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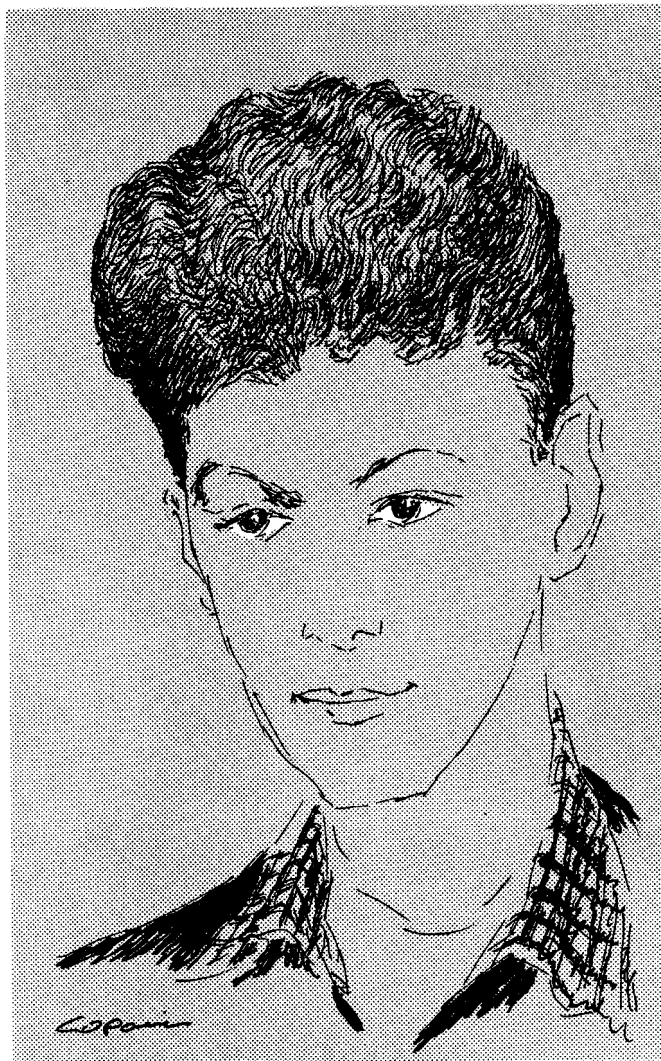
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Barricades in Saigon

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ALEKSANDR GINSBURG

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BARRICADES IN SAIGON

The Paris daily Le Monde reported February 8 that although the combats had died down somewhat by Tuesday, February 6, the tension had become "more and more insupportable." Still worse, in sectors officially announced as having been "pacified," fighting flared up again.

"The Vietcong are most numerous in Cholon, where barricades put up by the insurgents appeared for the first time Wednesday," continued Le Monde. "The [South] Vietnamese military vehicles are stopping a respectful distance from the barricades made of privately owned automobiles, taxis and gasoline cans. No one is trying to remove them, and yet no Vietcong have been seen manning the barricades."

"Behind the barricades, in the 'red zone,'" continues Le Monde, "the Chinese population is fleeing from the market area where big fires are burning. This is where the Vietcong, perhaps to intensify the difficulty of supplying the city with provisions, set fire to an enormous government store of rice. According to the [South] Vietnamese radio, the warehouse contained 40,000 tons of rice, some 40% of the capital's reserves. It was half destroyed."

"The exodus from Cholon is assuming unprecedented scope. The Chinese population is fleeing from the fires and from the dangers of the fighting. They have been living for several days between the two groups. A Chinese cook, who just reached the city, described the recent days:

"The Vietcong came in groups of a dozen. Very young men and young girls advanced along the rows of tightly closed shops. Some of them stopped to ask for some water or something to eat. They always asked; they never stole. After they passed, the police came. They searched all the houses, kicking in the doors, yelling, turning things upside down, beating people without any reason. They took people to headquarters, then released them after checking their identity. People were not afraid of rifle shots, but the Skyraiders filled us with fear when they swooped down on the city to drop their bombs."

In Go-Vap, another suburb, according to Le Monde, fresh fighting broke out and the streets became deserted again. "The American and government military police are on constant patrol and shoot at all the civilian passers-by."

A more detailed account of the pattern of fighting in Saigon was given by Beverly Deepe in the February 9

Christian Science Monitor (Boston).

"Fighting in the streets, alleys, and store fronts of this harried capital," she said in a report from Saigon, "is pivoting into a new pattern: Communist minimobile warfare."

"This tactical pattern is tail-spinning the South Vietnamese Government of President Thieu into another round of increasingly grave crises in the near future."

"In a larger time frame, this tactical pattern is already succeeding partially in implementing the long-range Communist strategy of attrition -- to chop off the roots of the government at the police precinct and small outpost level within the city limits."

"In short, the Communists appear to be eroding the government strength from the bottom echelon upward as a prelude to overthrowing it at the top in the near future."

"Mobile warfare, the military tactics in which the Communists semi-conquered Vietnam's rice fields, now is being implemented in miniature along the streets and alleys of Saigon with enough success to appall senior officials here."

The sharpest fighting has centered in Cholon where National Liberation Front squads, platoons and a company are engaging government police stations, posts and military units.

"American officials," continues Miss Deepe, "originally predicted the Communists would be routed from the capital city two days after their sensational Jan. 30 assault into the city. But the Communists have continued to maintain a fluid hit-and-hide harassment in at least three of the city's nine precincts."

The critical precincts -- the sixth, seventh, and eighth -- "include lower-class working and residential areas, canal-side wharves and warehouses, home industries such as textile spinning, light industry, the race-track area, and the 'duck farm' and slaughterhouse areas from which produce from the countryside is processed and routed for use in the city."

A "reliable source" told Miss Deepe: "We are now faced with the prospect the Communists can set up a permanent enclave in these three Cholon precincts and launch terror raids into other parts of the city from there."

"Even worse," the reliable source

continued, "the South Vietnamese Government is toying with the idea the only way to solve the problem is to flatten it with bombs. That is the cowardly way to do it -- with wretching political overtones.

"But the police can no longer handle the job. The Americans have never armed the police with heavy enough weapons -- they don't even have basic infantry weapons. And there's not enough infantry troops to wiggle the Communists out of there.

"Even worse, there's no good information on how many organized units are there -- or where they are. I asked four different high-level sources today -- and got four different answers."

Another "source" told Miss Deepe: "If the Communists can hold those precincts for three to eight weeks, the results will be just horrific. It's quite possible the government could fall in one way or another."

Miss Deepe continues with her eyewitness account of the pattern of fighting inside the city:

"Large sections of Cholon are barricaded off by the Vietnamese Government with puffballs of concertina wire and stop signs.

"But now the Communists have started to barricade smaller alleys and side streets with water jugs, rain barrels, and the charred remains of tin roofing from previous bombing raids near An Quang pagoda. These home-made Communist barricades become a fluid frontline as resistance warfare.

"At night the government forces become island fortresses behind barbed wire and pill boxes. The vast sea of population living between posts are living virtually at the mercy of the Communists -- reminiscent of warfare in the rural areas for years.

"From within this sea of population, roving bands of Communists pounce from government post to subprecinct station -- and now even the three precinct stations have become targets with American officer billets in the area."

Cholon is honeycombed with "local guerrilla and political cadres who know the neighborhoods and the people."

Much of their activity consists of knocking on doors at night and talking with people. But they also carry out reprisals against officers of the Saigon government forces.

"Some local guerrilla squads are made up predominantly of Chinese with Vietnamese citizenship, reliable sources report. Many of their numbers are highly aggressive women, some of whom once worked in the Chinese-owned textile mills that have now been bombed.

"Under government regulations, the Chinese women were allowed to hold trade-union meetings to learn about their jobs. These gatherings have for years been turning into Communist cell meetings rather than progovernment labor sessions, reliable sources report.

"The impact of this has been to make the Vietnamese suspicious of other Vietnamese -- and under this crust of suspicion lies a caldron of anti-Americanism which has yet to surface."

KENNEDY ADMITS U.S. CANNOT WIN IN VIETNAM

By Les Evans

An important indication of the seriousness of the blow administered to the U.S. forces in Vietnam by the National Liberation Front offensive of the last few weeks is the new posture assumed by Senator Robert Kennedy.

Kennedy, who aspires to the presidency in 1972 (if not before), has heretofore been a public supporter of Lyndon Johnson. True, he has occasionally made a few mild criticisms of the tactical conduct of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. He has even encouraged the rumor that he secretly holds sharper differences with the president than he has revealed in public.

Nevertheless, until now his "anti-war" sentiments have been muted, to say

the least, and he has continued to pledge support to Johnson in 1968, refusing to be associated with even the milk-and-water opposition of Senator Eugene McCarthy.

Then, on February 8, in the wake of the NLF offensive, Kennedy, in a speech in Chicago, shifted position.

The battles in the cities of South Vietnam, he said, have "finally shattered the mask of official illusion with which we have concealed our true circumstances..."

The NLF offensive showed that "no part or person of South Vietnam is secure from their attacks: neither district capitals nor American bases, neither the peas-

ant in his rice paddy nor the commanding general of our own great forces."

After his comment that Westmoreland himself stood in personal danger, Kennedy took up Johnson's claim that the outcome of the events constitutes a "victory" for the U.S.:

"We must, first of all, rid ourselves of the illusion that the events of the past two weeks represent some sort of victory. That is not so.

"It is said the Vietcong will not be able to hold the cities. This is probably true. But they have demonstrated despite all our reports of progress, of government strength and enemy weakness, that half a million American soldiers with 700,000 Vietnamese allies, with total command of the air, total command of the sea, backed by huge resources and the most modern weapons, are unable to secure even a single city from the attacks of an enemy whose total strength is about 250,000."

The Democratic politician even took up the assertions by the White House and the military that "body counts" showed disastrous losses for the NLF soldiers:

"Now our intelligence chief tells us that of 60,000 men thrown into the attacks on the cities, 20,000 have been killed. If only two men have been seriously wounded for every one dead -- a very conservative estimate -- the entire enemy force has been put out of action. Who, then, is doing the fighting?"

