead of the Congress candidates, winning 19 seats.

Besides the two Communist parties, the "left-wing" electoral front included the Revolutionary Socialist party, the Samyukta Socialist party, the Kerala Socialist party and two rightist formations, the Karashaka Thozhilali party and the Moslem League. The participants in the front watered down their programs and divided up the 133 constituencies so as not to contest each other. [See articles in World Outlook January 6, p.18; January 13, p.53, and the open letter on p.246 of the current issue.] The "left" Communists scored so heavily as to become the dominant party in the Kerala legislature and it is thought likely that the party's leader E.M.S.Namboodiripad will be named chief minister. He was the head of the Communist administration in Kerala in 1957-59 which was

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dissolved by Nehru. Namboodiripad won by a majority of more than 12,000 votes in his own assembly constituency.

In contrast to Kerala, the Congress party was defeated in Orissa on the Bay of Bengal by a right-wing front composed of the Swatantra [Freedom] party and the Jana Congress, a grouping that split away from the Congress party last fall.

In Madras, where the Congress party won a two-thirds majority in the 1962 election, it lost three-fourths of its seats. The majority went to the Dravidian Progressive Federation which had organized a five-party front. A regional grouping that has ordinarily campaigned on the language issue and appeals to local patriotism, the DPF switched in this election to the question of the high cost of food, running on a campaign promise to slash the price of rice by 86%.

The gains by both rightist and leftist political formations showed that a polarization of forces is occurring in India. The prime issue is inflation which has been reflected in steadily mounting prices for food and virtual famine conditions in various parts of the country. The incapacity of the Congress party to stem this process resulted in the erosion of its popularity. The vote clearly spelled the opening of a period of crisis and intensified class struggle in India.

Two contributing causes were likewise discernible in the outcome of the election. One was the policy the Johnson administration has pursued of seeking to take advantage of hunger in India. Johnson held up shipments of grain while pressure was put on the Indira Gandhi government to grant concessions to private capitalist interests at the expense of the public sector. American oil companies, in particular, wanted a change in the policies of the Indian government so as to provide them more profitable openings for the construction of fertilizer plants. In addition, diplomatic humiliations inflicted on the preceding Shastri government still rankle among the Indian people. Johnson also displayed his anger over the reluctance of the Indian government to come out in open support of his war in Vietnam. He was especially displeased with the stand taken by the Indian government in favor of ending the bombing of north Vietnam. In casting their votes against the Congress party, the voters were also balloting against the policies of the Johnson administration in relation to India and Vietnam.

The other factor that contributed to influencing the mood of the electorate was the example of China. Under capitalist rule, the economic situation in India is becoming more and more chaotic. The specter of famine is very real. A big proportion of the huge population of 500,000,000 see no perspective whatever under the capitalist system except hunger and despair. The Congress party, in their opinion, has been given adequate time -- two decades -- to show what it could do for the country. The results are conclusive. In China, on the other hand, despite all kinds of difficulties including natural calamities and heavy imperialist pressure and such setbacks as the Sino-Soviet conflict and the current political crisis, the country has taken giant strides forward. While India stagnates, China has moved ahead, showing its potential in such dramatic ways as developing a nuclear industry virtually on its own resources and in face of the active opposition of both Moscow and Washington.

The influence of the Chinese example was thus registered in the showing made by the "left" Communist party. This was especially clear in Kerala where the vote was quite decisive in its repudiation of the Congress party and its indication as to what road the masses want to take. They want to get out of the orbit of imperialist America and into the orbit of Communist China. Along that line, they see salvation for India.

The election results thus alarmed Wall Street. In a gloomy editorial February 24, the influential New York Times admitted that a "period of great stresses and strains is inevitable" and that "the problem of governing the vast subcontinent becomes formidable." Returning to the subject in a lead editorial February 26, the New York Times held that "The power factors in the world have been altered definitely and permanently by the rout of the Congress party in India's general election." India is now "too weak and divided internally to have the influence she once exercised in global affairs. That is a loss for the West." India "cannot again be a major force in Asia, or in the world, until she sets her house in order."

India was to be the glittering showpiece, set up and maintained by Western imperialism to offset the example of neighboring China. Too little and too late -- that will probably be the verdict of history.

But it would be a mistake to believe that India now stands at the verge of a successful revolution. One of the main ingredients is still missing -- a mass revolutionary socialist party. The construction of such a party is now more urgent than ever. The Indian workers have a priceless opportunity; let them not delay in seizing it!

ARMY MOVES TO THE FORE IN SHARPENING STRUGGLE IN CHINA

By Livio Maitan

Events in China have continued to unfold at a dramatic pace and the situation is becoming more and more complex and charged with the possibility of new developments.

According to the official sources themselves, at the same time as the Shanghai events -- which we sought to interpret in an article published in World Outlook [see February 3 issue, p. 116] -- or immediately afterwards, serious conflicts broke out in a whole series of regions and big cities and, at least in some places, peasant masses also became involved.

It is difficult to give an exact estimate of the nature of movements like those in Shansi and Harbin and it is possible that it involves a jumble of different and even opposing tendencies, ranging from unorthodox Maoist currents acting on their own to a certain degree and in practice even against the orientation Mao wants, to tendencies expressing the conservative interests of the apparatus, and including largely spontaneous tendencies analogous to those that appeared in Shanghai, regional tendencies, and some that may be infiltrated by genuine reactionaries.

What is certain is that the explosion of all these tendencies has finally brought about an extremely dangerous situation for the ruling group headed by Mao which in the most serious instances (Shansi, Harbin, etc.) has resorted to bringing in the army as a decisive force. The utilization of the army, however, was not undertaken without hesitation and conflict -- many times the official documents in the latter part of January attacked or criticized military groups or leaders who presumably preferred to have the army remain out of the melee and the army was brought in only after some delay when it became absolutely clear that the "revolutionary rebels" could not win out by other means over the opposing factions.

As others have correctly stressed, the peasants were the last to enter the scene and it is not yet clear to what degree they have become involved. The available news and the indications in the Chinese press give the impression that at least up to now, the mobilization of the peasants has been limited to a few regions, the most sensitive politically, as for example in the Shanghai region.

Once again hypotheses can be advanced only on the basis of rather fragmentary reports. It nevertheless seems that the mobilization of the peasants has developed within a framework analogous to that of the strikes in Shanghai. Out and out anti-Maoist movements, led by oppositionist elements, are not involved; they are largely spontaneous. The peasants, aroused by the appeals to the masses issued by the ruling Mao-Lin Piao group itself, seek to put up their own claims, to advance their own demands. According to an important editorial in a Shanghai newspaper, the staff of which has undergone various vicissitudes, the peasants are said to have demanded the "immediate elimination" of the gap "between town and countryside," more economic remuneration and more adequate welfare services. Other documents have alluded to a tendency that wanted to distribute to the peasants the part of the product set aside for the collective or for delivery to the state.

Despite the polemical distortions, it is clear that in the final analysis the peasant movement has again posed some crucial problems of the transitional phase that China like other workers states faces after overturning capitalism. These problems still remain, it appears, despite the ruling group having adopted solutions noticeably different from those tried by the USSR in its time and by the workers states of Eastern Europe in the past twenty years. Very complex problems are involved for which no a priori solutions exist. In addition it is well known that genuinely conservative tendencies can appear among the peasants. Nonetheless, if the interpretation along this line made by the international bourgeois press and even the news agencies of the workers states must, in our opinion, be rejected, the same goes for the Maoist interpretation according to which the peasants have been hoodwinked by diabolical agitators, who favor the restoration of capitalism and who have raised absolutely impermissible demands.

On this subject, the official documents in their polemics ceaselessly hammer away against what they call "economism," at times resorting to baseless and monstrously tendentious historical analogies. (For example, those who talk about a labor aristocracy in relation to the workers movement in Shanghai disregard the real meaning of the phenomenon and are in fact resorting to polemical distortion for purposes of ideological intimidation.) As we have stated previously, insofar as the Maoist polemic against "economism" seeks to express opposition to tendencies like those that developed in the Soviet Union (Stalin's Chinese defenders forget, however, that this began under his

rule), it has an objectively positive meaning. But it is something else again when this stereotyped theme is used to answer the right of sectors of the workers and peasants to demand improvements in their standard of living, which, after all, remains very modest.

Another essential feature of the situation in recent weeks has been the continued differentiation and internal division in the Mao tendency itself. On this subject the material furnished by the official documents is rather abundant (naturally, if the effort is made to grasp the significance of the allusions). In fact frequent criticisms can be found of persons who sought to go too far in rejecting all discipline and in striking in an indiscriminate way at everyone in power in the party and the state. Similarly abundant are appeals for unity among the obviously divided revolutionary groups, and denunciations of groups and persons who, under a smokescreen of "Mao's thought" and the concepts and current slogans of the Maoist group, seek to attain different aims, to undertake different actions and even to set up their own organizational instruments. Above all, these denunciations signify an admission by the ruling group that it is unable to control the forces that it has evoked and that tendencies are developing that seek to go beyond the aims set by this group.

It is necessary to call attention once more to the attitude of the Mao group, since any simplification could lead to very serious errors in judgment. In our previous article we indicated that this group had reacted negatively to the strikes in Shanghai and we now stress that it has taken an analogous attitude in face of the mobilization of the peasant sectors. Still worse, at a certain point, the official documents not only began to make open threats of repression (and it is quite probable, if not certain, that repressive blows have actually been struck), but the Maoist group also decided to get out of the most difficult situations through direct utilization of the army.

It would be a mistake, however, to overlook the fact that this attitude toward the imposing mass movement, along with military intervention, were accompanied or were immediately followed by a resumption and intensification of the themes that characterized Mao's appeals to the masses and the Red Guards, beginning in particular last summer. Along this line the Maoist agitation took on a more openly iconoclastic tone and the masses were invited precisely "to take power" and elect committees in the enterprises. According to some reports, bodies of a "new type" which are glowingly compared to the institutions of the Paris Commune were created to administer certain big cities, in the first place Shanghai.

