

WORLD OUTLOOK

a labor press service

Vol. 5, No. 39

December 1, 1967

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DEVALUATION OF THE POUND SHAKES THE CAPITALIST WORLD

By Joseph Hansen

The decision of Harold Wilson's cabinet November 16, which was announced two days later, to devalue the pound from \$2.80 to \$2.40, or 14.3 percent, shook the financial structure of the entire capitalist world.

To save the pound from complete collapse, extraordinary measures were required by the international Mafia of bankers and the governments under their control. They were worried, too, over a chain reaction that might bowl over the dollar, which "now...stands exposed," as The New York Times put it November 20.

Even worse possibilities were visualized. The same New York voice of the powerful Eastern sector of the American capitalist class was patently fearful of inept measures that might be undertaken by the Johnson administration. "Unfortunately," the paper declared editorially November 23, "Washington appears bent on firing off all of its available weapons in one overwhelming barrage. If it acts too drastically to enforce more expensive credit, an increase in taxes and slashes in spending, there is a real risk and perhaps more than a risk that it will check the present moderate upturn and, at the same time, provoke a dangerous recession in world trade."

On the first day the New York Stock Exchange opened after the devaluation of the pound (Monday, November 20), the scene came close to pandemonium. Wall Street brokerage houses, according to one financial reporter, "bombed their customers...with bulletins adding up to two words of advice: 'Don't panic.'"

But "panic," was precisely the word used by Time magazine (November 24) to describe the situation in the money markets "around the world" on the preceding Friday, while Newsweek (November 27) used the same word to describe what had happened in the "financial world."

Emergency cabinet meetings were held in a number of countries when the rumors about devaluating the pound were confirmed; and within five days no less than seventeen countries had followed suit, devaluing their currencies.

As an indication of the unforeseen consequences that could be touched off, in Singapore rioting broke out.

However much the capitalist statesmen and their pundits sought to allay alarm or to at least focus attention solely on the troubles faced by Britain and especially by Harold Wilson and the La-

bour party, the fact remained that the devaluation of the pound served to bare many harsh realities about the state of the capitalist system as a whole today.

First of all, it demonstrated how tightly interconnected the system is on an international scale. What happens in one capitalist center affects all the other capitalist centers -- and drastically and immediately. Even the cushion of a time lag of a few months or weeks is gone. We have reached the epoch of built-in international crises that can be fired off instantly.

Secondly, Britain's crisis, with its swift domino effect, revealed how unstable the system as a whole is. Despite the billions of dollars expended since the end of World War II in shoring up capitalism in Europe, despite the unprecedented prosperity in the U.S., Europe and Japan, despite the absence of a big depression since the thirties, despite all the propaganda and all the boasting about the strength and superiority of capitalism, it is clearly a very rickety structure, near collapse at any number of points.

Thirdly, it should be noted in particular that not even the strongest capitalist power, the one holding up all the others -- the United States -- is exempt from the effects of what happens elsewhere. This was clear from the heavy pressure on the dollar, the quickness with which Washington took emergency measures (on November 19 -- a Sunday! -- the Federal Reserve System increased the discount rate from 4 percent to 4.5 percent), and the nervousness, if not actual panic, observable in the highest circles in Manhattan and Washington.

Fourthly, the devaluation of the pound demonstrated, in a way hardly anyone could miss, how illusory it is to believe that capitalism has succeeded in overcoming its internal contradictions.

Men disposing of billions of dollars and the resources of entire continents were bedeviled by the way the international contradictions suddenly came to a head in a financial crisis. Even if they had succeeded in overcoming this crisis, none of them were prepared to say that they had won more than a temporary respite. And they will count themselves lucky if their efforts do not set off a still worse sequence of events.

As for the contradictions of capitalism on a national scale, here an embarrassment of riches was provided by the

crisis. The capitalist pundits themselves filled their communications media with elaborate explanations of the contradictions afflicting Britain, the classic country of capitalism.

Particularly instructive were the admissions on why British capitalism, whether under the Tory masters or their Labour servants, has had to follow a "stop and go" policy since the end of World War II. If a boom sets in, there is too much buying abroad and this leads to a worsening payments deficit and a loss of foreign exchange reserves. To check this, the brakes are put on the economy; it is slowed down. This retrieves the situation on the deficit front but with highly unfortunate other consequences: slowed down expansion of the economy, delayed renovation of equipment, a decline in the rate of increase of productivity, a rise in unemployment and a growth in social unrest. When the danger point is reached, the brakes are released, the government foot comes down on the throttle and the economy again leaps ahead. A very jerky ride for all concerned.

In this explanation there are some significant omissions that deserve to at least be indicated.

For instance, it is hinted that Britain is suffering from its imperialist past but the nature of the illness is described only in a partial way. Britain is unable to compete on the world market, we are told, because its industrial plant has not been modernized. Thus it can't meet competition and "earn" its way by selling the commodities produced in its "workshop." Unable to sell, it lacks sufficient sources of foreign exchange to make up its payments deficit.

Without going back to the days when Britain maintained control of its markets and sources of cheap raw materials through the deployment of military force and colonial conquest, the British ruling class met this problem through enormous investments and holdings abroad that brought in a steady flow of dividends.

The British ruling class lost the bulk of these holdings during the first and second world wars. A big part of the holdings and investments were lost to the American capitalist class. Roosevelt, for instance, refused to grant substantial aid to Britain at the beginning of World War II until British investors let go of their holdings in the U.S.

Instead of the position of banker for the world -- with the customary emoluments which the position offers -- Britain now stands among the paupers; and, of course, pays through the nose for the privilege. Together with devaluation, the

government increased bank rates from 6½ percent to 8 percent.

In view of the risks involved in dealing with this ragged former banker, the bankers of other countries are, naturally, entitled to just compensation. The former banker for the world understands this to perfection; and knows just as well that it is not through paying out high interest rates that you rise to the position of being banker or recover your position once you begin slipping.

In a different way, the colonial revolution following World War II slashed deeply into the life lines of empire leading to London.

The victory of the Soviet Union in World War II with the subsequent toppling of the capitalist regimes in Eastern Europe and in China further injured and circumscribed imperialist Britain as it did the other main capitalist centers.

The colonial revolution and the rise of the Soviet Union to the rank of a first-rate power shut off any possibility of Britain recovering its previous standing by expanding in that direction. The victory of the U.S. at the expense of both its enemies and its allies in World War II cut off any hope of expanding and recovering at the expense of the other capitalist powers.

British capitalism has thus landed in an impasse from which there is no hope of escape.

The Tory policy was to seek to advance by wringing concessions and sacrifices from the working class. They could not do this to a sufficient degree to make it work. How could they hope to achieve more than the German capitalists using the whip of fascism? or the Japanese capitalists with a huge untapped labor reserve and "thought control" laws? or the American capitalists, untouched by the ravages of war, able to mobilize the resources of several continents and with a long background of constant modernization of their industrial plant?

Harold Wilson inherited the Tory policy; and, utilizing the prestige and standing of the Labour party among the British workers, sought to apply that policy in a way completely beyond the capacity of the Tories.

For three years, under the banner of "saving the pound," Wilson wrung bitter sacrifices from the British workers. To no avail. The reward they received was devaluation of the pound; i.e., a new deep slash in their standard of living, for devaluation means a swift rise in prices in Britain, including the prices of basic necessities.

Writing from London November 19, Anthony Lewis of The New York Times reported, "Prices of imported products and those made with imports began going up immediately today. Bakers warned that they too would have to raise prices.

"Bakers warned that they would have to raise prices soon because much of their wheat is imported. The major oil companies predicted a rise in gasoline prices, and iron-ore costs went up for the British steel industry."

As Leon Trotsky pointed out in the Transition Program: "Neither monetary inflation nor stabilization can serve as slogans for the proletariat because these are but two ends of the same stick."

For the British workers, and this means the overwhelming majority of the people in Britain, only one road offers a realistic way out -- that is to institute planning from top to bottom.

This would signify pruning away at once a series of costs that are rarely mentioned even partially in the bourgeois press. These include the cost of maintaining a layer of parasites ranging from stockholders to bankers and landlords; the cost of maintaining a swollen state bureaucracy, and a huge military apparatus that is highly efficient in pouring pounds down the drain whether it be in small colonial wars or in developing a

nuclear arsenal.

Aside from cutting off such unproductive expenditures and a whole series of items associated with them, the expropriation of the means of production in Britain and the introduction of socialist planning would make it possible to tie in the British economy with the workers states that already have planned economies. Such a combination would open up completely new perspectives for all the participants.

The British workers turned in this direction by class instinct. That is why they voted in the Labour party, giving it a mandate to proceed along the road to socialism and reaffirming that mandate in the last election.

Wilson betrayed that mandate. As a result, the Tories and even the Liberals were strengthened and the Labour party now faces a crisis of its own as is evident from the recent by-elections.

This crisis will deepen as the consequences of devaluation of the pound begin to bite into the family budget. The British workers give every sign that they do not intend to listen to the new exhortations to make further sacrifices for the sake of preserving a capitalist economy that should have been scrapped long ago and replaced by modern socialist planning.

FULBRIGHT COMMITTEE SEES U.S. THREATENED WITH "TYRANNY OR DISASTER"

The U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee declared November 21 that the "near-absolute power" of the American president to commit the nation to war threatened the country with "tyranny or disaster." The committee, headed by Senator J. William Fulbright, had unanimously passed a resolution the previous week calling on the president not to commit American forces abroad in the future without "affirmative action" by Congress.

