

# WORLD OUTLOOK

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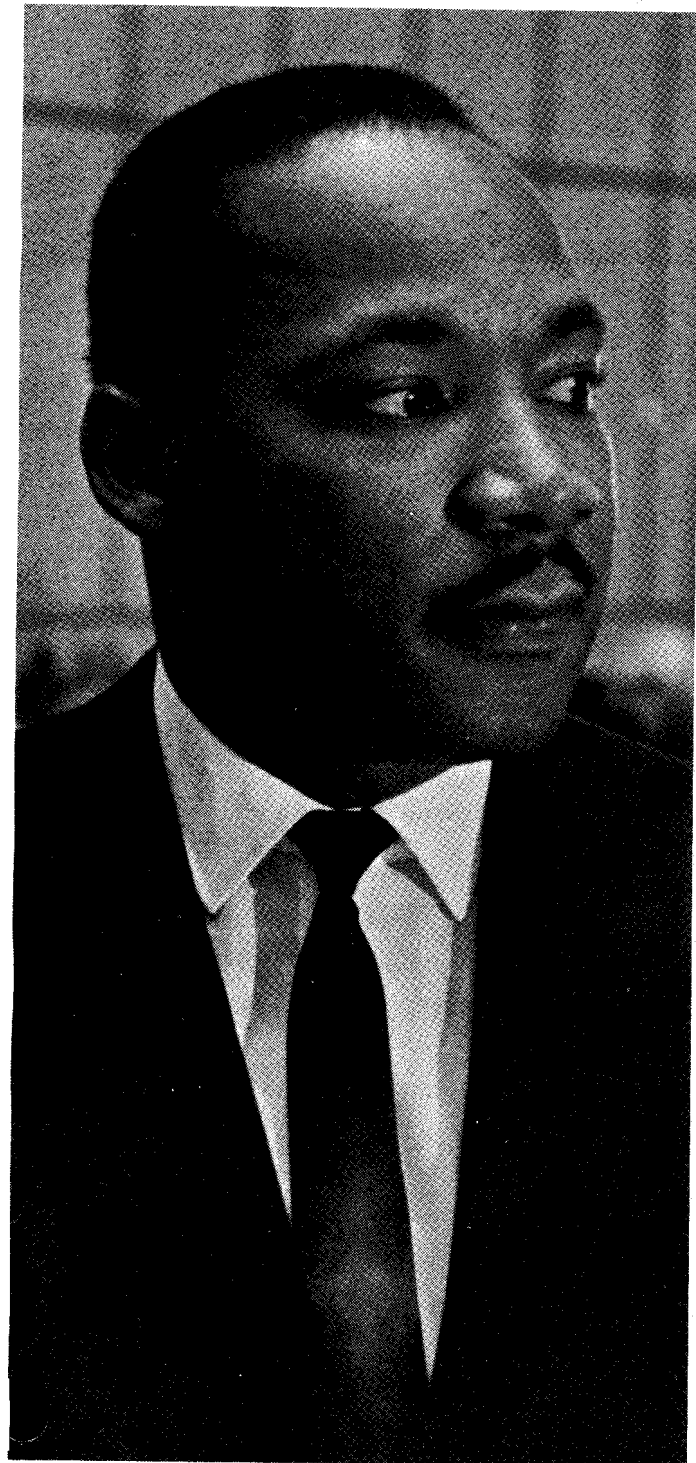
## *Martin Luther King —End of an Era*

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DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING -- THE END OF AN ERA

By George Novack

The 39-year-old Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was shot down by an unidentified white gunman in Memphis, Tennessee, Thursday, April 4, as he was planning to lead the second massive street demonstration in support of the striking sanitation workers of that city the following Monday.

The assassination of the civil-rights leader not only ended the life of the most celebrated advocate and practitioner of nonviolent mass action since Mahatma Gandhi but brutally terminated an entire phase of the black liberation struggle in the United States.

Martin Luther King has been prominently identified with the movement against racial segregation for thirteen years. He was first propelled into the national limelight by his participation in the 1955 bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, once the capital of the Confederacy. This city-wide action, which came a year after the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the public schools, marked the beginning of the civil-rights movement. Through this successful 381-day boycott, the young Baptist preacher first popularized the pacifist teachings of Gandhi and Thoreau as the way to equality and emancipation.

