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## BOLIVIAN GOVERNMENT CLAIMS OUTBREAK OF GUERRILLA WAR

The government of René Barrientos Ortuño announced March 30 that it had thrown some 3,000 troops into battle with elusive bands of guerrilla fighters not far from the Paraguayan border. The government sources -- which are not exactly the most reliable in the world -- claimed that the guerrillas were being led personally by "Maj. Ernesto Che Guevara, the revolutionary leader from Cuba."

Gen. Jorge Belmonte, acting chief of staff of the Bolivian army, reported a series of clashes in which there had been deaths and injuries on both sides. He announced a body count of two in the Tiraboy area. As in the case of the American statistics in Vietnam, the two were obviously guerrillas, otherwise how explain that they were killed?

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As further proof, he said that his troops had occupied an abandoned landing strip near the Rio Grande and had found empty ration cans and gasoline and oil drums there.

The La Paz newspaper El Diario printed a dispatch from Sucre claiming that an "aide" of Che Guevara's was leading some 400 guerrillas in the south. El Diario also claimed that about a month ago Guevara had been in Nanchazu, "a main guerrilla camp," but had left to continue his activities in Colombia.

The Paris daily Le Monde assembled the dispatches on the wires of Associated Press and Agence France-Presse, presenting these in the March 30 issue but without assuming responsibility for them, in fact noting that they had not been confirmed. According to these sources, a part of the guerrillas are of Paraguayan origin. They have been encircled and, according to the Bolivian high command, cannot escape.

Captured guerrillas are supposed to have admitted that there are three training centers for guerrillas in Bolivia with instructors from the guerrilla forces in Venezuela and Peru. A radio correspondent in La Plata claimed that the guerrillas have tunnel systems that enable them to escape air attacks. Their medical service includes five "Cuban" doctors. He also told a story about a Bolivian army commander who was captured along with his patrol by the guerrilla forces. He suffered a heart attack but was saved by a "Chinese" doctor. After he and his men were photographed and their names placed on file, their uniforms were taken away and they were released.

A more serious bit of information was the news in Le Monde that the ministry of the interior had announced the arrest of 41 members of leftist parties, including the Communist party, the Trotskyists, the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario and the Partido de la Izquierda Revolucionaria.

According to a March 30 United Press International dispatch, "The military high command was in almost constant session in La Paz, but officials would not comment on what was being discussed. It was reported, however, that the Government had put its peasant followers on an alert basis throughout the country and ordered civilians to patrol strategic sites."

An Associated Press dispatch the same day said: "President Barrientos met last night with military leaders and members of the United States military mission after the American and Bolivian officers returned from an inspection of the operation area."

Evidently the antiguerrilla operation is being carried out under the direct supervision of American officers. This no doubt accounts for the fact that napalm bombs are being dumped on areas in the mountains reputed to be hiding places of guerrilla forces. Besides napalm, suspected areas are also being machine-gunned from the air. Barrientos, it appears, is bidding for the title of "the Cao Ky of Bolivia."

There are several aspects associated with the sensational reports issued by the Barrientos regime that need to be cleared up before it can be determined exactly what is involved. For instance, the March 22 Le Monde printed the following dispatch: "BOLIVIA -- The border military garrisons have been placed in a state of alert following an overflight on Bolivian territory of 12 jet planes at high altitude, presumably Chilean. The planes, it is reported in La Paz, came over the towns of Huachacalla and Uyuni, then returned to Chile via the southwest border of Bolivia."

No more was said about this provocative overflight of 12 jet planes. Was Barrientos toying with the idea of engaging in some kind of international incident? Did he then drop it on advice from higher authorities? The timing is significant. It came just before the decision to deploy 3,000 troops to hunt down various bands of guerrillas.

The sudden sensation involving guerrilla war serves another useful purpose from Barrientos' viewpoint. It helps justify the nationwide raids in which leaders of a series of parties of the left were arrested and exiled to remote parts of the country. [See World Outlook March 24, p. 307.] The repressive police action undoubtedly touched off a wave of protest. The deployment of the army is Barrientos' way of replying.

It is also possible, of course, that the arbitrary arrest and exiling of dozens of very prominent leftist and revolutionary-minded leaders aroused such anger among the ranks that underground activities were stepped up. These would most likely center in the mine centers and the main cities. No reports of such activities have been announced by the regime. One more consideration should be borne in mind. Since Barrientos came to power and launched open warfare on the labor movement, including armed attacks on the tin miners, efforts have been made to launch a guerrilla movement. These forces have not played much of a role up to now. If they have grown to such size as to require the deployment of 3,000 troops then the Barrientos regime is obviously in serious trouble. The evidence up to now, however, is too thin to judge this.

AUSTRALIAN SEAMEN REFUSE TO CARRY BOMBS TO VIETNAM

Sydney

Stop-work meetings of seamen in major ports throughout Australia in March showed that Australian seamen are overwhelmingly solid with the crews of the Boonaroo and the Jeparit, who refused to carry bombs and other war supplies for use by Australian forces in Vietnam. As a result of the crews' action, the two ships have been taken to Vietnam with crews supplied by the Royal Australian Navy.

Messages of congratulation have come from ships at sea and ports in New Guinea, Fiji and New Zealand. Seamen in Wellington said: "We warmly congratulate our Australian brothers on their dignified and principled stand." The Vietnamese National Front for Liberation has also sent a message of solidarity and thanks to the seamen.

At the meetings around the coast, involving hundreds of seamen, only eleven men in all voted against the union's stand. But this overwhelming solidarity contrasts quite starkly with the actions of Albert Monk and the other leaders of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, and the stand taken on Vietnam by Edward Gough Whitlam QC, the newly elected leader of the Labor party. Despite the fact that the seamen's stand was in line with the ACTU's policy against the war, the ACTU leadership openly supported the government in the Boonaroo and Jeparit disputes. When ACTU President Monk's efforts to get the ships sailing with civilian crews had failed, the government commissioned the ships and put navy crews aboard. Meanwhile, in the Labor party, Whitlam has moved to reverse the policy of opposition to the war. His new policy is: it was wrong to send troops to Vietnam but now that they are there we can't withdraw them. In addition, he stands for a greater share for Australian business in defence contracts.

Victorian secretary of the Seamen's Union, Bert Nolan, told the Communist paper Tribune: "The whole affair was an obvious attempt by the Federal Government to 'set the Union up.' Why couldn't they have used the naval supply vessel Sydney, which has been running to Vietnam ever since Australia became involved there? Sydney is lying idle in Sydney Harbour at this moment." That this was a deliberate government provocation of the Seamen's Union, designed to provide an excuse for the government to make an open attempt to smash the union, is quite consistent with the way the government feels and behaves on the Vietnam issue. With its whole foreign policy designed to keep the Americans in Asia; so that it is categorically opposed to negotiations -- even Johnson's policy on negotiations -- as well as American bombing pauses, it would be reasonable to suppose that the government wants to tighten things up at home.

In south Vietnam, Australian crews have been well received by the Australian troops. On the Jeparit's last trip, the army ordered that the troops guarding the ship were not to be given food or beer by the crew. The crew replied to this by deciding to share their own rations with the guards. This brought the army to reverse its policy. Later one of the army guards for the ship told a crew member: "Not many were in a great hurry to volunteer for guard duty the first day. But next day, when the first lot of guards told us how they had been treated, everyone wanted to volunteer." And now, hanging in the recreation room of the Jeparit is an oil painting of Vietnamese fishing boats on which is engraved: "To the Seamen's Union of Australia, MV Jeparit, Australian Logistic Group, Vietnam." This is hardly a welcome state of affairs for the government.

MORE ON THE EXPERIENCE OF THE "IRON TRIANGLE"

Gen. S.L.A. Marshall's bleak observations on the American operation in the "Iron Triangle" near Saigon [see World Outlook March 17, p.275] have been confirmed by the London correspondent of the Australian Financial Review. In the February 1 issue he said that the Vietnamese "had built an intricate system of tunnels containing hospitals, storerooms and living quarters and deep enough to be virtually immune from attacks from the air. There are perhaps 80 VC strongholds similar to the 'Iron Triangle' in South Vietnam. The fact that the Americans are only beginning to approach them now illustrates how far they have to go."

The correspondent notes that up to now much of the war has occurred in the "relatively open spaces against Vietcong units often prepared to do open battle. The Americans are just beginning to face the problem of carrying the war to the really populous areas, the Mekong Delta in particular, where Vietcong can hardly be distinguished from loyal South Vietnamese." The problem is further complicated, in the opinion of the correspondent, by the fact that the guerrillas refuse to meet American specifications on the easiest way to get themselves destroyed. And their small-scale but numerous operations continue to take a heavy toll among the troops of the invaders.

IS CHIANG KAI-SHEK CONSIDERING A "BAY OF PIGS" EXPEDITION?

Are Chiang Kai-shek's forces now being groomed for an attack against China? The answer is "yes" according to Jin King in a dispatch from Taipei published in the March 21 issue of The Japan Times. To believe King, the former dictator is getting ready for a "military showdown." As a result the island stronghold, which U.S. imperialism has been stockpiling with military hardware since the victory of the Chinese Revolution in 1949, is stirring with unusual comings and goings.

"Newspapermen are coming to Taipei in droves from all over the world," reports King. "At last count there were 26 foreign correspondents -- all newcomers -- in Taipei, keeping a temporary vigil." These newspapermen are agreed on one thing, according to King. "Taiwan has undergone a subtle change in the past few months -- it is alive today with a new sense of urgency and expectancy generated by a burning desire to return to the mainland." A number of recent incidents have helped to build up the feeling that the day is fast nearing when China can be given back to Chiang. These include:

--Nationwide air defense drills in the big population centers.

--Reorganization of the island's first-aid stations.

--Realistic 'emergency' drills carried out in Government-run schools throughout the island.

--Recent visits to Taipei of South Korea's top military brass. Within the past four weeks, three top military leaders from Korea visited Taipei Defense Minister Sung Eun Kim; Lt. Gen. Ki Chung Kang, commandant of the Korean Marines, and Vic Adm. Yung Kuan Kim, commander in chief of the Korean Navy."

"Understandably," continues King, "the city is astir with what could be best described as rumors or unconfirmed reports. One of these is that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek is spending his entire time alone in his mountain hideout in central Taiwan, mapping his 'grand strategy' for a counterattack on the mainland.

"Another recurring story is that the much-awaited counterattack is scheduled to take place 'sometime in the fall.'

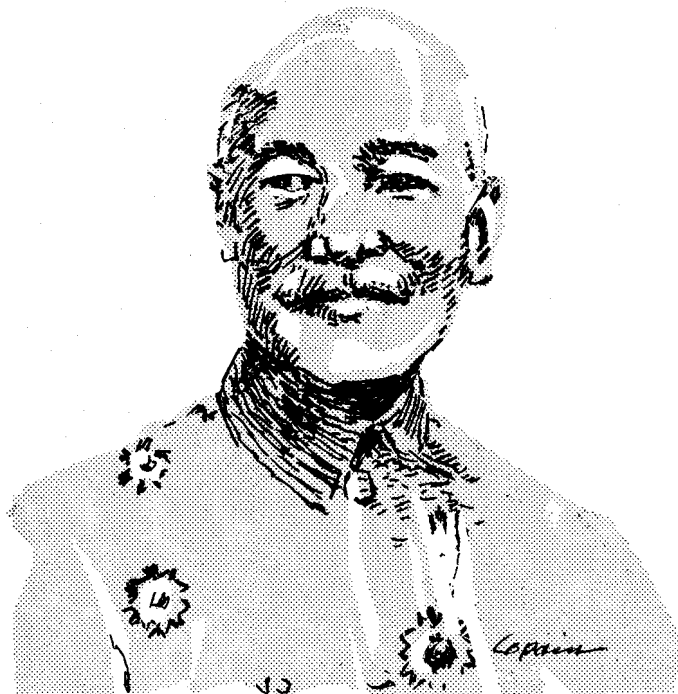
"Government officials here are ready to admit that 'the time is ripe' for launching a counterattack against the Communists on the mainland, but no one knows when.

"Another development that has caused a spate of speculation is that the Nationalist Government has decided to convert some of the largest sugar plantations to rice paddies and vegetable gardens. Some believe this move is designed to produce more food in preparation for a military showdown with the mainland Communists.

"One thing appears certain in Taiwan: Free China is moving steadily toward a 'make-or-break' military showdown with the Mao Tse-tung regime."

There has been nothing in the bourgeois press elsewhere that would indicate any decision in Washington to "unleash" Chiang. A landing by his faded, wornout troops under present circumstances would most certainly prove to be one of the greatest military fiascos of all time. The Pentagon, the CIA and the State Department are certainly not interested in presenting the world with another Bay of Pigs expedition.

However, besides a convenient nest for the rats in Chiang's entourage, Taiwan is an important military base in the long perimeter established by the Pentagon from Japan to Bangkok. When the American claim to the Western Pacific was staked out under the



CHIANG--BUTCHER OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE

Truman administration, Taiwan was described by the Washington war hawks of the time as an "unsinkable aircraft carrier."

Taiwan is thus an important link in any schemes for a war against China even if an invasion is not launched from there.

In addition to all this, a fresh buildup on Taiwan could be part of a war of nerves related to Johnson's continued escalation of the war in Vietnam. Its aim may be limited solely to trying to bluff Peking and Moscow into hesitating about increasing the flow of military aid to the beleaguered Vietnamese workers state.