A Hong Chi [Red Flag] editorial sent out January 31 is particularly significant. This document includes the fundamental themes of the Maoist positions and polemics in the latest phase of the crisis in China, ranging from criticism of the "ultraleft" elements in the Mao tendency itself to interpretations of certain key occurrences like the result of the maneuvers of the capitalist elements. Along with a denunciation of the Shanghai strikes and movements like those in Harbin, threats of repression, warnings against the tendency to strike at all the cadres and all the leaders of the party and the administration, is to be found an appeal for direct intervention by the masses and the formation of new and historically original bodies of proletarian democracy. It is clearer than ever, in our opinion, that the Mao group is caught between contradictory needs -- on the one hand it cannot prevail over its adversaries except by basing itself on broad sectors of the masses (and from now on not only the student masses), on the other hand it seeks to block the movement it invokes from developing in accordance with its own dynamics beyond the objectives set for it.

It is difficult to forecast the next developments in this profound crisis which, in any case, will mark a fundamental episode in the history of the tempestuous transition period from capitalism to socialism. It is now possible to grasp the substance of what is happening. The very profound conflicts at the top, the methods utilized by the Mao group to fight its adversaries, the increasingly sharp and complex struggle of multiple tendencies have set off a clearer and clearer process of disintegration in the party and state apparatus. In the relative vacuum which this disintegration has produced, all the social forces of China have begun to move under the impulsion of different objective stimuli and in order to advance their own claims and demands. This liberation of social forces, this development of a dynamism that is very largely independent of the aims and will of all the groups at the top is in itself a very positive phenomenon, particularly in view of the fact that the greatest weight by far lies with the workers and poor and middle peasants and that the context in which their action is taking place is absolutely unlike that of the Soviet Union in the middle twenties and the beginning of the thirties.

An overall judgment obviously cannot be offered until it becomes possible to see the outcome of the crisis -- and on this at the moment a prognosis cannot be advanced.

February 8, 1967

WHAT WOULD YOU TELL THE VIETNAMESE TARGETS?

The December issue of Liberation magazine\* carries an informative report by editor Dave Dellinger on his trip in October-November 1966 to Hanoi where he had an opportunity to tour American bombing targets and take photographs. Among other things, Dellinger asks:

"What can one say to a 20-year-old girl, swathed in bandages and still in a state of shock because her mother, father, three brothers and sisters were all killed at their noonday meal when American bombers attacked the primitive agricultural village in which they lived? She herself was pulled unconscious and severely burned from the straw hut in which the rest of the family perished."

Here's what to tell the 20-year-old girl, if we are to believe General Earle G. Wheeler, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, as reported in an interview in the February 27 issue of U.S. News & World Report:

"Q Has bombing the North produced worthwhile results?

"A As you know, some critics of our bombing campaign assert that it has failed to produce tangible, favorable results. This is simply not true.

"First, it has raised the morale of the South Vietnamese. For a long while, only these innocent people were paying the price of war -- intimidation, kidnaping, and deliberate murder by the enemy. They were greatly encouraged when the aggressor began to pay a toll, too.

"Second, the campaign has brought home to the North Vietnamese that they cannot invade another land with impunity. Their aggression is now costing them heavily in terms of money, diverted manpower, matériel, interrupted lines of communication, and military facilities and equipment damaged or destroyed.

"Third, the bombing of North Vietnam has unquestionably reduced the flow of men and supplies to the South from what it would have been, greatly hampered the enemy's ground operations in the South, and, as a consequence, saved many American and Allied lives.

"No one indicator is proof in itself of the success of our air campaign. But there is ample proof in the sum of several indicators, viewed now in the perspective of time."

If you would like to give the 20-year-old girl a more diplomatic answer than the one offered by the chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, try this one given by his boss Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara in a closed-door joint session of the Senate Armed Services committee and the Defense Appropriations subcommittee in January and made public in Washington February 20:

"I don't believe any amount of bombing, within practical limits, of North Vietnam would have substantially reduced whatever the actual infiltration was."

At another point, McNamara reportedly said:

"Undoubtedly, the bombing does limit the capability of the North Vietnamese to infiltrate men and equipment into the South. But it is not clear that the limit that results is below the level that the North Vietnamese planned on and, in any event, it is not below the level necessary to support the force in the South at the present."

As for the feelings of those selected as targets by the American generals and their Commander in Chief Johnson, Dave Dellinger quotes the following as told him by Miss Tuyen, a peasant girl in the village of Nam Ngan, whose two brothers, one eight and one three, had been killed less than a month before she was interviewed:

"When the planes come bombing and strafing our native land we feel a great indignation. We are making every effort to shoot them down, in order to avenge our young people who have been cut down by the American aggressors....What would young Americans think if they were living peacefully and suddenly another country came and started killing them? For this reason, in spite of the planes all over the skies, we do not fear

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\* The issue was delayed, going to press January 24. For a copy send \$.75 to Liberation, 5 Beekman St., New York, N.Y. 10038.

them...When I was carrying ammunition a bomb exploded near me and covered me with dirt but I struggled free in order to continue fighting. We only have rifles in the ground forces but we are making every effort to bring down the planes. Since August 5, 1964, we have participated in more than a hundred battles (I can't remember the exact number), but we are still firm in the battle.

"At night when the planes come, I volunteer to cook rice. I reach every difficult place to serve the soldiers. During the day I go to the fields and gather vegetables for the army. They come, we open fire; they go, we continue picking vegetables....Bombing is continuous but we never feel tired....It is very clear that the young people in my village are ready to sacrifice their lives if necessary to defend our independence. The struggle may last for years, but we realize that we will win.

"During the resistance against the French colonialists, when we won our independence, one of my brothers lost his life. He was 18 at the time. Now the Americans have come, massacring the people in our village. That has fanned our hatred. We know that the American aggressors may commit more crimes against our village, but we have no alternative but to stand firm.

"Recently, as I told you, my aunt and my two younger brothers were killed and I can't help feeling a great hatred. I am determined to avenge this blood debt....We know that our battle is very difficult but we can see our victory ahead.

"It's hard to find the words to tell you all our experiences but I realize that you can see much for yourself. On your return I hope that you can help the American people to understand the truth and if you don't mind, I send my regards both to the peace movement in your country and also to your wife and to my brothers and sisters in your family. As for me I have no alternative but to go on fighting. When one day our country is reunited in freedom, I hope to greet you in our village on your way to Saigon."

#### IN DEFENSE OF BERTRAND RUSSELL

By Joseph Hansen

In its February 19 issue, The New York Times Magazine, the weekly supplement of the world's biggest, if not always best, bourgeois newspaper, paid its highest possible tribute to Bertrand Russell; i.e., it subjected him to a full-scale personal attack of a most venomous nature.

The New York Times does not claim to speak authoritatively in the field of philosophy in which it rates Bertrand Russell's contributions as among the greatest of all time. But it is an authority on imperialist war and the suppression of colonial struggles for freedom and it is in this field that it levels its heavy guns against the distinguished British pacifist. More particularly, it lowers its aim down to Russell's opposition to the current American role in Vietnam; and to give its condemnation of the 94-year-old battler the greatest possible weight, it utilizes the services of a Bernard Levin whose credentials are that he is "a regular contributor to The Daily Mail of London and New Statesman" and that he recently joined "Kingsley Amis, John Braine and other British writers in publicly affirming support of American action in Vietnam." This bird, it is clear, does not flock with the doves.

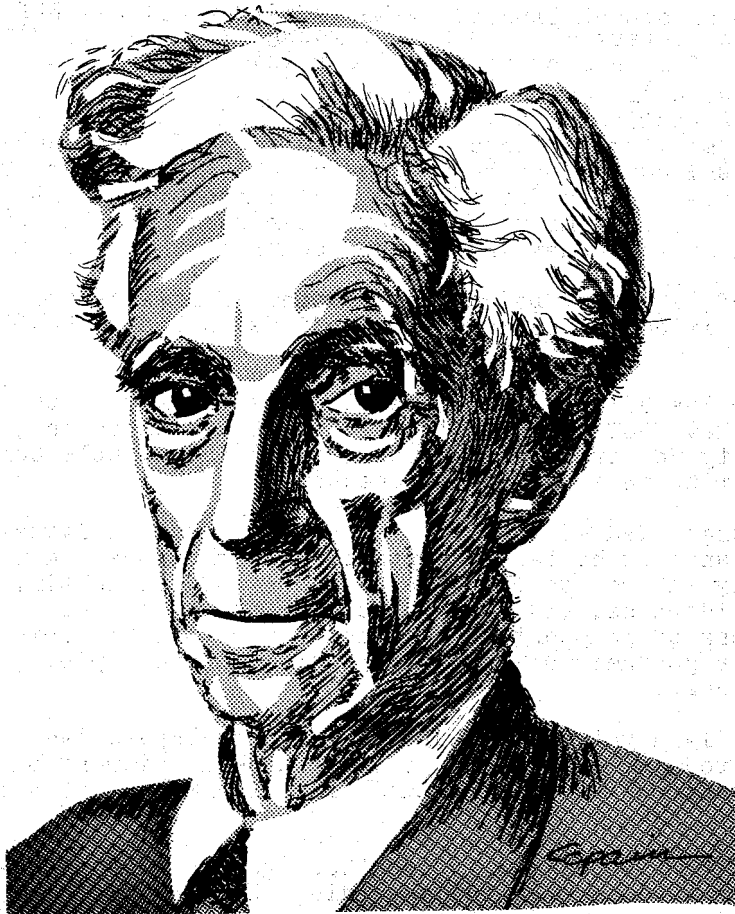
Levin's article is entitled, "Bertrand Russell: Prosecutor, Judge and Jury." Its thesis is simplicity itself: Russell is violating the norms of bourgeois jurisprudence by taking part in a War Crimes Tribunal that is gathering evidence of American war crimes in Vietnam when he himself has already become convinced that the U.S. government is guilty.