After their show of independence from the White House the senators decided not to bring the resolution before the Senate for a vote. They are well aware of the White House's usurpation of the war-making powers of Congress but they are not inclined to take the political risk of openly challenging the usurper.

The sore point for the senators in this "process of constitutional erosion" came when Congress hurriedly passed the Gulf of Tonkin resolution at Johnson's request in August, 1964. This approved Johnson's taking "all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression."

The senators profess that they failed to realize that they were signing a blank check. If that were true, of course, the obvious next move would be to rescind the resolution.

However, Fulbright and those who agree with him are not exactly the type to engage in crusades. The November 22 New York Times detailed their battle plan:

"As a step toward restoration of Congressional authority over the armed forces, the committee recommended that in the future Congress be much more cautious and precise in approving joint Congressional resolutions granting the President authority to undertake foreign military actions."

Johnson treated the committee with the contempt it deserves. Without waiting to even read their report, he told the press at his November 17 conference that he has his own views "about really what" the resolution would achieve.

It was one of those rare instances in which Johnson was dead right.

THE POLITICAL DEVALUATION OF LYNDON B. JOHNSON

By George Novack

The heads of state of both England and the United States are in serious trouble. Prime Minister Wilson must face the economic and political repercussions of the pound's devaluation. Across the Atlantic, President Johnson must cope with the precipitous and continuing drop in his popularity.

After the sweeping victory in November 1964 which returned him to the White House, Johnson stood at the pinnacle of his prestige and power. Now, three years later, he and his policies are in deep disfavor with the great majority of the American people.

Signs of his unpopularity multiply from day to day. Here are some of the more recent indications.

The latest Harris poll revealed that public confidence in Johnson's conduct of the war had sunk to an all-time low of 23 percent. It was 46 percent in June. Another poll showed that one-third of the people want to quit Vietnam "any way we can."

While the military presses for reinforcements beyond the 525,000 troops scheduled to be sent by July 1, seven out of ten questioned objected to shipping more troops to Vietnam. Four out of five oppose the administration's proposed ten percent tax increase to cut down the huge war-spending federal deficit.

In the first big city referendum on the issue, 37 percent of those who voted on the issue in San Francisco approved the proposal for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.* So much support for so radical a solution is significant. Robert Coate, Northern California chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee, voiced the belief that if the word "systematic" had been substituted for "immediate" in the proposition, the "yes" vote would have been overwhelming.

For the first time since 1957, according to a Gallup poll, a majority of voters would prefer to see Republicans rather than Democrats handle the na-

tion's most serious problem (the Vietnam war.)

Johnson keeps appealing for unity and repeating that critics of the war are damaging "the nation's cause" and encouraging "the enemy" to prolong the war. In fact, most Americans don't want the war prolonged and that has divided the country and shattered national unity beyond repair.

Dissent against administration policy on Vietnam stretches all the way from the small towns to Washington. The former ambassador to India, John Kenneth Galbraith, observes that Johnson's base of support has narrowed down until "the defenders of the war are increasingly either conservative Republicans, conservative Democrats or the military. (Within the Administration, an increasing number make clear their private dissent.)"

These doubters are in the president's own cabinet. The Senate majority leader, Mike Mansfield of Montana, wants direct negotiations between Saigon and the National Liberation Front. Eleven of the nineteen members of the prestigious Senate Foreign Relations Committee controlled by the Democrats are "doves" while five more are uncertain about the administration's handling of the war. Its chairman, Senator Fulbright of Arkansas, the most prominent official critic, is at sword's points with Secretary of State Rusk because of his refusal to defend Johnson's course in open session.

It is notorious that Senator Kennedy of New York is far more opposed to White House policy than he considers it expedient to express out loud. His fellow senator, McCarthy of Minnesota, whom Johnson considered as one of three possible running mates before he chose Humphrey in 1964, is touring the country with the thought of entering the presidential primaries to try to block Johnson's renomination or at least mobilize enough pressure to make him change his course.

Under pressure of his constituents back home, one of the leading Republicans in Washington, Senator Morton of Kentucky, has switched from support to opposition and his stand is being backed by more and more colleagues.

In defiance of the party hierarchy, the convention of the College Young Democrats, meeting in Boston November 11-12, adopted a resolution accusing the White House of bad faith through "broken promises at home and false assurances abroad."

*The total vote cast in the election was 255,596. Of these, 209,038 voted pro (76,632) or con (132,406), while 46,558 abstained. Thus out of the total vote, 52% were opposed, 30% in favor and 18% abstained. See World Outlook November 17, page 924, for a more detailed analysis.

In addition to the array of opponents in his own party and Congress, the most articulate part of the press, the academic and scientific communities, the intellectuals, students and religious leaders are speaking out more and more vehemently against the administration. The New York Times, most network commentators and numerous columnists have become severely critical. Some 1,300 members and fellows of the American Sociological Association urged Johnson on November 12 to halt the bombing of North Vietnam, launch "an immediate, vigorous and genuine attempt to negotiate peace and begin orderly withdrawal of American troops."

Psychologically, the national capital has become "the most depressed area" in the United States, according to "the detailed findings of twenty reporters of the Wall Street Journal's Washington bureau who have spent recent days lending sympathetic ears to scores of public servants from clerks to cabinet members." Here is their listing of the dominant moods around Johnson: "Disenchantment. Exhaustion. Resentment. Listlessness. Terror. Disorientation. Suspicion. Joylessness. Hate. A sense of being misunderstood by the populace, persecuted by Congress, debauched by the White House and betrayed by colleagues. Worst of all, a loss of self-confidence."

This malaise at the top is a pale reflection of the loss of confidence in Johnson. He is being besieged by hostile public opinion. The October 21 demonstrators at the Lincoln Monument and the Pentagon were only the spearhead of the forces that are up in arms against Johnson on different levels. The president cannot even go to church on Sunday without being reminded by the rector that his actions are in question (see World Outlook, November 24).

Johnson can appear safely only before military audiences and on government premises. Otherwise he and his principal assistants are likely to be challenged. The president had to sneak into New York City under cover of darkness to attend a testimonial dinner to AFL-CIO head George Meany, one of the few fervent friends he has left. The decision was announced at the last moment to forestall any hostile demonstrators; a few antiwar pickets managed to show up just the same.

Johnson canceled his scheduled talk to the National Grange, the country's oldest farm organization, in Syracuse, New York, November 12. He was counseled against attending because the demonstration planned by as many as 3,000 students from eight colleges in the vicinity threatened his security. The pickets who came chanted derisively: "Hey, Hey, L.B.J., where the hell were you today?"

Dean Rusk did not escape so easily. He also canceled two appearances this month in Boston, where he hoped to make a major foreign policy speech, for fear of setting off a new round of demonstrations in that center of antiwar agitation. But he was given a boisterous reception by 10,000 picketers when he came to New York a week later (see World Outlook, November 24). "If it's this bad for Rusk, Johnson can't come here," said a businessman who stopped to watch after work. "He can't even come here to campaign. He'd need an airborne division."

According to New York Times Washington correspondent Tom Wicker, "Johnson is reported to be angered by -- not afraid of -- the pickets and the ordeal to which they would subject him. But the results are that he is becoming isolated from the population at large and is being thrown more and more into the protective circle of his close friends and advisers."

In a TV interview November 19 Walter Lippmann, the dean of American bourgeois political commentators, gave some insight into the thinking of these advisers in Johnson's entourage. He said that Rusk is the chief war hawk in the cabinet while McNamara doesn't believe in Johnson's policy but prefers to remain Secretary of Defense. This view is confirmed by a Wall Street Journal report that "a top civilian aide to Defense Secretary McNamara privately confesses that he feels 'let down.' Initially attracted by McNamara's intellectual integrity, he is convinced his boss has violated his own logic and for mere political reasons goes along with the President on continued bombing of North Vietnam and on constructing an anti-missile system. He thinks McNamara should have resigned rather than retreat."

According to Lippmann, Johnson fears to go counter to his Chiefs of Staff. Some of his advisers want him to widen the war and incite more war fever in order to cinch the coming election. Although the administration claims that the war is going well and is not stalemated, it is reliably reported that General Westmoreland, who has been conferring at the White House and calling for more troops, will soon be relieved of his command and replaced by his deputy in Vietnam, General Abrams.

While the Chief of Staff optimistically reports progress, "other senior military officials are not so sanguine," writes the November 19 New York Times. "They note that the pacification program is still going badly and they believe that 525,000 American troops will not be enough to create the kind of military pressure needed to severely punish the Communists over the next year or two. They feel that 750,000 to a million would be needed. At the present rate, therefore,

many senior military officials in Washington feel another five years of fighting lies ahead, barring a settlement."

This chilling prospect of being bogged down indefinitely in Southeast Asia is hardening resistance to the war. The people are alarmed by the steep rise in U.S. casualties and the costs of fighting the war. The federal deficit for this year may reach \$35 billion.

The backbone of the antiwar activists at this stage are the students who have been engaging in more and more angry and militant protests on campuses from one end of the country to the other. Almost every day they come into violent conflict with college and city authorities and the police over actions against CIA and marine recruiting, the Dow Chemical Company, makers of napalm, and above all against the draft.