Kennedy dropped the pretense that the Saigon military clique is a "democratic ally" of American imperialism:

"People will not fight to line the pockets of generals or swell the bank accounts of the wealthy. They are far more likely to close their eyes and shut their doors in the face of their government -- even as they did last week.

"More than any election, more than any proud boast, that single fact reveals the truth. We have an ally in name only. We support a government without supporters. Without the efforts of American arms that government would not last a day."

As for future prospects for the U.S. in Vietnam, Kennedy was gloomy.

It is an illusion, he said, "that this war can be settled in our own way and in our own time on our own terms. Such a settlement is the privilege of the triumphant: of those who crush their enemies in battle or wear away their will to fight.

"We have not done this, nor is there any prospect we will achieve such

a victory.

"Unable to defeat our enemy or break his will -- at least without a huge, long and ever more costly effort -- we must actively seek a peaceful settlement."

In the rest of his speech, Kennedy continually asserted that "a total military victory is not within sight or around the corner; that, in fact, it is probably beyond our grasp..."; and that "the progress we have claimed toward increasing our control over the country and the security of the population is largely illusory."

Such an admission of defeat by one of the most powerful political figures in the U.S. is an impressive indication of the effect of the NLF thrust in deepening the divisions on the war within the American ruling class.

It is also a good indicator of the seriousness of the blow that has been dealt to the U.S. position in Vietnam.

Kennedy certainly has access to information on the situation in Vietnam not available to the average American. If there were anything in the past few weeks that could be painted up as a U.S. achievement, he would surely have preferred to seize it as an excuse for maintaining his formal solidarity with Johnson.

Instead, he has chosen to admit a disastrous setback for American imperialism in Vietnam, breaking with the most noisome Johnson apologists (but not with imperialist policy).

Kennedy is a very smooth capitalist politician. Unlike Johnson, he knows when it is politic to tell the truth. This is one of those moments. Without dissociating himself from the aims of imperialist policy in Vietnam, Kennedy has decided it is a good time to publicly dissociate himself from Johnson's way of carrying out those aims. He recognizes the massive revulsion over the war among the American people, a revulsion that has been immeasurably deepened by the new exposure of the government's lies. Kennedy sees the need to concede something to that revulsion, if only demagogically and if only in hope of channeling the opposition within the two-party system.

But also there is deep concern among a sector of the ruling class that this setback may be the prelude to a truly disastrous defeat. They would like to negotiate a settlement now that would salvage something for imperialism, rather than face a possible rout that would further alter the balance of forces against imperialism and in favor of revolutionary movements on a world scale.

Kennedy, of course, is primarily interested in his own political fortunes, and it is plain to him that a demonstrative gesture separating himself from Johnson's policies in Vietnam is imperative if he is to save his own political neck.

Statements such as Kennedy's can be of great value to opponents of the war in exposing some of the government's lies. But it would be a terrible mistake for

the antiwar movement in the U.S. to allow itself to be captured for the political ends of a Robert Kennedy. Kennedy, after all, has no fundamental differences with Johnson -- even on the question of Vietnam.

In fact, Kennedy's critical stand testifies to the impact already registered in American politics by the NLF victories. The big gainer can be the antiwar movement -- but only if it resists the blandishments of Kennedy and his stripe.

NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT DEEPENS REVOLUTIONARY TIE TO MASSES

The spectacular offensive of the National Liberation Front against South Vietnamese cities held by the U.S. and its Saigon puppets has marked a major counterescalation on the side of the revolutionary forces.

The central importance of the NLF drive, however, lies in its political implications. The U.S. military officialdom and the American capitalist press, so used to viewing the war through the narrow focus of the military chessboard, are still puzzling over this.

"A key question," the New York Times said February 9, "is, how could a total enemy assault force of perhaps 60,000 to 80,000 troops, brave as they might be, expect to defeat 500,000 American and almost 700,000 South Vietnamese troops in a head-on battle?"

The Times noted that an "official appraisal" felt the NLF had made a "gross error in judgment." It is clear now that there was a gross error in judgment, but it was not made by the NLF.

The Times cited an opinion of another military man that came much closer to the truth, that the offensive aimed to "shake the very foundations of the American-South Vietnamese alliance."

Further evidence has come to light in the past week that this was precisely the aim of the NLF, and equally important to their military operations were their political appeals to the masses of South Vietnamese living under the rule of the Saigon regime -- including those conscripted into the puppet army.

A February 8 Agence France-Presse dispatch from Saigon reported discussions with NLF leaders in the heart of the South Vietnamese capital. "We are going to reconquer the capital just as we are going to reconquer the country with the aid of the people," one leader said. "You can clearly see that the people are with us."

According to the account, "No special precautions had been taken to assure the safety of the leaders who spoke with Westerners. With only side arms, the Vietcong leaders had been going freely from house to house.

"The psychological effect on the population was evident."

The NLF spokesman continued:

"The front does not burn cities, rather it is content to push back the attacks on its sectors. We are committing no criminal acts.

"Now look at the destruction by the adversary in the cities. The Americans have bombed us with antipersonnel bombs, with napalm, with rockets. All this destruction is the work of the Americans. The people are convinced of this."

Another official added, "Our freedom movement clearly shows the collaboration that we received from the population."

Evidently the U.S. commanders now think so, too, as their decision February 10 to use American troops to "help" the South Vietnamese secure "their own" capital indicates.

The setting up of revolutionary committees to administer cities in place of the officials of the Saigon government is another sign that the NLF is relying on the masses to advance the revolution.

In Pleiku province, while the government chief was out on an inspection tour, an NLF leader and his staff walked into the provincial headquarters compound and began to establish a revolutionary government.

In Quinhon on the central coast a similar incident took place. When the area was reconquered by the Americans, tape recordings were discovered which the New York Times claimed "called on the people to rally to a new revolutionary government

and asserted that the South Vietnamese Army had defected and was now fighting the Americans."

In the appeal broadcast by the National Liberation Front radio February 5, South Vietnamese soldiers in the puppet army were asked to "turn your arms" against officers who refuse to go over to the revolution.

The depth of the popular rising, the extent of the disintegration of the Saigon regime, and the number of Saigon troops that have gone over to the NLF

cannot yet be accurately gauged. North Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh discussed these questions with a special correspondent of Agence France-Press in Hanoi February 8.

Trinh said, "Over the past few days the patriotic armed forces in the South, along with the mass uprising of millions of people, have launched everywhere, without respite, correctly coordinated attacks throughout South VietnamThe administrative apparatus of the puppet regime is collapsing and the puppet army is disintegrating by big chunks."

MRS. LYUDMILA I. GINSBURG PROTESTS SLANDER OF HER SON

By Gerry Foley

Bold counterattacks in the Soviet Union against the official campaign of slander of the four dissident intellectuals sentenced on January 12 for circulating a record of the Sinyavsky-Daniel trial seem to mark a new stage in the escalating rebellion of the intellectuals against heavy-handed bureaucratic thought-control and intimidation.

The trial of these four, Aleksandr Ginsburg, Yuri Galanskov, Aleksei Dobrovolsky and Vera Lashkova, was preceded by a wave of exceptionally sharp protests which brought new repressions against the protesters. However, if the slander campaign which was unleashed against these four in the Soviet press after they received their harsh sentences was intended to intimidate further protest, it has not achieved its purpose.

Along with new and outspoken protests by prominent writers and intellectuals, Aleksandr Ginsburg's mother, Mrs. Lyudmila I. Ginsburg, has announced her intention to sue Komsomolskaya Pravda, the organ of the Young Communist League, for false allegations against her son.

In its article on the trial of the four appearing on January 18, Komsomolskaya Pravda published what purported to be extracts from the court record and stated, among other things, that Ginsburg was unmasked at the trial as an agent of NTS [Natsional Trudovoi Soyuz -- National Workers Alliance, an ultrareactionary emigre organization].

Mrs. Ginsburg's intention and her denunciations of the distorted accounts of her son's trial were learned from copies of a letter by her to Komsomolskaya Pravda circulating in Moscow. This letter has not been published by Komsomolskaya Pravda and no reporters without clearance from the Soviet authorities were allowed to attend a news conference given by Mrs.

Ginsburg on January 19.

In her letter, Mrs. Ginsburg specifically denied reports that espionage equipment and NTS literature had been found in her son's apartment or that such accusations had even seriously been made at the trial.

An excerpt from her letter, cited in the New York Times of February 4, seems illustrative of the method used by the Stalinist inquisitors and their journalistic henchmen in fabricating this slander.

"The prosecutor, having called him an agent of the N.T.S., admitted in court that he had used the wrong word inadvertently. Evidently, also by inadvertence, this verbal mistake got into the text of the accusation. However, none of the evidence in the case, none of the depositions of the witnesses, not one question from the prosecutor even touched on this point."

Mrs. Ginsburg's protests were seconded in a letter to Komsomolskaya Pravda by Yevgeny I. Kushev, a codefendant of Ginsburg's who was given a one-year suspended sentence. Kushev stated in his letter, which is quoted in the New York Times of February 7, that Komsomolskaya Pravda had distorted his testimony to make it appear that he had accused Ginsburg and the other defendants of distributing NTS leaflets. He demanded an editorial retraction.

According to the 1960 criminal code of the Russian Republic of the Soviet Union, unfounded accusations of crimes against the state are punishable by five years deprivation of liberty, a sentence equal to that received by Aleksandr Ginsburg. This provision in the Russian code may represent a concession to the revulsion against the political slanders of the Stalin period. However, Mrs.

Ginsburg's courage in threatening to take Soviet law at its word is evident in view of the savage sentences which her son and his companions received for their protests against violations of Soviet law in the Sinyavsky-Daniel case.

Her spirited defense of her son marks a sharp contrast to the Stalin period when fear was so great that no one dared protest the disappearance of victims, and even close friends and relatives were afraid to shelter their children.

At the same time, renewed protests by Soviet intellectuals are being heard. The New York Times of February 7 reports two particularly emphatic statements.