Levin does not attempt to establish a counter case by arguing that the Johnson administration is innocent. He does not advance facts or cite witnesses in an effort to defend the acts committed under the policies for which Johnson, McNamara, Rusk and Helms of the CIA bear responsibility. Instead he scores Russell for "actively defending" alleged "atrocities of the Vietcong in Vietnam." And under guise of "explaining" why Russell stands on the side of the Vietnamese freedom fighters and not the imperialist aggressors, Levin seeks to further divert attention from the real issues and facilitate his main job which is to smear the War Crimes Tribunal by attacking Russell personally.

Levin describes Russell at a London press conference as an "it," and his appearance there as "the equivalent of the religious custom of showing to the faithful the

saint's bones, or vestments, or miraculously liquefying blood." The "it" is "unwrapped" as "the holiest relic the international left possesses..." Are we to conclude then that Russell at 94 is senile, as all this somewhat more than implies? Not at all! "His grasp of the speech he is reading, its pages held in a thin, blue-veined hand is obviously complete."

This disclaimer does not prevent Levin from then continuing after Russell has read his statement and leaves the room: "The holy relic has been shown, and is laid back in its velvet-lined ark till the saint's day comes round again." How's that for literary polish, for dexterity in sliding a razor across a throat?



BERTRAND RUSSELL

If Russell is senile, then it must be that he is being used and manipulated? Levin brings in Russell's secretary Ralph Schoenman, "a young man with a round, neat beard, and a smile of infinite self-satisfaction." A number of details, including American flavored words in Russell's statements indicate that Schoenman does indeed manipulate the "holy relic." Oh, no, but not at all! How can you believe that Levin implies anything of the kind is being done by this "sidekick" who grew up "with a deep, and deeply neurotic, hatred of his native land..."

"For even if Schoenman prepares singlehanded all the documents, it is beyond dispute that Russell agrees to them: Schoenman may be Mephistopheles, but he is not Svengali; he may have persuaded Russell to believe in, and propagate, the most odious rubbish, but the fact remains that Russell does believe it, and is not just a mindless puppet, good for nothing but holding the pen."

And as if to prove that everything he has brought up about Russell's age and the American Schoenman's "anti-American" influence is meaningless -- except, as it may stick in the minds of careless readers, Levin specifically declares: "Russell is not senile. In-

deed, it is quite clear that in many ways his faculties are undimmed, and those who have talked with him recently have been impressed by the vigor of his mind...it must be made clear that he is no brain-softened dotard, signing documents he does not understand."

If Russell's mind retains whatever vigor it formerly had, then perhaps he was always easily taken in. Not so, Levin responds. "His mind has in its time been one of the most glorious that ever adorned the human race; he has compelled his recognition as the peer of Leibnitz, Descartes, Newton, Archimedes, Kant..."

Nevertheless that same mind has reached the conclusion that Johnson, McNamara, Rusk and the rest of them are guilty of war crimes! How is this to be explained?

Did Russell become anti-American because of "the shameful treatment he received as long ago as 1940, when he was prevented, in a trumped-up legal action, from taking up his appointment as professor of philosophy at the College of the City of New York"? No! That case, "which to this day makes sorry reading for admirers of the United States" as a classic example of "prejudice, malice, religious bigotry and judicial boondoggling... never seemed to have left any lasting mark on Russell..."

The mystery deepens even more before Levin clears it up; for this mind, of the caliber of a Leibnitz, Descartes, Newton, Archimedes, Kant, is nevertheless "hovering uncomfortably close" to an "insane paranoia."

For instance, this titanic intellect, which on the surface still appears to re-

tain full lucidity, is nevertheless capable of issuing a statement accusing the CIA of engaging in plots! Yes, the American CIA!! How monstrous it is to accuse the CIA of engaging in plots could fortunately be judged by everyone the very week in which Levin's article appeared, for that was the week the CIA won headlines throughout the world in recognition of its philanthropic disbursement of funds in a whole series of fields, beginning with education.

All the more pertinent, therefore, is the evidence cited by Levin to show the kind of "odious rubbish" to which Russell attaches his distinguished name. Despite the nausea it will obviously occasion among some of his readers, Levin dutifully cites the following proof of "insane paranoia" -- an attack leveled by Bertrand Russell against the CIA:

"The C.I.A....draws up lists of popular leaders to be assassinated. It plots to start wars. It invades countries....In Argentina, American tanks smashed the civilian government of Arturo Frondizi....Brutal military putsches have been imposed upon Ecuador, Bolivia, Guatemala and Honduras....The United Nations has become a tool of American aggression....In the Congo, mercenary troops, acting for Belgian and American interests... have shamelessly killed....The dregs of American militarism have been used for this purpose...right-wing generals, with United States money, have taken control of Indonesia...."

Even if he stands at the level of Leibnitz, Descartes, Newton, Archimedes and Kant, a man is obviously off his rocker if he can believe such "odious rubbish" about the CIA and the Pentagon.

What then is the explanation for Russell's sad decline? Here is the key to the mystery as worked out by a mind of the level of Levin's: "What I think has distorted, and finally destroyed, Russell's capacity for critical judgment, is his unbearable horror at the prospect that mankind may perish in a nuclear Armageddon."

Russell is suffering from a strange kind of madness. "...he has lived, privately as well as publicly, fully and richly; and now he sees the possibility that the human race, which he has so long and valiantly labored to show can be master of its destiny, will vanish utterly in a radioactive wilderness, and make Plato and Shakespeare and Beethoven and Rembrandt, and the millions of innocent people who only want to live in peace, and the hills and fields, and the goodness of which men and women are capable, and Bertrand Russell, all one with the dust.

"To prevent that, he has frenziedly devoted what must now be his comparatively few remaining years. Philosophy he now rejects with contempt as a wasteful digression; the only thing that now matters is preventing man from blowing himself and the earth to pieces."

From this Russell came to blame "particular men," then those guiding the destinies of the "most powerful nation." From that he came to "regarding them and their system as evil," then to regarding their opponents as "good and true and always right" and "thence to -- well, the 'War Crimes Tribunal,' which will put President Johnson and the United States on 'trial' before judges who have already made up their minds that the defendants are guilty as charged."

This labored argument is of interest for it provides a clue to understanding a person of the Levin type, a species that is apparently human but which experiences no unbearable horror at the prospect that mankind may perish in a nuclear Armageddon. It enables us to appreciate how such a stringer on the payroll of the New York Times can close his mind to the threat of nuclear war and blithely devote himself to such higher interests as defending the immaculateness of the CIA and the purity and innocence of U.S. policy in Vietnam.

It enables us likewise to better grasp why a Levin can seriously argue that Russell, "whose first major public action was his participating in a commission to examine the Congo atrocities of King Leopold I of the Belgians" is now doing the utter opposite by initiating an inquiry into the war crimes being committed by the Johnson administration in Vietnam.

The real problem is not to understand Russell but to understand a creature like Levin. Albert Einstein, the great physicist and mathematician, had a word to say on the subject. In an article in which he came out strongly against capitalism and in favor of socialism in 1949,\* Einstein stressed the peril faced by mankind should a nuclear war

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\* "Why Socialism?" written for the first issue (May 1949) of the Monthly Review, and subsequently issued by MR as a pamphlet.



occur. "Innumerable voices," said Einstein, "have been asserting for some time now that human society is passing through a crisis, that its stability has been gravely shattered. It is characteristic of such a situation that individuals feel indifferent or even hostile toward the group, small or large, to which they belong. In order to illustrate my meaning, let me record here a personal experience. I recently discussed with an intelligent and well-disposed man the threat of another war, which in my opinion would seriously endanger the existence of mankind, and I remarked that only a supra-national organization would offer protection from that danger. Thereupon my visitor, very calmly and coolly, said to me: 'Why are you so deeply opposed to the disappearance of the human race?'

"I am sure that as little as a century ago no one would have so lightly made a statement of this kind. It is the statement of a man who has striven in vain to attain an equilibrium within himself and has more or less lost hope of succeeding. It is the expression of a painful solitude and isolation from which so many people are suffering in these days."

Einstein does not indicate the identity of his visitor. In all likelihood it was not Levin; but it was quite clearly one of his sisters under the skin.

It is striking that in the list of great men with whom Levin chooses to compare Russell, he selects the names of scientists and philosophers who lived long before the day of nuclear weapons. He does not include a single contemporary. Above all, he does not mention Albert Einstein. Why? Was it just because he was familiar with Einstein's opinion of the Levins of the late forties? Or is it more likely that something else is involved? Something more destructive of his assessment of Russell?

The truth is that Einstein shared Russell's concern over the danger of a nuclear war. In fact it is possible that it was Einstein or someone of his stature who convinced Russell of the danger, for at one point immediately after World War II Russell apparently favored a preventive war against the USSR if the Soviet government rejected international inspection concerning atomic weapons.

Einstein and Russell corresponded about the danger of atomic annihilation in another war and their last letters, exchanged on the eve of Einstein's death in 1955, show how close their views were. (See Einstein on Peace, Simon Schuster, New York, 1960.) Einstein's last two signatures were appended, one to a letter to Bertrand Russell, the other to a public statement drawn up by Russell appealing to scientists to set aside all their feelings about even such issues as "the titanic struggle between Communism and anti-Communism" and to "consider yourselves only as members of a biological species which has had a remarkable history, and whose disappearance none of us can desire."

If Levin had compared Russell with Einstein, he would, in all consistency, have been compelled to mention their common viewpoint on the danger of any war in the world today becoming escalated into a nuclear war that could signify the end of mankind as a biological species. And if Levin did that, what would happen to his carefully constructed attack on the personality of Bertrand Russell? Everything would have become reversed. He would have had to recognize Russell as continuing logically in the pattern set by Einstein. Still more, he would have had to recognize that, wholly to his credit, Russell was carrying on despite his age and the handicaps that go with it such as lowered energy.