In a survey of the national student scene, the November 20 New York Times noted: "October 21, 1967, has become a sacred date on the campuses. Students revere those who joined the peace march then to the Pentagon. Everywhere, they point out students who were tear-gassed, or smashed over the head by Federal marshals, or jabbed by soldiers with bayonets. 'It's like German dueling scars,' said Prof. Joseph F. Wall [of Grinnell College in Iowa]."

The student antiwar forces are presently preparing for a nationwide series of "Stop-the-War -- Stop-the-Draft" actions the week of December 4-8.

Until recently, organized labor has been the most silent and passive sector of public opinion. Now, two and a half years after Johnson ordered the first bombings of North Vietnam, a small but significant segment of the trade-union movement has raised its voice against administration war policy.

The National Leadership Assembly for Peace which met in Chicago November 11-12 was attended by 523 union officials from 50 international unions and from 38 states. More than 50 of the participants were vice-presidents, secretary-treasurers, or executive board members of international unions.

The keynote speaker at the opening session, Galbraith, now chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, told the gathering that the war can't be won and any military solution is impossible. This opinion is shared by many others in high positions who are afraid to state it so openly.

The assembly sought to put the administration on notice that it could not count on unqualified support from the union officialdom hitherto orchestrated by AFL-CIO President George Meany and his sinister adviser on foreign affairs Jay Lovestone. The statement of purpose it adopted called for U.S. negotiations with the National Liberation Front. Despite this moderate position, the conference represented the labor movement's first breakaway from total subservience to the White House and an effort to get in step with the antiwar sentiments of the rest of the population. This rebuke to Meany, which is intertwined with the deepening rift between him and United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther, is unprecedented in recent years.

The role of the rebel youth in spurring this move was pointed out by Moe Foner of Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Workers in New York, the key figure in the trade-union division of SANE [National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy] which originally sponsored the conference. "I was amazed by the number of men who first hesitated about attending and then finally told me that they just couldn't face their kids who kept asking whether they were ducking it," he said.

The powerful surge of antiwar sentiment in the country can be gauged in quite another way by the incapacity of the ultraright to whip up jingoistic spirit into any substantial countercampaign in favor of the war. The Wall Street Journal has just noted the decline of the McCarthyite John Birch Society which has been losing members and income and recently called off its central campaign to impeach U.S. Chief Justice Warren. According to the November 20 New York Times, the chief campus grouping of conservative youth, "the super-patriotic Young Americans for Freedom of 1962 have nearly shrivelled away." The atmosphere is very unpropitious for professional warmongers.

The national political situation was summarized as follows by Walter Lippmann in his November 19 TV interview. He stated that "the country was in a mess," that "this is the most unpopular war" in his experience, and that Lyndon B. Johnson is treading a path analogous to that of Herbert Hoover. The war is discrediting the president, he said, just as the depression discredited Hoover to the point where he feared to go out of the White House by the end of 1932. Lippmann predicted that Johnson would be defeated if he ran again next year. Were he by chance to be reelected, that outcome, said Lippmann, would be dangerous and disastrous for the country.

JOHNSON'S NEW SECRET WEAPON -- "WIRED FOR SOUND"

Johnson has predicted that before the tide turns, his popularity may decline to "1%." The prediction will, no doubt, prove to be one of his more popular efforts at prophesying the future.

To help turn the tide, he decided to open a counteroffensive against his critics. A requisite for this was to determine what went wrong after he won the biggest majority for the presidency in the history of the country. The flaw has been discovered. It turns out that Johnson has been projecting the wrong image of himself all this time.

His friends, fans and admirers will be pleased to learn that the remedy has already been found; and, at the very first try, Johnson made spectacular progress on the comeback trail.

His error was not that of projecting a Goldwater image. It was simply that he had, inadvertently, projected himself as "pious, melancholy and grandfatherly"; and that's all wrong for the American public. No wonder people soured on the war in Vietnam.

As graphically described by James Reston of The New York Times, Johnson became genuinely worried. "He is trying desperately now to carry his case on the war to the nation. Watching him these days is like observing a great character actor in a repertory theater. One week he is withdrawn and silent. Another, he is the melancholy Lincoln. Again, he is the avenging angel.

"He is experimenting a great deal now with new techniques. After avoiding preannounced television news conferences for three months, he held one this week and demonstrated what all his intimates knew all along, namely, that his problem is not his personality or his inability to communicate ideas forcefully through the modern means of communication."

The solution turned out to be simplicity itself. At his November 17 press conference, "he had himself wired for sound, and thus liberated from the podium and able to wander around talking informally, he put on as effective a performance as has been seen at a White House news conference in years."

Old friends of the great man were delighted. They said that "the real Johnson" had finally come through.

Roy Reed described the historic occasion for readers of The New York Times:

"Wearing a portable microphone

under his coat, the President stepped out from behind the podium and walked up and down in front of the camera like a revival preacher.

"He waved his arms, chopped the air, drew imaginary lines with his fingers, clutched his glasses, scowled, laughed and ran his voice through a range of sound from high-volume anger to quiet, self-deprecating gentleness. Beyond the theatrics, he enlivened the content of the news conference with historical comparisons, scriptural quotations, jokes and a bit of sarcasm."

For the sake of future historians, Roy Reed described in detail the exact moment of qualitative change between the old and the new Johnson:

"The new technique became apparent about eight minutes into the news conference. A reporter noted that Mr. Johnson would complete four years in office next Wednesday and asked him to assess his satisfactions and disappointments.

"Mr. Johnson removed his glasses and stepped casually to the right of the podium. As he did, a soldier quietly pushed a plug into an electrical outlet in the east wall of the East Room. The plug was at the end of a cord that ran to the President's waist and connected with the hidden microphone."

On the key question of Vietnam, the Times man was equally observant: "The next questioner wanted an estimate of the Vietnam situation, and that brought a flush of interest to his face." That the reporter noted the flush that came to Johnson's face shows how well a working reporter can observe details. That it was a flush "of interest," shows that in interpreting the fact, he may be less accurate. However, perhaps the editor of the Times fixed up the original sentence.

Roy Reed continues: "He turned slightly to the side to face the questioner and exposed to the camera a profile that has become a little fuller in recent weeks."

Reed explains how Johnson's profile became fuller behind the ears: "He has begun to wear his hair fuller in the back and, reportedly, has stopped using a heavy hair tonic that he described to a friend recently as 'that greasy kid stuff.' His hair appeared much whiter."

Reed does not indicate what happened to the color of Johnson's hair. Perhaps he stopped using the rinse that kills tattletale gray. On the other hand he may have begun using something more

glamorous, say like the "Silver Gleam" put out by Loving Care or Helena Rubenstein.

As for the fullness in the forepart of his profile, this was probably not the result of something as drastic as plastic surgery. More likely it was a strategic bit of putty applied by the White House makeup men for those key moments when the president exposes to the camera the profile of his nose.

In presenting the positive achievements of his administration in Vietnam, the president glowed. In criticizing his critics, he glowered.

"His voice became harsh and he seemed angry as he accused some dissenters of 'storm trooper bullying, throwing yourself down in the road, smashing windows, rowdyism.'"

It was a memorable performance in all respects. "Only once did he slip noticeably in his grammar. That was when he said Southeast Asians thought it 'absolutely essential that Uncle Sam keep her word' in Vietnam."

This didn't matter too much, however. Uncle Sam's sex is so well known that speculation was unlikely to follow from the president's slip of the tongue. In any case, "'her' was changed to 'his' in the official transcript made public afterward."

It was a great day for the Johnsonites, from Cao Ky to Harold Wilson, a day all of them could be proud of.

"The House majority whip, Hale Boggs of Louisiana, was elated. 'The Pres-

ident did an excellent job of stating our objectives in Vietnam and answering his critics,' he said.

"Representative Jack Brooks, a Democrat from Texas, rubbed his hands together and said: 'They ain't heard nothing yet.'"

"'He can't be Ronald Reagan,' said Representative Richard Bolling, Democrat of Missouri. 'The only way is to be himself. And he was himself today.'"

The repercussions were nationwide. "A number of persons telephoned the White House from other cities to congratulate the President on his improved television delivery."

And the Republicans began to quake a little at the sight of the new secret weapon which Johnson had uncorked.

"One Republican Congressman, who asked not to be quoted by name, called Mr. Johnson's performance at the news conference 'pretty darned effective.'"

"'I keep telling our boys,' he said, 'not to count the chickens before they're hatched.'"

Best of all, however, is what it signified for the country. In 1965 Jack Valenti, one of Johnson's intimates, said, "The President, thank the good Lord, has extra glands." Another crony revealed later that he is also equipped with an "antenna," making him extra sensitive to the consensus. Now that this remarkable individual has been wired for sound, it can be said that America at last has in the White House a finished politician.

RECTOR WINS NATIONWIDE APPLAUSE FOR NEEDLING JOHNSON

The Rev. Dr. Cotesworth Pinckney Lewis, who dared to address a question about the war in Vietnam to Johnson when he saw the president sitting in the front pew of his church [see World Outlook, November 24], has drawn nationwide acclaim in the United States. Six days after the happening, he had received 3,500 letters and 200 telegrams and the number was mounting. Of the first 1,000 letters, 97 percent were favorable; the same was true of the telegrams.

Among the disgruntled, a prominent figure was Gov. Mills E. Godwin Jr. of Virginia, the state where the incident occurred. He wrote a letter to Johnson regretting the rector's temerity and calling it a blot on Virginia's traditional hospitality.