A letter of protest against the Ginsburg trial by two sons of the very well-known Soviet writer Vera Panova has been sent to the Soviet Supreme Court, the party politburo and the Supreme Soviet. The two, Boris B. Vakhtin, a member of the Writers Union, and Yuri B. Vakhtin, a biologist, denounced "an abnormal atmosphere" surrounding the trial, and violations of legality by the authorities. A personal note in their protest made a poignant counterpoint to Mrs. Ginsburg's statements:

"We lost our father during the Stalinist mass purges. He was posthumously rehabilitated. We cannot accept the thought that there could be a repetition

of the horrors endured by our country and people, a repetition of the terrible time of lawlessness and bestiality."

Also, a letter signed by fifty-two writers, scientists, university teachers, and others is being circulated. It condemns the secrecy of this and other such trials; it declares that "a legally conducted and organized trial need not fear the glare of publicity." The letter charges that impartial observers having been barred from the Ginsburg trial, newspapers were able to print accounts "distorting the trial and deceiving readers."

The official attempt to slander Ginsburg and his codefendants and the response to it by Soviet intellectuals is the latest development in a series of ever harder blows and counterblows exchanged between the bureaucratic authorities and Soviet intellectuals seeking freedom of expression.

Ginsburg and the other three were sentenced for protesting the Daniel-Sinyavsky trial. Vladimir Bukovsky, a young student who led a demonstration of support for Ginsburg and the others when they were first arrested, was railroaded to prison. An attempt by Pavel Litvinov, the grandson of Stalin's foreign minister Maxim Litvinov, to circulate a record of the proceedings of Bukovsky's trial and to protest its arbitrary character brought reprisals against him.

CAO KY READY TO ARM THE PEOPLE?

Probably the rashest promise to be made by anyone in either Washington or Saigon in the aftermath of the victory rolled up by the National Liberation Front, was the one ventured by Vice-President Nguyen Cao Ky.

The swashbuckling puppet, who has avowed that his greatest hero is Hitler, told newsmen after taping a statement for television that arms would be distributed to loyal citizens in South Vietnam "by next week."

"The former Premier, who was wearing a green combat uniform and had a flak jacket folded on the desk beside him, appeared calm. Not a hair was out of place. He spoke slowly, both in English and Vietnamese, puffing Salems as he considered the answer to each question."

He announced that he was chairman of a task force assigned to restore security to Saigon and the countryside.

The rural areas would be armed first, he said, since the threat from "the Communists" was greatest there.

Next to be armed will be places where "we are sure the people are anti-Communist nationalists."

It might be suggested that Ky would do well to speed up arming the people, otherwise the U.S. forces and the puppet government troops might face an unduly high rate of loss of arms from sectors burning to move into action. Or the National Liberation Front might beat him in distributing guns to the populace, and how would he feel about that? It is also questionable whether Ky will be altogether pleased with the people's choice of targets once they get their hands on some guns.

But he may have had a completely different objective in mind. He told the press that it had become clear to him that the 600,000 troops under his command, and the 500,000 U.S. troops fighting with them are not sufficient to meet the foe and will have to be expanded.

Could he, by chance, be angling for a few hundred thousand more GI's to be shipped across the Pacific?

EDITOR OF "PRAVDA" DENOUNCES SOLZHENITSYN

[Recently, the text of a speech, ascribed to Zimyanin, the editor-in-chief of Pravda, and reported to have been made in Leningrad on October 5, 1967, has been circulating in the Soviet Union.

[It explains better than anything yet available why Solzhenitsyn is having such difficulty in getting anything published since the remarkable success of his novel, One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich.

[The text of Zimyanin's speech as translated by World Outlook, is as follows.]

* * *

Lately, the names of certain of our men of letters have been appearing quite often in the Western press. This is because their statements and actions give grist to the mill of our enemies. The campaign over Tarsis and in his defense stopped only when they had him in their hands in the West and could satisfy themselves that he was really mad.

Now it is Solzhenitsyn who occupies an important place in the propaganda of the capitalist countries. He, too, is mentally unbalanced, a schizophrenic. He was a prisoner of the Germans; then, rightly or wrongly, he was sent to a concentration camp. He expresses in his works an injured person's resentment against the authorities. The camp theme is the only one to be found in his literary work: he cannot get away from it -- it is his obsession.

His works are directed against the Soviet government. He can see nothing in it but ulcers and tumors; he is incapable of seeing the positive things in our society. Because of my work, I sometimes read unpublished manuscripts, and I have read the play, The Banquet of Victors. It talks about repressions against those returning from the front. It is really an anti-Soviet work. People used to be sent to prison for such things.

We cannot publish Solzhenitsyn. We cannot satisfy his requests on this. If he writes works conforming to the interests of our society, we will publish them. No one is taking away his livelihood. He is a professor of physics; let him teach physics then. He is very fond of speaking in public meetings where he often reads fragments from his works. Let him be given this opportunity. He thinks that he is a writer of genius.

Among other names often appearing in the Western press, Yevtushenko and Voznesensky must be cited. We have an excel-

lent poetic literature and many poets who write marvelous verses. But in the West all the plaudits are reserved solely for these two individuals, because they find useful elements for their propaganda in their works.

We cannot consider the works of these two poets anti-Soviet, however, like Solzhenitsyn's works. They also write good verses, patriotic verses. They are no longer so young, even if everyone considers them young, but their works are not politically mature enough. That is why they sometimes provide grist to the mill of our enemies.

I know them personally and I have explained this to them. But they also consider themselves to be geniuses. For example, Yevtushenko was criticized by Pavlov in a small meeting. But he struck back four, eight times harder. He made fun of him in a poem. In this way he marked him for eternity and this mark can no longer be effaced. It was a low blow.

As for Voznesensky, last year he went to the United States; he read his poems and spoke to thousands of people. His recitals were successful and also economically advantageous for him. This year again he wanted to tour the American cities. The trip was already decided on; the visa had already been applied for from the American embassy. The war in the Middle East broke out. Our relations with the United States deteriorated. The Administrative Council of the Writers Union made a very clear hint that it was preferable not to go to the United States. At the same time, it informed the [American] embassy that Voznesensky was ill. What did Voznesensky do?

I arrived Monday morning at the editorial office and checked the mail. I found a letter from him full of accusations against the Writers Union. I telephoned him. I was told that he had gone, no one knew where. I telephoned the Central Committee and they said that they also had received a letter from Voznesensky and had called his home but did not find him in. A day, two days, Voznesensky was nowhere to be found. At a certain point they told me that the BBC had broadcast Voznesensky's letter to Pravda.

Voznesensky turned up a week later. He had spent this whole period in a dacha near Moscow. I invited him to my home. He denied having given the letter to Western correspondents. But who gave it to them then? Not I, nor the CC. I told him that this one time we would go no further than admonishing him and that would be the end of it, but that if this were repeated he would be crushed to powder -- and I

myself would do my utmost to smash him. He has been thinking it over two months already. I do not know what he is going to decide.

Some people feel that it would have been better to publish the letter and then answer it. But why wash all this dirty linen in public?

SOLZHENITSYN DEMANDS PUBLICATION OF HIS NEW NOVEL

[The following letter by the Soviet novelist Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, addressed to the Administrative Board of the Writers Union and dated December 10, 1967, is said to be currently circulating in Moscow.

[Solzhenitsyn first achieved fame as the author of One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich, a powerful account of conditions in a Stalin-era labor camp which was published in Novy Mir in November 1962. Its publication, which started a controversy still going on today, was reportedly approved by Khrushchev himself.

[More recently, Solzhenitsyn drew attention with his open letter to the May, 1967, Congress of the Soviet Writers Union. In that letter he called for an end to Soviet literary censorship and specifically charged that his own work was being censored. Unpublished works of his had been seized, he charged; published works of his were being denied republication, and new works he had submitted were refused approval by the censors. A slander campaign on the part of official persons and the secret police was also being waged against him, he asserted. (For an account of Solzhenitsyn's open letter, see World Outlook, June 30, 1967, p. 651.)

[It has been reported from Moscow that the December issue of Novy Mir (which always appears with about two months' delay, thanks to the censors) would carry a new work by Solzhenitsyn. However, after an unusually long delay, that issue appeared on February 7, 1968, without the controversial author's work.]

* * *

Although it received the support of more than a hundred writers, my letter to the Fourth Congress of Writers has not been published or answered. Nothing but rumors, strangely similar in nature and probably originating from a single source, have been spread, aimed at quieting public opinion: My archives are alleged to have been returned to me and my novel Cancer Ward is whispered to be on the press along with a book of short stories.

But that is all lies and you know it. In a conversation with me on June 12, the Administrative Council secretaries, G. Markov, K. Voronkov, S. Sartakov and L. Sobolev, told me that the Administrative Council judged it its duty to issue a public repudiation of the base lie being spread about my conduct in the war.

But no such repudiation has been forthcoming -- to the contrary, these slanders are still being disseminated at meetings specially held for propagandists and for activists and at seminars.

New and fantastic rumors are being spread about me. I am supposed to have fled to the Arab Republic or to England (I would like to assure my slanderers that if anyone is going to flee it will be they, not I).

Some personages have very insistently expressed their regret that I did not die in the concentration camp, that I was liberated, etc. (Such sentiments were voiced, for instance, immediately after the publication of A Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovitch). Now, this book has been quietly removed from the libraries.

The secretaries themselves promised to consider the possibility of publishing at least my last novel, Cancer Ward. But three months have already elapsed and nothing has happened. In three months, forty-two secretaries of the Administrative Council have not been able to render an opinion or to give the approval necessary for publication. For a year now, since the summer of 1966, my novel has been in a strange state of suspension -- not openly vetoed but not approved either.

Now the magazine Novy Mir would like to publish it but has not received the necessary authorization. Does the secretariat think that all these delays will bury my novel in oblivion and dispose of it, thus making it needless to vote whether it should become part of the national literature?

In the meantime, everybody, including the writers, is reading it on his own accord. Through the desire of its readers, this novel has circulated in hundreds of typed copies. In our meeting in June, I warned the secretariat that it would have to hurry if we wanted it to be published first in Russian, that in these circumstances I was unable to prevent its being published in the West, without our permission.

After a senseless delay of many months, the time has come to declare that if this happens it will be the fault (or the secret desire?) of the secretariat. I demand immediate publication of my novel.