The truth is that anyone the least fair-minded must recognize that Russell at the age of 94 is at the height of his moral stature. He is carrying on in complete consistency with his participation in an inquiry into the atrocities committed by the Belgian imperialists in the Congo and in complete consistency with the broad humane view that has always characterized mankind's greatest figures.

But if Levin had been fair-minded how could he have carried out his task of picturing Bertrand Russell as having "fallen into a state of such gullibility, lack of discrimination, twisted logic and rancorous hatred of the United States that he has turned into a full-time purveyor of political garbage indistinguishable from the routine products of the Soviet machine"?

Two final points should be noted.

First, the chagrin and anger of the New York Times over the fact that one of the best-known luminaries of the academic world should have come to put the interests of humanity above the interests of the bourgeois class in which he was born.

Secondly, the dismay felt by this mighty shaper of public opinion that the War Crimes Tribunal sponsored by Bertrand Russell will indeed be recognized by the majority of mankind and that its verdict will stand throughout the world as a definitive moral condemnation of the dirty colonial war being waged by the Johnson administration in Vietnam.

THE MAO REGIME AND THE PARIS COMMUNE

By Fernand Charlier

Almost a hundred years have gone by since the French workers immortalized the word "Commune." Socialist revolutions have emerged victorious. Much workers blood has been shed. And the words "Communard" and "Communist" are among the most popular words of the broadest layers of the proletariat across the entire world.

For some time, the Chinese leaders have been citing the example of the Paris Commune in their polemics with the Soviet Communist party leadership. They have rebuked them in numerous instances for failing to observe the rules regarding payment of functionaries and cadres applied by the Commune of 1871 and counterposed these rules to the high salaries and emoluments of privileged Soviet Bureaucrats.(1)

These repeated references to the Paris Commune (which imposed strict rules for salaries and whose brief experience enabled Marx in The Civil War in France, and later Lenin in State and Revolution to draw the first lessons on how to fight the danger of bureaucratism) have aroused great hopes in many circles. When the Chinese Communist party declared in its resolution on the "cultural revolution" last August that it was necessary to "institute a system of general elections, like that of the Paris Commune, for electing members to the cultural revolutionary groups and committees and delegates to the cultural revolutionary congresses" (point 9 of the Central Committee resolution), the editors of Monthly Review, for example, concluded from this that "It seems clear that the committees and congresses of the Cultural Revolution have the potential to become organs of popular pressure and control like the original soviets of 1905 and 1917." (MR editorial of January 1967.)

Are the Chinese leaders to be taken at their word? Has Mao Tse-tung taken the lead in the struggle against the bureaucracy? Or are the equalitarian proclamations of the Chinese leaders and their references to the Commune simply demagoguery?

I do not presume to offer a definitive answer to these questions, but I think that an analysis of the most recent documents can shed some light on this matter.(2)

Up to now, the August 1966 declaration has not been followed by the introduction of the Paris Commune's system of elections. However, the new phase of the "cultural revolution," beginning in late December and early January of this year with the extension of the "cultural revolution" into the plants, has been marked by the creation of new organizations which the Chinese press has repeatedly compared to the experience of the Communards.

Beginning with Shanghai, the promoters of the "proletarian cultural revolution" ran up against massive resistance and had to establish new centers and new committees which, in their own words, "seized power from the former ruling bodies." These new organizational forms have become the object of an abundant literature in the official Chinese press. The press is advising these bodies to follow the example of the Paris Commune and has drawn its lessons once again for them. What are these lessons?

The first lesson cited in a Red Flag editorial on the recent experiences in Shanghai and the Shansi province (in northern China) is "the necessity to smash the state machine of the bourgeoisie completely."(3)

The former city and provincial leading bodies are thus equated with the bourgeois state. Another article in the same journal adds this second lesson: "We must bear in mind that the Paris Commune was too restrained in the use of its authority."(4)

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1. Especially the articles "On the Pseudo-Communism of Khrushchev and its Historical Lessons for the World" (ninth article in reply to the CPSU, July 13, 1964) and "The Great Revelations of the Paris Commune" by Cheng Che-se (Red Flag, 1966, No. 4).
  2. These questions have been examined from the standpoint of the events in the "cultural revolution" and the facts in an article "The Upheaval in China -- An Analysis of the Contending Forces," by George Novack and Joseph Hansen, published as a supplement to The Militant of January 23, 1967, in reply to Monthly Review.
  3. "On the Struggle of the Proletarian Revolutionaries to Take Power," Red Flag editorial, 1967, No. 3.
  4. "On Discipline and the Revolutionary Authority of the Proletariat," an article by "Commentator" in the same issue of Red Flag.

It is true that the Commune erred in this respect. Instead of wiping out its enemies, it tried first to exert a moral influence on them; the Parisian proletariat, Lenin said, "Did not see the full importance of the purely military actions of the civil war and, instead of crowning its victory in Paris with a resolute offensive against Versailles, it temporized and gave the Versailles government time to regroup its sinister forces and to prepare the way for the bloody week in May."(5)

In this way, the former local leaders are equated with the domestic counterrevolutionaries and the Versailles forces. However, if anyone can be compared to the Versailles reactionaries, it is Chiang Kai-shek. To compare members of the Chinese Communist party to the Versailles group, even if they are guilty of serious bureaucratic deviations, is not exactly an application of the Commune's lessons in the direction of greater democracy. To the contrary, what characterized the Paris Commune was the coexistence of all the revolutionary tendencies of the time. Although there were no workers parties in the modern sense, with a centralized leadership, regular members, and congresses in the Paris of 1871; there was a large number of groups and tendencies which were all represented in the leading bodies of the Paris Commune -- the Central Committee of the National Guard and the Commune itself -- members of the First International, followers of Proudhon, Bakunin, Blanqui, the Jacobins, etc.

One of the causes of the Communards' mistakes was the lack of a Marxist party during the life of the Commune -- Marx's followers were in a minority in the French section of the First International. During the Stalin period, the CP's, reinterpreting history in their own image, saw the absence of a monolithic party as the principal weakness of the Communards.

The leaders of the Chinese Communist party do not recognize democratic rights even within their own party: "The provisional organs of power which are leading the struggle for power have the right to exercise dictatorship against the class enemies. The handful in the party holding leadership posts who persist obstinately on the road to capitalism must be deprived of their democratic rights."(6)

The opposition tendencies are class enemies and as such they have no democratic rights. How different from the Paris Commune! Despite all the difficulties of encirclement, the Central Committee of the National Guard decided to hold elections on the basis of universal suffrage only eight days after power fell into their hands. In fact, this was one of their mistakes. Out of legalism and fear of exceeding their mandate, the Central Committee, which was itself elected (four delegates for each ward), forced the election of the members of the Commune on March 26, 1871.

What does the experience of the "cultural revolution" reveal from this standpoint? After the January events in Shanghai, provisional bodies assumed power in a number of regions. In the northeastern province of Helungkiang (capital Kharbin), a "Revolutionary Committee of Red Rebels" "seized party, political, financial, and cultural power" after the army intervened. At Tsingtao in the Shantung province (south of Peking), a "Committee of Revolutionary Revolt" seized the same powers; in the province of Kueichou in the southeast, it was a "General Command of Revolutionary Revolt"; in the industrial city of Taiyuan in Shansi province in the north of China, the equivalent body was called the "Revolutionary Committee of the Municipality."

According to the stock formula, all these bodies exercise "all party, political, financial, and cultural powers," awaiting general elections in accordance with the principle of the Paris Commune, as the manifesto of the Revolutionary Committee of the Municipality of Taiyuan proclaims. These are not elected bodies. Their members are appointed or coopted, as noted in an article previously cited: "The proletarian revolutionaries must set up provisional organs of power, by means of tests and consultations, and composed of the leaders of units of the Peoples Liberation Army, local leaders, and leading revolutionary cadres of party and state bodies."(7)

What we have before us, then, is not soviets; the "cultural revolution" is not an antibureaucratic political revolution and the Tatzebao (wall newspapers) are not yet the means by which authentic workers control can be exercised. The Chinese leaders have not yet put the principles of the Paris Commune regarding elections into effect; and it seems rather that the allusion refers primarily to the form of the elections; i.e., universal

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5. Lenin, The Lessons of the Commune, 1908.

6. See note 4.

7. See note 4.

suffrage, and not to the content. (8) How could it be otherwise, in any case, as long as political problems and competing alternatives remain the sole province of a very limited number (a few hundred or a few thousand) leaders, while the masses throughout China are offered nothing but clichés?

The campaign against "economism," for instance, has a positive effect when it serves to criticize the privileges of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, but is in itself a form of bureaucratic interference when it is directed against the Chinese workers. In the same way, the references to the Paris Commune have a clearly positive effect when they set the "naivete" of the Communards up as an example against the Soviet bureaucrats; and they take on the character of Stalinist amalgams when they lump together oppositionists and enemies of the revolution, as well as Maoists and Communards. We for our part are of the opinion that all workers tendencies in a workers state, including those accused of bureaucratism, must be allowed to express themselves.

By claiming a monopoly on the truth, Mao's partisans show themselves as different from the Communards as night from day.

If workers democracy and organs of power similar in type to the Commune emerge in China, it will be through a furious struggle in which this outcome will unquestionably be facilitated by the current disintegration of the party and state authority as well as the leading group itself. However, it is still impossible to predict when this will occur and what forms it will take.

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8. Here is how the People's Daily of February 13 describes the "seizure of power" in the province of Shansi: "...the establishment of the Shansi revolutionary rebel general headquarters...an embryo of the new organisational form of the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is of tremendous significance. Members of headquarters were elected at a congress jointly sponsored by the revolutionary mass organisations, the local army units and the revolutionary leading cadres. All important issues of principle are to be deliberated and decided upon by the congress, and routine affairs are entrusted to the headquarters....All members on the staff of the headquarters are subject to supervision and criticism by the revolutionary masses, and can be recalled at any time if they are found incompetent."