When his own home was bombed, he counseled the angry neighbors, who rallied to his side, to use the "weapon of love" rather than hate.

This remained the center of his philosophy and program to the very end. Late in 1963, at a meeting of poor blacks in Gadsden, Alabama, who had been brutally beaten by local police, King urged: "Some of you have knives, and I ask you to put them up. Some of you have arms, and I ask you to put them up. Get the weapon of nonviolence, the breastplate of righteousness, the armor of truth, and just keep marching."

King kept marching in this spirit. In 1960, after the first sit-ins in the South, he launched the Southern Christian Leadership Conference [SCLC], based on Negro ministers, business and professional men. By its emphasis upon mass mobilizations, this middle-class civil-rights movement represented an advance over the previous tactics of the principal Negro organization, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People [NAACP], which had largely limited itself to legal and legislative measures.

The SCLC organized campaigns designed to put pressure upon local, state

and federal authorities to secure civil and legal rights for oppressed Negroes. In 1961 it helped initiate the freedom rides to integrate Southern buses. The next year it conducted a struggle to desegregate public facilities in Albany, Georgia, which failed. The high points of King's influence were reached in August, 1963, when he was the star in the assembly of 250,000 people at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, and in March, 1965, when he led 25,000 marchers from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, in a drive for voter registration and desegregation.

These actions succeeded in focusing national and international attention on the racial conflict in the U.S., impelled the Kennedy and Johnson administrations to pay lip service to the grievances of the black population, and forced Congress to pass several civil-rights bills. But they did nothing to relieve or remove the basic problems agitating the black community: police brutality, unemployment, inadequate education and housing, and other built-in evils of the racist capitalist system.

The flagrant failure to achieve the main objectives of King's civil-rights crusades after a decade of struggle from 1955 to 1965, and the paltry results obtained from his liberalistic policy of pleading with capitalist politicians for improvements, ushered in a new stage of the struggle. The outstanding representative of this more militant and radical phase was Malcolm X, who rose to challenge Dr. King's Christian pacifist principles and dependence upon the powers-that-be before he, too, was gunned down by assassins in February, 1965.

King and his associates aspired to eliminate racial inequalities through integration into official white society by peaceful, legal and electoral means. They brought the presence and pressure of the masses to bear upon the authorities in limited ways, hoping to make them more responsive to the just claims of the black minority. But, whenever the masses threatened to move too aggressively against the racist system and its official upholders, King hastened to curb and call off their activities.

The Democratic administrations often turned to the compliant King and his organization to hold the aroused black communities in check. Thus, after the 1964 outbursts in Harlem and other cities of the North with large black populations, King signed a statement calling for "a broad curtailment if not total moratorium

on mass demonstrations until after the Presidential elections."

This moderate course won him the Nobel Peace Prize. At the time of his murder, he still had the largest personal following of any Negro leader, especially among middle-class blacks and whites. However, he had lost his hold upon the vanguard of the black liberation struggle and, above all, upon the youthful rebels who were in its front ranks.

His loss of influence over the militant youth was most dramatically evidenced in the evolution of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. SNICK was established in 1960 under his sponsorship as the student counterpart of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. By 1967 most of SNICK's leadership and members had repudiated King's civil disobedience methods, turned away from his pacifism, and adopted Malcolm X's ideas. They became forceful advocates of the "black power" and black nationalism which King opposed.

King was fully aware that he had passed the peak of his effectiveness. He sought to regain his authority and attune himself to the more militant moods of the urban masses by radicalizing his positions to a certain extent in two directions. In 1966 he became the first moderate civil-rights leader to oppose the Vietnam war, which he characterized as "one of the most unjust wars ever fought in the history of the world."

At the same time he intensified his campaigns to improve slum conditions in Chicago, Cleveland and elsewhere in the North but with no success. He was killed while preparing for a Poor People's Crusade, scheduled to begin in Washington on April 22.

His organization was planning to bring 3,000 Negroes from the South to camp out in the nation's capital as a means of pressure on Congress to provide decent jobs and a living income for the black poor.

King's ambivalent role as a leader of the black community was highlighted by the events preceding his assassination. He had gone to Memphis to assist the organization of Negro ministers named COME [Community on the Move for Equality] which had been formed to support the three-months-long fight of 1,300 sanitation workers for union recognition. The entire black community was actively behind the strike, which was likewise endorsed by the local AFL-CIO.