If the Washington strategists believe, however, that the political crisis in China is now so deep and the Chinese-Soviet conflict so bitter that it is now feasible to mount an invasion headed by Chiang, it could have just the opposite effect from the one intended. Instead of causing the Chinese government to collapse like a house of cards, it could bring the contending factions together in face of the attack. And it could likewise impel Peking and Moscow to close ranks in a united front on the government level against the common foe.

The end result could thus well be a first-rate disaster for the U.S. not only in the Taiwan Straits but in Vietnam.

#### BOSCH PREDICTS U.S. WILL BE AT WAR WITH CHINA WITHIN TWO YEARS

Santo Domingo

Juan Bosch, former president of the Dominican Republic, predicts that many of the revolutions in Latin America will go Communist and that the United States will be at war with China within two years.

Bosch, who is now living in Madrid, also said in an interview granted to the Spanish magazine SP and published in the daily El Nacional in this city March 20, that the Dominican army is controlled by the American military mission.

Through its control of the armed forces, the United States controls the regime. This is no longer the old concept of Wall Street's power, Bosch said, but of holding power directly.

Asked if he could reach an agreement with the United States, Bosch replied: "You can't reach an agreement with guns, nor with battleships, nor with bombs. The United States does not tolerate any kind of agreements. It is no longer a political power but a military power. You can't negotiate with someone who puts a pistol to your head. The Americans don't understand that precisely because we are Hispanic we do not want to dishonor ourselves."

Asked about the Communist tendency in the Latin-American revolutions, he said: "No one suspected that the Cuban Revolution was going to be Communist, as it was not at the beginning. In the Sierra Maestra there was no Russian, no Chinese, no Czechoslovak with Fidel Castro. Nevertheless, it ended up going Communist.

"The same will happen in other countries; they are turning toward the Communist orbit because they have to save themselves, since even the revolutionaries have to get support somewhere so as not to lose everything."

Bosch said that "today you can't be a free man in the Americas."

Asked if it is not possible to raise a genuinely independent banner in some country the way Fidel Castro did in the first stage, Bosch replied:

"The Hispanic-American problem is intimately linked with the preservation of the power of the United States, which is the most powerful country on earth in military terms. It is no longer a civil nation but a military power and it functions as such.

"Wherever it is faced with a conflict, in place of employing intelligence to solve it, it utilizes force. Thus the destiny of Hispanic-America is indissolubly linked with the immediate or near future of this military power which has before it a perspective which I don't envy it -- they are going to attack China; this cannot be avoided.

"When this attack comes, the United States is going to use the Latin-American armies to claim that it is a struggle of the free countries of the world against Communist oppression.

"From that moment on, the armies which today serve as its most direct instrument of power, are going to turn more nationalist than Simón Bolívar. Today they get their orders from Washington, but when that time arrives they are going to initiate a struggle against the North American power. This is already in sight -- within two years at the most."

Bosch said that the Americans had divided everyone living in Hispanic-America into two bands, those deserving death -- the Communists -- and those deserving all the prizes, dollars and the praise of the press -- the anti-Communists.

"The Communists," Bosch observed, "are the ones who disagree with them; and the anti-Communists are all those who serve them."

"It's the same as in the time of Felipe II when you were either a Catholic or you were a Lutheran. Today in the Americas the Communists have to kill anti-Communists and vice versa. It is a war to the death."

Speaking about his leaving the Dominican Republic, he said that he "could not resist the pressure of the propaganda, of the secret agencies and of the American press. In my country, this pressure is intolerable."

He added that another reason for leaving was the very violent and tragic situation in the Dominican Republic itself.

"If I were there I would have to conduct a very strong opposition or begin conspiring. In the former case I would protect the conspirators. In the second, I would join them. I don't accept this role, because everything that is being cooked up there is being directed by a cook who is not a Dominican; I don't want to participate in this dish."

Bosch said that in the June 1966 elections he had to play the role of candidate against his own wishes. "I didn't want to, but no one who was asked to run as the party's candidate would accept. I had to accept, because if there had been no elections we would still have had the Yankees in the country."

"We continue to have them, but no longer with tanks and planes; now they are there as technicians, as diplomats and as agents of the Alliance for Progress."

"In reality, the country is an American subcolony. And I say subcolony because colonies involve a responsibility to the colonial people, the citizens of the colonial power and the international organizations, while subcolonies have all the advantages for the colonialists and none for the colonized people. It is a 'colonialism without the form.'"

Asked who controlled the army, Bosch replied: "Well...it is controlled from outside Santo Domingo. The armed forces are under the dominion of the American military mission. This is the case with many Hispanic-American countries; through their control of the armed forces, they control the regime. This is no longer the old concept of Wall Street's power but of holding power directly."

#### THE CONFESSION OF LIU SHAO-CHI

The principal adversaries in the conflict that is tearing asunder the leadership of Chinese Communism are Chairman Mao and President Liu Shao-chi. The two men are reported to have had a showdown at the Central Committee meeting early last August which was followed by a confession of errors from the chief of state in October.

Only fragments of this confession have appeared in the Western press. Now the full text of this revealing document has been published in the April 1967 issue of Atlas magazine. It was translated into English from Tokyo's Mainichi Shimbun.

Liu begins his self-criticism by promising to obey the instructions of Mao and his closest associates, Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta. He expresses "deep agony" about the mistakes he committed in guiding the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution during its first fifty days from June 1 to July 18, 1966, when Mao was not in Peking.

Liu at that time headed the daily activities of the party's Central Committee. The work teams dispatched under his direction in Peking suppressed rather than encouraged the mass of students, he says. "For example, they banned the masses from going out



in the streets to demonstrate and to put up wall newspapers; they also demanded a clear distinction between external and internal affairs."

Liu goes on to say that these errors are not accidental but similar to "some basic mistakes in policy line" he made over the past twenty years. He cites a series of cases from 1946 to 1964 in which he was guilty of leaning toward right opportunism, although he sometimes appeared to be "left on the surface." All these errors are connected, he says, with "the policy line mistakes I committed in the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

Fortunately, most of them were caught and corrected in time "personally by the great Chairman Mao of our party and the people." Mao made an equally salutary intervention at the eleventh Central Committee plenum in August.

"In the second half of the plenum," says Liu, "the question of our mistakes were discussed, and an election of the members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau was held. The plenum unanimously recommended Comrade Lin Piao as Chairman Mao's first assistant and his successor. Comrade Lin Piao is superior to me in every way, and other comrades in the Party are also far superior to me. I resolved to uphold the rules which should be observed strictly by all members of the Party, and never to engage in any two-faced maneuvers."

Liu gives four reasons for his mistakes. First, he did not trust the masses. "I feared confusion and extensive democracy. I feared the rising up of the masses and rebelling against us. I feared the appearance of counterrevolution on the stage."

"2. I made a mistake in judging the situation of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution at the time. I regarded the normal and inevitable defects of mass movements as the reverse upsurge of anti-Party, anti-Socialist and antiproletarian trends... This led me to stand on a bourgeois reactionary position and to engage in bourgeois dictatorship."

"3. With respect to ideology my bourgeois world outlook had not yet been completely reformed, and there still existed many idealistic and metaphysical viewpoints... At times, I adopted the standpoint of the bourgeois class. In carrying out my work, I also took an arrogant and teacher-like attitude."

"4. The most basic reason was that I did not learn from Chairman Mao's thought, nor grasp it. For this reason, I was unable to apply the Chairman's thought correctly in the struggle. I also failed to go among the masses and learn from them. I also did not report very much to Chairman Mao."

He concludes by admitting that this understanding of his mistakes "may still be insufficient." But "I have determined to study Chairman Mao's thought, learn from Comrade Lin Piao, and learn from the thought of Mao Tse-tung."

This abject verbal rectification was obviously inadequate, since two months later Liu became the target of the most violent Red Guard attacks. According to recent reports, the head of state has been placed under house arrest. Whatever his situation at the moment, he still tops the list of "those in authority who have wormed their way into the party and are taking the capitalist road."

### The American Way of Life

#### "SCLEROSIS OF THE MIND"

One of America's outstanding educators, Robert Maynard Hutchins, now president of the Fund for the Republic and head of its Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, made the following observation in his convocation address in March at the University of Chicago of which he was formerly chancellor:

"As the rich countries are getting richer, the poor are sinking deeper into destitution, and this, the most explosive situation in the world, will revenge itself upon us in far less than 75 years. In the last 20 years the United States has initiated no significant step toward peace. We at length appear to be emerging from our fatuous preoccupation with the cold war, but only to fight one of the most miserable and degrading hot wars of modern times...."

"Members of the graduating class: the danger that will threaten you in the next 25 years is sclerosis, of the imagination, the vision, the character, the mind and the heart. This is a disease especially virulent in opulent countries...."

SUPPORT FOR HUGO BLANCO IN BRAZIL

The Brazilian underground publication Política Operária [Workers Politics] carried the following item in its issue of March 4:

"The sentence handed down against Hugo Blanco, the Peruvian guerrilla and his revolutionary peasant comrades who met the army of the latifundists arms in hand, has aroused a wide campaign of militant solidarity with these fighters. In solidarity with these fellow countrymen of de la Puente and Lobatón, condemned to 25 years in prison by the 'reformist' government of Belaúnde, we and other revolutionists in Brazil send greetings."

NIGERIANS SUPPORT HUGO BLANCO

In its first issue [January 1967], which has just been received in New York, the Nigerian Socialist, a new Ibadan publication, carried a report about the Hugo Blanco case and the struggle to save the life of the Peruvian peasant leader.

A committee called the "Nigerian Toilers Committee for Hugo Blanco" sent a telegram to President Fernando Belaúnde of Peru which read: "IF YOUR SYSTEM IS JUST, RELEASE HUGO BLANCO."

Besides articles about politics and the class struggle in Nigeria, the Nigerian Socialist reprinted extensive excerpts from Fidel Castro's speech on socialist morality and the construction of socialism. A brief item on the boldness of fascist groups in the U.S. referred to the assassination of Leo Bernard, a member of the Socialist Workers party, in Detroit.

LONDON "TRIBUNE" BACKS HUGO BLANCO

The Tribune, an independent weekly of the British Labour movement, published an appeal in behalf of Hugo Blanco in its February 24 issue. Signed by Frida Laski, the appeal explained the main facts in the case and ended:

"We in this country are trying to interest trade unionists and others who believe in the right to free assembly to agitate against any sentence which may be imposed. Please ask your MP to join with the 20 who have already sent appeals to the President of Peru in Lima. Also ask your trade union to implore the international trade union organisations to protest."

The editors of the Tribune added: "Hugo Blanco is a Peruvian who has been trying to organise trade unions among his country's peasants. He has been accused of leading riots and is in danger of being sentenced to death. We warmly support this appeal on his behalf."

CAMPAIGN FOR HUGO BLANCO CONTINUES IN FRANCE

The March issue of La Quatrième Internationale, the monthly organ of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste, French section of the Fourth International, reports on the latest developments in France on the campaign for Hugo Blanco.

The secretary general of the SNI [Syndicat national des instituteurs -- National Teachers Union] sent a telegram to President Belaúnde demanding in the name of the organization that Hugo Blanco's life be spared. The Peruvian ambassador to France received a delegation from the SNI and listened to their plea in behalf of Hugo Blanco.

The Anticolonialist Committee of Caen adopted a resolution in which it joined "all those who have already demanded the release of Hugo Blanco and the other imprisoned Peruvian militants." The committee is supported by a whole series of organizations and student groups in the area.

The Proofreaders Union of Paris at a general assembly meeting on February 25,



upon learning that when Hugo Blanco appealed a 25-year prison sentence the prosecution answered by demanding the death penalty, passed a strong protest against such a measure and joined all those who have demanded an immediate amnesty for Hugo Blanco and his companions.

The students of Antony, meeting on anticolonialist day February 21, passed a resolution demanding the acquittal and immediate release of Hugo Blanco and his comrades. The meeting of some 200 students passed the resolution by acclamation. They included representatives of the National Union of Algerian Students and the general associations of the students of Vietnam, Guadeloupe and Palestine.

#### APPEAL FROM LOS ANGELES FOR HUGO BLANCO

At a meeting held March 26 in Los Angeles, California, under the auspices of the U.S. Committee for Justice for Latin American Political Prisoners, strong appeals were made in behalf of Hugo Blanco; and the audience of 125 voted to send a telegram to President Belaúnde demanding the immediate release of the Peruvian peasant leader who was sentenced to 25 years in prison and then subjected to the additional hazard of the death penalty when he appealed the savage verdict.

The speakers included John Gerassi, professor of journalism at New York University, author of The Great Fear, a book on developments in Latin America. Gerassi is vice-chairman of the U.S. Committee for Justice for Latin American Political Prisoners and chairman of the American branch of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. He recently returned from north Vietnam where he was an investigator for the International War Crimes Tribunal.

Gerassi said that the guerrilla movements of Latin America face the same enemy -- U.S. capital -- as the Vietnamese freedom fighters. Experience has taught the guerrilla leaders not to count on a quick easy victory. It is necessary for them to combine their efforts in several countries so that no small nation has to stand up to the wrath of American imperialism alone.

Gerassi said that American liberals are the worst enemies of the poor people of the world. They provide a liberal cover for the imperialist plans of the American capitalists and then help carry them out.

Timothy Harding, professor of Latin-American history at California State College at Los Angeles, dealt with the case of Hugo Blanco and other political prisoners in Peru, Mexico and Venezuela. He said that the number of political prisoners has increased considerably since the Cuban Revolution and that responsibility for this rests ultimately with the U.S. government.