The new organ thus emanates from a "congress" composed of army men, cadres of the party who are partisans of the "cultural revolution" and Red Guards or other members of the "revolutionary mass organisations" -- thus it can scarcely be compared to an elected "soviet" congress. Two elements in the description of this body seem to have been borrowed from the Commune: the institution of a nonparliamentary body empowered to serve in both a legislative and executive capacity; and the subjection of delegates to recall at any time. But what content would recall have when the masses have no knowledge of political differences? The criterion is "incompetence," how is that to be judged?

#### What Mao's Thought Can Do for You

#### MEND BROKEN BONES

[The February 7 issue of the Hong Kong edition of the Hsinhua News Agency's daily bulletin carried the following inspiring report under the title, "Mao Tse-tung's Thought Gives Him Strength.]

\* \* \*

LANCHOW, February 6 (Hsinhua) -- In the Yumen oil field Lin Jui-liang was repairing a floodlight mounted on a scaffolding tower when some rotten lengths of scaffolding collapsed and he lost his foothold. The ten-meter fall fractured his left arm and left leg and some of his ribs. Although he was semiconscious he was heard murmuring a quotation from Chairman Mao: "Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory."

During his stay in hospital Mao Tse-tung's thought gave him amazing powers of endurance and tenacity. His nine serious fractures healed in a comparatively short time and he returned to his post soon afterwards.

Due to some special medical consideration, the surgeon set Lin Jui-liang's fractured bones almost entirely without anaesthesia. The operation lasted for three hours.

Though the acute pain made him pour with sweat, he did not utter a single groan but even encouraged the surgeon to go on with his operation when the latter solicitously inquired how he felt.

When he was carried out of the operating theater, some of his comrades waiting outside were so moved by his fortitude that they could not hold back their tears. It was he who had to soothe them with a calm: "I'm all right, don't worry."

Each of his injuries was excruciatingly painful. He thought: "Mao Tse-tung's thought is the red sun in my heart; it will give me the strength to see me through any difficulty." Laboriously he used his uninjured right arm to take out some copies of Chairman Mao's writings from under his pillow and began to read.

Lin Jui-liang read the article "Serve the People" word by word, drawing strength from every sentence. He said: "As oxygen is indispensable to life, so Chairman Mao's teachings are to revolutionary man. If you try to live without them you are only a living corpse."

At night sometimes, when the pain woke him up, he turned again to Chairman Mao's works. He seemed to hear Chairman Mao saying: "In times of difficulty we must not lose sight of our achievements, must see the bright future and must pluck up courage." He thought: "Every day I persist in the struggle, brings me one day nearer to victory. Even if I should end up disabled, my heart must be devoted to serving the people without reserve."

Lin Jui-liang felt better every day. But his left arm was still stiff and his knee had a pin through it on which hung a sandbag weighing several kilograms. He could not even turn in bed and the doctor said he must lie in this position for several months. How he wished he [could] get back to his vigorous, active life right away.

He asked the nurse to give him a notebook and persisted in writing a diary every day, though it taxed his strength to do so. In one of his entries, he wrote: "I must turn this period of treatment into a period of study and turn the ward into a school for the living study and application of Chairman Mao's works."

After some time he realized the need to coordinate the medical treatment he was receiving with exercises on his own, otherwise, his leg and arm, kept immobile for some months would become stiff and useless. With the help of a crutch, he began a painful course of training, hobbling up and down the corridor. After each journey to and fro, his shirt was drenched with sweat, but he only commented: "How can you make a revolution if you are afraid of pain?" He made thirty of these journeys each morning and, sitting on his bed, he would continue flexing his injured leg a couple of hundred times. He did this exercise four or five times a day.

Apart from that, inspired by Chairman Mao's words "Complete devotion to others without any thought of self," he helped to give massage to other patients in his ward and helped the nurses to perform some of their other duties.

When he was discharged from the hospital after four months, the doctor signed a certificate authorizing him to take 35 days sick leave. But on his return to Yumen, he did not show the certificate to the leadership at his plant. When they offered to send him to a sanatorium for a period of convalescence, he said: "I won't go anywhere. This is the place for me to make revolution." The next day he was seen, leaning on a stick, sorting out scrap material. It was not long before he discarded the stick and resumed his normal work. End item.

\* \* \*

[Is a question permitted? "With all that thought of Chairman Mao, how come no one noticed those rotten lengths of scaffolding?"]

#### DEMONSTRATION IN BARCELONA

Despite heavy mobilization of the police and other armed forces, about 1,000 students and workers sought to demonstrate in the streets of Barcelona February 18. The demonstrators protested the repressive measures and the high cost of living. They shouted for the right of workers to participate in the revision of the trade-union law and they demanded an amnesty for all workers and students who have been arrested in Spain. The police made 25 arrests and clubbed an American press photographer.

POSSIBILITY OF A NEW COUP D'ETAT IN ARGENTINA

[The following article has been translated by World Outlook from the February 20 issue of the Buenos Aires weekly La Verdad (The Truth).]

\* \* \*

Another coup d'état in March?

Before taking up this question directly, let us first note how it has been approached by some of the journals representing currents among the bosses or nonworking-class sectors who were or still are with the so-called Argentine Revolution.

Grondona, an editorial writer of Primera Plana who is unquestionably a defender of the June 28 [1966] coup d'état, in his rhetorical, affected style, ends his article last week as follows: "This is the modesty which the Argentine Revolution lacks. The necessary humility to admit that it came about not as a grandiose undertaking but in response to a concrete need -- to bring order into the economy and political scene until it is again possible to have a satisfactory democracy. To reform, perhaps, the 'written' Constitution. But not to definitively discard the 'real' Constitution. The sovereignty of the people goes back to May [1810], constituting us as a nation." Grondona not only explicitly criticizes the failure of the economic and political plans of the government, but insists on the necessity of returning to the "spirit of May."

Análisis -- the magazine of Carlos Acevedo, Cueto Rúa, Eustaquio Mendez Delfino, Enrique Ruiz Guiñazú -- in the "measured" way characteristic of the big bourgeoisie, notes the situation in which the government finds itself. "The harassment of the government" is the subtitle of one of the essential paragraphs in its weekly analysis. "In any case," we read, "the reality is that the government is being harassed from one flank by radicalism, which has raised the banner of a return to a democratic regime, and from the other, by Frondizi-Frigerism, which is demanding that the Revolution adopt its development theses."

The article ends with the following prediction: "Both positions -- at times it is between the lines of those who formulate them -- are meeting with some wide echoes in the Army which wants neither a dictatorship nor stagnation, and they can perturb the Army, including both sides simultaneously, which could create further confusion in the situation that could be posed in the immediate future." To put it plainly -- a leak.

Although we don't think that Correo de la Tarde has a wide audience, being read less and less by the workers, it is worth noting what this liberal rag has to say on the subject. "At times it appears that the regime is not aware that critical circumstances are impending. Even the ordinary man in the street thinks that the President is badly informed, cutting himself off from the reality in which we are living."

After an endless flow of verbiage, we are offered the following conclusions: "...a Vandorist group, plus MIDism or UCRism, plus the Christian Democracy, plus political minorities like Díaz Colodrero's Unión Federal, plus certain ambitious political bosses and their different entourages, all this mixed in a pot well seasoned to taste in accordance with the dialectics of the case and whatever is utilizable whether a trade-union outlook, a religious group or a military emotion. And under the banner of securing support for the revolutionary government in the 'great policy of an interregnum,' to decree the death of the Revolution."

The question now has the scope which we sought to indicate by asking at the beginning, will there be another coup d'état in March?

Unfortunately we cannot answer categorically because we do not have a crystal ball. But what we can say is that all the conditions for a new crisis are appearing. The texts we have noted are not the product of the imagination of different editors but the reflection of a very concrete reality. The present climate is very much like the one accompanying all critical moments in the successive governments of the bosses. The wave of "dreadful" rumors and the openly voiced allusions to the possibility of a coup d'état and a military move are genuine elements supporting this view.

This is not the first time we have referred to this phenomenon. The political and governmental crisis shaking the country has a deeper base in the economic crisis, which in its own way extends into all corners. The workers movement and the popular sectors are the most affected, but management itself shows its concern over the slowness of the economic recovery for which this regime has no solution.

Plant shutdowns, layoffs and the decline in production and sales are also real and concrete phenomena. This situation fosters obvious elements of discontent, squabbles and conflicts among the bourgeoisie. If there have not been sharper manifestations of this worry it is because the government with its policy directed against the working class and popular sectors gained complete support from the various management groupings with the exception of those in the Confederación General Económica (secondary layers primarily in the hinterland). But this united front in practice against the workers movement does not prevent the development of deep differences over general policies and economic plans.

In short, we cannot be sure that a coup d'état will occur, but that the government has already been caught in a new crisis is quite clear. How will it emerge from this crisis? This points to a different question: Are the bosses capable of overcoming the present impasse and finding a way out?

To this we must reply, yes. In fact through a compromise based on repressing the workers movement they can reach an agreement that will guarantee them a certain tranquility. The proposal made by the former governor of Córdoba in a conclave of the UCRP [Unión Cívica Radical Popular] pointed in this direction. The formation of a transitional government selected by the bosses organizations, the army, the Church, the political parties and the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo] is the ingenious device under contemplation. Agreement on two electoral slates, which we have also previously discussed, one headed by Amadeo and the other by Aramburu, is a way out which the bosses as a whole would be inclined to agree to provided that the workers movement is denied any possibility of lifting its head and is barred from independent political action. If Krieger Vasena does not succeed in reanimating the economy, these variants will be put on the agenda without ruling out a new coup d'état.

All this concerns the exploiting forces, but the problem nevertheless contains another unknown and this is the role of the struggle between the workers movement and the forces of the bosses.

It is necessary to insist on this. None of these variants correspond to the needs of the workers movement. It is well known that the top trade-union leaderships, including the CGT, ask only to be included in the schemes for a bourgeois government. A genuine workers position has nothing in common with that. For this reason, the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores [Revolutionary Workers party] holds that there is no way out except to defeat the present government and establish a provisional government of the CGT and the parties adhering to the workers movement. Such a government upon being installed should call a constituent assembly in which all sectors can participate on an equal basis in order to organize the country in a definitive way.