When this became known, it kicked off a new controversy. An aide in the governor's office said that 100 communications had been received within a few days. Of these 87 sided with the minister and only 13 backed the governor.

Some of the members of the parish vestry voted to apologize to the president and this started a sharp conflict within that respectable body.

In face of the widening dispute, Johnson decided that he had to indicate where he stood. In his November 17 press conference he tried the old tactic of giving his critic the back of the hand.

"The Secretary of State," he said, "has made this clear dozens and dozens of

times -- and I made it enough that I thought even all the preachers in the country had heard about it."

It remains to be seen whether

that will stop the ripples started by the single stone cast by the minister who wanted a clear answer on what the U.S. is doing in Vietnam.

OCTOBER 21 -- MOST THOROUGH PREPARATIONS FOR "URBAN TROUBLE" EVER MADE

Lyndon Johnson has been very free with unsolicited advice to the freedom fighters in Vietnam, warning them to disregard any appearance of division within the U.S. over the war in Vietnam.

He sternly disparages the notion that the 1968 elections will reveal anything but widespread popular support for his war policies. This profession is belied, however, by recent revelations on the extent of military preparations by the administration to "protect" itself from the outpouring of popular sentiment in Washington October 21.

When the mass of demonstrators opposing Johnson's war in Vietnam arrived in the capital there were indications the president was not pleased to see them. The November 21 New York Times reports there were "detailed contingency plans to rush 25,000 or more Army troops to Washington's slums last month" if the demonstration "spilled over into the city."

A major fear of the war makers was the possibility that the demonstration would serve as a catalyst to ignite the smoldering black ghetto which comprises more than half of the nation's capital.

"Advance intelligence reports," the Times continues, "of an attempt to exploit supposed racial tensions during the two-day protest across the Potomac River at the Pentagon so worried senior officials that sizable Army units as far away as Fort Carson, Colo., were alerted for possible movement and airlift plans were made to transport them."

Evidently the Pentagon took the "supposed" racial tensions very seriously. A 2,900-man brigade of the 82d Airborne Division was airlifted from Fort Bragg, North Carolina, to Andrews Air Force Base in Washington. The Times describes the outfit as "one of the best

combat units in the country," and reports that "Enough helicopters were assembled at the base from posts up and down the Atlantic seaboard to move a battalion at a time into Washington if rioting flared and got out of hand.

"These and similar moves were part of the most comprehensive advance preparations for urban trouble ever made, officials admit. 'We just couldn't sit back and allow another Detroit to happen in Washington,' a Defense Department official said."

There was a heavy concentration of troops on the spot at the Pentagon in addition to the full-scale mobilization on standby. The same article reveals:

"Throughout Friday night [October 20], more than 500 buses and trucks rumbled into an underground Pentagon entrance to place more than 2,500 troops inside the building in advance of the demonstration. They slept that night and Saturday night in the corridors and concourse of the military headquarters, some on bed-rolls, others on bare floors.

"Through the same night C-130 transports landed every five minutes at Andrews to bring in the standby brigade of paratroopers who were bedded down in tents along the runway.

"A number of large bulldozers were lined up at nearby Fort Meyer and kept ready for possible movement into the city. One source said the bulldozers would have been used in clearing crowds off streets. 'They would have done as good a job as tanks without the onus of tanks,' he said."

It hardly sounds as though Johnson was preparing to welcome an admiring throng of well-wishers.

PENTAGON PLANS FOR "ONE, TWO, MANY DETROITS"

The Pentagon announced November 23 that the army is assuming a new role in devising battle plans for the suppression of "riots" in U.S. cities. The November 23 New York Times reported that "Special Army teams are fanning out across

the United States to coordinate antiriot planning with state and city officials...

"The teams are under instructions to put together thick folders of information on each of scores of potentially ex-

plosive cities. The data will include street maps, aerial photos, and details on communications nets, proposed command posts and emergency camp sites."

If America's war in Vietnam has not been turned into a civil war at home, extensive preparations by the military brass indicate they consider such a development at least a possibility to be reckoned with.

Extensive "riot control" training is being given to troops of the national guard, and local police departments are being beefed up in addition to plans by the army. A program has been initiated to secure recruits for police forces by offering servicemen early discharges if they will agree to become cops. Aimed particularly at GIs in Vietnam, it has the advantage for the police that those who accept the offer already have some combat experience.

State governments have been asked to form 125 new national guard units, about sixty percent of which will be specifically organized for "riot control" assignments.

State and local efforts will be co-

ordinated by the army. The report in the Times specifies that "regional commanders in six Army areas have started canvassing National Guard leaders to set up initial discussions."

One question under discussion is a program to shape up the national guard as a combat-ready force. The officer's corp of the guard units, a notorious haven for well-to-do draft evaders, is threatened with a thorough "weeding out."

The ominous thought has suddenly occurred to Johnson and his cronies that when the long-talked-of second Vietnam breaks out, it might be at home. They pose this question in terms of "one, two, many Detroits." After describing the confidence of administration officials that they have the military capacity to suppress another Detroit, the Times comments:

"There is no little apprehension, however, that Army and Air Force units in the United States, already stretched thin because of Vietnam and supposedly geared to move out quickly to handle contingencies overseas, would be hard pressed to respond to two or more Detroits at one time."

WALL STREET GAMBLERS INVEST IN UNUSUAL FORM OF INSURANCE

The New York Stock Exchange installed bulletproof glass panels on its visitors' gallery November 21. The glass, laminated with sheets of plastic, is one and three-sixteenths inches thick and will stop a bullet from almost any arm that could easily be concealed by a visitor on the guided tours that have been one of Wall Street's attractions for tourists since 1938.

Last August 24 a dozen "flower children," more prosaically known as "hippies," threw dollar bills from the gallery to the crowded floor of clerks and

brokers fifteen feet below. The New York Times reported: "Officials at the exchange recall no incident of objects any heavier than dollar bills being dropped or tossed from the gallery. 'But there is always a chance of it,' an exchange spokesman said."

The chance has always existed, of course, but the spokesman offered no explanation as to what factors in the domestic or international situation in the recent period may have increased the odds to such an extent as to call for investment in this unusual form of insurance.

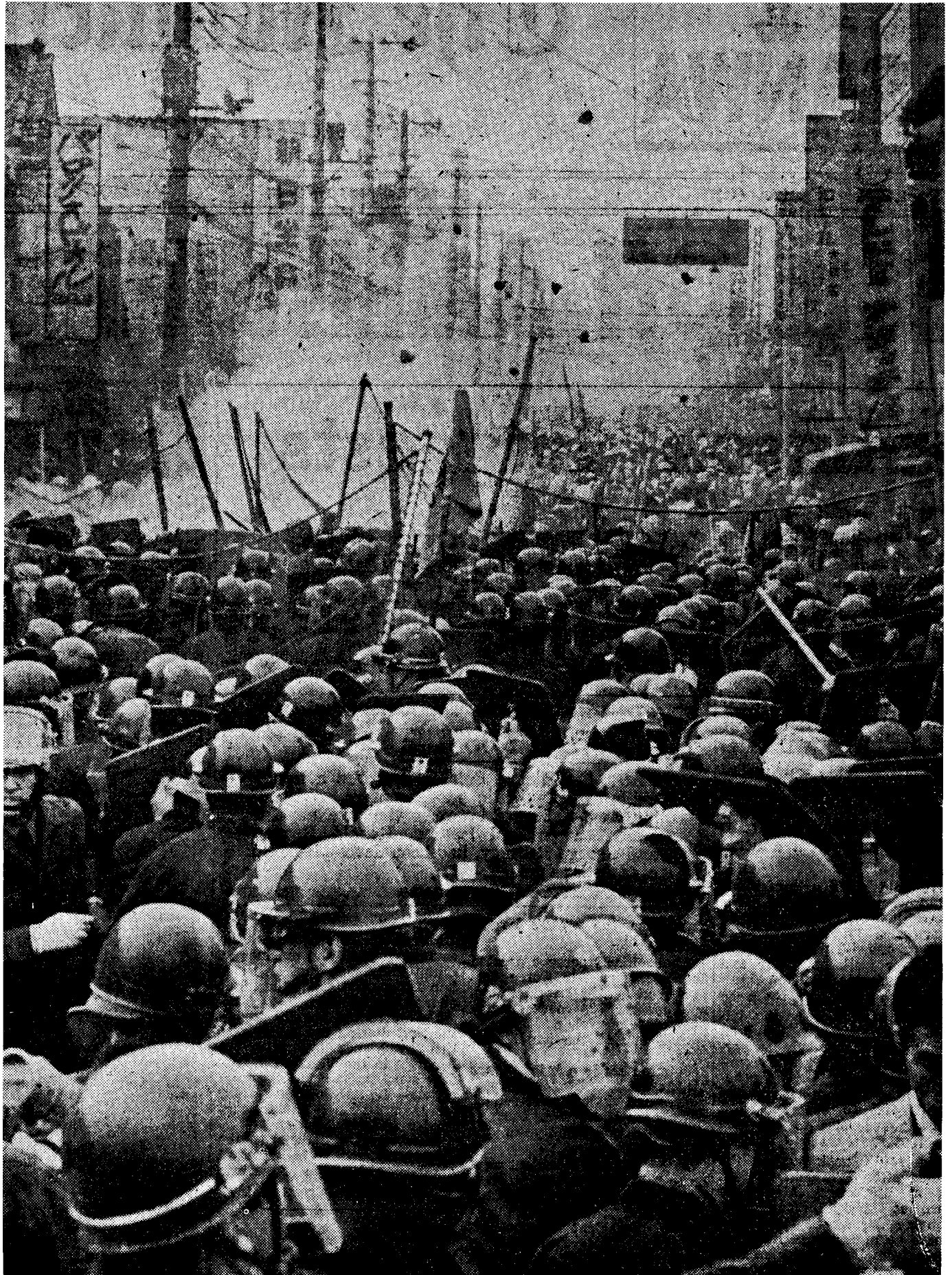
TWO-DAY GENERAL STRIKE PARALYZES CALCUTTA

A general strike paralyzed Calcutta November 22 as the masses of the city rallied in support of the United Front West Bengal government which was arbitrarily dismissed from office the preceding day by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

P.C.Ghosh, who had defected from the United Front government and gone over to the Congress party headed by Indira Gandhi, was immediately appointed the new Chief Minister.