On March 28 King led a massive solidarity march of 15,000, including thousands of black students, down the Memphis streets. Hundreds of demonstrators were

injured and one black youth was killed when the Memphis cops assaulted the marchers with tear gas, clubs and chemical sprays. The National Guard was sent in to intimidate the strikers and their supporters. King had returned to head a second protest march when he was shot down.

While King's ministerial associates were calling upon their followers to rededicate themselves to "nonviolence as a way of life," the reaction of most black Americans was best articulated by Floyd McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality [CORE]. He said that King's death by violence meant the end of the nonviolent philosophy. "Dr. Martin Luther King was the last prince of nonviolence...nonviolence is a dead philosophy and it was not the black people that killed it. It was the white people that killed nonviolence and white racists at that."

This was the prevailing sentiment among the black community and its most forceful spokesmen. In Washington, Stokely Carmichael is reported to have told about 400 black militants to "go home and get your guns" for self-protection. After the news of King's assassination spread, there were scattered outbursts of outrage and protests in black communities in all sections of the country.

The real attitude of the ruling class was made plain, not by the condonances of its representatives, but by the actions of its officials. The Tennessee government sent 4,000 troops into Memphis an hour after the shooting to keep the black people subdued. The federal government prepared to move elite army troops swiftly against any troubled areas. The 18th Airborne Corps at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, opened its emergency operation headquarters; while David E. McGiffert, Under Secretary of the Army, General Harold K. Johnson, Army Chief of Staff, and General Counsel of the Army Robert Jordan, went to Army Operations Center at the Pentagon.

The full returns of this bloody deed have yet to be registered. The death of Dr. King removes from the arena of action the most reliable personality that officials could turn to in times of extreme tension between the infuriated black masses and the authorities. The two assassinations, first of the militant and uncompromising Malcolm X, and now of the moderate and conciliatory Martin Luther King, have dealt mortal blows to the philosophy of nonviolence.

Millions more Afro-Americans are now convinced that it is the black skin and subject status, rather than the special ideas and programs of their leaders, that matter most. They see that the U.S. is ruled by a gang of killers, who

operate with equal ruthlessness abroad and at home, that they can rely only upon themselves for security, and that they

must be armed for self-protection against official and unofficial genocidal assaults.

### UPRISINGS ROCK CITIES IN U.S.

By Joseph Hansen

Within hours of the slaying of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Thursday, April 4, Afro-Americans in the ghettos of more than forty cities in the U.S. were in the streets. To most of them the assassination of the leading Negro advocate of nonviolence was clinching proof that white America had declared war to the finish against the blacks.

Chicago was swept by fires declared to be the worst since 1871. In Washington, to find a parallel for the columns of smoke rising over the dome of Congress, commentators had to go back to the war of 1812. Violence flared in dozens of cities as police, the National Guard and troops moved in with armor and tear gas like "pacification" forces in a colonial conflict. The April 7 New York Times pictured the scenes as "warnings of catastrophic civil war at home."

In truth, the social and political crisis facing America's capitalist ruling class was the most acute since the eve of the Civil War a century ago.

The entire communications media rallied to the emergency with singular unanimity. The television companies in particular pushed aside their regular programs to saturate the channels with material aimed at assuaging the feelings of the black community, keeping them pinned to their television screens and subjected to Martin Luther King's image and voice on the single theme of nonviolence.

The tapes showing scenes in King's life were carefully selected and edited to emphasize nothing but his Gandhian philosophy of nonviolence. Little was shown of the marches he organized, the demonstrations he headed, the masses he led into the streets.

No shots were shown even of his last action in Memphis in behalf of the striking sanitation workers, the action that was disrupted by the Memphis police, who shot one of the demonstrators, thus inciting the atmosphere of violence which King's assassin only carried to its logical conclusion.

Similarly by-passed on television were King's denunciations of the failure of the powers-that-be to act, his warnings of what could happen if the law-makers persisted in their course of dis-

regarding the basic causes of the mounting unrest and rebellion in the ghettos.

Likewise disregarded was the last phase of Martin Luther King's public activity in which he joined the opposition to the war in Vietnam and sought to help link up the antiwar and civil-rights movements. No television channel, for instance, ran tapes of Martin Luther King addressing what he said was the largest audience he ever spoke before -- the huge throng of 400,000 persons who participated in the April 15, 1967, antiwar demonstration in New York.