JOHNSON PREPARES HIS ALIBI FOR A MILITARY DEFEAT

President Johnson has required each member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to sign a statement that he believes Khesanh can be successfully defended, according to the February 9 issue of Time magazine. Khesanh is the U.S. strongpoint in the northern part of South Vietnam which Westmoreland expects to be the main focus of the current situation in Vietnam.

"I don't want any damned Dienbienphu," the magazine quotes Johnson as telling his generals during a conference.

The Defense Department has confirmed that Johnson requested such a military evaluation. It admitted that Gen. Earle G. Wheeler submitted a memorandum in behalf of the staff assuring Johnson "that Khesanh could be and should be defended..."

The value of this guaranty is highly suspect, especially when it is remembered that the Joint Chiefs also put their stamp of approval on the scheme for

the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961.

But Johnson will sorely need an alibi when he faces the voters next November in case of a disastrous defeat of the U.S. forces in that area.

After the heroic assault on the Moncada barracks was crushed, Fidel Castro defiantly proclaimed: "History will absolve me." And the subsequent chapters of the liberation struggle did precisely that.

In contrast, Johnson wants to be able to claim, "My generals will absolve me." This is to be accomplished by letting them take the rap for his own folly.

As yet, Johnson hasn't tried to get insurance with Lloyd's of London against a failure at Khesanh. In view of the latest developments in Vietnam, it's doubtful that such experienced gamblers would care to underwrite so great a risk.

OPERATION "RESCUE"

In an editorial February 8, the New York Times noted that in Vietnam "in many instances it is proving exceedingly painful to be rescued." An unnamed U.S. major, in explaining February 7 why Bentre was bombed, put it even more flatly: "It became necessary to destroy the town

to save it." The logic of Johnson's war becomes ever clearer. To save Saigon, Hanoi was bombed. To save the center of Saigon, its suburbs were bombed. And if the escalation goes on? Resources still remain. With the H-bomb, Johnson can rescue all of humanity should the need arise.

CLARK CLIFFORD -- "COUNSELOR TO THE MIGHTY"

Johnson's new secretary of defense, Clark Clifford, is not well known among the American people. He has never served as a governor, as a senator, or even as a congressman. This does not mean that he is a neophyte in the affairs of government. Among certain very important and authoritative circles, he is a familiar and highly trusted figure. In fact, he is credited with having devised the strategy that enabled Truman to reverse a plunging popularity rating and win the election in 1948. He also helped Kennedy to win in 1960 and Johnson in 1964.

In an article in the February 3-4 St. Louis Globe Democrat, entitled "Counselor to the Mighty," Richard Harwood outlines Clifford's career since he left Harry Truman's White House team in 1950.

As a lawyer, practicing in Washington, Clifford had two goals. His immediate one, corresponding to the stan-

dards of the crowd he ran with, was to reach an income of \$100,000 within a year. Beyond that, he hoped to hitch his wagon to a star, as the saying goes, and become "the pre-eminent political 'counselor' to the American Business Establishment and, in that role, to ease the tensions between the great private interests in the United States and the great bureaucracy in Washington."

He was eminently successful in achieving both goals. "His law firm grossed more than \$2 million last year. Clifford's share is said to have been as little as \$500,000 and as much as \$1 million."

His private clients include "Time, Inc., E.I. Dupont De Nemours, General Electric, International Telephone and Telegraph, American Broadcasting Company, Hughes Tool, Standard Oil, Phillips Petroleum, El Paso Natural Gas, Wall Street Mutual Funds, drug manufacturers, sugar

companies and railroads."

The public figures whom he can list as clients, or as Richard Harwood puts it, "confidants," include "John F. Kennedy, Jacqueline Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, Lady Bird Johnson, Stuart Symington, cabinet officers, congressmen, ambassadors, White House advisers and countless lesser government figures who troop in and out of his elegant suite for advice, comfort and reassurance."

Much of this advice, comfort and reassurance appears to be given free of charge, just out of friendliness and concern for the problems of fellow human beings. Thus one of his friends said, "Clark has given more free 'psychiatric' care to the people who run this government than any man in Washington." Some fifty to sixty percent of his time is spent at it.

Those who find solace and comfort in talking with Clifford naturally pay close attention to suggestions from him on the courses they should follow.

"It is said that Clifford persuaded Cuba that ended in the disaster at the Bay of Pigs in 1961." This sounds plausible in view of Clifford's connections with the sugar barons, but Harwood is uncertain as to the accuracy of the report.

"Whether or not that is true," he continues, "it was Clifford to whom Kennedy turned for solace and advice the day after the invasion failed. It was Clifford whom Johnson called in on to help deal with the Walter Jenkins crisis in the fall of 1964. It was Clifford to whom Johnson twice offered the attorney generalship and to whom he has now given the management of the Department of Defense."

A "certain aura of mystery has grown up around Clifford and the impressive prosperity of his firm," says Harwood. It is not clear, for instance, what he does for his fees. He wields "influence" but his name has never appeared on the lobbying rolls in accordance with the legal requirements which lobbyists are supposed to meet. He and his principal associate, John Sharon, deny that they engage in lobbying. Sharon claims that no such thing as "influence" exists in Washington and thus "it is obviously not a commodity that can be bought and sold."

A bit of information suggesting why some of the top corporations in the U.S. feel it worthwhile to retain Clifford, even if no such thing as "influence" exists in Washington, is indicated by the following fact: "His first partner -- now dead -- had been chief of the Anti-Trust Division of the Justice Department,

a fact helpful to those clients with anti-trust problems."

A "classic case," showing how Clifford has operated, is provided by his services to the Dupont Corporation from 1960 until late 1964.

"Under his guidance, the company obtained legislation and treasury rulings that saved its stockholders (and members of the Dupont family) about \$2 billion in taxes they otherwise would have had to pay in response to a court order that forced the company to sell off its controlling stock interest in the General Motors Corporation. (The \$2 billion figure is Sharon's estimate and is enough money to run the poverty program for a year.)

"As Clifford later described his role in this affair, he did no lobbying and brought no influence to bear. He merely 'counseled' the company on how the tax concessions could be won -- who to see and what to say. He made some telephone calls, prepared some memoranda and worked up some legal briefs."

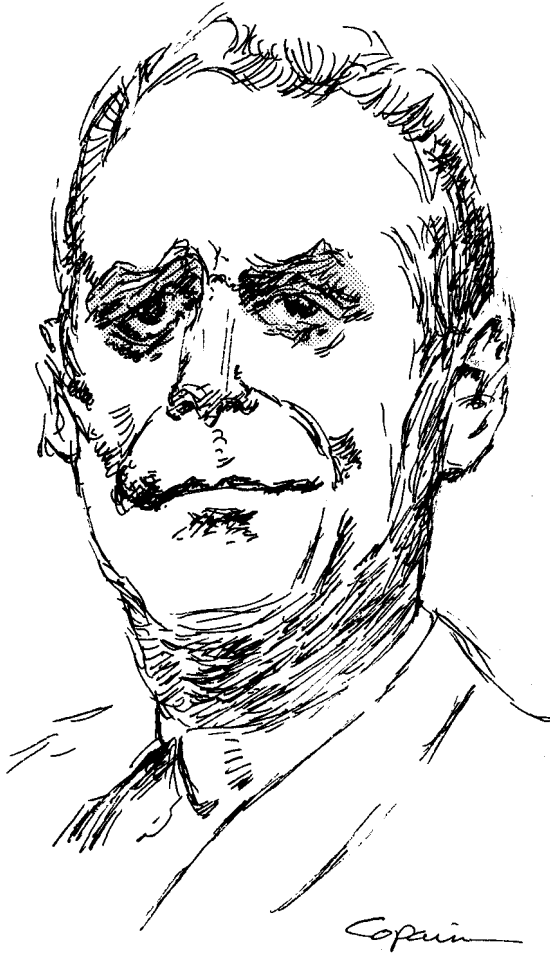
That's how he always works -- "as a planner, adviser and interpreter of the ways of government to his clients and of the ways of his clients to the government." He's not a fixer; he deals only in advice. "He anticipates the government's moods, its probable responses to private initiatives, its current wisdom and attitudes."

"This requires, of course, accurate intelligence on what government policy-makers are thinking and why they are thinking that way. Clifford gets that kind of intelligence. Indeed, his whole law firm has been described as a kind of Central Intelligence Agency, collecting day after day the 'unwritten knowledge' of Washington on which great policy decisions are based."

This is where Clifford's peculiar talents have paid off. An unnamed friend is quoted by Harwood: "They come to him -- and their wives and assistants, too -- with every conceivable problem. Often the problems are personal. Often they involve national policies. Sometimes they just come to talk."

A good example is offered by Clifford's relationship with President Kennedy and his family. "He was Kennedy's personal lawyer before the presidential years. He took an intimate part in the campaign, helped arrange the transition from the Eisenhower government, helped pick the Kennedy cabinet, and after the inauguration spent weeks helping Mrs. Kennedy find a house in Virginia."

He has developed a similar rela-



CLARK CLIFFORD

tionship with Johnson. Here again "one of the great untold stories," according to a Clifford associate, "is how much Mrs. Johnson relies on him for advice and understanding talk."

President Kennedy was so impressed with Clifford that he made him a member of an inner White House strategy team. Harwood quotes a description of Clifford's performance by one of the members of this shadowy body that was actually running the United States and a good part of the world besides.

"He would come down very hard on all the problems and he totally sold himself to President Kennedy. But sometimes when those meetings were over, we would wonder how Clifford had managed to mesmerize us all. I finally decided what it was. He talked in cliches and stereotypes, like some of the rest of us, but they were all delivered in a rolling, Shakespearean style. It was the style that did it."

According to Harwood, others who

know Clifford well, say substantially the same thing, "that his originality is not impressive, that his depth is not great. It has also been suggested that he is a one-dimensional man in the sense that he lives in a very constructed world populated by corporation executives, presidents, and other members of the amorphous 'power elite.' It is a world of affluence, ease, and leisurely afternoons on the golf course at Burning Tree."

A former official in the Kennedy administration narrows it down still further: "When you talk about the military-industrial complex, all you have to do is close your eyes and think of Clark Clifford."

An unnamed but "distinguished" Washington lawyer, adds: "The intellectual conflict of interest between Clark, as Secretary of Defense, and all those corporate clients of his is really something."