The unpopular reactionary regimes in Latin America would not have the strength to jail anyone if it were not for the power which the U.S. State Department exerts behind the scenes.

#### WEST EUROPEAN VANGUARD YOUTH HOLD FIRST CONFERENCE

Brussels

The first conference of European vanguard youth organizations met here March 11-12 to consider joint action in defense of the Vietnamese revolution. The 153 delegates came by foot, car, bus, train and air to sit down for two days of serious discussion in preparation for international coordinated action. They represented several thousand young people who are in revolt against the opportunism and passivity of the European Social Democratic and Communist parties.

Despite their differing political backgrounds and different experiences there was remarkable homogeneity in their outlook and their determination. They had no time for empty rhetoric or entertainment. They came to work. They were eager to meet and get to know their counterparts. And when they completed their business at the end of the second day they closed their very impressive gathering by standing with clenched fists singing the "Internationale." It was a stirring sight. Among these youth there was already evident the cadres of a new generation of socialist leaders.

The conference was initiated by the Belgian Young Guard Socialists (JGS) and grew out of the Liège demonstration sponsored by them last October. The hosts had se-

cured two modern meeting halls equipped with simultaneous translation equipment.

Originally scheduled for April, the date was advanced to provide time for coordinating actions in support of the April 15 demonstrations in the U.S. A young American present from the antiwar movement across the Atlantic gave a description of the work and movement of his country. It was clear that the courage and the dedication shown by the American youth movement against the war in Vietnam have made a profound impression upon youth everywhere.

Eleven youth organizations in Belgium, France, Italy, Great Britain and Ireland, and Holland were officially represented. Observers were present from Germany, Spain, the United States and Canada. Other organizations which could not send delegates in time sent greetings and offers of cooperation. The conference was also officially greeted by a representative of the north Vietnam delegation in Paris.

The principal political resolution included the following points:

"(1) A large protest movement against American imperialism and in support of the Vietnamese revolution now exists in the world. The vanguard youth organizations must play an important part in this movement, but it is necessary to coordinate their activities. It is for this purpose that the spring 1967 conference has been convened on the initiative of the National Federation of Belgian Young Socialists (FNBS). The FNBS considers that one of the main weaknesses of the movement in support of the Vietnamese revolution is precisely the absence of coordination. The present document, the general line having already formed the subject of a prior discussion during the meeting that followed the International Antimilitarist demonstration of October 15, 1966, in Liège, constitutes the basis for convening this conference.

"(2) The struggle of the people of South Vietnam against American imperialism and the ruling class of Saigon is not only a struggle of international importance -- Vietnam is the key to the world situation, a decisive test of strength between American imperialism and the colonial revolution and the whole labor movement. The international capitalist alliance directed by the American government (NATO, SEATO, Treaty of Manila) is locked in combat with the Vietnamese revolution which is an integral part of the worldwide socialist revolution.

"(3) The victory of the NFL [National Front for Liberation] over the American aggressors and their accomplices would stimulate the revolutionary movements of the world. The purpose of our action is not to implore American imperialism for a compromise peace but to help the NFL win victory.

"(4) Conversely, the success of the American aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the defeat of the NFL in the south would endanger victories won from capitalism in long and bitter struggles. The defensive potentialities of the socialist countries as a whole would be weakened. The people's republics of Asia, particularly the Democratic Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China -- as well as Cambodia -- are directly menaced.

"(5) Therefore the American imperialist intervention in Vietnam is the focal point of the general confrontation between the oppressed peoples of the world and international capitalism. Its aim is to transform the present relationship of forces to its favor, to block for a long period the development of the forces of the world revolution.

"(6) The duty of the vanguard youth organizations as well as all revolutionary socialists is thus to support the struggle of the Vietnamese people in the most appropriate and effective way. Consequently any campaign of support must include the demand for unconditional and immediate withdrawal of the imperialist forces, a demand which is included in the "five points" of the NFL and the "four points" of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

"(7) It is necessary to struggle for a united front of aid and action involving the labor movement and the socialist countries without excluding anyone. Every step of the imperialist escalation must be met with the worldwide escalation of the anti-imperialist struggle and political, military and material assistance in all forms for the Vietnamese revolution.

"This united front will serve as a counterweight to the political positions of those who wish to impose a compromise contrary to the proclaimed aims of the fighters of the FNL and North Vietnam. The youth organizations at this conference support the positions of all those in the workers movement and socialist camp who are struggling for genuine unity in aiding the Vietnamese people.

"The worldwide escalation of the anti-imperialist struggle involves in Western Europe the intensification of the struggle against the capitalist government and against its political and military instruments, including NATO above all."

The conference authorized the organization of a Coordinating Committee of seven members representing the youth of the United Independent Socialist party of Italy, the Socialist Students of Belgium, the Young Socialists of Belgium (FNGS), the Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR) of France, the Socialist Students of the United Socialist party of France, the Socialist Students of Holland and the left wing of the Labour Party Young Socialists of Great Britain around the organ, Rebel.

The first coordinated action will be preparation for demonstrations in solidarity with the April 15 demonstrations in the United States.

The conference closed with a call to all young workers and students of Europe to:

" -- Organize volunteer brigades prepared to go to Vietnam when asked by North Vietnam.

" -- Reply to the imperialist escalation by escalating political and material aid of all kinds to the Vietnamese people.

" -- Fight for the unconditional withdrawal of imperialist forces from Vietnam and an unconditional and definitive end to the bombing of North Vietnam.

" -- No to the Atlantic Alliance!

" -- Not a man, not a penny for imperialism and its war!

" -- Long live solidarity with the Vietnamese people!

" -- Long live the Vietnamese revolution!"

#### HUGE MARCH IN BRUSSELS SHOUTS ANTI-JOHNSON SLOGAN

Brussels

If there was any doubt about the deep feelings of the Belgian working masses about the war in Vietnam it was settled by the turn out and spirit of a giant antiwar demonstration March 4. It was without question the largest and most militant march held to date in all of Europe. More than 10,000 people marched down the main boulevard cheered on by the sympathetic crowds lining the sidewalks. Although its central theme and main slogans were for the immediate cessation of the bombing of north Vietnam by American war planes and the total withdrawal of all American troops and self-determination of the Vietnamese people, there could be no mistake in the message it gave to the military high command of SHAPE who have just set up headquarters here. They had a recent fancy little ceremony welcoming themselves to Belgium. They got their response in the streets of Brussels.

A big proportion of the demonstration was made up of young people and their mood was exhilarating. They sang, laughed and chanted slogans. Students locked arms and did snake dances while chanting -- "Hey, hey, LBJ, how many kids did you kill today?" Even little toddlers formed their own contingent and repeated the slogan of their elders.

How deep the mass consciousness on the war goes was revealed in a recent questionnaire distributed to school children. Asked to name their most hated as well as most popular public figures, Hitler and Johnson turned out to be the most hated. This is all the more surprising since the mass media is almost completely pro-American and the TV particularly, unlike the TV elsewhere, carries only a very little on the war and this is carefully screened.

The dominant note in the march was internationalism. It was obvious that the great majority of the people considered themselves active partisans of the National Front for Liberation. The NFL flag and symbols were everywhere. For the older generation the parallel with Spain of the thirties was obvious and one heard many remarks about this. Between the shouting of slogans and the singing, many discussions went on. There was very little sign of the divisions between Walloon, Flemish and Bruxelloise which, to believe the bourgeois and Social Democratic press, is supposed to dominate all Belgian life. The outpouring of Belgian spirit and enthusiasm and humor showed the country at its best -- contempt for the ruling classes, the police and the coterie of high military who have now moved into Belgium.

All the more opportunist and retrograde than were the antics of the tiny pro-Mao Communist group here. Their main orientation is back to Stalin, back to the popular front of the "nation" against the "Yankee Nazis." In this demonstration they received a windfall of publicity from the bourgeois press which tried to minimize the significance and importance of the demonstration by playing up the sectarian antics of this group which for the most part were hardly noticed by the demonstrators themselves.

The pro-Maoists had denounced the ad hoc committee that organized the demonstration as a combination of "fascists and Trotskyists." Their own policy has been a consistent one of trying to mount their own demonstrations and just as consistently hardly getting a baker's dozen out. Now they have switched to joining in any other demonstration, and by colorful concentration of their people, banners, etc., seek to make up in effect what they lack in influence.

This caught the eye of the bourgeois press and to read their accounts that is all that happened. And of course the pro-Maoists locally and internationally have tried to parlay this publicity into a very misleading impression of Mao's influence in Belgium.

The demonstration was organized and led by an ad hoc committee that took in the entire left spectrum of Belgian politics. It was a committee that was first advocated and then patiently assembled principally through the work of the CST [Socialist Workers Confederation] and their leader Pierre Le Grève, member of parliament. The latter, a forceful and effective speaker and organizer, has fought hard and long to make possible actions such as the one on March 4.

The CST and the Young Guard Socialists were everywhere in the demonstration, distributing their material and particularly their programmatic statement on the war in Vietnam where they went beyond the official slogans to bring home the lessons of the war and the need for solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution.

At the very beginning, police squads swooped down and seized large quantities of the leaflets and tried to prevent their distribution. But upon the intervention of Le Grève and in face of the general solidarity and hostility of the massive demonstration, the police retreated.

Some fascist grouplets tried provocations at the fringes of the demonstration, but did not get very far.

The hands of the Belgians are reaching out to the Vietnamese. Their demonstration makes this clear. And it is just as clear that the continuation of the American action in Vietnam is going to increase the hatred for Johnson and the Pentagon.

#### LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS STUDENTS STAGE SIT-IN

London School of Economics students began a sit-in, accompanied by a boycott of lectures and classes, March 13. The action protested the suspension of two leaders, David Adelstein, president of the Students' Union, and Marshall Bloom, president of the Graduate Students Association, for calling a meeting banned by school director Sir Sydney Caine on January 31. The banned meeting was part of a campaign against the appointment of a new director, Dr. Walter Adams, previously of the University College of Rhodesia. His equivocal attitude on racialism in Rhodesia touched off the movement but it soon broadened into a demand for a say in the appointment of administrative personnel and in the administration of the school in general.

Like other British universities, LSE has increasingly become a "factory" for the production of experts in planning and administration in private business and government. It has also become more dependent on big business for its finances.

Students have thus felt a growing desire for redefinition of the concept of a university. An increasing number of them are seeking a way towards a university that will be a centre of criticism of existing society not a passive organ of it. Thus at LSE the idea of a "free university" is in the air.

Over the last two years there has been a very considerable resurgence of Marxist thought in the British universities; and at LSE, Marxists are playing a leading role in the struggle. The influence of their concepts is evident among broad sections of the students and a considerable number of teachers. If this battle is won it can have considerable impact in further extending a very promising movement.

THE CUBAN REVOLUTIONISTS ARE WRITING A NEW PAGE IN HISTORY

By Livio Maitan

After the closing session of the Tricontinental Conference in January 1966, revolutionary militants throughout the world wondered about the significance of this gathering and the real import of the orientation of the Cuban leaders. The attack leveled by Fidel Castro against the Chinese on the very eve of the conference, the concessions made by the Cubans in adopting some of the resolutions, the preferential placement of the representatives of the pro-Soviet tendency of the Latin-American Communist parties in making up the delegations, the exclusion of some revolutionary delegations, and finally the attack against the Fourth International all seemed to provide grounds for feeling genuinely uneasy.

For our part, we unhesitatingly rejected all the extreme reactions of the whole spectrum of sectarians, who went so far as to brush aside the fundamental decisions of the conference, interpreting them as pure and simple demagogic camouflage and competing with each other in grotesque denunciations of Castro's "capitulation," his alignment with the revisionists and his "betrayal" of the Latin-American revolutionary movement. We tried to analyze the essential elements in certain choices confronting the Cubans and not to lose sight of the fundamental factors that would continue to influence them, explaining at the same time that a real balance sheet could not be drawn until things became clear in practice.(1)

The balance sheet can now be drawn to a considerable extent and it is entirely to the credit of the Cuban revolutionists. It is impossible for anyone to deny the thrust of a whole series of political decisions and campaigns in the past few months, although they have been dealt with only in summary fashion by the international press, including that of the working-class movement.

In the field of international policy during the past year, Fidel Castro has not let go by a single opportunity in connection with the war in Vietnam to express a position critical of the official leaderships of the workers states, particularly the most powerful ones, to offer Cuban solidarity in concrete form to the Vietnamese and to outline a genuinely revolutionary strategy of struggle against the imperialist aggression and the war. At the same time, independently of both the Soviets and the Chinese, he inspired a move in conjunction with Vietnam and North Korea, calling for counterescalation by the workers states on a scale capable of halting the criminal escalation by imperialism. Those who viewed the Cuban leaders as mere pawns in the strategy and diplomacy of the Soviet leaders have now been dealt the most stinging refutation.

But it is by its orientation on Latin-American problems that the Cuban leadership has best proved its firmness, boldness and complete independence of the Soviet bureaucracy. At the Tricontinental Conference, Fidel Castro made an attempt at a partial compromise; and, from his standpoint, it remained to be seen how prepared both Moscow and the Latin-American Communist parties were to carry out the line which they had accepted by voting for certain resolutions.

A few months, in fact a few weeks, were sufficient to show that the old CP leaderships had no intention whatever of making any radical change in their ideas and policies, and that Moscow, far from wanting to run any risks in Latin America, had not at all renounced its policy of courting so-called national bourgeois governments and even military and oligarchic ones.