Undoubtedly, for the leaderships in question, this proposal would mean playing with fire, but the working class and the majority of the middle class should realize that there is no other answer if we really want to emerge from the present situation of stagnation and growing misery.

Quite clearly this would revitalize the struggle. But what other way is left open under the measures being pursued by the government? Thus what is involved is to understand that the struggles of the workers movement and the popular sectors are not going to result in mere defense of our jobs or decent wages, for example, but in disputing the power held by the usurpers. This understanding is now beginning to be deepened, furthering the actual tasks imposed by the new plan of action.

#### 4,000 COAL MINERS STAGE SYMPATHY STRIKE IN SPAIN

Some 4,000 coal miners in Asturias went on strike February 21 in sympathy with 11 fellow workers who staged a sit-in strike in a mine shaft 1,000 feet below the surface. The sit-in began February 18 when the 11 took over an unused gallery in the Llamas mine in the village of Abana, four miles from Mieres. The 11 are protesting their dismissals a year ago for participating in labor disputes. All they demand is to be rehired. They were reported to have stocked the gallery with food, vitamin pills and fresh filtered water. It was not known how long they could hold out.

Miners in other towns in the region were reported to be considering joining in sympathy walkouts. Management decided to keep other workers from entering the mine "for safety reasons." Communicating with the 11 by mine telephone, company and union officials asked them to end their sit-in. The reply was, "You will have to take us out on stretchers."

CLAIM MADE THAT ARRESTS ARE EXPECTED IN KENNEDY ASSASSINATION

By Arthur Maglin

The credibility of the report of President Johnson's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy received another blow on February 18 when James Garrison, the district attorney of New Orleans, Louisiana, issued a statement saying that he had been conducting an investigation into the Kennedy case and expected to make arrests in the near future.

On February 19, Congressman Gerald R. Ford, the House Republican leader and a member of the Warren Commission, said that "whatever evidence is found should be transmitted to the United States Attorney General and to the President for consideration." To which Garrison replied on February 20, "I am running this investigation, not the President, not the Attorney General. I'm in charge of the operation and we've made a lot of progress working this way. So I don't propose to make any changes that might result in a slowdown and make us less effective."

The February 20 New York World Journal Tribune reported:

"Asked what the Federal Bureau of Investigation is doing about Garrison's probe, an FBI spokesman said, 'The only thing I can say regarding any questions about that is "No comment."'

"After New Orleans newspapers broke the story of his investigation on Friday [February 17], Garrison said 'irresponsible release of so many details' would delay the arrests he said would be forthcoming.

"The release of details and names, he said, 'has now created a problem for us in finding witnesses and getting cooperation from other witnesses and in at least one case has endangered the life of a witness -- a possible witness -- so that whatever timetable we might have had before is somewhat extended now.'

"In another development a former private detective says five persons were involved with Lee Harvey Oswald in the assassination of President Kennedy, and he knows their identities.

"David Lewis, a bus station express handler who worked as a private investigator here in the months before the assassination, said yesterday [February 19] he has the names of the five persons allegedly involved in the planning phase of the plot on the president's life.

"But Lewis said he would not disclose the names of the alleged conspirators until permitted to do so by Garrison."

The February 20 New York Post reported that Garrison "refused to go into the question of whether only Lee Harvey Oswald was involved in the assassination of Kennedy in Dallas November 22, 1963.

"I'd rather not comment on that,' Garrison said.

"I will say this: that from our inquiry into the matters, there is no question at all that other individuals were involved in the initial planning in the New Orleans area which culminated in the death of President Kennedy.'

"In Miami, Cuban exile Bernard Torres, 32, who helped the Secret Service guard President Kennedy in Miami four days before the assassination, said Garrison had engaged him to look into the background of some Cubans reported to have been with Oswald shortly before the shooting in Dallas.

"Torres said he believes the Warren Commission -- which said its exhaustive investigation showed there was no credible evidence that anyone else was implicated -- will be proved incomplete.

"In San Diego, attorney Melvin Belli said Oswald and Jack Ruby, the man who slew Oswald after Kennedy's death, were in New Orleans at the same time but it was just a coincidence.

"Belli, who defended Ruby in his trial for the slaying of Oswald, said he does not believe there was any plot to kill Kennedy.



"Their presence in New Orleans was a coincidence, it was absolutely innocent and there was nothing sinister about it, Belli said.

"He added that he knew Ruby had activity in New Orleans and with Cuba, but he was just trying to ingratiate himself with a wealthy Mafia type who was involved in Las Vegas gambling activities.

"This was typical of Ruby's efforts to be identified with the wealthy and powerful, Belli said."

The February 21 New York Times reported that "a source within Mr. Garrison's office name a 'suspect', but asked that the same be withheld. This source also said one theory was that President Kennedy's assassination grew out of a plot by anti-Communist forces to kill Premier Fidel Castro of Cuba. According to this theory, the conspirators planned to send Lee Harvey Oswald to Cuba to kill Premier Castro, and later decided to attack President Kennedy when Oswald was denied entry into Cuba."

Garrison's disclosures led Senator Thomas J. Dodd, Democrat of Connecticut, to urge on February 20 that the Warren Commission reopen its inquiry to consider evidence purporting to say that the Kennedy assassination was carried out by a conspiracy.

In other news connected with the assassination controversy, the New York World Journal Tribune reported on February 17:

"The White House kept silent today on a request of Rep. Theodore R. Kupferman, R-N.Y., for an official examination of X-rays and photographs of President Kennedy's autopsy.

"There won't be a public reply," said George Christian, press secretary for President Johnson."

Further on the story says:

"Kupferman said in a letter to the President that his own request to examine the X-rays and photos with autopsy experts had been denied by Burke Marshall, attorney for the Kennedy family, and the National Archives in Washington where the material is stored.

"Kupferman, a lawyer, wrote that he was 'amazed' to learn that the X-rays and photos taken at the autopsy were not made available to the Warren Commission. They could have significant bearing upon the issue of whether the same bullet struck President Kennedy and Texas Gov. James Connally. [Critics of the Warren Report have pointed out that if Kennedy and Connally were not struck by the same bullet then it would have been impossible for one man acting alone to have killed the president.]

"The congressman called upon the President to either give him, accompanied by Drs. Helpern and Wecht, the right to inspect the films or direct an official examination and make a public report on the findings."

With each new development in the assassination controversy, public confidence in the government agencies and high officials connected with producing the Warren Commission's report is further eroded. In particular, the responsibility for setting up an inquiry that led to such unsatisfactory results is becoming an increasing political liability for Kennedy's heir.

#### NOT CHIANG CHING BUT KANG SHENG

Last week World Outlook reported [p.194] that according to a Tokyo paper, a February 13 wall bulletin in Peking stated that Chiang Ching, the wife of Mao Tse-tung, had been placed in charge of a Committee of Orientation for the Cultural Revolution. It now appears that the name was misread. It really involved Kang Sheng. Kang Sheng is thought to be seventh from the top in the present Political Bureau. He was twenty-fifth in the old one. His duties have always remained obscure and it is believed by some that he may be in charge of intelligence.

A Hsinhua dispatch from Peking February 11 reported that at a rally of 100,000 persons called to condemn "the Soviet revisionist ruling clique for its bloody suppression of Chinese students returning home via Moscow," leading members of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist party were present. Only five of them were listed. The order was as follows: Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Chen Yi and Chiang Ching.

THE CIA SCANDAL CONTINUES TO REVERBERATE IN THE U.S.

The biggest political scandal in decades -- the ever-widening exposure of the activities of the Central Intelligence Agency inside the United States -- continues to preoccupy the American public. The campus activities of the CIA proved to be but the beginning. Press seminars, the clerical field, social work and cultural affairs -- the CIA has been active everywhere. Among the groups appear such names as the Newspaper Guild, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the Friends of the Middle East, the Conference on the Atlantic Community, the International Union of Young Christian Democrats, Pax Romana, Crossroads Africa, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Congress for Cultural Freedom, and the Institute for International Labor Research.

The latter organization, set up to train democratic politicians and labor leaders in Latin America, received \$1,000,000 from the CIA funneled through the J.M. Kaplan Fund. The chairman of the Institute for International Labor Research, the well known Social Democratic figure Norman Thomas said he was unaware that the organization was the recipient of CIA funds. It can well be believed that he was an innocent dupe and not a conscious fellow traveler of the CIA.

The usefulness of such figures in CIA operations was well illustrated when Thomas went to the Dominican Republic to "observe" the elections conducted under the American occupation of the unhappy country. He came back swearing that the elections were completely honest and aboveboard. And there is no doubt he really believed it himself.

Another revelation of the same order was the admission in Washington February 21 that CIA operatives were behind the strikes in British Guiana in 1962 and 1963 that were used in a series of actions that eventually unseated Dr. Cheddi Jagan as prime minister. According to Neil Sheehan of the New York Times, "The sources said the international affairs department of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees was actually run by two intelligence agency aides who operated out of the union's former headquarters in Washington with the knowledge of the union leadership."

The union used CIA funds for four and a half years, from 1959 to May 1964, "to finance its overseas activities, mainly in Latin America, the source said."

The latest revelations appeared to center more and more around the AFL-CIO. On February 24, Drew Pearson, the Washington columnist, claimed that the truth had barely begun to emerge.

"Revelation that the Central Intelligence Agency has paid almost \$1,000,000 to the Newspaper Guild in six years gave the public a look at only the above-water part of the CIA-AFL-CIO iceberg," said Pearson. "The rest of the CIA money paid to organized labor, estimated at around \$100,000,000 a year, is probably the biggest fund dished out by Central Intelligence to anyone."

Pearson further claims: "This payment and the foreign policy which goes with it are the chief bone of contention between AFL-CIO president George Meany and AFL-CIO vice president Walter Reuther. It has come close to once more splitting the powerful AFL-CIO combine into two separate units."