As partisans of the ousted government staged demonstrations in the streets, including setting up barricades, the police charged on them with unusual violence. At least ten youths were killed. More than 2,500 persons have been arrested in the turbulent state.

The strike was so solid that when Chandra arrived at his office under heavy police escort he found only seven clerks present out of the 15,000 employed in the government building.





PHOTOS on pages 980 and 981. To the left: Part of cordon of some 5,000 riot police set up near Otorii Station on the Airport Line of the Keihin Express Railway Co. in Tokyo. They sought to block students protesting November 12 against trip by Prime Minister Eisaku Sato to Washington where he was scheduled to give President Johnson a political assist in escalation of the war in Vietnam.

To the right: Advance group of students in Tokyo equipped with wooden staves. Police ordered them to disperse, then hurled tear gas at them. Students used staves in self-defense and threw stones as cops advanced. Despite size of demonstration, only a small minority of the Zengakuren took part. Key problem for antiwar fighters in Japan is to bring the huge mass organizations into action.

TOKYO STUDENT DEMONSTRATION LARGER THAN PREVIOUS ONE

The final figures on the size of the student demonstration in Tokyo November 12* protesting Sato's trip to the U.S. indicated that protesters numbered 5,700 [Asahi Evening News November 13] and the police 7,000, which included 1,000 plainclothesmen.

This compares with some 2,400 students and 600 unionists in the October 8 demonstration and 2,300 riot police [see World Outlook November 3, p. 888]. (The police later said they had mobilized 4,800 men.)

Casualties in the October 8 action were 250, according to the Tokyo fire department, including 151 police. One student was killed, probably accidentally.

In the November 12 demonstration, the same source listed 121 policemen, 51

students and 8 onlookers as injured. Other sources gave much higher figures.

The total number of arrests November 12 was 333, of whom 11 were released, the rest being held on suspicion of "interfering with and injuring law enforcing officers and preparing weapons." This was the largest number of students ever arrested in a single demonstration in Japan, according to the Asahi Evening News.

Two groups were held to have inspired the demonstration, the Sampa Rengo, which organized the October 8 rally, and the Kakumaru, another leftist tendency in the Zengakuren [All-Japan Student Federation].

The police reported that in about ten minutes, in clashing with students near the Otorii Station, they used 77 tear-gas grenades.

Students threw back some of the missiles and covered their faces with wet handkerchiefs, but finally had to retreat.

*And not November 11 as reported in last week's World Outlook.

FOUR "DESERTERS" MEET WITH SYMPATHY IN JAPAN

The four U.S. navy men, John M. Barilla, Richard D. Bailey, Michael A. Lindner and Craig W. Anderson, who deserted the aircraft carrier Intrepid while it was in Yokosuka, caused a considerable stir in Japan.

Their act of protest against the U.S. role in Vietnam met with wide popular sympathy.

But the Japanese police, in response to a demand from the U.S. authorities, began searching for the four.

This touched off a controversy over the refusal of the Japanese government to grant political asylum to the four opponents of Johnson's course. The Asahi Evening News pointed out in an editorial November 15 that "persons seeking asylum in Japan are all considered violators of the emigration and immigration

control ordinance, either as illegal entrants or as illegal residents. They are tried in court and are, in principle, deported to their home country or forcefully expatriated to a third country."

"In other words," continued the editors, "at present our country has closed its doors tight to all exiles seeking political asylum."

The newspaper expected that "similar incidents will recur in the future," and advocated efforts "to establish legal standards quickly for the treatment of persons seeking asylum, with the current AWOL airmen case as a test case."

The four protesters, however, succeeded in evading the Japanese police and turned up in the Soviet Union. It is not known whether they will be granted political asylum there.

SATO'S PILGRIMAGE TO WASHINGTON

By Les Evans

Japan's Prime Minister Eisaku Sato arrived in Washington November 14 in hope of gaining a political concession from Lyndon Johnson, thereby demonstrating to his left-wing critics at home that his policy of prostration before the American colossus is a paying one.

Sato wanted a promise that Japanese territories, under U.S. military occupation since the close of World War II, would be returned. The public pressure on Sato to produce on this was immense.

The widely read Asahi Evening News commented in a front-page story November 13 that "Compared to his previous visit to America in January 1965 -- more or less a courtesy call -- this visit has a very important political aim -- return of the Okinawa and Bonin islands."

The Yomiuri declared more sensationally in a banner headline November 12, "Sato Leaves Today in Bid to Set Date of Okinawa Return."

Sato himself described his intentions more modestly. Mentioning that on his last visit Johnson had given him a 10-gallon Texas hat, he expressed the hope that "This time I'd like to get something to go in the hat."

And so Mr. Sato appeared in Washington, hat in hand.

Johnson, a wheeler-dealer well known for his insistence on reciprocity, suggested that Sato meet him halfway by putting up some political collateral.

After Sato had negotiated with Johnson for two days, the pair issued a joint communiqué November 15. The New York Times described Sato's part of the trade:

"For his part, the Japanese leader offered President Johnson explicit support of the Administration's policy in Vietnam." He even went so far as to demand "reciprocal action" by Hanoi in return for any halt in American bombing of North Vietnam.

For Johnson this uncritical endorsement of his war by an important Asian head of state was as good as gold in the face of his declining popularity at home. What, then, did the wily Texas horse trader put up in return?

Not Okinawa, certainly, but to preserve at least the appearance of a meeting of equals Sato was promised the Bonin Islands as a consolation prize.

The first reaction of the American press was to hail Johnson's generosity and the wisdom of Sato's pro-American policy. The second reaction was to consult an atlas to discover what Sato's reward consisted of.

Okinawa, which Johnson refused to consider returning to Japan, has a Japanese population of one million. U.S. forces there operate a multibillion dollar complex of air, ground and missile bases.

Tankers from Okinawa refuel Guam-based B-52 bombers bound for Vietnam. Nuclear weapons are stockpiled on the island for use against China through an extensive network of Mace-B missiles and F-105 jets fitted to carry nuclear bombs.

Sato's prize, on the other hand, has a population of about 200 people. The American complex there consists of a single navy weather station manned by 77 men.

But Johnson's back of the hand treatment of Sato may cause both of them more trouble than he bargained for. The New York Times, looking further than the Pentagon brasshats, toward the scheduled renewal of the U.S.-Japan security treaty in 1970, declared November 17:

"Without a settlement, the Japanese leftists will be handed a potent emotional issue to exploit in their likely attempt to break off the American alliance. Important as Okinawa is to the United States as a military staging area in the Far East, it pales before the momentous importance of the alliance with Japan."

All major newspapers in Japan have deplored Sato's failure to recover Okinawa. Within his own Liberal Democratic party important figures have called the results of the talks "a big disappointment."

The rising wave of revulsion against U.S. aggression in Vietnam that is sweeping Japan will hardly be mollified by Sato's obsequious yes-man performance in Washington.

One of the most important symptoms of the trouble lying ahead for Sato erupted in Okinawa itself November 20. More than 100,000 demonstrators, ten percent of the entire population, marched through the streets of Naha demanding that the U.S. get out of Okinawa.

Sato got something in his hat, but not what he bargained for.

NAT HENTOFF ISSUES RETRACTION ON THAT 318,000 FIGURE

[Last week World Outlook reprinted a report by Nat Hentoff of The Village Voice concerning the size of the October 21 antiwar demonstration in Washington. In his column of November 23, Hentoff retracted what he had written and made the following explanation, which in our opinion does him credit as a responsible columnist.]

* * *

Well, folks, I was had. The November 9 column led off with a long excerpt from a story by Bob Grove in the SDS [Students for a Democratic Society] weekly, New Left Notes. The story told of an alleged briefing of some reporters by the Washington, D.C., police chief on the Saturday evening of the October 22 demonstration. The chief said, according to the fable, that his officers had counted 318,000 marchers but the official figure was to be 55,000 so as not to embarrass the President. He asked a pledge from the reporters present to adhere to the latter figure. One of these reporters, a Keith Wisely of the Los Angeles Times, was the source of Mr. Grove's story -- according to Mr. Grove.