Fidel's answer was not long in coming -- he launched repeated attacks against the phony revolutionaries, against those who criticized the "leftism" and "adventurism" of the Cubans, those who, while making declarations of friendship, suppressed or altered the Cuban documents. To a large degree the polemic with Frei was aimed in reality at the Chilean CP and Soviet policy with regard to Chile. Other Soviet moves were also criticized, in a veiled way for a time, then quite explicitly. The March 13 speech made by Fidel Castro was the culmination of a campaign of mounting intensity -- the Soviet leadership was openly attacked on the score of its economic agreements with reactionary governments which are enemies of Cuba and the organizers of bloody repressions against revolutionary movements; the Venezuelan CP, which had previously been the target of polemics, was now pilloried for following an opportunist policy of liquidating the armed struggle, while solidarity was again voiced for Douglas Bravo and his comrades, who

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1. See our article on the Tricontinental Conference published in World Outlook April 1, 1966 and in Quatrième Internationale, June 1966.

broke with the party and renewed the guerrilla war in a series of bold operations.(2)

It is therefore clear, at least for those who want to understand, that the Cuban leaders are relying more than ever on extending the revolutionary struggle in Latin America, that they are utilizing all possible means (above all the organizational instruments set up by the Havana conference) to stimulate the process of forming new revolutionary teams and movements and that they no longer have the least hesitation about attacking the traditional working-class parties when their policies prove to be ill-omened in crucial situations.

It is also to the credit of the Cuban leaders that they are not greatly concerned about parrying the accusation which has already been leveled against them in actuality (primarily by the leaders of the Venezuelan CP) about intervening in the internal affairs of other parties. Such Philistine arguments are unacceptable to people who understand very well that if the policies of a national leadership lead to disaster -- as was the case in Brazil, for example -- the consequences are felt by the revolutionary movement as a whole, including Cuba naturally. The call for a solidarity conference of all the peoples of Latin America, to be held next July 28, under the slogan of "The duty of every revolutionist is to make the revolution," is another indication of the line the Cubans want to follow. This conference will most probably mark an important stage in the Latin-American revolutionary movement.

The development of the internal situation in Cuba is not less positive in the economic field, in politics and the elaboration of theory.

No one can overlook the economic difficulties faced by Cuba, a besieged island, and the leaders holding responsible positions are the first to point them out. But thanks to basically correct decisions, timely readjustments and an enthusiastic mobilization of the masses (particularly in the sugar-harvesting campaign), favorable results have been achieved despite some very serious natural calamities. Those who feared that the decision to stress agriculture for a whole period implied economic stagnation and strict subordination to certain workers states, especially the USSR, have good reason to relax.

There has been no stagnation, the industrial sectors having also undergone a real upsurge; the concentrated effort in sugar production has provided the means for benefiting from international trade, and the dependence on other workers states -- which is inevitable to a considerable degree in the present concrete circumstances -- has not involved the imposition of economic and political courses inimical to the interests of the country. Even more important is the fact that the situation is such that very promising perspectives can be set for the immediate or near future. On February 20, Fidel was able to state: "The time has come to stress the production of steel." Several months earlier he had declared that in 1970 the urban reform would be completed -- from that year on, no Cuban will pay rent for the house he lives in.

On the political level, the team around Fidel has opened with decision an attack against the bureaucratic positions held by the tendencies and men who, in the main, once belonged to the Partido Socialista Popular (Stalinist Communist party) and who still constituted a heavy drag on the revolution. The year 1966 saw the reduction of the most important citadel of the old style bureaucrats. The trade-union congress decided on a radical renewal of its leaders and cadres; and Lazaro Peña, a bureaucrat despised by the workers, lost his official post. Moreover, the preparatory work for the trade-union congress was a major event in many respects, since it engendered a real mobilization of the rank and file and breathed new life into organs which had become virtually ossified. At the congress itself, Fidel gave one of his most significant speeches. It seems clear that from now on he will try to make the trade unions into a cardinal instrument in the struggle against the conservative and bureaucratic tendencies. At the same time the process of party construction in the form originally conceived after the dismissal of Escalante is continuing and it has been announced that the first congress will be held this year. This will quite likely turn out to be another major event in the political life of the country.

The emphasis on the need to mobilize the masses in order to attain projected economic objectives and the campaign against the swollen administrative staffs and against bureaucratic methods of management and leadership must also be hailed, all the more so because they reflect a real situation. The campaigns to increase production were genuinely accompanied, as we noted, by very wide and enthusiastic participation of the masses;

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2. The Cubans gave wide publicity to the series of articles in the Mexican magazine Sucesos on the Venezuelan guerrilla movement.

and a beginning has been made in practice to limit and dismantle useless and overstuffed apparatuses. If we remember the negative implications -- economic, social and political -- which the existence of such apparatuses holds for underdeveloped countries, it is easy to see what an important problem this is.

Moreover, these campaigns have been accompanied by theoretical contributions of increasing clarity. In this field, too, the Cuban leadership has taken a new and spectacular leap forward, achieving a vanguard position.

The long debate on fundamental problems of the transitional phase, in which Che Guevara was the principal protagonist on one side and the old leaders of the Stalinist CP on the other -- with the participation of economists from other countries such as Charles Bettelheim and Ernest Mandel -- came to a close in the spring of 1965 with a rather bastard solution which on the whole represented rather a defeat for the current represented by Che.(3) The situation now appears to be the reverse and Carlos Rafael Rodriguez himself has acknowledged that Guevara's theses have finally won out.(4) The criteria adopted in certain workers states, particularly the priority assigned to individual material stimulants, are openly rejected, being countered by an overall conception which has not yet been rounded out but which, in any case, seems to avoid both the Soviet theorizing, behind which are hidden the interests of social strata with marked privileges, as well as the oversimplifications, colored by an abstract idealism, of some of the recent Chinese concepts.

All this acquires its full significance to the degree that the contributions on the problems of economic categories and stimulants are accompanied by attempts to generalize the key problem of bureaucracy in a more and more structured way. Some of Fidel Castro's recent speeches, certain speeches by other leaders and the four editorials which appeared in Granma during the first part of March, are unequivocal confirmation of the fact that the Fidelist team is completely conscious of the danger to the revolution implicit in bureaucratization, is probing deeply into the problem of its origin and proliferation, and is seeking to find means to struggle effectively against a degeneration of the revolution.

We are not unaware of the fact that, up to now at least, the generalizations by the Cubans on the subject of bureaucracy differ in important aspects from our own Trotskyist concepts, nor are we unaware of the fact that the real test will be supplied in practice. But only incurable sectarians, who consider themselves to be the custodians of eternal truth while remaining incapable of grasping the richness of real processes, could underestimate the historical importance of the fact that leaders of a genuine revolution, through their own experience arrived at the ideas in the Granma editorials and came to the conclusion that "the struggle against bureaucratism constitutes, both in its importance and the power it generates, a veritable revolution within a revolution which, probably, has never been carried out anywhere as yet!"

At bottom it is the literally dramatic specific conditions under which the Cuban revolution is operating and developing which have brought its leaders to the point of posing the fundamental problems of our time and outlining the most revolutionary solutions. Cuba's geographical disadvantage is reason enough to nurse no illusions about its own fate if imperialism is not defeated in Vietnam or worse still goes so far as to unleash a nuclear war. That is why effective support for Vietnam is such a burning question for the Cubans and why they have the most direct interest in a counterblow by the workers states and establishment of a united front. Similarly, the Cubans cannot help understanding that a widening of the revolutionary struggle in Latin America and the establishment of other workers states in this part of the world constitute the best defense for their own revolution, for their own state -- in this field they cannot bargain or concede without endangering their very existence. At the same time, they are fully aware that in their situation, that of a beleaguered fortress, to resist imperialism as well as to develop production, it is absolutely imperative to have the active and enthusiastic participation of the masses. A possible bureaucratization, with its inevitable concomitant of demobilizing the masses and alienating them from the regime, would enormously facilitate the task of the imperialists.

This does not mean that the extraordinary difficulties and contradictions which still exist will necessarily be overcome. But it is of capital importance that a leader-

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3. On this subject see the significant speech by Dorticós, May 8, 1965.

4. See the Montevideo weekly Marcha, December 9, 1966. Also a declaration made by José Llanusa in a speech August 16, 1966.



ship team does exist which understands the fundamental needs of the revolution and which is prepared to struggle with all its energy.

March 17, 1967

RANKS OF BRAZILIAN CP REVOLT AGAINST SOFT LEADERSHIP

In the March 18 National Guardian, the progressive weekly published in New York, Editor-in-Exile Cedric Belfrage reports from Mexico City that a storm is brewing in the biggest Communist party in Latin America, the PCB of Brazil. This is shown by documents smuggled out of Brazil on the eve of a projected clandestine congress.

"In recent years the 'soft CP line' has drawn increasing fire from left militants, including hundreds who have quit the party," Belfrage writes. "Only in Guatemala does the CP leadership seem to support the Cuban doctrine of the unavoidability and primacy of armed struggle -- the impossibility at this stage of achieving democracy and national liberation by the ballot. Many revolutionaries who appreciate the CP's importance in the struggle believe that nothing can be done without greater independence from Soviet 'peaceful co-existence' diplomacy."

Referring to recent credits of \$100 million extended by the Soviet government to the military dictatorship of Brazil, Belfrage notes that most of the Latin-American left "and presumably most Washington experts" believe that "Moscow doesn't want any more revolutions in the hemisphere."

On the eve of the CP congress in Brazil, one of the top leaders, Carlos Mari-ghella, resigned from the Central Committee in order to carry his battle to the rank and file. "The positive manner of his resignation, and the broadness of the inner-party protest against the leadership, have heartened revolutionaries who are reluctant to conclude that they must proceed without the CP."

Marighella, a former Communist deputy, went into hiding after the April 1, 1964, coup d'état. He was trailed by the police into a movie theater and shot by them as he sat unarmed in the audience. He recovered in jail and later wrote a book calling for all-out resistance to the dictatorship. He said that the coup should have made clear once and for all two party mistakes during the Goulart administration: "deference to the 'national bourgeoisie' in alliances against the extreme right, and reliance on 'nationalist' elements in the army to take the people's side against counterrevolution."

"In his resignation letter," continues Belfrage, "Marighella accuses the leadership of still trying to avoid the fight and to suppress expressions of militancy, and of playing down the crimes of the dictatorship."

"Instead of a revolutionary tactic and strategy, all is reduced overtly or covertly to an impossible peaceful solution, an illusory re-democratization.... The executive still believes in the leadership of the bourgeoisie' and that a return to democracy is possible under a constitution which destroys state enterprises, 'maintains a retrograde agrarian structure and assures the country's total surrender to the U.S.' Its position on the peasants' role, Marighella wrote, is 'a flagrant negation of Marxism.' In São Paulo, he charged, site of the decisive concentration of workers, bourgeois influences have brought the party to a 'disastrous' situation. State party leaders have declared as much, he said, but the national executive acts over their heads. Meanwhile students and intellectuals move ever farther away from the CP, the letter said, and the party is sponsoring no theoretical works examining the lessons of the past."

The party's underground publication Vox Operária [Workers Voice] recently devoted eight of its twelve pages to letters from members analyzing the theses proposed by the executive. All the correspondence was "profoundly critical."

"The protest against the soft line seems to be torrential. The 'theses' are denounced as 'opportunistic.' The leadership is called upon to face its 'rightist' errors more frankly, especially with regard to the role of the 'national bourgeoisie' on the one hand, the peasantry on the other. Party critics demand the recognition, not in words but in action, of the peasants as 'the fundamental allies of the proletariat.' There are also protests against alleged attempts to pack party congresses with non-representative and subservient delegates -- a practice, said one critic, which 'was largely responsible for the defeat of 1964.'

"Inside and outside Brazil, revolutionaries of various complexions are expressing

encouragement at the fact that the criticism is so liberally aired on the eve of this important clandestine congress."

### THE COSTA E SILVA GOVERNMENT

[With the inauguration of Gen. Arthur da Costa e Silva March 15 as the president of Brazil, Washington appears to hope that a believable "democratic" front has been provided for the brutal military dictatorship which seized power April 1, 1964, with the connivance of the Johnson administration. Gen. Costa e Silva at least seems to have passed the tests of pro-Americanism with flying colors. He was handpicked by the dictator Gen. Humberto Castelo Branco and "elected" last October 3, in violation of the 1946 constitution, as the "authorized" candidate.

[The New York Times even went so far in an editorial hailing the inauguration of Gen. Costa e Silva as to declare that a "new stage in Brazil's revolution [read counter-revolution] begins today..." The Times hoped that the former minister of war will succeed "in winning over the disenchantēd," but recognized that popular support "will not come easily." "The economy is still suffering from inflation; land reform remains in the blueprint stage; education and housing have been lagging." (Only 13 percent of the population is in school -- the lowest percentage of any country in South America.)

[And what is the feeling among the Brazilian working people about this changing of the guard? The censorship, the repressive atmosphere and the terror make accurate assessment difficult. It is noticeable, nonetheless, that the new regime does not boast about any dancing in the streets over its assumption of office.

[Brazilian socialists see little difference between the two administrations. This view is advanced in the article below, written just before the inauguration. The article is of special interest as an example of the material being circulated in the Brazilian underground. It appeared in the clandestine publication, Política Operária (Workers Politics), in two installments (February 25 and March 4 issues). The translation from Portuguese is by World Outlook. Subheads appear in the original.]

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#### I.