"Still another long-time acquaintance has remarked," continues Harwood, "that he could never imagine Clifford taking up the cause of a pauper or marching in a demonstration for civil rights."

"Instead, Clifford and his firm are today preoccupied with such matters as the political aspects of mergers and anti-trust problems, the difficulties of the Wall Street mutual companies with Congress and the Securities and Exchange Commission, the confrontation between General Electric and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare over the radiation hazards from color television sets, the problems of Hoffman-Laroche, the drug maker, with the Food and Drug Administration over the marketing of a tranquilizer."

To sum it up. Three presidents, Truman, Kennedy and Johnson, have all been impressed by what they call Clifford's greatest strength: his "judgment." "In their view, he rarely gives the wrong advice."

He has another strength, that is probably not unrelated to his greatest asset. This "is an indefinable aspect of his personality -- call it a 'bedside manner' -- that inspires trust, confidence and security."

It should be clear from Harwood's article why Johnson decided to bring Clifford into his cabinet and give him the most important post at his disposal -- running things in Vietnam and fixing up the president's image for the 1968 campaign. With his connections, his experience, and his bedside manner, who could better inspire the American people with the needed trust, confidence and security in their president than this Washington Rasputin?



BREAKTHROUGH on the "new image" front. Johnson finds relief and relaxation in the dog world. According to White House publicity, the stray mongrel attached it-

self to the president's daughter and son-in-law in Austin, Texas, and was "readopted" by his new master last August. The pooch's name is Yuki, not just plain Ky.

DOG LOVERS, TOO, CAN NOW LOVE JOHNSON

The team of photographers assigned to the White House, which includes some of the top men in the field, long ago listed Johnson as their "least liked" president. He isn't photogenic like Kennedy, doesn't have a rubber face like Eisenhower, and isn't amiable like Truman. Moreover, he puts such restrictions on them that they can do little to work up the raw stuff into something palatable. The result -- up to recently -- was no great photograph of Johnson.

Two "memorable" photographs were all that could be listed: "Old Scarbelly," the one showing Johnson exhibiting the scar of his gall bladder operation; and "Old Dog Lover," the candid shot of him hoisting his pet beagle by the ears.

While "Old Scarbelly" may have endeared Johnson to people who have had operations -- and there are quite a few of those in the United States -- "Old Dog Lover" was a disaster. It brought all kinds of indignant letters from dog owners and be-kind-to-animal types.

All this has now been remedied. Whoever has been working Johnson over, remodeling his image, hasn't forgotten the voters who own dogs. (There were 804,400 dogs registered as to breed in the U.S. in 1966 and an incredible number that managed to evade the census takers.)

First of all, that patrician-

looking beagle was ousted from No. 1 position in the kennels. A very plebian mongrel was given the post. It was trained to be responsive to the president and began to be included in photographs of the president.

All this attention to the problem finally paid off with a great photograph. It must have been a memorable session. Johnson, playing with his pooch, was completely relaxed and oblivious to the world, to the delight of the cameraman and the group of laughing admirers who watched the president put on the act.

The extraordinary photograph, together with others like it, was reproduced in the February 20 issue of Look magazine (from which we lifted it).

Look also provided an accompanying "text" by William Hedgepeth, giving all the facts about the "New top dog at the White House." This admirable bit of prose, which at times reaches a poetic level, will undoubtedly do much to help establish the new image of Johnson as a real human being, a simple, lovable guy, after all, who finds that man's best friend is a dog. To help in this laudable work of image creation, we are providing the full text as follows:

"First, the grayish-haired one rares back his head and goes, 'arooof, arwuf, arwuf.' Next, picking up the cue, the smaller, white-haired one cocks his head at a similar angle and answers, 'awf, arff, arwuff.' Finally, with both voices pitched in harmony, the two unleash a single, soulfully melodic, loud 'Arooooooooooooooooooooooooooooo' -- that conjures up pictures of bedraggled coyotes wailing away through a hot night in the windblown Texas flatlands. Then the duet ends to the applause of whoever happens to be present in the office. Downstairs, in the meantime, some among the crowd of tourists -- who may be wondering whether the noise they've just heard was a faint air-raid alert or McKinley's ghost -- are assured by the nearest White House guard that 'No, Ma'm, it's just the President of the United States and his favorite dog howling together.' Back in the President's office, little Yuki, who is not only the new mongrel-in-chief among White House hounds but also omnipresent companion of LBJ, gobbles up a rewarding shower of candy 'dog kisses.' The President, too, feels a certain rewarding comfort: No 'credibility gap' or communication problem here, at least. And to any guests present President Johnson is likely to brag of his mixed-breed new lodger, 'He even speaks with a Texas accent.'

"'Yuki!' the bellow echoes through the White House. 'YUK-EEE!' -- almost

loud enough to wake up workers in the Executive Office Building next door. Then the President falls silent. So everyone knows the dog's in his office -- all's right with the world. Sure enough, there's Yuki, well-scrubbed, spry and all set to show off for a visiting flock of 6th-grade spelling-bee champs or a roomful of African diplomats or a venerable Head of State. 'That darn mutt,' mutters one White House aide, 'is beginning to feel his position around here. He's got no inhibitions about going up to kings or anyone.' Ubiquitous Yuki, former stray, was adopted by Luci and Pat Nugent at an Austin, Texas, service station, then re-adopted by LBJ last August. Since then, the furry Texan has become preeminent White House hound-in-residence -- overshadowing Freckles, Dumpling, Edgar, Little Chap and Blanco -- as well as perennial co-traveler with the President. More significantly, their private talks in the Oval Office have added to recent speculations that not only is Yuki top dog to the Chief Executive but benign counselor and confidant as well.

"What with the social, economic, military and miscellaneous problems presently facing the nation, it is reassuring at least in some circles, to know that our President counts such a politically sagacious hound-courtier as part of his official family. LBJ is sometimes said to have difficulties with the press; Yuki -- who astutely attends all of his master's news conferences -- is careful to court the favor of the White House reporters. 'The newsmen love him,' exults a press secretary. 'They always go out of their way to pat him on the head and rub his ears just the way he likes. And photographers all say he's very cooperative and photogenic.' In addition, in his role as the President's most faithful follower, Yuki seems to have a shrewd eye toward enhancing LBJ's 'image' in the diplomatic world. Among an officeful of foreign dignitaries, who may be influenced by adverse reports on the Chief's popular standing, Yuki will often leap into the Presidential arms in a dramatic counter-demonstration of affection. Traphes Bryant, a White House electrician who has doubled as official dog-keeper under both Kennedy and Johnson, suggests that Yuki's earlier career as a stray may possibly have included a stint as a trained carnival dog. With so many former show-biz types now getting into politics, it seems increasingly likely, therefore, that as soon as the dog once known as Hey, You! Let Go and Beat It can meet the constitutional requirements on age, his future career might well include a term or so on his own as an officeholder."

Would anybody like a fresh dog biscuit to go with that?

THE MOST POWERFUL WORLD OF OUR TIME

By Peter Weiss

[The following speech by Peter Weiss, author of Marat-Sade, appeared in the September-October 1967 issue of Tricontinental, the theoretical organ of the Executive Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The well-known German playwright made the speech especially for Tricontinental.]

* * *

We are discussing the relationship of the politically engaged writer with the Third World and with the underdeveloped countries.

To begin with I want to change the wordings; I do not like the expression "Third World," I do not like to speak about "underdeveloped" countries. The expression "Third World" is based on class-thinking, it qualifies a third class of world, it does not express what this "Third World" contains. It seems to be a world which is sort of hanging on to other worlds which in turn look upon themselves as more important. But this "Third World" makes up the most powerful world of our time. We have to choose a new expression for it; we would call it the "revolutionary world" or the "world of liberation struggle," or call it by a name which shows the militant, the dynamic, the explosive character of this world. From it the great changes will issue, the changes we will have to live through during the following years. I do not want to call those countries which are now rising and which are struggling to build up their new societies, their new attitude towards life, underdeveloped countries; they are not underdeveloped in comparison to the so-called developed countries. They do not have, of course, the same level of industrialization and technical equipment, but they have reached something which many of the so-called developed countries have not reached yet; they have dynamically changed or are on their way to changing their society in a more complete manner than that which changes have brought about in the Western societies. I mean, of course, changes through revolution. I mean Cuba, Viet-Nam, North Korea, Algeria, the liberated zones of Guinea.

These nations have freed themselves from dominating classes, they have freed themselves from oppression, they have freed themselves from exploitation; they have established the dignity of man; and only this can be called development in our time. We should call the revolutionary countries, developed countries, and the Western countries, which still

adhere to a society which is based on class formation and exploitation, underdeveloped.

For example, Viet-Nam and the United States of America: in comparison to the U.S.A., Viet-Nam is a developed country. The society of the United States contains atavistic, reactionary antihumanitarian elements: racism is alive, powerful groups are ruling over the majority of the nation.

There are those who come from Western society to lend a helping hand to the so-called underdeveloped world. They often believe they find backwardness there. They forget what such backwardness [is]; they forget it is they who have won their power, their superiority, their technical development through the exploitation of these countries.

Such being the case, the backwardness is not the fault of these countries. It is the fault of the Western ruling classes, who, by no other means than colonialist oppression, and by exploiting the people of the "Third World" to the marrow of their bones, built up their enormous power.

This is very often an unconscious attitude on their part, though it is an attitude which carries weight in their relationship with the peoples of these countries. Often the visitor says he does not understand what is happening in these countries; he says the peoples of these countries speak a different language. With false superiority he looks down upon them from his high technical standards, looks down upon a country which is in the first phase of developing higher standards of dignity.

How can a European intellectual find new means through which to manifest his solidarity with the revolutionary world?

Writing, in itself, can be a very potent activity. It is not only you who write; there are many elsewhere working for the same aims. All of them together make up one extensive universal front. This front is part of the active revolutionary struggle. Much in the same way as the guerrilla fighter uses his gun decisively, the writer ought clearly to define his standpoint. He must not hide anything. It is not enough to send to those who are fighting in the hills some warm words of friendship; you have to show them your militant and political support.