According to Pearson, "the huge CIA subsidy to organized labor" goes mainly through the following:

Jay Lovestone, who handles foreign affairs for Meany. "Lovestone takes orders from Cord Meyer of the CIA. No CIA money for labor is spent without Lovestone's approval, and few labor attachés are appointed to American embassies abroad without his OK."

The International Oil Workers Union, which disposed of considerable amounts of CIA money, "especially in Indonesia."

The Food and Restaurant Workers Secretariat; the PTT Secretariat for the postal, telegraph and telephone unions, "all working closely with Joe Bierne, president of the Communications Workers of America"; Irving Brown, who is Jay Lovestone's chief lieutenant and "who operates largely through the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions"; the American Institute for Free Labor Development, which works out of Washington and which "spends millions in Latin America"; the African-American Labor Center "which spends CIA money in Africa"; the Inter-American Regional Labor Organization [ORIT] which operates in Latin America.

Drew Pearson entitled his article appropriately enough, "AFL-CIA."

Meany's reaction was to call Drew Pearson a "liar" for having alleged that Jay Lovestone took orders from the CIA. Meany also "heatedly" denied that Jay Lovestone had ever been involved with the CIA.

Meany further denied that he had any knowledge of any union in the AFL-CIO having received any funds either directly or indirectly from the CIA. Later in his press conference, Meany said, "I can assure you that I will look into it."

It appeared however that the promised inquiry might not provide many headlines for the press. The investigating body would consist of George Meany himself. This body, which certainly does not lack in authority, would confine itself to "asking questions here and there." And while the inquiry might not be extensive, neither would it suffer undue delay. Meany said, in fact, that he did not "think it will take too long to get what information I want to get."

The inquiry to be undertaken by this august body will be conducted in the most responsible way; that is, its results will not be made public.

The embarrassment of the Johnson administration was only exceeded by that of the liberals who were faced with the need to explain why it was that the CIA found their politics so much in the interests of spying that it made them and the labor movement the chief beneficiaries of the millions of dollars poured out to subvert the "free" institutions of "free" America.

On February 15 the White House announced that Johnson had ordered a "careful review of the circumstances surrounding subsidies" by the CIA to the National Student Association. Evidently when the scandal first broke, Johnson thought he could get away by playing the innocent dupe and ordering an "inquiry."

The liberal New York Post responded February 17 with editorial applause: "The White House has acted with dispatch in directing an inquiry into the program of furtive federal aid to education conducted by the Central Intelligence Agency." The Post even ventured to climb out on a limb: "Every time one of these CIA horror stories breaks -- and they have broken fairly often in recent years -- it is officially reported that all the agency's activities are invariably approved at the highest Administration levels. We doubt it. If this claim were true, the President would now stand exposed as a crude dissembler who, after personally approving the CIA-NSA arrangement, now seeks to exculpate himself by cynically ordering an inquiry."

On February 23 Johnson stood exposed as a crude dissembler. The very committee which he had set up to make an "inquiry," reported back that the CIA was as clean as a hound's tooth. It had acted "in accordance with national policies established by the National Security Council in 1952 through 1954." The head of the committee, Nicholas Katzenbach, indicated that these policies had been approved by Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and all the senior review committees concerned including those of the State Department and the Defense Department.

Finally -- cruelest blow of all -- Senator Robert F. Kennedy said February 21 that it was unfair to let the CIA "take the rap." The basic decisions for the secret subsidies were made by "the executive branch in the Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson administrations." Kennedy even defended the subsidies, saying: "We must not forget that we are not dealing with a dream world, but with a very tough adversary." Kennedy, of course, as a top figure in his brother's administration, knew about the subsidies.

It was thus evident that the powers that be found the exposure so big, so far-reaching and so shocking to the American public that there was not the slightest chance of ducking it by having Johnson play innocent and order an "inquiry." They had no choice but to admit their knowledge and therefore their participation in the CIA's activities. This left them no alternative but to try to justify their hypocrisy. And by doing that they dealt a stunning blow to their own propaganda about America representing freedom and democracy and enjoying a government unmarred by the invidious influence of a secret political police.

#### PRIMITIVE TOOL STILL DEADLY

Adolph Vignes, 54, a worker clearing brush in northern France on one of the battlefields of World War I, was killed February 18 when he accidentally exploded an undiscovered 75mm shell that had remained buried since the 1914-18 conflict.

URGE DEFEAT OF DISCRIMINATORY BILL IN CEYLON

Colombo

There are 975,000 persons of recent Indian origin in Ceylon, who form part of the permanent population but who are considered by the government to be noncitizens. In Ceylon only those having citizenship can vote and have the right to social services and to seek employment wherever jobs are available.

These people were deprived of their citizenship rights by the Ceylon bourgeoisie in 1948. The blow was aimed at the working class and the revolutionary movement as well as the language and religious minorities since a large majority in this country consist of plantation workers.

At the time, the Lanka Sama Samaja party was unequivocally opposed to depriving these people of Indian origin of their citizenship rights. At present the LSSP is in a political alliance with the Sri Lanka Freedom party of the so-called national bourgeoisie and the pro-Moscow Communist party. In this alliance the LSSP succumbed to chauvinism and took a position in favor of the forcible deportation of the so-called stateless persons to India.

The Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary), in contrast, remains in intransigent opposition to the 1948 Citizenship Acts and is likewise in opposition to the Sirima-Shastri Pact (an agreement reached in 1964 by Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike and the late Indian Prime Minister Shastri) and legislation now proposed by the UNP [United National party] to implement this bill.

In a statement released to the press February 6, the LSSP(R) reaffirmed its position in favor of the rights of the "stateless" persons of Indian origin as follows:

"The Indo-Ceylon Agreement (Implementation) Bill, far from being a solution or even a partial solution, to the problem of the so-called stateless persons is an attempt on the part of the UNP government to win support of the Sinhalese masses and to sow communalism on the basis of further discrimination and inhuman treatment of plantation workers of recent Indian origin.

"The bill is an implementation of the Sirima-Shastri Pact of October 1964 which was a conspiracy between the Sirima-led SLFP-LSSP coalition government and the Shastri-led Indian government to forcibly remove from Ceylon surplus plantation workers of Indian origin in order to help the imperialists and Ceylonese planters and to help the Ceylon government to create an impression of providing employment opportunities to the Sinhalese people. A further reactionary feature of the bill is that workers of Indian origin who wish to leave Ceylon will not be free to do so, as and when they desire to go. As for the undertaking by the Ceylon government to grant citizenship to a section of these so-called stateless persons it was only a fig leaf to cover their agreement to the forcible transportation of these workers to India.

"According to this bill, the Indian government will at their sole discretion recognize certain persons as Indian citizens whether or not such persons want to become Indian citizens. On such recognition by the government of India, all such persons will become liable to be deported to India by the Ceylon government. In other words, the existing procedure adopted to deport persons suspected as illegal immigrants will apply to the so-called stateless persons. In fact what the bill seeks to achieve is to convert the so-called stateless persons into the category of illegal immigrants and to deport them to India with the consent and connivance of the Indian government.

"While there cannot be an objection to facilitating the voluntary return of persons of recent Indian origin to India and the acquisition of Indian citizenship by such persons, any attempt to frame legislation to force any section of the workers in Ceylon to leave this country and take up residence in India or in any other country must be opposed and resisted.

"As for the grant of citizenship to persons of recent Indian origin, the bill makes it clear that the real intention is to keep up a pretence of taking steps in this regard without in fact doing so. This inference is by no means unwarranted when the bill has made a virtual mockery of procedure by empowering the minister, at his absolute discretion to grant or refuse applications of citizenship.

"In this connection it is a matter of regret, but nevertheless of political significance to the Left movement that the LSSP and the Communist party (Moscow) have publicly welcomed this reactionary bill and have offered cooperation to the UNP government for its implementation.

"It is necessary to categorically oppose this bill as discriminatory, especially in relation to the plantation workers of Indian origin, without providing any solution to the problem of the so-called stateless persons in Ceylon.

### ELECTION PLATFORM OF INDIAN TROTSKYISTS

[In the elections just held in India, the candidates of the Socialist Workers party ran on the following platform.]

\* \* \*

1. Immediate amendment of the present Constitution to enshrine in it the principles of social ownership of means of production, right to work for every citizen and the right of the electors to recall at will their representatives elected to the legislative bodies.
2. Confiscation of all food stocks hoarded by speculators, big merchants and landlords, compulsory procurement of surplus food grains and their distribution at controlled prices through elected committees of workers and rural poor under statutory rationing throughout the country. Nationalisation of trade in food grains and other essential commodities.
3. Nationalisation of land and housing and rational distribution of living space in urban areas on the basis of real needs of the people. Public housing projects to eradicate slums in the cities.
4. Nationalisation of all foreign enterprises, including strategic industries like oil, without compensation.
5. Nationalisation of all banks, general insurance companies; nationalisation of the entire credit system; and nationalisation of import and export trade.
6. Nationalisation of all basic and key industries including iron and steel, transport system, plantations, mining, textiles, cement, machine tools, engineering and chemicals, pharmaceuticals, etc.
7. Creation of elected workers' councils in every factory, workshop or industrial or commercial establishment.
- 9.\* Jobs for all on the basis of a sliding scale of working hours; a six-hour day and 36-hour working week for all industrial workers.
10. Decent living conditions for workers on the basis of a sliding scale of wages linked with cost of living; a national minimum wage of Rs. 250 [US\$33] per month.
11. Reorganisation of the trade union movement on the basis of strong industrial unions under a single central trade union organisation. Right to form trade unions to all sections of government employees including members of the police force.
12. Abolition of landlordism and all intermediaries without compensation and redistribution of land among actual tillers through elected tillers councils and their organisation into state-subsidised cooperatives.
13. Complete moratorium on all agricultural indebtedness and cheap state-subsidised credits to the rural poor.
14. Organisation of agricultural workers into trade unions and statutory guarantee of a minimum wage and hours of work for agricultural workers.
15. Unconditional support to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in their struggle for special equality and against social oppression and discrimination.
16. Protection to all religious and linguistic minorities.