We have already pointed out many times that the change in generals changes nothing basic in the functioning of the dictatorship. Today, on the eve of the shift in command by the ruling classes, the composition of the new cabinet and the announcements by the new officials enable us to determine more precisely the tendencies of Castelo's successor.

#### A Less Competent Lackey

If we were to specify the difference between the two "gorillas" in a nutshell, we would say that both are lackeys of the capitalist monopolies in Brazil, except that Costa e Silva is a less competent lackey -- not that we set any stock in the dubious superiority of one over the other. We refer to the fact that Castelo belongs to the rather homogeneous Escola Superior de Guerra [War College] group, allied with Roberto Campos' Consultec concern, which is inclined to use fire and sword in carrying out the plan to revitalize capitalism in this country. In pursuing this course it has not hesitated to use brute force and go over the heads of individual representatives of the class it serves.

This element of military Bonapartism will certainly persist under Costa e Silva but it is becoming clear that his team is more heterogeneous and less ambitious. It is composed of military men faithful to the head of the army, who himself recognizes that he owes his presidential title to them, plus a few politicians who can give him a broader cover.

#### What Is New?

The situation in which Castelo's successor takes office is somewhat different from that of April 1964. Of course, so far as the ruling classes are concerned, the dictatorship has to its credit its relentless battle against the organizations, demands and demonstrations of the workers. However, its initial impetus has been pretty well spent. The support it enjoyed among the middle classes has evaporated and the enthusiasm of the bourgeoisie itself has waned. Under these circumstances, Costa e Silva is

seeking some sort of "National Union" (of the exploiting classes and their lackeys, of course) like Dutra's "National Union" of 1946.\*

Costa e Silva wants to attract and absorb the independent bourgeois forces like those in the "broad front" headed by Lacerda and Jucelino Kubitschek. Also, he is counting on the weakness of the left to enable him to put across some kind of demagogic maneuver. But the time which the PAEG [Government Economic Planning Board] allotted itself to put the economy back in shape has passed and the crisis has not been mitigated in any respect. To the extent that Costa e Silva must face this problem -- and he must face it like any bourgeois regime -- severe limitations are placed on any demagogic maneuvers.

The considerably worn slogan "Get Development Going Again to Fight Inflation," the designation of a representative of the industrialists for the ministry of industry and trade, and a follower of Roberto Campos for the treasury show two things: (1) The new government may be more flexible, less rigid, more opportunistic with regard to credits for the private sector: (2) the antilabor economic policy will remain essentially the same.

### The "National Union"

Conscious of the artificiality of the ARENA [National Renovating Alliance, the ruling clique's political "movement"], of the government's unpopularity, and of the assaults of the "broad front," Costa e Silva is already attempting to attract various political and class leaders -- industrialists, businessmen and servile trade unionists have already met with the future head of the dictatorship -- and to counteract the effect of so many uniforms in the cabinet.

In the foreign ministry, Magalhães Pinto is hinting that Juracy's all-out pro-Americanism will be moderated, although the real policy to be followed will remain that of a cunning opportunist and conservative banker. The SNI [National Information Service] promises that it will engage in a dialogue with the people...All this vulgar demagogy is indicative at the same time of the character of the Costa e Silva administration. The reactionary creeds of 1964 have evaporated ingloriously and Castelo's successor can now only wallow in the most abject of policies, with no other program than virulent "anti-Communist" blather.

## II.

This past week rumors have been circulating about "continuist"\*\*\* maneuvers by Castelo Branco. Along with this there has been a big furor over suppressing the national congress of high-school teachers and a UNB [National University of Brazil] seminar, talk of guerrillas in the south, a new list of revocations of political rights, suspense over the internal security law and other government measures. All this took place amidst the projected "reformulations" which the general promises to make and which have created friction between the ministers appointed by Castelo and those named by Costa. In any case, political conditions and the mood of the ruling classes themselves are no longer such as to permit a new continuist coup by Castelo.

### A Publicity Move

The backers of the incoming administration anticipate that its first move on assuming power will be an attempt "to get into the good graces of the people." It is said that the government will extend credits in order to eliminate friction between sectors of the bourgeoisie, that it will reform the laws dealing with the minor student organizations, and -- more important -- that it will rescind the payment of income taxes by workers in an attempt to divert their attention from the price of bread and beans, transportation, high rent, unemployment and the shrinking purchasing power of wages. In brief, it seems that the cleaned up dictatorship will resort to demagogy less hesitatingly in order to deceive the workers.

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\* [Gen. Eurico Gaspar Dutra was elected president of Brazil in 1945, succeeding Getúlio Dornelles Vargas. Dutra came to office in the face of a powerful postwar upsurge of the masses. Promising democracy and reform, he balanced between the various class forces, presiding over the transitional phase between the breakup of strong-man Vargas' "New State" and the stabilization of the political scene which came in 1947 with the outlawing of the Communist party and a nationwide "anti-Communist" witch-hunt. -- W.O.]

\*\* ["Continuismo" -- the custom among Latin-American strongmen of stretching their tenure in office through guile or force. -- W.O.]

The Nationalists

The workers have already been hoodwinked enough in the ambiguous name of nationalism. The slogan "Save the Nation" has always meant that the workers should tighten their belts while the sharks put on fat. This was made possible because the leaderships of the workers movement itself preferred to follow the nostrums of the bourgeoisie rather than take a class position.

Now the hard-liners are resorting to "nationalist" rhetoric. The supporters of Costa e Silva claim to be fighting against Roberto Campos and Juracy "selling the country." It will be interesting to see how far this nationalism goes, since they are first and foremost anti-Communists and defenders of capitalism, and since "selling the country" is not the fruit of "lack of patriotism" but a consequence of capitalist development, of the unity of the international bourgeoisie in confronting socialism and preserving their privileges. The defense of the capitalist nation will lead them to continue to serve Yankee policies and to march arm in arm with the magnates of imperialism.

One of these nationalists has already been designated for the ministry of labor -- the hard-line military figure Jarbas Passarinho. Nothing brings out the real nature of these people quicker than bringing them face to face with the workers.

VENEZUELAN CP LEADERS DENOUNCE CASTRO'S SPEECH

In a document issued in Caracas March 16, the Political Bureau of the Venezuelan Communist party furiously denounced Fidel Castro for his speech criticizing their stand on the question of armed struggle. [See World Outlook Vol. 5, No. 13, for full text of the speech.] The Venezuelan CP leaders said that the speech labeling their line as "defeatist" and "traitorous" was "ignoble and treacherous, devoid of the nobility and dignity that have always characterized the Cuban revolution."

The document declared that what plays into the hands of reaction and imperialism "are speeches like the one made by Fidel Castro, slanders like those he leveled against the Venezuelan Communist party, his attempts to split it, as well as acts like the assassination of Iribarren Borges."

The statement said further: "We reject the role of 'Pope' which Fidel Castro assumes for himself. We categorically reject his claim to be the only one to decide what is revolutionary and what is not in Latin America."

In conclusion, the declaration affirmed: "The Venezuelan does not claim to stand above or below anyone else, but if there is one thing that offends his dignity as a fighter, it is slander."

The March 17 issue of the French CP daily l'Humanité carried an interview with Jesús Faria, the general secretary of the Venezuelan CP, who was imprisoned for two years for his political views and released in 1966 by the Leoni government, after which he went to Moscow. To the question, "What are the future perspectives for the Venezuelan people?" he responded:

"There is no possibility whatsoever for an agreement with the present Venezuelan government in which we see no indication of any change in policy. On the contrary, the successful escape of our three comrades of the Political Bureau, Pompeyo Márquez, Guillermo García Ponce and Teodoro Petkoff, from the fortress-prison of San Carlos [see World Outlook February 17, p. 173] brought about a brutal increase in rough handling and torture of our imprisoned comrades. Thus the Venezuelan government, under the command of imperialism, is seeking revenge for this serious setback...

"But more than a thousand of our comrades are still in prison, suffering the police vengeance of the government. Among them are ten members of the Central Committee of our party, including two members of the Political Bureau, the two brothers Gustavo and Eduardo Machado."

Asked about the different forms of struggle used by the Venezuelan CP, Faria replied: "The Venezuelan Communists are fighting on all fronts, putting into practice all forms of struggle, including armed struggle. We unleashed the latter four years ago and we are continuing it in the countryside as well as the most important cities, with our Armed Forces of National Liberation. Up to the present, despite what certain newspapers have written, our party has not envisaged, still less approved, abandoning any of these forms of struggle."

"Nevertheless within our party, a tiny antiparty group was built, headed by a former member of the Central Committee, with militarist and 'caudilloist,' even messianic tendencies. The defeat of this group is already notorious. It did not succeed in drawing in more than some fifty members of the party and the Communist youth. It is completely isolated from the conscious elements of our party and the democratic opinion of our country."

With regard to the Cuban revolution, Faria said: "The Venezuelan people have proved and will again prove their fraternal support for the Cuban people against all the aggressive actions of American imperialism, direct or indirect. In the event of a new aggression, no matter what its nature, this solidarity will be shown at an even higher level than in the past."

#### GUATEMALAN CP LEADERS SUPPORT CASTRO'S POSITION

A sector of the leadership of the Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo [Guatemalan Workers party -- the Communist party] has come out in strong support of Fidel Castro's speech criticizing the attitude of the Venezuelan Communist party leadership on the question of armed struggle and reaffirming the Leninist doctrine that a Communist is first of all a revolutionary fighter. Gabriel Salazar, a member of the Secretariat, and José María Ortiz Vides, a member of the Central Committee, together with various leaders of the Rebel Armed Forces [FAR], issued a statement which was printed in the March 20 Granma, the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Cuba. [The text is also available in the March 26 English edition of Granma.]

"If, yesterday, the action of Cuban students was determined by their uncompromising struggle against imperialism and corrupt politics," the statement declares, "today the attitude assumed by Comrade Fidel realistically reflects the determined struggle of revolutionaries throughout the continent against imperialism and corrupt politics, and against the ideological roots of this latter evil: reformism. This reformism has entrenched itself in the prestige of the struggle of the peoples, workers and peasants, and acted as a hindrance to the dynamic force of the anti-imperialist movement in Latin America."

The statement has some harsh things to say about the reformists: "The discussion concerns the new facts and their new and dynamic formulation in contrast to the sterile, unimaginative, weak, stereotyped, carbon-copy thinking of organizations that call themselves Communist, of cadres and leaders who have become complacent with time and with the development of a supposedly 'national' bourgeoisie, content to play the peaceful role of 'opposition' to the oligarchies and imperialism. Artless clichés and politicking are used to disguise their submission and to justify their lack of political development and revolutionary activity and their ideological poverty."

Asserting their own independent position, the Guatemalan Communists continue: "The revolutionary movements, and particularly the armed movements, must unite closely and combatively to confront U.S. imperialism and the native oligarchies, externally, and the submission of rightist, conservative leadership, internally....In the same way that Lenin, in the past, pointed out and combatted the danger of opportunism, present-day revolutionaries must free themselves from stereotyped thinking and from copying, cleanse revolutionary activity of that deviation which historically leads to a position somewhat to the left of the national bourgeoisie. It is necessary to combat the source of ideological poverty in the bits and pieces of strategy and tactics employed by some Communist parties that have lost their proletarian essence."

In their opinion, "Comrade Fidel's speech will be epoch-making in our continental struggle against imperialism through its exposure of pseudo-Marxists and pseudo-revolutionaries who have exploited the good faith of thousands of combatants who respect the revolution, socialism and the parties. On this point there can be no conciliation. And we refer not only to thinking, but to our practical experience and the way to stimulate and carry out the revolution within the context of the conditions in Latin America."

#### TIMELY REMINDER

"Our public controversy over the CIA coincides with the 50th anniversary of the Czar's overthrow. There couldn't be a better time to remember that it wasn't for lack of spies that the Russian monarchy fell." -- I.F.Stone's Weekly [March 20].

INTEREST MOUNTS IN KENNEDY ASSASSINATION PROBE

By Arthur Maglin

New Orleans District Attorney James Garrison's reinvestigation of the Kennedy assassination did not swiftly collapse as some sectors of the bourgeois press predicted it would. Instead new clues have been uncovered. Public interest has therefore mounted and even the most skeptical papers have felt compelled to give rather wide coverage to the facts. As presented in various journals, the most recent developments are as follows:

"The Dallas district attorney and police department have been coldly uncooperative," according to the March 12 Sunday Ramparts. "When Garrison sought to question a Cuban exile now in Dallas the exile rebuffed him with the comment that any talk could only be in the presence of D.A. Bill Alexander and the Dallas police.

"The FBI also has remained aloof, apparently hoping Garrison will fall flat on his face," continues the Sunday Ramparts. "The bureau refused for example to turn over to Garrison a lengthy investigative report on David Ferrie, the pilot who was to be arrested by Garrison but was recently found dead in bed. The FBI report which covers Ferrie's enigmatic trip to Texas at the time of the assassination, has also been withheld from the national archives."

Further on the article reports: "In addition to Ferrie and Shaw, Garrison's trail seems to lead in the direction of anti-Castro emigres. His office has been in close touch with Mrs. Sylvia Odio, a former Dallas resident now living in San Juan, Puerto Rico. The Warren Report had discounted Mrs. Odio's testimony that two Latins and Lee Harvey Oswald who was introduced as Leon Oswald visited her in late September 1963. She felt she was being sounded out for financial assistance in helping a paramilitary effort against Castro and was recontacted on the telephone the day after the visit by one of the Latins. She failed to encourage him and has heard nothing further. Recently she emphatically declared that Oswald was the man using the name Leon Oswald and that the Warren Report is wrong in rejecting her testimony: she complains that she has been 'hounded and harassed' by the FBI."