Often the question is raised of what you can attain with a work of art, with a book, a poem, a painting, a play; and you ask yourself the question, if it could ever have the effect of the machine gun in the hills. Often I see the superiority of the guerrilla fighter over an intellectual who is content with voicing his solidarity.

But as the war is fought on many fronts, every front on which you fight the enemy can be a strategic point. There might arise situations which compel you to change your attitude and become directly militant. In many countries this is the only solution.

In Western European countries there is still great value attached to writing. As far as I am concerned, writing has been a process in which I became conscious of myself and of the world I am living in. By writing I educated myself, by writing I developed my political thinking. By developing myself, I, as a writer, secure the possibility of influencing others.

In Europe, I see a great obstacle for revolution in the passive attitude of the workers. We do not reach the powerful masses of the workers, we are only in touch with groups of militant intellectuals, and that is not enough. This we felt very strongly: the lack of a revolutionary attitude on the part of the workers in capitalist society, the lack of their direct protest, their direct participation in the struggle of the revolutionary world. Too often we see that the workers in capitalist society only fight for their own immediate economic development.

Yes, they are fighting, too; they are fighting to change their situation; they are not fighting for the entire change of their society, nor do they speak about the change of the entire world, in which all societies would have to change. They are still limited in their consciousness of the necessity of global revolution.

As long as the intellectuals make up small elites without direct collaboration with the working masses the result of their work will be limited. Every revolutionary knows a revolution is not won by an elite; a revolution is won by the masses of workers and peasants in the country.

To whom do I address myself in my plays? Is my audience made up of the bourgeoisie rather than proletarians?

Of course, this differs from one case to another, as my plays have been played in both capitalist and socialist countries. In capitalist society, the theater is mostly a form of the bourgeois

world, the working class does not regard the theater as its own form of art. They feel alienated in front of the stage... This turns out to be entirely different in socialist countries, where a quite new audience is attending the theater, and where the theater is owned by the populace. Here the theater is duly appreciated, the theater belongs to the populace; it is not an institution which has been built up by a privileged class for the pleasure of the privileged class.

As a dramatist, I have been awarded the possibility of reaching both the population of a classless society, and of a bourgeois society, reaching it by being aggressive with it, by being provocative with it. Of course my goal is to address myself to a conscious audience, an audience which is made up of people who share my political standpoint and who wish to undertake a political analysis of their times, the times they are living in.

I do not know how it is for other writers. There are good plays which should be comprehensible for all societies, for everybody. But I am sure I would write in a different way if I lived in a socialist society, and I mean through and through a socialist society, where there would be no need to criticize society, where my writing would be part of a common constructive work, where I should deal with the problems and conflicts underlying a new attitude toward life.

The plays I have written until now are the result of my milieu, the result of the world in which I have grown up.

The situation of a present-day socialist writer differs from that of the time in which Brecht lived. The fight going on then between fascism and communism was more simple than the fight going on today, in which the socialist world is a very complex world and contains many different aspects. There is the question of the necessity of world revolution, there is the difference between the technically highly developed socialist society and the former colonialized new world of the struggle for liberation. You have to analyze your own point of view, and indicate where you stand: whether you believe in the necessity of global revolution or whether you want to appeal to worldwide solidarity.

To start with, you have to secure a great deal of knowledge and insight, and never lose sight of the historical aspects of the situation, and, also, never lose yourself in emotional reflections. Historically seen, socialism is going through a natural development. It

is demonstrating that it is a force very much alive. It would not be alive if it had become stagnant within one closed bloc. The fact that it is open and developing many different aspects -- even aspects which are in strong conflict with one another -- makes it dynamic, dynamic in a Marxist sense.

Cuba, Viet-Nam, and North Korea have already established a norm on present-day revolutionary socialism, which expounds a new viewpoint in the socialist world. In Cuba and Viet-Nam, no doubt, Marxism means Humanism. In these countries, Marxism is always subject to development, always subject to internal discussion, never afraid of criticizing itself, and never afraid even of criticizing the other socialist countries. I think this shows an enormous strength, as these countries are fighting in the front line against the threat of imperialism.

Many intellectuals in Europe today are very much concerned with Cuba's and Viet-Nam's fight. And when the revolution develops in other Latin-American countries, I think this will influence even those socialist countries which as of now are not yet in agreement with the absolute necessity of armed struggle.

I think of the enormous difficulties, human difficulties, of the fact that it is difficult to change oneself, to really change one's attitude, to change one's own past, to free oneself from the influence of the old society one has been brought up in, to free oneself from the corruption of which almost every artist in the Western world partakes. With a greater or lesser degree of consciousness, one is dependent upon the institutions of these countries. Even if you take liberties in expressing what

you think, you still belong to the old Western society, and you have to work hard to break away from it. The revolutionary world is very, very different from the secure world I have grown up in, in spite of having lived through the period of German fascism, of emigration and war. All this is very different from the fight which is going on today.

I have to bring myself to fear my old European security, the security of having an audience, theaters, editors: I have to endanger my situation. The confrontation of the European artists, writers, intellectuals with a revolutionary country like Cuba is of great importance. Arriving in Cuba or in Viet-Nam, we become directly involved in the war which is going on; we derive a strong physical experience from it.

Being in Cuba teaches me every day, every hour almost, the danger facing the country. Being on an island which is surrounded, blockaded by the enemy, I get to know what it means to live and to work confronted with the enemy, to construct, to build and not to give way to the ominous threat of destruction. This is an experience of strength and courage which I have never had in Europe. In the midst of the political struggles going on in Europe, you are more safe, you can withdraw, you can hide yourself; but here you are absolutely in the open, you can be attacked any minute; everything which is built here is constantly threatened with destruction by the enemy, because the enemy has no aim other than to destroy; he must destroy the revolution in order to keep alive his atavistic, brutal and reactionary values. This you feel strongly, and this makes your own point of view clearer; it forces you to be still more consequent [consistent] in your own backyard.

HOBSBAWM'S ASSESSMENT OF THE CULTURAL CONGRESS OF HAVANA

E.J.Hobsbawm, writing in The Times Literary Supplement of January 25, draws some important conclusions about the new mood among intellectuals in the Western imperialist countries and the colonial world on the basis of observations at the Cultural Congress of Havana, held January 4 to January 12. The opinions of the University of London professor on this subject carry weight in view of the solid reputation he has established as a Marxist labor historian.

The Havana gathering "symbolized in a curious way a return to the mood of intellectual commitment which was characteristic of the 1930s, and a break with that which was characteristic of the post-

war 1940s and 1950s."

The new mood includes a critical attitude toward bureaucratic regimes. As Hobsbawm puts it:

"Not that the intellectuals assembled in Havana were unconcerned about cultural freedom in the liberal sense, i.e., the right not to be told by organizations and ministries, let alone by policemen, how and what to write, paint, compose or research; the right to avoid dictation even by revolutionary militants. 'In the days of rough and hard struggle, the muses are silent', said Mehring, quoted by a Peruvian delegate who disagreed passionately. 'Let us

then', said an Egyptian, 'if we want to judge the genuineness of any revolution, see what it does with its universities. Let us see whether the professor claps more than he lectures and whether he writes scientific articles or telegrams of support.' One of the ablest men at the congress, René Depestre of Haiti, praised Cuba precisely because 'here art and literature are not confined to the direct support of ideology and politics', and one of the most spontaneously applauded speeches (by a Uruguayan) defended the revolutionary 'intellectual' against excessive encroachments by the 'man of action'."

In complete contrast to this, Hobsbawm points out, in the fifties, intellectuals holding such views would have been tempted to see intellectual freedom as the key question and the Communist regimes as the main danger.

This mood has changed. "In the 1960s it has become evident, at least in large parts of the world, that the defence of intellectual freedom can be combined with resistance to another, and at present greater, danger. As Fascism united the intellectuals in the 1930s, so the United States united them at Havana, though one notes with relief that nobody even tried to pretend that the two were or are analogous."

To Hobsbawm, the "most interesting fact" about the congress was the demonstration "that an extraordinarily wide and heterogeneous collection of intellectuals can today be mobilized on the common ground of support for the Vietnamese, for Cuba, for the movements of liberation in the 'third world' and not least, for the Negro and anti-war movements in North America against the government of the United States. The situation of the 1950s has been reversed."

The composition of the gathering, which was attended by some 500 delegates and observers from seventy countries (China did not send a delegation), was quite heterogeneous, with the exception of the delegations from regimes sympathetic to Cuba which tended to be carefully selected supporters of the establishment. "This was a gathering of the francs-tireurs and guerrilleros of culture so dear to the Cubans rather than of disciplined battalions or even platoons, and one of the most extraordinary things about it was that, after a week of debates which were not merely quite unconstrained but seemed at times to verge on the anarchic, the final documents were voted in peace and unanimity. It was a tribute to the competence and moderation of the Cuban rapporteurs and chairmen flanked by tactful but unimpeachably revolutionary co-chairmen from Vietnam, Korea and similar countries."

This outcome was all the more impressive to Hobsbawm in view of the fact that the congress was composed of genuine intellectuals. Such assemblies nowadays are likely to consist of "all the possible cultural and political avant-gardes, and ranging from the simple hostility to the American war in Vietnam, which is (except perhaps in Britain) the common denominator of all, through relative moderates like the European Communists to the embattled guerrilla and would-be guerrilla fighters of the far left."

As decisive evidence of the non-exclusive character of the congress, Hobsbawm cites the presence "of that fringe of dottiness which is so engaging a part of the left. One Chilean painter described his occupation as 'pataphysician'. The commissions listened to a ringing call for Wilhelm Reich and better orgasms (from a Frenchman), to defences of the authentically revolutionary nature of German dadaism -- as distinct from neo-dadaism (from Mozambique), to attacks on female chastity (by two Cuban ladies). A group of French and South American surrealist Trotskyites made a physical assault in the name of André Breton on the Mexican painter Siqueiros, amid cries of 'Cuba Sí -- Siqueiros No'."

The setting of the congress facilitated the work of reaching common agreement on the final resolutions.