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\* Point No. 8 appears to have been dropped, probably due to a printer's error, in the list as published in the January issue of Marxist Outlook from which we have taken the platform.

17. A rational settlement of all disputes regarding border adjustments between linguistic states in India on the basis of the democratically determined will of the people concerned.

18. Complete autonomy to the people in the tribal areas to safeguard their social and cultural heritage.

19. Right of self-determination to the people of Kashmir and Nagaland.

20. Protection of civil liberties of all citizens, repeal of all repressive laws and unconditional release of all political prisoners detained without trial. Unconditional withdrawal of the Emergency and annulment of Defence of India Rules.

21. Unemployment insurance, old age benefits to all.

22. Free education to all with stipends to poorer class children to cover their expenses, up to the university level.

23. Equal status to all regional languages and development of a common link language for India with the consent of the people.

24. Equal rights in all spheres and equal wages for women, with full maternity benefits, etc.

25. Restoration of full political freedom to members of the armed forces, the police and Government servants.

26. Establishment of a Workers and Peasants Government on the basis of elected workers and peasants councils.

In the international field the SWP shall fight for the following:

1. Withdrawal from the British Commonwealth.

2. Solidarity with the Vietnamese people and material support to them in their heroic struggle against U.S. imperialism and solidarity with the liberation struggles of the colonial and semicolonial people.

3. Support to the struggles of workers and the youth in the capitalist countries against war and for socialism.

4. Opposition to all imperialist military pacts, and support to struggles for liquidation of all foreign military bases.

5. Unconditional defence of workers states including the Soviet Union, East European states including Yugoslavia, China, Viet Nam, North Korea and Cuba in the event of counterrevolutionary imperialist aggression.

6. Support to the struggles of workers in the workers states against their bureaucratic regimes for restoration of socialist democracy.

7. Negotiated settlement of all differences and border disputes between India and the neighbouring countries including China and Pakistan.

#### INDIAN TROTSKYISTS GIVE CRITICAL SUPPORT TO LEFT CP

[The following item is from the February issue of Marxist Outlook, the monthly journal of the Socialist Workers party of India, the organization of the Indian Trotskyists.\*]

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During the recent visit of Comrade E.M.S. Namboodiripad, leader of the CPI (Marx-

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\* A one-year subscription to the magazine is £1 to Britain, 12 NF to France, \$2.25 to the U.S. and Canada. The address is Marxist Outlook, 414 Cleveland Road, Worli, Bombay 18, India.

ists),\* to Baroda in connection with the election campaign of his party, an "open letter" was addressed to him jointly by Comrade Magan Desai, secretary of the Gujarat Organising Committee of the Socialist Workers Party and Comrade P. Mohamed, secretary of the Baroda City Committee of the SWP. In the letter Comrade Magan Desai welcomed Comrade Namboodiripad as a former member of the Left CPI to Gujarat after a long period.

The letter, however, made a sharp criticism of the opportunistic electoral alliances reached by the Left CPI with the various other opposition parties but said the SWP in Gujarat would vote for the Left CPI and other working class parties' candidates against the candidates of the Congress, Swatantra and other capitalist parties.

These are some of the excerpts from the "open letter," which was issued in Gujarati:

"You were the Chief Minister of the Communist Ministry during 1957-58 in Kerala. The so-called 'socialist' Nehru Government dissolved your Ministry in an unconstitutional and undemocratic way, just in the interest of the exploiters of Indian masses. In that unholy act, the Nehru Government secured the support of the reactionary communal forces of Kerala. The so-called democratic parties supported this action of Nehru Government under the excuse of freeing Kerala from the 'clutches of communism.' 'Progressive' Nehru forged an alliance with reactionaries like priest Vadakkan, Mannath Padmanabhan and Bafahky Thangal against 'communism.'

"During the mid-election of the year 1965, your party secured more seats, indeed on the basis of an unprincipled alliance with the communal Muslim League. In spite of the fact that you emerged as the largest single party in the Legislature, the Shastri Government did not permit you to form a Ministry. We hoped that as a good theoretician you would draw necessary conclusions from this defeat."

Discussing about the coming general elections, the open letter said: "It appears that the chief aim of your party is to defeat the Congress in the election. For this purpose the main slogan of your party is to form an anti-Congress front. To achieve this object you have gone to the extent of including the Muslim League in an alliance. It appears that you have promised Chief Ministership to the Muslim League. You have made an alliance with undesirable elements of the DMK [Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] in Tamilnad who are supported by regional reactionary capitalists to oust Congress from the seat of power in that state.

"Do you think that even if you win elections by forming united fronts with reactionaries the capitalist structure of the Indian society can be changed? The policy of the so-called united front is not new. As reported in the Times of India (28-12-1966), you propose to establish a 'coalition government to save the country from grave disasters.' In reality this is meaningless. By advancing such an idea you have tried to subordinate the fundamental issue of class struggle to bourgeois parliamentarism. You remember that the initiator of the concept of 'popular fronts' based on the theory of class collaboration was Stalin himself. Popular front governments were formed before and after second world war in different countries and they have demonstrated that multiclass coalitions within the capitalist framework are totally incapable of solving any vital issue of the suffering masses.

"In Indonesia a coalition Government came into existence under Sukarno and it included the PKI [Partai Komunis Indonesia] members. But it did not liquidate the capitalist system and install a socialist system. Not only that but it gave a new span of life to worn-out capitalist system which in the end led to the massacre of thousands of communists. The main reason for the big debacle in Indonesia was the failure of the PKI to establish a Government of Workers and Peasants.

"There is a vast difference between the united front you are building and the united front built by Lenin. He never permitted an alliance with reactionaries and communalists. Ideologically and theoretically you had opposed Khrushchev's revisionism but it is sad that in practice you follow the same revisionism.

"A revolutionary working party should not forget class struggle and its socialist aims even during the elections. Such a party cannot shelve the fundamental issue of class struggle and form united front with reactionaries and communalists.

"We would like to draw your attention to what William Liebknecht who was an inspirer of Lenin wrote in his small pamphlet on election alliances for which Lenin wrote

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\* There are two Communist parties in India, the "left" CP which supports Peking and the "right" CP which supports Moscow in the Sino-Soviet conflict.

a preface. Summing up his views Lenin had established three criteria of such alliances: (1) whether the 'ally' is not an enemy in disguise whom it would be particularly dangerous to admit to our ranks; (2) whether and in what way he actually fights against the common enemy; (3) whether agreement while being useful as a means of obtaining a larger number of seats in parliament, is not detrimental to the more permanent and more profound aims of the proletarian party. (Collected Works, Moscow, pp. 402, Vol. II.)

"Comrade Namboodiripad, we shall perform our duty by asking the conscious voters in Gujarat to vote for the Left CPI candidates. But at the same time, we shall place before the voters our criticism of the opportunistic illusions entertained by your party about bourgeois parliamentarism."

The letter ends with: "Long live authentic Leninism. Red Salute."

#### POLITICAL LYNCHING OF ADAM CLAYTON POWELL

Resentment is running high among black Americans over the "recommendations" of a select committee of the U.S. House of Representatives to punish Adam Clayton Powell for alleged "gross misconduct." The penalties are considered to be the severest in the history of Congress. They include a fine of \$40,000, the first time the body has ever levied such a punishment. In addition, the committee recommended a public censure, the loss of all seniority, the removal of a woman secretary, Corrine Huff, from the House payroll, and the submission of all the committee's reports and records to the Justice Department "for prompt and appropriate action."

Powell was charged with improperly placing various persons on the House payroll, the main one being his wife, Y. Marjorie Flores, from whom he is separated. The committee sought to prove that Mrs. Powell did not perform any official duties and in fact did not actually receive a good part of the money paid out in her name.

The anger in the Negro community arises from the fact that reprehensible as Powell's conduct may have been, the practice of putting relatives on the congressional payroll is quite common. There are at present forty-one members of Congress who have relatives on the payroll, some at salaries topping \$20,000 a year. A list compiled by Associated Press and released February 20 showed "fifteen other wives, two daughters, four sons, four brothers, nine sisters, one niece, one grandnephew, one cousin, one uncle, one aunt, one granddaughter, one father, two sisters-in-law, two brothers-in-law, one son-in-law, two mothers-in-law and one brother-in-law's wife" either still on the congressional payroll or on it during some time in the past year.

The action of the committee, which is headed by the well-known liberal Emmanuel Celler, was clearly designed to destroy Adam Clayton Powell politically. The Harlem congressman may find it difficult to meet the fine even though the proposed procedure is to subtract it from his \$30,000 a year salary at the rate of \$1,000 a month. He has long been in hot water due to a huge slander suit. If he should refuse to take the oath of office, thereby making it possible for a new election to be held in his district, which he would in all likelihood win by a big majority, the committee's recommendations would still hold, according to Celler. In addition, a move may now be under way to bring criminal charges against Powell. This is the obvious meaning of the committee's turning its records over to the Justice Department and demanding "prompt and appropriate action."

In the Negro community even the most conservative sectors filed protests. Whitney M. Young, executive director of the Urban League, told a news conference, "In this nation you can be white and wrong and make it. You can be black and right and perhaps be successful, but it is obvious that you cannot be both black and wrong."

Martin Luther King reiterated his stand that "the Negro community will interpret it as an attempt to take reprisals against a Negro who has risen to a position of political power."

Floyd McKissick, executive director of the Congress of Racial Equality, said the committee's ruling amounted to "political castration of both Mr. Powell and of all black people, for Adam has been the only voice black people had in Congress since Reconstruction." Powell "was not perfect, but the best we had to address himself to the solution of our problems."

The American Civil Liberties Union denounced the recommendations and stated that the constitution limited qualifications for membership in Congress to age, citizenship and residence.