Now I could try to ease my way out of this by saying I did ask questions at the end of the excerpt I ran from New Left Notes, but obviously I wouldn't have used the piece as a lead if I hadn't thought it had credibility by virtue of its having been given a front page position in New Left Notes. And there was

certainly reason to question the 55,000 figure. In the period since, I have learned that the editor of the Los Angeles Times has no knowledge of Mr. Wisely. Bob Grove, according to the New Left Notes office in Chicago, cannot presently be found. And now at the bottom of page three, rather inconspicuously, of the November 6 issue of New Left Notes, there appears this paragraph under the head, NUMBERS GAME REVISITED: "According to reliable sources, the 'Numbers Game' story last week was a figment of someone's imagination. NLN is in the process of checking out that information."

Why did I believe that if New Left Notes gave that much prominence to the original story, it was worth pursuing? Because I believe SDS is committed to truthfulness and that its resistance to the institutions of this society are based on its revulsion against the lack of honesty with which, in varying degrees, many "adults" live and work. But obviously SDS has a concomitant responsibility to be as careful about its own credibility as possible, and this was a bad goof. And it just won't do to bury a retraction the way those old bourgeois papers do. That's letting oneself off too easily. I hope any further reports on that "figment of someone's imagination" will appear on the front page where the original story was. As for me, sure I should have been a great deal more skeptical. My goof is no more excusable than theirs. Well, I learned something, and so I hope did the editors of New Left Notes.

CHILEAN WORKERS ANSWER WAGE CLAMPDOWN WITH GENERAL STRIKE

Threats by the Chilean government to withhold part of a promised wage raise were met by a massive 24-hour general strike November 23. The Paris daily Le Monde reported on the day of the strike that more than 900,000 workers voted to participate out of a total working population of 1,901,000. The strike was called by the Central Unica de Trabajadores [Workers Central Union].

The Frei government responded to the strike with brutal measures. All of Chile's troops were called out according to Le Monde, including the navy and air force as well as the army. Five workers were left dead and sixty-six injured.

Students barricaded streets in front of the teachers institute in Santiago during the strike. They were attacked by police using tear gas.

Cops and troops used tear gas and water hoses to smash barricades in streets near congressional buildings in Santiago. A boy hit by police rifle fire was so badly wounded that surgeons had to amputate his leg.

Schools, post and telegraph offices, government offices and private industry were closed.

The strike also shut down the huge Anaconda-owned Chuquicamata mine in the north of Chile and the El Teniente copper mine near Santiago, which is jointly owned by a subsidiary of the Kennecott Copper Company and the Chilean government.

A Reuters dispatch from Santiago November 24 reported that the government ordered the arrest of the leaders of all labor unions that took part in the nationwide strike.

THE SOVIET PRESS FEATURES A VENEZUELAN "AUTHORITY" AGAINST THE CUBANS

By George Saunders

Another contribution to the polemic against the Cuban line has appeared in the Soviet press -- this time by a Venezuelan, Rodolfo Quintero. Like the articles by the Argentine Communist leader Ghioldi and his Chilean fellow spirit Corvalán (which appeared in Pravda October 25 and 27; see World Outlook, Vol. 5, No. 36), this too steers clear of any open attack. But there can be no doubt that it is aimed at the policies and concepts of the Cuban leadership and OIAS [Organization of Latin-American Solidarity].

The article is entitled "October and Latin America" and, like those in Pravda, was ostensibly written in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of the Bolshevik victory. Its spirit is anything but Bolshevik, however, as we shall see.

The article appeared in issue No. 44 of Za Rubezhom ("Abroad"), a weekly paper devoted to international affairs and featuring reprints from non-Soviet sources, along with original material.

Quintero, the author, is introduced by Za Rubezhom with these words: "The influence of glorious October on the revolutionary process in Latin America is recounted in an article specially written for our weekly by a well-known historian and professor at the Central University of Venezuela."

The professor, if not a leader of the Venezuelan Communist party himself, is clearly sympathetic to the viewpoint of its rightist leadership, to judge by this article.

Quintero's theme is the correct interpretation and application of "Marxism-Leninism." He explains that he by no means views this body of thought as abstract metaphysical doctrine, and he sounds somewhat on the defensive against the kind of ridicule the Cuban revolutionaries direct at blowhard "theoreticians," as they call the rightist wing in the Latin-American Communist parties.

As though counterthrusting to this Fidelista kind of mockery, Quintero probes at a weak point of his opponents, their reputation for pragmatism and indifference to theory:

"The true Marxists," he says in his opening pitch, "are far from limiting themselves to just a pragmatic approach in trying to solve problems which cannot be resolved outside the framework of Marxism. They feel the need to operate beyond the bounds of lecture halls, libraries,

and study rooms. To utilize the teachings of Marxism-Leninism to solve problems of vital importance -- that is the goal they set themselves."

Having made this salesman's opening to men of action, he goes on to spout theory and invoke authority, precisely fitting the image of the "lecture-hall" caricature.

The correct understanding of Marxism, Quintero explains, precludes the imposition of only one form of struggle on all Latin-American revolutionaries:

"Leninism teaches Latin Americans that one cannot reject the use of a variety of forms of struggle, but neither can one irresponsibly adopt just any form of struggle at all. The most important thing is to struggle, subordinating both strategy and tactics to the tests of life itself, to be ready for attack and retreat and always to search for the situation which will open up the road to the socioeconomic and cultural transformation of our nations.

"History teaches that in class war there are no universal forms suitable to all occasions. Each form of struggle corresponds to a particular historical situation."

Fine words in the abstract, but they are just a cover-up. This advocacy of "many forms of struggle" is the formula used by the moderate, traditionalist, and cowardly leaderships of most Latin-American CPs to avoid practicing or supporting armed struggle, or adopting such a perspective. It is their way of leaving open the possibility of the "democratic peace" or "peaceful coexistence" tactic, better understood by the name class collaboration.

Of course, the OIAS resolutions -- which is what Quintero is really arguing against -- speak of armed struggle not as a "universal form" but as a "fundamental course," a principle that must take primacy and to which all other tactical forms must be geared. Quintero tries to dodge this issue. In the process he weaves a subtle argument against Castro, OIAS, or anyone "interfering" with the "democratic peace" orientation of the rightists in the Venezuelan CP.

"For all of Latin America there is a single destiny in common, but the countries of the continent cannot avoid the law of the uneven development of capitalism and the uneven development of society. Even today differences exist between the

pects, for no one knows better than they the reality in which they are working. This, naturally, does not exclude a comradely exchange of opinions by revolutionaries of different countries.

"The Cuban revolution demonstrated that life itself breaks up and destroys schematic concepts and that one cannot derive an absolute rule from anyone's experience, no matter whose it might be, especially insofar as its particular features are concerned. However, at the same time it should not be forgotten that the 'particulars' of one revolution may occur as well in another place, although not necessarily in an analogous fashion."

Quintero denies, in effect, the need for an international revolutionary strategy to counter the international strategy of imperialism. The aim of OLAS is to create an organization that puts such a strategy into effect. Ironically, he cites the Cuban revolution as an example of how such "schematic concepts" don't work. But, of course, it was precisely the schematism of the Cuban Quinteros, with their parliamentarism and collaboration practices, that the Cuban revolution broke through along the road of armed insurrection.

It is not surprising that Quintero should so twist the Cuban example. His whole article does the same for the Russian revolution. For example, he asserts:

"...the October revolution, led by Lenin...called for vigilance against adventures, in which the priceless lives of revolutionaries are lost to no avail and by which the liberation movements are thrown back."

Is this a veiled reference to the death of Che Guevara -- for factional ends? At any rate, the type of the guerrilla fighter against which the passage is clearly directed is a hundred times closer to the spirit of the "revolution led by Lenin" than the worthy professor, scouting among his files for arguments on why the guerrillas should not be backed.

The most glaring misstatement of the lessons of October, though, is Quintero's curious and somewhat murky explanation of why the revolution will not "necessarily" be socialist.

"Glorious October showed that there exists another, a noncapitalist path of development. This path is not always necessarily equivalent to an immediate socialist transformation, for which in certain Latin-American countries the objective conditions have not yet been able to mature." (That "certain countries" phrase always manages, somehow, to cover any country where attempts are underway to make the revolution.)



"THE CONDITIONS ARE NOT RIPE." The Cuban cartoonist, Nuez, ridicules those who find profound "theoretical" reasons for not engaging in revolutionary struggle in Latin America. Nuez likes to depict these talkers as always armed with a big book labeled "theory." In contrast, he generally depicts genuine revolutionaries as armed with a rifle. His real target, however, is not "theory" in general but a certain treacherous tendency to be found in the leadership of the Latin-American Communist parties. In his speech closing the OLAS conference in Havana last August, Castro identified one group in this tendency as the "right-wing leadership of the Venezuelan Communist party" and he characterized them as "betrayers" of the revolution in Venezuela.

levels of economic, political, and social development of Latin-American countries, although the common denominator in all these lands is underdevelopment. This real situation determines the strictly national nature of the revolutionary movements in this region of the world, as well as the difference in the forms of struggle and the time lag in the liberation of the peoples.

"Hence arises the necessity that the revolutionaries of each country should determine the direction and tempo of their own revolution in all its as-

"The objective of this path is to bring antifeudal transformations to their logical conclusion and thereby prepare the material and social conditions for the advance to socialism." This rather clear restatement of the Menshevik "two-stage" theory might seem strange in an article commemorating the Bolshevik overturn. But then the Quinteros always honor the revolution by praising its opposite.

The good professor actually lists three reasons why the two-stage possibility is a good Marxist-Leninist perspective:

"(a) In agriculture capitalist relations do not yet predominate. (b) The national bourgeoisie is weak; it depends to a significant degree on the state for protection and support and does not have the resources for autonomous development. (c) Capitalism as a social system enjoys very little prestige."