"Cuba was, of course, an ideal location for such a discussion," Hobsbawm observes. "It is not only an embattled and heroic country, though as Castro himself observed, a long way second to Vietnam, but a remarkably attractive one, if only because it is visibly one of the rare states in the world whose population actually likes and trusts its government. Moreover, the free and flourishing state of cultural activities at present, the admirable social and educational achievements and the endearing excursions into anti-materialist utopia, can hardly fail to appeal to intellectuals. The shelves of the shops may show large gaps, but telephone calls are free. Petrol is rationed, but the state (if that is the right word for an institution which lacks constitution, parliament and most of the other things an old-fashioned lecturer in political theory would look for) provides posadas where couples can go to make love. The visual arts are unexpectedly brilliant, given the unvisual tradition of the country, witty, entertaining and above all public. Those who do not like the place are free to emigrate. The propaganda of some mass media is balanced by the relaxation of others. 'I have listened to the radio', observed one delegate from the older socialist countries, and it plays nothing but songs of love. Not love of the country; not love of the mother; love of some lover.' In such an atmosphere

the intellectuals were able to discuss the problems of Asia, Africa and Latin America and their own with considerably fewer mental reservations than elsewhere."

There were five commissions: Culture and National Independence, the Integral Growth of Man, the Responsibility of the Intellectual, Culture and Mass Media. Problems of Artistic Creation, Scientific and Technological Work. They ranged over a broad field in their discussions. There were certain recurring themes, however, which Hobsbawm singles out for comment.

"Perhaps the most interesting was the problem of developing a genuinely autochthonous culture in underdeveloped countries; interesting both for the acute analyses of the process of cultural penetration under colonialism and neo-colonialism it produced, and the very general rejection of the simple nationalist-populist response to it. As Mammeri Mouloud of Algeria put it, the intellectual of the Third World 'finds himself faced with the double necessity of assuming an inherited culture and using an acquired culture', but neither can be simply put on like a ready-made suit. 'Traditional culture', the product of a 'cultural system which is already in part disrupted', cannot be the basis of the new culture, whatever can be preserved of it. Attempts to make it so either fail, as in sub-Saharan Africa, or produce the espectáculos folklóricos of the modern tourist trade, or the even more dangerous 'accelerated indigenization of the violence and tribulations of other times' of which M. Depestre of Haiti spoke with comprehensible feeling. On the other hand, certain elements of traditional and popular culture -- Dr. Belail Abdel Aziz of Morocco suggested that the concept of community in the Maghreb might be one such -- could be essential parts of any anti-capitalist society, or any society unwilling to subordinate itself entirely to the logic of technology."

An uncontrolled process of creating technicians also tends to isolate intellectuals, sometimes as a privileged stratum.

"The enthusiasm about revolution in the Third World is in part due to the fact that it appears to provide a way out of these difficulties. A remarkably interesting and confident paper by Mario de Andrade analysed the cultural aspects of the guerrilla war in Angola in this sense, observing both the integration of the évolué intellectuals in the new nation and the rejection both of cultural assimilation to Portugal and of 'the songs of the old negritude' in the poetry of the struggle. To quote M. Depestre yet again:

"'Revolution creates the conditions of a true cultural mutation. That is why in the Third World...the revolutionary experience is the only valuable foundation of the "cogito". It provokes an exalting coincidence between thinking and social being. To make a revolution is the first historical evidence and the first cultural value which brings us to a new postulate of reasoning: I make the revolution, therefore I am, therefore we are....We cease to be the zombies of history.'"

The problems under discussion at the congress concerned intellectuals of the imperialist countries as well as the colonial areas. The problems are common ones and therefore the European and North American contingent, which was about as large in size as that from the underdeveloped countries, did not at all play the role of a sympathetic claque. Thus, in discussing the cultural imperialism of the United States, "British statistics were as widely used by Third World spokesmen as Latin-American ones to illustrate the gravity of the brain drain, and Encounter figured in the discussion alongside Mundo Nuevo." In general, "the situation of intellectuals as a social group is not dissimilar in the First and the Third Worlds; the unrepresentative nature of most East-European delegations made it hard to judge whether this also applies to the Second."

Another recurrent theme was the relationship between the activity of guerrilla forces and intellectuals. It was agreed "that even in the Andes the public activities of intellectuals cannot be confined to carrying machine-guns." On the other hand a Yugoslav delegate reminded the congress of "the forgotten fact that European intellectuals are not unacquainted with guerrilla activity."

Rich as the discussion was, the most instructive aspect of the congress to Hobsbawm was what it showed about the mood of the international intellectual community as a whole. There "has been a remarkable reversal of the politics of the intellectuals in the past fifteen years; a more surprising development in some ways than their mobilization in the 1930s."

The mobilization of the intellectuals in the thirties "took place against a background of depression and economic breakdown as well as of Fascism and aggression..."

Today the mobilization of the intellectuals occurs against a background "of technological triumph and economic progress -- inadequate, modest but real even in most countries of the Third World."

The deliberations and conclusions of the Cultural Congress of Havana were thus of unusual significance.

"The protest of the congress was not merely one against the violence and aggression of the United States, and against the inability of the affluent society in the developed world to solve the problems of the majority of the human

race. It was also a protest against its success, a vote for Havana's combination of humanity, enthusiasm and pleasure, even amid austerity, and against the city of Mahagonny-Miami across the water. Most of the intellectuals at the congress had seen that future. Most of them doubted whether it worked. But whether it worked or not, they did not like it and their presence in Havana said so."

A MEMENTO FROM ANDRE BRETON

Paris

The Cultural Congress of Havana had nothing in common with those conformist assemblages of bootlickers so often gathered together by the Stalinists and their successors. However, this note is not about the congress as a whole but only about an incident not without its own flavor and significance.

Some of the members of the French delegation had not forgotten Siqueiros' part in a machine-gun assault on Trotsky's home in Coyoacán, Mexico, a few months before a Stalinist agent succeeded in murdering the great revolutionary leader.

They raised a small scandal over the presence of Siqueiros at this congress. The poetess, Joyce Mansour, walked up and gave him a kick that, according to

eyewitness accounts, landed squarely where it was aimed -- in the seat of his pants.

She shouted loudly and very pertinently, "From André Breton!"

Siqueiros' friends cried, "Long live Communism! Long live Cuba!"

Breton's friends responded, "Cuba si; Siqueiros no!"

Neither l'Humanité nor l'Unità nor other organs of the same stripe have given the slightest publicity to this embarrassing "aggression."

In this world, so many kicks in the ass do not land where they ought to. But for once we have a case where it landed squarely on target. Bravo!

AS TOLD BY SIQUEIROS

Mexico City

Upon his return from the Cultural Congress of Havana, David Alfaro Siqueiros was interviewed by the Mexico City daily Excelsior (January 19) on his reaction to the unexpected award of a swift kick which he received from a member of another delegation.

"The aggression occurred in a street in Havana," said Siqueiros. "In front of an exposition of Cuban painting that was to be inaugurated a few hours later, the New Gallery of Modern Art. I think it was the fifth of January, although I'm not sure about that.

"I had just entered the grounds and had not yet reached the stairs. A group of thirty French youngsters, Trotskyists, were raising a hullabaloo, as is usual with them."

On being asked who did it, Siqueiros replied with a "half-nervous, half-ingenuous smile":

"A young girl. Very young. She walked up and gave me a beautiful kick, here, below the knee."

The interviewer asked Siqueiros, "Is it true that they yelled 'murderer' at you and you answered, 'Long live the party'?"

"That's correct," Siqueiros responded. "They yelled the names of Trotsky and Breton. I was Breton's friend. But that was a long time ago. He and I separated because of ideological differences. He was a Trotskyist.

"Let me clear things up. Some journalists say that I answered in Russian, but I don't know that language at all. I speak English and French and some Italian. I studied French when I was a child at the Colegio Franco-Inglés. I learned all the common words there, those that hurt, and I answered these youngsters with that kind of language."

"You didn't lose your head?"

"I believe I did. I challenged them to step outside if they wanted to take me on. But they didn't want to. I won that round. The police intervened between the two quarrelling groups. Later I made a fiery speech in which I exposed the Trotskyists for their idiocies."

Later in the interview, which covered other topics, Siqueiros referred to the "French youngsters" in the follow-

ing way:

"The chair called them to order at the congress. They didn't succeed in disrupting the proceedings of the congress. That was the end of the matter."

"And what happened to the girl?"

"A kick from a girl is pleasing at times."

On the Cultural Congress of Havana

"ZA RUBEZHOM" BRINGS THE REAR GUARD UP TO DATE

A rather spicy account of the World Cultural Congress in Havana appeared in the Soviet weekly Za Rubezhom, No. 4, for January 19-25, 1968. Over the by-line of one V. Polyakovsky, the article purported to be a roundup of foreign press reports, rather than a firsthand account. Za Rubezhom, which runs articles and commentary on world affairs, specializes in reprints from foreign publications.

Polyakovsky starts off with a few incidental tidbits: the idea for the congress originated with Fidel Castro in early 1967; a document about the congress was presented to mass meetings throughout Cuba; a nationwide seminar on it presented Che Guevara as the highest example for intellectuals to follow.

Polyakovsky's introductory remarks include the facts on the number of delegates and where they came from. He makes special mention of the delegates from the European and Asian workers' states, excluding China, but notes that the Western European delegates were the most numerous.

The theme of the congress and the titles of the commissions (or workshops) are related. Cuban President Dorticós' opening remarks, calling for a "broad dialogue on a world scale," are quoted. The point is stressed that the congress was not supposed to be a forum for any one point of view.

With that, the juicy part begins. "According to press reports," says Polyakovsky, "exceptionally stormy discussions broke out in the commissions, often reaching the point of verbal skirmishing. These arose apparently because among the participants of the congress there turned out to be more than a few so-called 'ultra-lefts.' Moreover, from the very beginning of the work of the commissions the tendency was observable for a certain group of delegates to try to impose their views on the congress no matter what."

Things were especially bad, to

Polyakovsky's mind, in Commission No. 2. There a Mexican delegate proposed to discuss in detail how imperialism diverts the youth from both politics and culture.