On a March 12 television interview program Attorney General Ramsey Clark said that he was disturbed that Garrison had persisted in his investigation of the assassination without turning any new evidence over to the federal government. Clark expressed concern over the publicity that Garrison's investigation was receiving. He said, "I am disturbed and saddened that so much publicity, so much doubt is created. I think that is unfortunate for this country because this is a matter that affects us all, so that the assassination of President Kennedy has left a deep mark on the lives of all of us and is something we should be highly sensitive about, and we should seek the truth in the most circumspect and cautious methods."

On March 14, Perry Raymond Russo, a life-insurance agent, testified at a pre-trial hearing that prior to the assassination of Kennedy he had heard Lee Harvey Oswald, Clay Shaw and David Ferrie plot to kill the president. Russo said he saw Shaw and Oswald together at Ferrie's apartment on three occasions in September 1963. On one occasion he said that they carried on a detailed discussion of plans and alternate plans for assassinating President Kennedy.

The March 18 National Guardian reports:

"The Guardian has received reports from Rome linking Shaw with various right-wing organizations and individuals, and possibly with the CIA. The Guardian's Rome correspondent, Phyllis Rosner, quoting the Rome daily Paesa Serra, reported that from 1961 till 1965 Shaw was on the board of directors of the Centro Mondiale Commerciale, which the paper said was engaged in obscure dealings in Rome.

"Among the directors on the CMC board, said Paesa Serra, were several Swiss businessmen and bankers, the ex-Hungarian Peasant Party leader Ferenc Nagy, now living in the U.S.; Prince Guitere de Spadaforo, large Italian landowner and industrialist who is related by marriage to Hitler's 'financial wizard' Hjalmar Schacht; and Dr. Enrico Mantello, who represented himself and six other shareholders, the most important being former U.S. Army Major L.M. Bloomfield, now reportedly a banker in Montreal.

"Bloomfield is reported to have served in the OSS (which was the predecessor of the CIA) during World War II. French newspapers have charged, the Rome daily said, that he was a generous contributor to neo-fascist groups in France, Italy and throughout Europe.

"Paesa Serra said it is believed that the CMC was set up by the CIA as a cover for channeling funds into Italy."

On March 16, an Orleans Parish grand jury indicted Dean A. Andrews Jr., an attorney, on charges that he had perjured himself during the grand jury's investigation into the assassination events.

Also on March 16, Russo, in ending three days of testimony, was asked what part he had played in "this assassination plot" by one of the defense attorneys, Irving Dymond. He replied, "I had no part. I never said I wanted to see President Kennedy killed."

On March 17, a panel of three judges ruled that there was sufficient evidence to try Clay Shaw on charges of conspiring to assassinate President Kennedy. The decision of the Orleans Parish Criminal Court came after a four-day pretrial hearing.

The New York Times reported on March 19: "Whatever the hearing might have established about the presence or absence of a conspiracy, it did seem to indicate firmly that there are widespread doubts about the conclusions of the Warren Commission.

"Although no exact count was possible, it appeared that more than 150 newsmen, photographers and television cameramen from throughout the world were in New Orleans to cover the hearing. And more often than not the stories and pictures they sent home were given prominent display.

"It was clear, too, that New Orleans took the hearing seriously indeed. Dozens of sheriff's deputies hovered about the courtroom to inspect and frisk each person as he entered. They seemed especially concerned that an F.B.I. agent or some other representative of the Federal Government might try to 'infiltrate' the proceeding. Once, they ordered a newsman from the courtroom and double-checked his credentials on the suspicion that he might have been an F.B.I. agent."

Clay Shaw was indicted on March 22 by a New Orleans grand jury. No date was set for his arraignment. On March 23, the New York Times said, "The F.B.I. reports of the investigation of Mr. Shaw, which were furnished to the Warren Commission, have been sealed and have not been opened to the public, as have other reports." And on March 24 the Times reported, "A New Orleans judge ordered today the arrest of Gordon Novel, a 29-year-old former bar owner in New Orleans French Quarter, as a material witness in the investigation by District Attorney Jim Garrison into the assassination of President Kennedy.

"In an affidavit filed with the judge, Mr. Garrison said he had 'good reason to believe' that Mr. Novel was a 'most important' witness who was material to the grand jury's investigation.

"Criminal Court Judge Matthew S. Braniff issued a warrant for Mr. Novel's arrest and set bail at \$50,000.

"Mr. Novel, who told reporters in New Orleans last week that the District Attorney wanted to question him about a Cuban refugee organization that operated in New Orleans in 1963, was scheduled to appear before the grand jury yesterday [March 22] but he did not show up." The article states further on: "In another development today [March 23], Mr. Garrison subpoenaed a former roommate of David W. Ferrie to appear before the grand jury next Wednesday [March 29.]

"He is Layton Martens, 23 years old, who was identified by the District Attorney's office as Patrick L. Martens, who accompanied Mr. Ferrie and another man to Texas on the afternoon that President Kennedy was murdered in Dallas."

According to a report from New Orleans by Bern Rotman which appeared in the March 24 issue of the Long Island Newsday, "Martens said [in a television interview two weeks before he was subpoenaed] he and Ferrie were active in the Cuban Revolutionary Front, an anti-Castro Cuban organization composed mainly of refugees from Cuba. Garrison is believed to be trying to establish a link between anti-Castro Cubans, Shaw, Lee Harvey Oswald, and the assassination of Kennedy."

The March 28 issue of the New York Times reported: "District Attorney Jim Garrison's office issued a warrant today [March 27] for the arrest of Mrs. Lilly Mae McMaines of Omaha, connected to Mr. Garrison's assassination investigation by Perry R. Russo.

"Mr. Russo, a 25-year-old Baton Rouge insurance salesman, said Mrs. McMaines --



the former Sandra Moffet of New Orleans -- was one of several persons who attended a party in David W. Ferrie's apartment after which, he says, he heard Mr. Ferrie, Lee Harvey Oswald and Clay L. Shaw conspire to kill President Kennedy."

The following day's Times reported that Mrs. McMaines was taken into custody in Omaha on March 28.

The March 28 Times reported another intriguing development:

"Bismarck, North Dakota, March 27 (UPI)--A lawyer on trial in a \$3-million insurance fraud case told a Federal judge he was forced off a highway at gunpoint today as he drove here with documents that 'prove' President Kennedy was assassinated by persons other than Lee Harvey Oswald."

The dispatch adds sensational details: "The 43-year-old lawyer was found partly conscious -- a loaded shotgun across his knees -- in a locked car on the shoulder of a highway about 30 miles east of Bismarck at 4 A.M. today.

"He told Judge Devitt that he had been forced off the highway at pistol point by pursuers as he drove here with documents that 'tend to prove or in some cases do prove' that persons other than Lee Harvey Oswald killed President Kennedy.

"Mr. Kroman said he was convinced the highway incident was connected with his investigation of the assassination and not with his trial in the alleged insurance fraud conspiracy....

"He said a North Dakota highway patrolman 'thankfully salvaged' the documents after patrolmen found him in the car.

"Mr. Kroman's testimony before Judge Devitt was on a prosecution motion to revoke his \$5,000 bond 'because of this and other incidents.' Mr. Kroman, a onetime lawyer for the Minnesota Insurance Department, said the Government move was 'an attempt to shut me up.'

"Mr. Kroman told the court he did not know the names of the men who pursued him but knew 'who they represented.' Asked why, in his opinion, they had not killed him, he indicated he thought they believed they had achieved their aim.

"If I am completely ruined as far as my name is concerned, and if I am torn apart physically, then I wouldn't be of any use any more,' he said.

"In a hospital room news conference before the court hearing, he told newsmen that 'the assassination is solved' and that he would reveal the name of Mr. Kennedy's killer within the next few days.

"Mr. Kroman said he had been in touch with District Attorney Jim Garrison of New Orleans, who says he has 'solved' the assassination.

"Jim Garrison has most of it correct but not the whole story,' Mr. Kroman said.

The final paragraph of the story states that, "Mr. Kroman said he began his investigation of the assassination in December, 1963, when he heard 'a drunken Cuban blabbing' in a Miami bar."

#### WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL SET UP IN NORWAY

A committee to support the work of the International War Crimes Tribunal has been established in Norway, reports Orientering, the weekly newspaper of the Norwegian People's Socialist party. The committee has been subjected to pressure. One critic recommended that the committee, rather than launching a direct attack on American policy in Vietnam, should "seek practical steps and solutions which can lead to a truce and bring both sides to the conference table."

In reply, Paal Drekke, one of the committee's sponsors, said: "Our role, if we dare play it, is to dissociate ourselves so clearly and unequivocally from our ally's policy of aggression that it may make some people feel uncomfortable. Our place must be at the side of the decent Americans themselves. They need the support of world opinion, not a mistaken kind of friendship for America."

## THE BATTLE AROUND "NOVY MIR"

By George Saunders

"We have listened with close attention to criticism of our work, and shall in the future, but only if that criticism flows from the highest concepts of literature in a socialist society, literature worthy of the great traditions of Russian realism bequeathed us by the classics. From such criticism we are ready to hear out the sharpest, most outspoken remarks."

These are the words of Alexander Tvardovsky, editor of the Soviet literary monthly Novy Mir and leading spokesman of the liberal intellectuals. They appeared in Literaturnaya Gazeta (March 8) in the context of a report on Novy Mir's publication plans for the "jubilee year" of 1967 -- fiftieth anniversary of the 1917 revolutions. But they had implications far beyond just the manner of commemorating the anniversary.

Novy Mir, and therefore the current of Soviet opinion that it represents, has been under considerable attack from the official establishment of late. Tvardovsky's words can be taken as a rather stiff-necked reply to some rough blows leveled at Novy Mir since the turn of the year.

Two of Tvardovsky's close co-workers, B. Zaks and A. Dementiev, were reported fired in early March from their jobs as assistant editors of Novy Mir. They were apparently made scapegoats for an attempt to publish the war memoirs of Konstantin Simonov in the December issue. Simonov, a novelist and poet who has written much on the war, reportedly criticized Stalin's military policies in the memoirs. The publication of the December Novy Mir was held up a long time, Simonov's memoirs were removed, and finally Zaks and Dementiev were fired.

There had been rumors over the past year that Tvardovsky himself would be removed from his editorship. The Brezhnev-Kosygin leadership is on the march against the ideological dissent that spread quite far in the Khrushchev era, and Novy Mir's editorial policies stand in the way. (Briefly, those policies have been to examine critically the Stalin era and to expose bureaucratic ills and abuses in present day Soviet society.)

However, if the bureaucratic leadership team wishes to liquidate the institutions of de-Stalinization, it also feels obliged to do so with caution and by a circuitous route. Rather than take over the bastion of the liberal intellectuals outright and change its editorial policies, they put pressure on it, snipe away at secondary figures, not the chief one, and leave the way open for "self-modification."

The kind of pressure being put on was illustrated in January when a group of Soviet generals blasted Novy Mir (in the Defense Ministry paper, Krasnaya Zvezda [Red Star], January 22). Historical truth had been twisted, they claimed, in memoirs about the first Nazi air attack on Moscow, printed in Novy Mir for September 1966. The memoirs had charged poor organization of the antiaircraft defense of the Soviet capital at that time.

Within a week of the generals' attack, Pravda (January 27) chided the liberal journal for "focusing attention on negative aspects of life" and for mocking literature that tries to inspire "patriotism" in its readers. Pravda at the same time gave a slap on the wrist to the neo-Stalinist journal Oktyabr', edited by the leading spokesman of the conservative writers, V. Kochetov. Oktyabr' zealously promotes patriotism but, Pravda charged, fails to comprehend the trend toward greater "democracy" in Soviet life. The slap at Oktyabr' was in all likelihood meant as a cover-up, to make the drive against Novy Mir look "impartial."

It cannot be excluded, in fact, that the removal of Tvardovsky himself is being prepared. In the past he has not been immune from "administrative measures." He was not elected a delegate to the Twenty-third Congress last March (as he had been to the Twenty-first Congress and to the strongly anti-Stalin Twenty-second Congress, where he made a vigorous plea for greater leeway for Soviet writers, in the interests of improving the quality of Soviet literature). Moreover, he was dropped as a candidate member of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist party after the Twenty-third Congress.

At the congress itself, Novy Mir and the organ of rebel youth writers, Yunost, had been subjected to repeated denunciations for "ideological defects." And a play by Tvardovsky, a satire against Stalinist bureaucratism, had been pointedly suspended from the boards of the Moscow Theater of Satire for the duration of the congress,

although it was allowed to resume afterward.

A war of words continued through 1966 as Tvardovsky several times reaffirmed the policy of his journal and as Novy Mir continued to follow that policy, bringing out controversial works that were blasted time and again by other sections of the Soviet press. For example, at the Twenty-third Congress a party bureaucrat, one Vasily I. Konotop, had declared:

"Some recently published works of literature, especially in the pages of journals like Novy Mir and Yunost...give a distorted picture of our Soviet life, revel in depicting some shortcomings and difficulties, cultivate skepticism and apolitical thinking, and deliberately show officials in conflict with workers." (Emphasis added.)

Novy Mir openly defied the stricture against showing conflict between workers and officials in its July issue. That issue contained an article describing conditions in the newly discovered West Siberian oil fields of the Tiumen region, where oil production is expected to equal that of the giant Azerbaijani fields by the end of the current five-year plan. The article deplored the abominable living conditions provided for workers producing this vast social wealth, and contrasted the relative comfort which production officials and party bureaucrats have provided for themselves on the rough Siberian frontier. Such is the "unpatriotic" spirit promoted by this wayward Soviet journal.