Of course, his point (a) is simply untrue. Landholding and investment in land has been "capitalized" in all major areas of the Latin-American economy for quite some time. As for (b) and (c), the argument is hard to follow. What Quintero seems to mean is that it is all right to leave the leadership of the coming revolution to the national bourgeoisie: this would not endanger an eventual socialist overturn, because the bourgeoisie is weak and their system has little prestige.

Of course, these are precisely the reasons why the leadership of the anti-imperialist and democratic revolution cannot be left to the national bourgeoisie and why a proletarian revolution that would combine democratic and socialist measures is both necessary and possible.

In one respect Quintero's offering is more constructive than that of Rodolfo Ghioldi in the October 25 Pravda. Ghioldi confined himself in essence to name-calling, attacking unidentified "tendencies similar to Maoism," with their "petty-bourgeois nationalist" theory of "continental exceptionalism" and revival -- oh horrors! -- of Trotskyist notions. They even think the revolution must be...socialist!

Rather than just assert the two-stage theory as a dogma the way Ghioldi did, Quintero tries to give rational arguments for this perspective of an "anti-feudal" revolution first and then (some-day) the socialist one. In so doing, he permits a discussion to be opened in which these arguments can be properly and thoroughly destroyed.

Thus his contribution can at least serve educational purposes. There may be some who still need to be shown why, as Che Guevara said, "There are no other alternatives: either a socialist revolution or a caricature of revolution." And we might add that for revolutionaries, no other way exists: either that of Che, or a...Quintero.

VIETNAMESE DELEGATION GREETED IN ROME

Rome

A delegation of the Trade Union Confederation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was given an enthusiastic reception upon arriving here November 15. The occasion was considered doubly important because it was the first time that any official representatives of the DRV visited Italy and because only the month before the very same delegation had been denied entrance. Previous delegations seeking material aid for the freedom struggle in Vietnam had also been barred by the Italian government.

The Vietnamese delegation included Nguyen Cong Hoa, the vice-president of the confederation, Nguyen Duy Thuyet and Do Trong Hop. They were met at the Fiumicino airport by representatives of the CGIL [Confederazione Generale Italiana dei Lavoratori], the Communist party, prominent intellectuals, and hundreds of youth who came spontaneously from all parts of the city, bringing red flags and

posters. At the airport, the colors of the DRV were hoisted.

When the three Vietnamese leaders had completed the customs formalities and were free to leave, the crowd of youth, who were from many different political organizations, surged forward, waving their flags and shouting, "Ho Chi Minh"; "The U.S. Is Like the S.S."; "Free Vietnam."

A delegation of workers helped the three smiling Vietnamese to move through the dense crowd of well-wishers.

After the visitors had departed in an official car, the youth formed an auto parade with their own cars, moving slowly down three lanes, honking their horns and shouting, "Ho Chi Minh!"

The normal traffic had to slow down and keep in line. The police, who were unprepared, could only look on and shrug their shoulders.

An Exchange in the Belgrade Press:

IS CHARITY THE SOLUTION TO POVERTY IN YUGOSLAVIA?

[The following two articles, "A Morality of Shame," and "Morality, Shame and Solidarity -- a Reply," appeared in the popular Yugoslav weekly Nin in the June 4 and July 30, 1967, issues respectively. The author of the first, Drazan Marković, is a well-known journalist. The author of the second, Dr. Olga Kozomara, is a leading sociologist in Yugoslavia.

[The views expressed in the articles reflect the severity of the problems that have arisen in that country in the material and ideological sphere. They also show that some Yugoslav Communists are not complacent about them.

[The reply by Dr. Kozomara met with a mixed response among the upper brackets of Yugoslav society. A leading local party official was of the opinion that social scientists should confine themselves to the study of facts and forbear making contributions to the popular press. Another thought that Dr. Kozomara was "ninety percent right but too idealistic," a third that "we need a revolution -- without blood if possible."

[Attention should be called to the terminology used by the authors, which could prove misleading. In accordance with the official nomenclature, they refer to the state and the society in Yugo-

slavia as "socialist." But Yugoslavia has a workers state and the society is transitional, in development from capitalism toward socialism.

[Many of the limitations discussed by the authors are ascribable to the fact that Yugoslavia was a poor country to begin with and has not traveled far from capitalism. Moreover, the pressures, both internal and international, have revived and given vigor to many features inherited from the capitalist past.

[The lack of workers democracy in Yugoslavia makes it very difficult to block and to defeat the regressive trends. It is not possible, for instance, for those who see the dangers most clearly to speak out openly and to argue for effective countermeasures. Thus discussions in Yugoslavia involving topics of utmost concern to the vanguard are often very cryptic. That leading intellectuals are raising these questions, even if in an obscure form, is an encouraging sign. They deserve the fullest support from socialists the world over.

[The translation is by Margaret Coulson and David Riddell.]

* * *

A Morality of Shame

By Drazan Marković

The idea that in socialism, because of its very name, nothing ugly is allowed, nothing that could be the same as, or worse than, the "other world" -- such an idea probably goes back to Potemkin's village, illusory but promising. And every contrary understanding or feeling, even if correct, has been represented as if it were a religious heresy.

As if by decree it was known what was to be hidden and what was to be ashamed of in the name of such a moral, particularly when people had to compare themselves socially again.

We were ashamed of poverty and the persistence of social differentiation, for according to some old textbooks of political economy it seemed to us that such class phenomena dare develop only in capitalist relationships; that socialism from its first day would be immune from such things; that the target of equality

would be achieved as soon as the new power of the people was proclaimed.

There were other similar illusions. Of what else were we still ashamed? Of the unemployed and of those who begged for a roof over their head and a piece of bread for themselves. Of wretched houses on the outskirts of town, which let in the rain, but continue to stand, because it turns out that it is better to be with them than without them. Of poor children in schools, and of those still less fortunate who have nowhere to go when their parents leave to work in the factories, so that their mothers bind them to the bed with cord in order to prevent them from being lost on the streets.

We were ashamed of the position of these old soldiers, war veterans, whose existence has remained unsatisfactory, of war widows in mining settlements, with small pensions and black scarves, of the

lack of flats for highly qualified experts, of begging in the streets, of juvenile delinquency, and of homes for abandoned children.

Of all that we were ashamed (you understand, as good humane people, as citizens of a socialism which is something different from that promised in the books). We have been so much ashamed of that that we have hidden it all, even officially, believing perhaps that it will disappear more quickly when out of mind. And so, after we were ashamed of that (because we thought that all those paradoxes must be solved by the state), we were ashamed of certain rare attempts among citizens to establish various humanitarian organizations to help the socially imperiled.

Such initiatives arise from pure humanitarian impulses; but we have easily built up a convention around them -- that they are morally degrading, that they are Christian, that they indicate the charity of wealth for poverty, that they cover up real contradictions and the social basis of relationships, and that in reality they strengthen people's sense of inequality.

So we have run away from such attempts, in the mistakenly naive enthusiasm that only a little needs to be endured: since everything will be solved by the State (omnipotent and rich "socialist State").

In reality that is the way in which we have deluded both ourselves and others. We have lulled people with our own romantic illusions: that we are already capable, a progressive, autonomous society, and we easily dismiss all difficulties and differences. Constantly we promised, deluded by an unrealistic, completely poetic faith, that it is only necessary to wait a little for everything to be all right, while we did not realize that there is a much more difficult and longer road than that written down in books, than that which we foresaw in all our daydreams about the future.

And so it is both right and wise that we no longer work in that way: hiding our difficulties, speaking as if they would quickly disappear, painting a picture about ourselves. Why speak in that way, when not everything is easy for us, nor exactly good (certainly not everything), and will probably not be for a long time to come. Why such self-deception, when those who are in difficulty know that they are in difficulty, and it is futile to try to convince them otherwise?

Now we work in a more sensible and humane way: we recognize that there are people without jobs, that there is social

distress, and poverty; we have come to know that the State alone cannot solve everything, and we are beginning to arrive at that kind of solidarity among people in which they help each other more.

We have no longer anything to be ashamed of. Such things are logical and normal occurrences and neither peculiar to us, nor something we have created. On the contrary, it would be more immoral to hear that, because it is wrong to us, we put red paint over that social inequality we still have and wait for the State to solve it.

People have always helped others in distress. After all, that has always been a virtue of man, so why have we passed over that virtue now, when we still need it, and when we still haven't arrived at the stage where no one is dependent on another?

Solidarity cannot depend only on beautiful words, or on willingness to persevere for future targets, on honest wishes and wars for the liberation of man. That is a long-term prospect. But what will there be without today? How can we give immediate help to those who are, for various reasons, in distress. That kind of solidarity is necessary (nowadays) from us.

It is on this basis that a group of people have taken the initiative in founding "Memorial to Solidarity," a goodwill fund to help all citizens who are in social distress. Its slogan is clear and simple: those who have, must, as far as they are able, help those who have nothing and are today in distress.

That is only a beginning, though both good and humane. If such a thing is useful to us, why do we not then broaden this idea further, in different forms, creating funds for help to children (talented and worthy) who have difficulty in going to school, for help in the erection of schools and libraries, for grants for students whose parents are poor, for the development of hospitals, for help to the old and worn out, and for all those whom we wish to pull out from want; we still have not the capability of achieving that as a community by "normal measures" alone.