"Instead of that," declares Polyakovsky, "a group of commission members representing certain West European countries tried to bring openly pro-Chinese theses into the discussion and gave speeches attacking the Soviet Union, trying to draw the congress away from the questions on the agenda. Especially zealous in this regard was the Belgian Trotskyist professor Verstreeten.* Echoing Peking radio, he called the USSR a 'Menshevik' country, while China, Vietnam, and Cuba were 'Bolshevik.' His favorite thesis was the 'bourgeoisification' of the European socialist countries and their loss of 'revolutionary spirit.' The Soviet delegate G. Sharapov, along with representatives from the German Democratic Republic, Italy, and Switzerland, gave the Trotskyist a deserved rebuff, characterizing his speech as provocative. (Incidentally, in the commentaries of the Western press, which played up these attacks on the USSR, it was noted that in both this commission and the others the organizers of the congress failed to react in the necessary way to instances of disruption of normal conditions.)"

Polyakovsky continues his sad tale: "After the speech by the Rumanian delegate Valeriu, who told of the great significance attributed in his country to the struggle of the youth for peace, several Cuban delegates immediately took the floor. In their opinion, education of youth in the spirit of fighting for

* Polyakovsky does not indicate why he decided to label Prof. Verstreeten a "Trotskyist." The epithet, of course, has long been used by Stalinist apologists to refer to any revolutionist of whatever political tendency. -- W.O.

peace was unacceptable for the congress, since the youth should be educated in the 'spirit of rebellion,' in the spirit of struggle against imperialism."

In Commission No. 3, matters were not much better from Polyakovsky's point of view. There the Uruguayan writer Benedetti opened the discussion with the argument that "any oversimplification, particularly the demand that intellectuals should immediately become heroes and armed soldiers...could prove to be a dangerous thesis."

The Cuban Fernet noted in his paper that the task of the intellectual in an underdeveloped country was to 'teach literacy, learn to handle a weapon, and cut sugar cane.'

"The Mexican and Argentine representatives took issue with the idea of the Guinean delegate that there was a necessity for intellectuals to participate in armed struggle. The Indian delegate Lajpat called for a 'boycott of imperialism in the field of culture.' Representatives from Ecuador, the USSR, and other countries noted that not only a boycott but also an active struggle with the aim of propagandizing socialist ideas was necessary."

With such goings-on in Commission No. 3, how did things fare in No. 4? At first things were calm, as Polyakovsky tells it. "However, this Commission, too, did not get by without its share of attacks on the USSR. For example, the Ecuadorian Adoumu was not pleased that M. Sholokhov [Soviet novelist] had 'accepted the Nobel Prize.' In reply, V.V. Volsky made clear that all seven Nobel prizes received by Soviet citizens had been given to the aid fund for Vietnam. He told of Soviet aid to Algeria, and other Arab countries, to Vietnam, and Cuba."

In Commission No. 5, according to Polyakovsky's "gleanings" from the foreign press, a Soviet delegate's report on the role of the intelligentsia in the building of communism was approved by a

Chilean and a Spanish representative, who termed the "Soviet path of development the most effective." But there was trouble here too.

"In the paper presented by the Cuban delegation it was said that the term 'vanguard,' closely tied to the name of Lenin and the Bolshevik party, had later been 'mechanically transferred to all Communist parties no matter what their activities were or whether this corresponded to the reality.' For this reason, the paper stressed, 'a breach had occurred between the political and the cultural vanguard.' The Cuban delegation suggested the building of a 'scientific-technical international' in support of the 'third world' and the printing of appropriate literature. Delegates from France, Italy, and other countries did not agree with this proposal."

Polyakovsky concludes his round-up by naming the resolutions approved "with applause but without voting" at the closing of the congress. His only hint as to the content of these resolutions is that they called for heightened revolutionary consciousness among intellectuals and for the strengthening of their struggle against U.S. imperialism "by all means available to them."

Polyakovsky fails to mention that the final resolution, among other things, also declared that revolutionary change "can only be attained through armed struggle; this makes revolutionary violence, and in particular armed struggle, a necessity."

Likewise, he fails to indicate the content of Fidel Castro's speech at the closing of the conference. Of interest to Za Rubezhom readers might have been the passage where Castro bitingly referred to the absence of mass protest demonstrations in Europe during the October 1962 missile crisis, commenting: "At times we have seen alleged vanguards far back in the rear guard in the struggle against imperialism."

THREE BLACK STUDENTS KILLED BY COPS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Three black students were killed and nearly fifty others wounded by white police and national guardsmen at South Carolina State college at Orangeburg February 8. The shooting took place after four days of demonstrations against a segregated bowling alley.

Students had gathered around a bonfire on the state college campus, when national guardsmen and cops, claiming they had been fired upon, charged the students.

Most students were shot in the back while lying on the ground seeking cover. No police suffered gunshot wounds.

The police and Governor Robert McNair have attempted to blame their victims for the shooting and have arrested more than thirty black youths.

Cleveland Sellers, 24, of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is being held for \$50,000 bail.

VLADIMIR BUKOVSKY'S PLEA FOR SOVIET DEMOCRACY

By George Saunders

The recent trials of dissident Soviet writers and the protest activities surrounding these trials have highlighted the existence of an increasingly articulate current among Soviet intellectuals against bureaucratic rule. One of the more interesting features of this oppositional activity is the attempt to press for real implementation of the paper guarantees of socialist democracy written into the Soviet constitution, also known as the "Stalin constitution," the "most democratic in the world."

That was the constitution that Stalin cynically introduced in 1936 at the height of the Great Purges, to cover up with democratic phrases the profoundly antidemocratic rule of the bureaucracy consolidated under his leadership. The bureaucrats never meant those promises of free speech, free press, freedom of assembly, and freedom to demonstrate to be taken seriously. But that is what the young generation and the new antibureaucratic currents are starting to do.

This is nowhere so strongly expressed as in the final plea by Vladimir Bukovsky at his trial ending September 1, 1967. Bukovsky's statement was made public by Pavel M. Litvinov, who thus courageously brought out the issues in this case, despite police threats.

Bukovsky was tried in connection with a demonstration of about fifty young people in Moscow on January 22, 1967. They were protesting the arrest of Yuri Galanskov and several others, who have since been tried and convicted of "anti-Soviet slander."

The demonstration, which Bukovsky acknowledged he had organized, also denounced as unconstitutional Article 70 of the Russian Federation law code. The demonstrators demanded repeal of this reactionary catch-all law against "anti-Soviet slander."

Bukovsky was sentenced to three years imprisonment for his offense against "public order." But he denied he had done anything wrong, and turned the tables on the prosecution, accusing them of violating the constitution.

The following excerpts from his final plea give an interesting indication of the trend of thought among young Soviet rebels. A word should be said, incidentally, on Bukovsky's obvious lack of clear understanding of the nature of the struggle in the United States and his overestimation of U.S. democracy. This error is probably due in part to an un-

critical reaction against everything the bureaucracy has taught, as well as to lack of accurate information about the outside world in the Soviet press.

* * *

"...I have here before me the text of the Soviet constitution: 'In accordance with the interests of the workers and with the aim of strengthening the Socialist system the citizens of the USSR are guaranteed by law...the right of street processions and demonstrations.' Why is such an article included? For May Day and October demonstrations? But it is not necessary to include such an article for demonstrations that the government organizes -- it is clear that no one will disperse these demonstrations."

* * *

"We know that protest demonstrations are powerful weapons in the hands of the workers; this is an inalienable right in all democratic states. Where is this right denied? In Madrid, there was a trial of the participants of a May Day demonstration. They were tried under a new law recently passed in Spain that provides imprisonment from one and a half to three years for participation in demonstrations. I see a disturbing identity between fascist Spanish and Soviet legislation.

"Judge: Defendant, you are comparing things that cannot be compared: the actions of the rulers of Spain and those of the Soviet state. In court, the comparisons of Soviet policy with the politics of foreign bourgeois states is intolerable."

* * *

"I recognize the important role of the organs of the KGB [State Security Commission, the secret police] in the fight for state security. But what is their business in this case? There were no external enemies involved here."

* * *

"We demonstrated in defense of legality...We protested against an unconstitutional decree. Was this really an anti-Soviet demand? Not we alone find the decree unconstitutional. A group of representatives of the intelligentsia have presented a similar demand to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR."

* * *

"Freedom of speech and of the press is, first of all, freedom for criticism. Nobody has ever forbidden praise of the government. If in the constitution there are articles about freedom of speech and of the press, then have the patience to listen to criticism. In what kinds of countries is it forbidden to criticize the government and protest against its actions? Perhaps in capitalist countries? No, we know that in bourgeois countries Communist parties exist whose purpose is to undermine the capitalist system. In the USA the Communist party was suppressed. However, the Supreme Court declared that the suppression was unconstitutional and restored the Communist party to its full rights.*

"Judge: Bukovsky, this does not have any relevance to the accusations in your case. You must understand that the court is not competent to decide the questions you are talking about. We must not judge the laws; we must execute them.

* * *

* Actually the Communist party was not literally outlawed, although the McCarran Act's provisions were so harsh that the result was virtually the same. And although the Supreme Court overturned certain provisions of the McCarran Act, neither the Communist party nor any other radical group has "full rights" as long as that and other reactionary legislation remains on the books. -- G.S.

"I absolutely do not repent for organizing this demonstration. I find that it accomplished what it had to accomplish, and when I am free again, I shall again organize demonstrations, of course, with complete observation of the law, as before."

* * *

A comment by Trotsky on the 1936 Soviet constitution shows that critiques, such as Bukovsky's, made by young Soviet rebels follow a similar line of thinking. In Revolution Betrayed, in his chapter on the constitution, Trotsky observed:

"To be sure, the new charter 'guarantees' to the citizens the so-called 'freedoms' of speech, press, assemblage and street processions. But each of these guarantees has the form either of a heavy muzzle or of shackles upon the hands and feet. Freedom of the press means a continuation of the fierce advance-censorship whose chains are held by the Secretariat of a Central Committee whom nobody has elected. Freedom of Byzantine flattery is thus, of course, fully 'guaranteed.' ...The crude and ignorant command of science, literature and art will be wholly preserved. 'Freedom of assemblage' will mean, as formerly, the obligation of certain groups of the population to appear at meetings summoned by the authorities for the adoption of resolutions prepared in advance." (pp. 262-263.)

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