The issue of "patriotism" is in fact a big one in the dispute over Novy Mir. The Soviet party has engaged in a major campaign since the Twenty-third Congress to educate the youth along "military-patriotic" lines, instilling a spirit of chauvinism aimed at hushing up the ideological divergencies that had developed, especially among the youth, in the post-Stalin era [See the discussion of this campaign by Sandro Mantovani in World Outlook March 17, p. 291.]

The fiftieth anniversary celebrations fit very well into this campaign: youth caravans and marches to historic revolutionary sites are being planned in a spirit of nationalistic self-glorification. (This has little in common with the great internationalist revolutionary break with the world capitalist system made under Lenin's and Trotsky's leadership in October 1917.) In the eyes of the bureaucrats, Novy Mir's undue stress on the Stalin era in Soviet history and preoccupation with "negative sides" of life today undermine the good, narrow patriotic spirit. Thus Novy Mir's plans for the year's commemorations are a matter of concern.

Here is Tvardovsky's answer:

"For a literary journal, an organ of the Writers Union of the USSR, the best way of celebrating this glorious anniversary, it would seem, is to present artistically significant works of prose and poetry -- not flash-in-the-pan books, which remain lightweight stuff of only passing interest, even though they correspond in external respects to the date being celebrated. The best way is to present works that are written seriously and in a way that will last. This is what would best attest to the high level of intellectual culture attained in our society during the half-century of Soviet power." (Literaturnaya Gazeta, March 8.)

Tvardovsky and the critical-minded Soviet intellectuals he represents are not revolutionary opponents of the bureaucratic regime, nor do they question the basic premises of bureaucratic rule. They are concerned for reform and improvement substantially within the existing government structure. And while the grievances of the masses do find indirect expression in their work, the intellectual's feeling of protest centers primarily on intellectual issues. Thus Novy Mir's policy of presenting reality "in all its complexity, in its real contradictions and movements" is justified by the argument that a "schematized" (propagandist) version of reality is not...good art!

Tvardovsky and those who think like him are rightly concerned about the cultural level attained over the past half century. The Russian revolution and Soviet society have not stood out thus far in the sphere of human cultural attainments -- largely owing to the stultifying influence of the jealous, suspicious, and narrow-minded bureaucracy. What the supporters of Novy Mir want is to unfetter and develop the great cultural potential that exists in Soviet society. But in terms of the revivification of the great Russian Revolution that is still only a limited aim.

Book Review

RUSSIAN LIFE 50 YEARS AFTER THE REVOLUTION

By George Novack

Maurice Hindus is a well-known American journalist, born in the Russian countryside, who has been visiting the Soviet Union and commenting on the vicissitudes of its development since 1923. He has written twenty books about Russia, more than any other author in the Western world. He has never agreed with Marxism or Bolshevism but has been a fuzzy, populist-minded sympathizer of the 1917 upheaval, especially concerned with its effects upon the vast peasant population of Russia.

He has just published an account of his last three journeys to the USSR in 1962, 1963 and 1965, "years that span the collapse of the Khrushchev epoch and the rise of the new Kremlin leadership." (The Kremlin's Human Dilemma, Russia after Half a Century of Revolution. Doubleday and Company, Garden City, New York. 1967. \$5.95.)

It is filled with informative reports of his encounters and discussions with assorted types of Soviet citizens in the cities and the villages. These gain depth and perspective because he is able to compare conditions in successive periods of Soviet development from personal knowledge as well as from candid conversations with old friends.

Hindus is sensitive to the highly contradictory characteristics of the Soviet scene today. He takes careful note of the immense changes wrought in Russia and gives due credit to the colossal achievements of the socialist revolution. The sensational advances in science, technology, industry and military power, in education, sports, literacy and general culture, in the raising of living standards, in medicine, health and social services, in the opportunities opened to women and to the children of the working class, and the transformation effected in the life and outlook of the muzhik.

At the same time he does not spare the evils and shortcomings of Soviet society. He examines the incompetent service trades, the time-wasting ordeals of buying the necessities of life, recurrent shortages, inadequate housing, the low quality of consumer goods, the inequalities (a great many of the "have-nots" talked bitterly to him about "the rich" and "the poor"), the hard work imposed on women, the restrictions on thought and movement, the political monolithism, the systematic suppression and distortion of news, the incapacity to solve the agrarian problem, the death penalty for economic crimes, official anti-Semitism, the repression of nationalities, the puritanical attitude toward sex, and numerous other features which indicate how far Soviet society still is from realizing the program of socialism.

Here is one of the most significant episodes related in his book. It occurred during a visit to Rostov in 1963, a city he had last seen in 1936. Hindus had read reports in the Western press of demonstrations the previous year in Rostov and bloody riots in Novocherkask, a city of 100,000 thirty miles away. These had been provoked by mass resentment over increases in the prices of meat and butter which became a factor in Khrushchev's downfall.

Although prominent party officials had been dispatched to the troubled areas, not a word of these disorders had appeared in the Soviet press. Resident foreign correspondents were not permitted to check on the authenticity of the reports. Since Hindus was the first foreign journalist who spoke Russian well to come to the city since the outbreaks, he was eager to find out what had actually happened.

Everyone he spoke with evaded his inquiries on the matter until by chance during his last evening in Rostov he received confirmation from an unexpected source -- from factory workers. He was eating supper at his hotel when he entered a conversation with two young men and a pretty girl "with a Bardot hairdo." The girl and one of the men worked in the Combine factory while the third was a technician in the building industry.

Suddenly one of the young men, Vasya, left the table and on his return, the other, Vitya, turned to Hindus and said: "Do you know there is an agent here?" -- meaning an agent of the security police.

"Where is he?" I asked. "Point him out to me."

"You cannot see him from here. He is in the back room, watching. Why don't you go over and speak to him?"

"Oh, no," I said, "I have nothing to talk to him about."

Pointing to Vasya, Vitya said, "He has just been having a talk with him. What did he tell you?"

"He saw the Germans," Vasya replied, "coming over to our table, and he told me that Soviet citizens aren't permitted to speak to foreigners. I asked him if there was a law against it and he said he knew what he was talking about."

"Did you tell the agent," I asked, "that the foreigners you spoke to were tourists from communist East Germany?"

"Of course I did but he said it made no difference. Foreigners are foreigners and Soviet citizens are not allowed to speak to them..."

"There is Soviet legality for you," said Vitya, rankling with suppressed rage. "Nikita Sergeyeovich [Khrushchev] tells us we are the freest people in the world and the agency here forbid us to speak to foreigners. What kind of freedom is that? And if you only knew what they did last summer in Novocherkask to students and workers, to men and women. It makes my blood boil whenever I think of it."

"Tell the American precisely what happened," prompted Valya.

"Why, when factory workers in Novocherkask demonstrated against a cut in their wages, for that's what the increased prices of meat and butter meant, the police and the agency reinforced by soldiers shot them down. Students and other citizens joined in the demonstrations but the shooting continued. Even children were struck down. And this in a socialist country, in a workers' country."

He picked up a slice of bread and held it before me. "Our sweat and blood went into this bread. Our sweat and blood goes into everything we produce. We believe in socialism and in socialist justice for the people who make this bread." He stroked the slice with his other hand and swept on. "So much of it is shipped out of the country. So much of other things which we ourselves need is shipped to countries which give us nothing in return that they make up the loss by cutting our wages, and when we protest ..." He put the bread back on the plate. "I'm not speaking of myself. I earn good wages and I'm not married, but thousands of others are not so lucky and feel the pinch sharply. You should hear our workers talk about it."

Valya nodded. "It's the truth. Our workers don't understand why so much of our production is shipped out of the country when we are so poor and need everything ourselves."

"Look what's happening in Iraq," broke in Vasya. "We've poured millions of rubles worth of goods into the country, and they've paid us back by slaughtering communists. Does this make any sense?..."

At that moment, writes Hindus, "a white-coated waiter, a giant of a man, coming from behind, slipped over to Vasya, flung his arms around him, lifted him out of the chair and hauled him off to the back room. No one spoke. No one offered any explanation, nor was any needed..."

"What d'you suppose will happen to Vasya?" I asked.

"They'll probably send him away," replied Vitya, "for three years to atone for his sin at hard labor. They say the cult of the individual is dead. But our agency do as they please. The brutes."

After this incident Hindus himself had some difficulties with the local authorities about his passport but managed to return to Moscow.

Here we have a rare instance of first-hand testimony from independent sources of the slackened but continuing coercion of the masses exercised by the post-Stalin regime. Hindus draws the following conclusions from the experience:

"First: there could no longer be any doubt of the massacre in Novocherkask. The young factory workers who told me about it obviously did not lie. They were so irate that despite the ever watchful eye of the security agent in the back room and in complete disregard of his warning not to speak to foreigners, they did not hesitate to spill the story to the one foreigner who happened to be in the restaurant at the time they were there. The threat of punishment did not hold them back.

"Second: the instrument of terror, it was obvious, was not scrapped. It was only shelved and like a well-oiled gun it was held ready for use in an emergency.

"Third: the Party would not tolerate open defiance of its authority even by workers. When the demonstrators in Novocherkask refused to abandon their open protest against the new prices of butter and meat, guns were turned on them.

"Fourth: the provincial security police were more clumsy than their counterparts in Moscow or Leningrad. It is inconceivable that in either of these cities a worker, any citizen, whatever the suspicion he might arouse, would in the presence of a foreigner, especially a journalist, be lifted from his chair and hauled away. The agent or agents would wait until the man left the restaurant.

"Fifth, and most significant: the Khrushchev leadership had bungled into an ever-deepening crisis, though not a word of it was said in the press." The premier's sudden ouster came a year later.

It is noteworthy that Hindus, who was indulgent toward Stalin's regime and equivocal about its misdeeds, is severely critical of the policies of his present successors and dubious about the stability and longevity of their rule. He writes that Brezhnev and Kosygin are as politically conservative and bankrupt in new ideas as Khrushchev and that their leadership is constitutionally incapable of meeting the demands of the people or solving the problems posed by the new Soviet epoch.

He is convinced that the Soviet Union cannot revert to private ownership of the means of production or in landholding or adopt Western-style parliamentarism. He further says that "talk of a popular uprising in the Soviet Union in the sixties is even more absurd than it has been in the twenties or thirties." He anticipates that Khrushchev's replacements will in turn have to give way to a younger, bolder, more far-seeing leadership which will take over through a palace revolution and introduce innovations on the Yugoslav model. Such a reformation, he concludes, "is as inevitable as the continued flow of the Volga into the Caspian."

How strictly and one-sidedly categorical some liberals become once they embrace determinism! We shall see whether the political future of the Soviet Union moves along the lines charted by Tito -- or envisaged by Trotsky.

#### TEETH SET ON EDGE

Paris

The news is official. Stalin's daughter Svetlana Alliluyeva asked for political asylum in the United States. Political asylum? As far as the entire world knows, to the extent that she was a public figure Svetlana never engaged in political activity, either in her father's time nor under his successors.

But no matter what unknown personal reasons influenced Svetlana's action, her case unquestionably has a political side. On learning this astonishing news, one could not help but recall the words of the Old Testament, "The fathers have eaten a sour grape and the children's teeth are set on edge."

Stalin's crimes deeply affected his daughter. It is known that Svetlana's mother -- either by murder or suicide -- was a victim of Stalin's policy during the time of the forced collectivization. There have also been references to a companion Svetlana had in her youth who became a victim in the great purges of the thirties.

Some will say that this is going far afield. It is easy to believe that Stalin's successors have far from overlooked Svetlana. These successors require Stalin to be a "nonperson"; and how can a "nonperson" have a daughter? These successors have already had enough difficulties with the children of Stalin's victims -- the Yakirs, Preobrazhenskys, Okudzhavas and others. The victims' children and the hangman's daughter, each in their way, are reminders that a Stalin existed and that those who are today in the leadership of the party and the state survived because they were his accomplices and his right-hand men.

The "de-Stalinization" undertaken by Stalin's successors is an operation in their own defense, not the great cleansing Soviet society needs and which only a political revolution carried out by the working masses can bring about. Until that time comes, the teeth of the children will remain set on edge.

THE RATIONAL KERNEL IN THE MYTH OF THE INDIAN SACRED COW

In the Western world, which has some choice examples of its own, few myths appear more irrational than that of the Indian sacred cow. As confirmed meat-eaters in the overwhelming majority, it seems incomprehensible to Westerners that in India, where agonizing hunger is suffered chronically by tens of millions of human beings, cattle should not be regarded as food.\* That they should instead be accorded almost religious respect appears even more bizarre. And strangest of all to cattle-raisers in the West is the Indian custom of apparent indifference to feeding animals that occupy such an exalted position. Westerners assume, on the face of it, that India would be much better off if the excess stray cattle were consumed or at least put out of their misery; and they marvel at the weight of a tradition that operates so strongly in the opposite direction.

This Western view is itself a myth, in the opinion of Marvin Harris, writing in the March issue of Natural History, the journal of the American Museum of Natural History in New York. He argues that the attitude of the Hindus toward cows not only had a rational kernel in the past; it still has a rational kernel. His article, "The Myth of the Sacred Cow," establishes a rather strong case and at the same time offers illumination on a very weighty problem in Indian agriculture.