In no way would that be the solidarity of pathetic Samaritanism, solidarity according to a recipe of cathexis, which would violate our understanding of morals and personal self-respect. It is simply to say that to give real help to people by people has always (and so in socialism also, perhaps) had humane and pure motives. Although small, this help would be some contribution towards realizing the aspiration that one day the need for such help would disappear.

Morality, Shame and Solidarity -- a Reply

By Olga Kozomara

In his article "Morality of Shame," Marković criticizes the way in which problems have been disguised and hidden in the belief that in a socialist society everything should be as good or better than in capitalist society. In this criticism he is right.

Socialism is concerned with the development of a true understanding of society and social forces. Active and basic contradictions are met by organized social action based on established evidence and directed towards the humane aims of communism.

Problems which exist in a socialist society but which are concealed -- for example unemployment, the poverty of a particular strata of society, housing in peripheral areas, etc. -- these the author attributes to shame. He is critical of us all because, he asserts, such shame need not be shameful -- these are "normal" and inevitable problems, not simply of our own making. Without justifying his assertion, he states that it is because we have been ashamed that we have been silent about social injustice. This is his first mistake.

By asserting that we are mistaken in thinking that social problems can only be solved through state action, the writer falls into his second mistake. In some strange way he claims to have discovered a link between the silence which conceals the conflicting forces in socialism and the conviction that social injustices can be resolved only by the socialist state.

A silence of shame -- but the writer is convinced that shame tied to a blind faith in the power of the state is deprived of humanism. In this way he begins his explanation of the morality of shame. But this merely obscures his third mistake.

Thus -- when we shake off our shame and our belief that only the state can provide a solution to social injustice, we are still left with the conclusion that we cannot ignore these social injustices: so we must found a voluntary humanitarian organization of citizens such as the "Memorial to Solidarity." An individualistic and humane answer, "Those who have, must as far as they are able, help those who have nothing and who today are in distress" insists the author. That is his final mistake.

It must be understood that we would not have offered this criticism of the article if the writer's general argument had been that, like the rest of the

world, we find ourselves in hard times of economic reorientation, and because of this it is impossible to avoid various social problems. Thus a different kind of solidarity becomes necessary, a solidarity of voluntary contribution. And if he had argued that although the giving and receiving of charity, especially from one individual to another is insulting and painful, nevertheless at this difficult time humanitarian organizations might enable us to bear this moral and human dilemma -- in such arguments we might have found some humanitarian basis. That would indicate that we supported such solidarity in response to the immediate need but do not accept it as a solution to the problem. Then that would not imply that by this course we could achieve humanism, or gain the tranquility of a quietened conscience.

But in fact what is written in the article has quite other implications. Insofar as space allows we will try to elucidate the misconceptions which it contains.

Firstly. There is a difference between being ashamed and being shamed. Degraded, poverty-stricken people are shamed. But to feel ashamed means to feel moral uneasiness, to have a sharpened conscience, to want to take action and to bring about change. Marx emphasized that to be ashamed could be a sort of passion. The lack of distinction between "shamed" and "ashamed" leads to the misconception that shame automatically produces secretiveness, whereas (in reality) it is the lack of shame itself which causes this silence. Our lack of shame more than anything seems to be social conformity -- passively and with unquestioning indifference we accept what happens without reference to what could have been achieved; nonsocialist phenomena continue and even increase. The suggestion that we should shake off our shame of social injustice implies that we accept it. Such a view represents a threat to socialist development.

Secondly. There is no consideration of the enduring differences between a capitalist and a communist state. The latter is more socially integrated. That is, what seems the state, in reality, is the society, us, all its citizens. The state is only the organized form of society which is necessary so that we may arrange and direct our communal efforts to resolve our problems, relationships and work. If this is so, then the state in itself without us, its citizens, is nothing.

Humanitarian organizations are only temporary forms of organization, revealing

the position of the weakest social class, but they cannot be accepted in the long run in a society which pledges itself to destroy the class system. Such organizations must be seen in this light in a socialist society. If they are not, then the society cannot claim to be socialist. If the solution of social injustice takes the form of such organizations (run by citizens who have for those who have not) then that is a reaffirmation of class distinction. The state, through its organs, draws together our representatives whose responsibility is to act in the general interest and to deal with social injustice. If these injustices are not dealt with they will grow. But, the state in itself can do nothing; only by means of its citizens. Consequently the opinion that the state solves things by itself is a mistake. There is no conception that the state, deriving from society, organizes social action so that social problems are solved in a social way. In reality, every socialist state does not conform with this proposition. In such cases, either the state has not been consolidated as socialist, or has passed over to another position, and in either way it is necessary to search for a basis for criticism and corrective action.

Thirdly. Would life be preferable with a morality of shame, or would it be preferable with a morality of shamelessness. Isn't that nonsense? Morality or immorality! Shame can be an element in or even a basis for morality, but it cannot be a type of morality. If someone transgresses moral norms -- if, for example, he lies -- he either feels ashamed or does not feel ashamed. In the first case there is a moral attitude, in the second, generally, there is not. The whole attack on shame, including the designation of moral shame as a type of morality, would give rise to an ironic smile, regardless of the personal motives of the author, which could be altered, but in fact it is an attack on morality, on moral relations and moral attitudes.

In the article, Marković suggests that I should not be ashamed because there are beggars, poor and unemployed people, etc., within a socialist system, for these are common occurrences. We acknowledge this. But the real question remains to be asked. Is this inevitable? The answer must be that in the present circumstances these problems cannot be avoided. All right. But are adequate social measures being taken to meet this situation; does the general trend indicate a decline or an increase in social injustice? If I feel no shame at the continuance of these evils, then I will remain indifferent to the lack of improvements, and to the multiplication of social injustices.

There is a second dimension to

this problem. Can those who are in secure and privileged positions in society justify this sufficiently or are they in danger because of this; because the question must be put: who are those who enjoy security and privilege? Is it true that the latter are only those who exert the maximum efforts and who achieve the best results, or have some of them become "socially inadequate" themselves? What if that is so? If that would not be a reason for shame, then it would show that we had precisely no kind of moral attitude; in other words, if we are invited to abandon shame, then we are invited to abdicate a moral attitude.

Further, this leads to the concrete question of the position of particular professional and educated groupings in relation to an exaggerated standard of living and to the productivity of work. If in our country productivity is one-third the European average, then that indicates that all professional groups should be proportionately hit by lower living standards. If some professions try to evade this, and amongst them the most highly educated, then there opens up a clear mechanism for the reproduction of social injustice. Thus a bad lawyer, professor, politician, doctor, etc., will have a considerably higher standard of living than a good welder, foundry worker, or miner.

Remuneration according to work has been accepted as a moral norm in our society. Not to be ashamed that a bad expert with some diplomas can enjoy a higher material and social standard than a good expert with no diploma is hypocrisy; the absolute negation of any sort of moral attitude. We have rightly condemned it. But, nevertheless, we stick strictly to frameworks of predetermined social categories, as is indicated above.

Old class structures have not been smashed; on the whole, the working class in the narrower sense retains a subordinate position as the value of work is measured by diplomas and rank. In that way, social groups are formed whose needs are met only with difficulty and whose living standards are unrelated to the results of their work. Without a sense of shame there can be no moral attitude, and without that there can be neither change in social structure, nor development of socialist relationships. The point to be emphasized here is that a lack of shame at this range of nonsocialist phenomena can only lead to a breakdown of the moral values which support socialism.

Fourthly. Social injustice means that there are those who have and those who have not, and whatever may be given to those who have not, this still does not have the effect of granting social recognition for the value and achieve-

ments of their work. The poorest peasants have readily helped a teacher, although they knew he was not in need. Voluntary associations rest on this acceptance of social injustice. Are not the misunderstandings implicit in such "cures" obvious?

The case of natural or social catastrophe is exceptional. But generally, having some respect for my conscience I ask myself -- would it be more shameful to give or to receive charity? Those who would convince me that I should not feel shame in giving charity are saying to me: there's no need to be ashamed if you are a villain, calm down, ignore your conscience.

Instead of that, I propose that we should discuss the revision of the material situation of all categories in society; that on the basis of economic analysis we should assess the maximum possible limitations to monthly personal income so that the necessary means could be made available to finance enough public works to ensure full employment.

We call for solidarity, true solidarity, and if we haven't enough to maintain the existing standard of living of certain groups without depriving others of a minimum standard, then we must open up the discussion about the redistribution of income in our society.

TWO GIVEN LIFE SENTENCES IN GREECE FOR OPPOSITION TO REGIME

A military court of the ruling Greek junta sentenced two men to life in prison in Athens, November 21.

The two, charged with "plotting" against the military conspirators in power, were Constantine Filinis, accused of being the "real leader" of the Patriotic Front, the organization headed by leftist composer Mikis Theodorakis; and Ioannis Leloudas, who told the court he was a

rightist but opposed the dictatorship.

Theodorakis, who wrote the score for the film "Zorba the Greek," was not tried. He is in a prison hospital, suffering from a serious diabetic condition.

Six other prisoners received terms of four to fifteen years. Most were accused of distributing literature hostile to the dictators.

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EDITOR: Joseph Hansen. CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, George Novack. WORLD OUTLOOK specializes in weekly political analysis and interpretation of events for publications of the labor, socialist, colonial independence and black liberation movements. Signed articles represent the view of the authors, which may

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