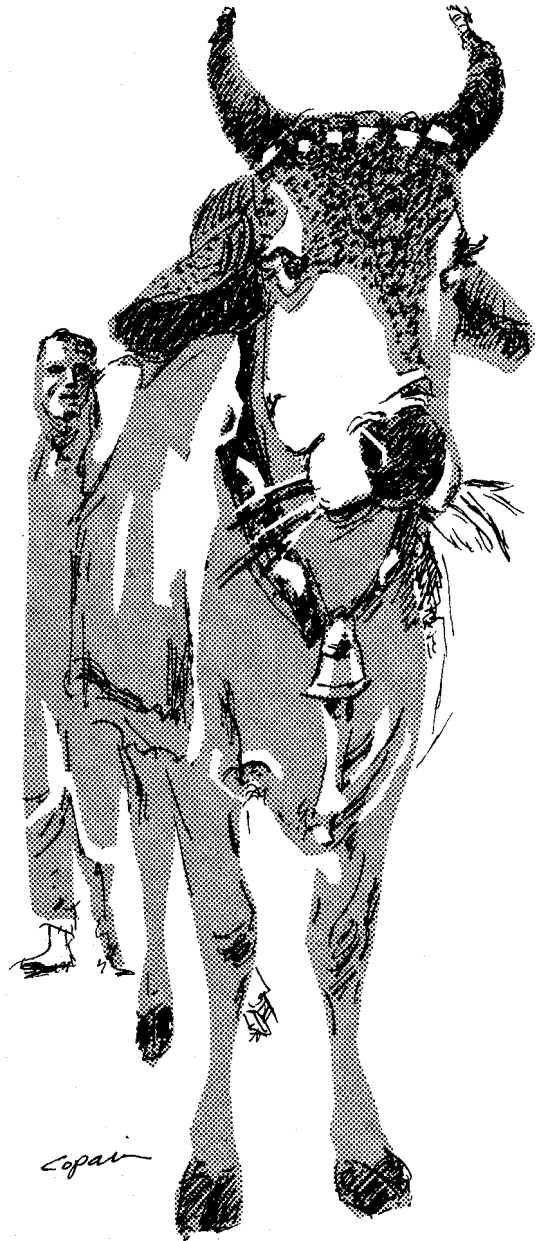
First, he assembles some rather startling figures. India has a population of 79.4 million cows of which 27.2 million are either dry or have not calved. The average annual yield of whole milk per cow is around 413 pounds, which compares with 5,000 pounds in Europe and the United States. It must be admitted, says Harris, "that the Indian dairy industry is among the least efficient in the world."

Besides the 79.4 million cows, India has 96.3 million bullocks, of which 68.6 million are working animals. (He gives no figures on the number of bulls.)

Indian farming is based on plow agriculture. In this the working cattle provide up to 46 percent of the "labor cost, exclusive of transport and other activities."

The author points out a most surprising fact. Despite the huge number of bullocks, "India suffers from a shortage of such animals." A pair of bullocks is the minimum unit needed for cultivation. "But a conservatively estimated 60 million rural households dispose of only 80 million working cattle and buffaloes. This would mean that as many as two-thirds of India's farmers may be short of the technical minimum.

Harris notes that under the "existing property relations the bullocks cannot be shared among several households without further lowering the productivity of marginal



MAN'S BEST FRIEND

\* It should be noted nonetheless that few Westerners consider it acceptable to eat the animal they generally consider to be man's best friend, the dog. Further, a strong taboo is operative against indulging in the flesh of such mammals as the mouse and the rat, although this source of protein is readily available in most cities, particularly in the slums and ghettos where hunger is not unknown. For obscure reasons, this feeling also extends to the cat, an animal rather widely venerated in the West.



farms." When the monsoon comes, sowing operations must begin with the first showers; similarly at harvest time, speed is essential. Thus it is "highly risky" for a farmer to rely on others for bullocks. He has to maintain his own pair.

The function of the cows at once becomes obvious. They are the source of the bullocks. This is in addition to milk and milk products, however low the level of productivity.

It could be argued that India does not need such a huge cow population to produce the requisite number of bullocks. However, they fit into the economy in another way. Cow dung is India's main cooking fuel and is absolutely essential in making it possible for humans to metabolize the grain crops, since coal, oil, electricity are out of reach for the peasant family.

"Of the 800 million tons annually bequeathed the Indian countryside, 300 million are consumed in cookery." This amount of dung is equivalent in energy producing value to 35 million tons of coal or 68 million tons of wood.

This is still not all. "Of the remaining 500 million tons of dung, the largest part is used for manuring." The intensive rains in India make this source of fertilizer absolutely essential. "So vital is this contribution that one scholar argues that substitutes for the manure consumed as fuel must be supplied, and lavishly, even at a financial loss to government."

It is important to note in this context, continues Harris, that in relation to fuel and manure, "old, dry, barren animals do not cease to provide dung."

The list is still not exhausted. In 1962 India produced 16 million cattle hides. Much of this output is required in manufacturing leather products required in the traditional farming technology of India. Moreover, despite the Hindu proscription, "a considerable amount of beef is eaten." Besides pagans, Moslems and Christians, there are millions who have no caste to lose and who will consume beef if given the opportunity.

"It seems likely that a high proportion of the 20 million bovines that die each year get eaten. Moreover, it is quite clear that not all these cattle die a natural death. On the contrary, the very extent of the agitation for antislaughter bills reveals how widespread the slaughter actually is."

Besides bullocks, milk, fuel, fertilizer, the cow produces meat and hides for India. And still the list is not exhausted.

One of the features that strikes foreigners most strongly when they visit India, is that cows are to be seen everywhere, wandering as they please, in the markets, on the roads, in the railway stations, along the rail lines. "Many authorities seem not to inquire why all this wandering takes place from the point of view of the cow, since presumably she has remained uninformed of her sacred privileges."

The answer is simple. The cow is hungry. She is looking for food -- in the ditches, around the base of telegraph poles, between the railroad ties, along the hill-sides, in every nook and cranny where something edible has reared its head." This food, of course, takes nothing from humans since they cannot digest chlorophyll. "The sacred cow is an exploited scavenger, a mere walking skeleton for most of the year, precisely because her ecological niche is removed from that of human food crops." Thus Harris comes to his explanation of why so many cows are kept in India.

"Each farmer needs his own pair of bullocks. Lacking cash, he cannot afford to buy these animals. Rather than risk going into debt at usurious rates, he prefers to try to breed bulls (which he will exchange later for bullocks). Since all the available land is given over to human food crops, the breeding cows must scavenge for their food. Being undernourished, they breed irregularly. The farmer refrains from culling uncared animals since they convert grain by-products and scrub vegetation into useful dung. Meanwhile, there is always a chance that the cow will eventually conceive. If a female calf is born, the scrub and chaff are converted into milk, while the calf is gradually starved to death. In the long run, the more cows an individual farmer owns, the greater the likelihood that he can replace his bullocks without going into debt."

Ahimsa, the Hindu doctrine of the sanctity of life, consequently has a rational basis. Ahimsa is an ideological expression of the pressures generated by the human population to survive under the abysmal productive system which India has not yet transcended; "ahimsa itself derives power and sustenance from the material rewards it confers upon both men and animals."

Without some major innovations, India cannot shift from this system. "As a matter of fact, it is obvious that any large-scale drift toward animal slaughter before the traction, fuel, and manure needs of the productive cycle were met would immediately jeopardize the lives of tens of millions of Indians."

And with major innovations? But that raises the question of changed property relations and an entirely new economic system capable of lifting India out of the ancient pattern. That, of course, is something neither the author nor the editors of Natural History care to examine. They have their own sacred cows to worry about.

#### A CASE OF WISHEFUL THINKING

Paris

If it is true that to err is human, some errors nonetheless arise not from mis-gauging reality in all its complexities but from a mere unhooking of the mind. Healy's Newsletter has just provided an illustration of this. In the issue dated March 11 of this newspaper printed in London, one full page plus an additional column, or more than a fourth of the paper, were devoted to the candidate run in the March 5 elections in France by the OCI [Organisation Communiste Internationaliste], the French organization associated with the Socialist Labour League in an "International Committee of the Fourth International," a sham formation.

Running a candidate like this was not in itself an error. The PCI [Parti Communiste Internationaliste, the French section of the Fourth International] decided not to run candidates only because the effort necessary to conduct a campaign in a single district, or in an inevitably limited number of districts, would not have had sufficient echo on the national scene to make it "pay off" politically.

But you leave the realm of possible differences on this and enter the world of mental aberration when you read the article signed by Peter Arnold in the Newsletter. The title itself indicates the tone of the entire article: "The OCI pose a real alternative to de Gaulle." Here are a few sentences: "The joint campaign by the OCI and 'Revoltes', whatever the number of votes received by Stephan Just in the ballot, has altered the political scene in France.... This has begun a long overdue discussion amongst rank-and-file Communist party members."

The entire article can be put under the heading of "wishful thinking." The Just candidacy did not alter the political scene in France or set off a long discussion in the PCF. At no point would a reader of the Newsletter learn that the main conflict in these elections was -- unfortunately -- between the Gaullists on the one hand, and the FGDS [Fédération de la gauche démocrate et socialiste] and the PCF on the other. Neither would he learn that the Just candidacy did not cause a ripple outside the district in which he ran, and so on.

But the article in the Newsletter is not the product of chance, even taking into account Healy's gross ignorance of everything beyond the shores of Great Britain. The article is an illustration of the sectarianism dominating these groups, which believe that our globe revolves around them and that their screaming is enough to change the world.

The next issue of the Newsletter, dated March 18, has just arrived. There is not even a mention of this candidacy and its results. Of course, in the passages cited above, there was a phrase along the lines of "whatever the number of votes received," but this number -- 227 -- out of more than 53,000 valid votes was too small to be brought to the attention of the readers of the Newsletter.\*

Let us note that in a neighboring district, a Posadist candidate received more than 400 votes. However, there are not more than a dozen Posadists in all of France, while the OCI and Revoltes are real organizations, presumably.

The Just candidacy changed the political scene in France -- in the columns of the Newsletter for exactly one issue! We are willing to wager that by way of self-criticism, Healy will engage in new slanderous attacks against the Fourth International.

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\*[In the March 25 issue, likewise, the editor of the Newsletter seems to have been unable to screw up sufficient courage as yet to inform his readers on the facts of life concerning the Just candidacy. -- W.O.]

HEALY'S ADMISSION OF GUILT

[The following statement was issued by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International on March 1.]

\* \* \*

1. The physical assault upon Comrade Ernest Tate of Great Britain on November 17, 1966 by hooligans of the Socialist Labour League organized under the direction of its general secretary, T.G. Healy, took place while Comrade Tate was attempting to sell the International Socialist Review and the pamphlet Healy "Reconstructs" the Fourth International on the pavement in front of Caxton Hall, a public meeting place in London. The facts about this disgraceful assault are now well-known to the world Trotskyist movement and to many British socialists and trade unionists.

2. Following this attack, Comrade Tate protested the outrage in a public statement which was printed in several small papers of the working-class movement in Great Britain. He asked that a working-class commission be set up to inquire into the circumstances of an assault which was directed against his right to sell socialist literature on a public street, an issue of vital concern to every socialist group or party.

3. T.G. Healy thereupon rushed to utilize the courts of Her Majesty; and by writs and threats of writs forced two of the small papers to withdraw Tate's statement and pay him what can only be called extorted money. He further demanded that Comrade Tate himself keep silent or face being hauled into court and suffering the penalties of the law. Needless to say, Comrade Tate is continuing to tell what happened and continuing to sell the literature of the world Trotskyist movement. It is clear that up to this point Healy was in the wrong.

4. The leadership of both the American and Canadian Trotskyist movement quickly responded to this shameful business by demanding that the SLL place T.G. Healy on trial and expel all those responsible for the assault. We fully endorse the letters of the Americans and Canadians in this matter.

5. After remaining silent for some months, Healy finally replied in the form of an 11,000-word statement put out by the so-called "International Committee of the Fourth International." This document along with a statement by an American supporter of Healy, T. Wohlforth, flatly justify the assault and resorting to Her Majesty's law subsequently.

6. The charge made against T.G. Healy is a grave one. The only appropriate and competent body that can examine the factual basis of the charge is a commission of inquiry drawn from the workers' movement. We reject Healy's arrogant stand that the charge is subject to examination only by a commission of representatives of the "organizations concerned." Negotiations between organizations is not involved. It is a matter of investigating and examining a case of hooliganism inside the working-class movement. It can only be concluded from Healy's rejection of this procedure that he recognizes there could be no other outcome than a verdict of guilty against him.

7. We repeat that what is at issue at present is the simple question of facts in the case. Was Comrade Tate brutally assaulted and sent to the hospital to prevent him from selling his literature? Is it not true that Healy inspired this attack directly? Healy, the SLL and the so-called International Committee prefer that these questions be judged by Her Majesty's courts on the basis of Her Majesty's law. The writs of that law, to be sure, are backed by the police powers of the capitalist state. And this, apparently, is Healy's strongest weapon. Meanwhile the literature and documents of the world Trotskyist movement will continue to be circulated in Great Britain. No physical violence nor slick legal tricks can prevent this.

THAT SPECIAL ISSUE

In our March 24 issue we reported that our "next issue" would be dated April 7. Meanwhile all our subscribers will have received (we hope) a special issue containing the full text of Fidel Castro's March 13 speech. When the official English translation became available, we thought that it ought to be given the widest possible circulation -- and as early as possible. We therefore changed plans and celebrated missing the regular March 31 issue by putting out a special issue. We hope that you found Castro's speech as interesting politically as we did.