In addition, a striking aspect of all this propaganda was the prominence given to Negroes like Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Whitney M. Young Jr. of the National Urban League, long notorious as house servants of the white capitalist power structure. More militant spokesmen of the black people were given minimum time, and the best-known advocates of black power, like Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown, were virtually excluded.

But anger was running deep in the ghettos. John C. Waugh reported from Los Angeles in the April 6 Christian Science Monitor:

"Many blacks here, in the shadow of Watts, where the first violent outbreak of the black revolution erupted three summers ago, think the King murder opens a whole new and troubled era in American race relations.

"'Now the black man really feels threatened,' one Negro here said. 'If a man like King can't survive, then where is there room for peaceful protest?'"

Three correspondents reported from New York in the same issue of the Monitor:

"But a local preacher, the Rev. Jesse Truvillion, seemed closer to the general Harlem reaction with his word: 'rage.'

"'And that,' he said, 'is probably the mildest feeling you'll find in Harlem. Who could expect less? We've endorsed hatred in this country for so long that we get to expecting something like that [the assassination].'"

"The Rev. Mr. Truvillion, asked what he might say to his congregation next Sunday, thought for a moment, then said: 'I would not advise them to engage in violence. However, I don't think one man did the shooting. There are a few million people in this country whose hatred pulled that trigger.'

"We have warned for years that the white man must learn to love the Negro before the Negro learned to hate like the white man does. Now it's too late, brother. We've learned to hate.

"I cannot climb into my pulpit on Sunday and in good conscience preach the love of Calvary."

Again in the same issue of the Monitor, Howard James reported from Louisville, Kentucky, on a conversation with Samuel Hawkins, a devoted follower of Martin Luther King, who spent much of last summer in jail in Louisville because of his participation in civil-rights marches.

At a Baptist church, Samuel Hawkins announced the news about Dr. King. "Then he slowly turned to me and said in measured words: 'That's it. That's it. Nonviolence died with Dr. King.'

"As his anger obviously rose, he turned away from me and said to no one in particular, 'That's white America.'

"Then he turned back to me [a white reporter].

"That's what happens to the decent guys. He didn't say nothing about black power. He didn't advocate violence. He preached love, man. And they killed him. Carmichael was right. He was right."

Howard James reports another conversation, this time in the home of the Rev. A.D. King, Martin Luther King's brother:

"Marshall Jackson, a Negro college student who accompanied us, stood on the front lawn and said words that seemed to reflect the mood of all young Negroes that surrounded me:

"I feel anger all over me. I feel hate swelling up in me. If a [white man] came down the street now I think I could kill him in revenge."

"But even as he said it, it became clear he was lashing out at prejudice, hatred, and violence -- not really at white men.

"For he said these words to me, and I am white. Because I stood beside him there on the Rev. Mr. King's lawn, he forgot about my color."

This should be sufficient to indicate how closely in tune Stokely Carmichael was with the prevailing mood in the ghettos when he spoke at a news conference in Washington April 5. Here is the account as published in the New York Post the following day:

"Black Power spokesman Stokely Carmichael says 'white America is incapable of dealing with the [race] problem' and warned of increasing violence in the streets.

"He spoke first at a news conference in the headquarters of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and later at a Howard University rally.

"Speaking softly at his news conference, Carmichael told the reporters:

"When white America killed Dr. King last night she declared war on us... We have to retaliate for the deaths of our leaders. The executions of those deaths will not be in the courtrooms. They're going to be in the streets of the United States of America..."

"He went on to say: 'The kind of man that killed Dr. King last night made it a whole lot easier for a whole lot of black people today. There no longer needs to be intellectual discussions. Black people know that they have to get guns. White America will live to cry since she killed Dr. King last night. It would have been better if she had killed Rap Brown and/or Stokely Carmichael. But when she killed Dr. King, she lost it.'

"Carmichael termed King's murder America's 'biggest mistake' and added: 'When white America killed Dr. King, she opened the eyes of every black man in this country... He was the one man in our race who was trying to reach our people to have love, compassion and mercy for white people. When white America killed Dr. King last night, she declared war on us...'"

The shift in mood in the ghettos, precipitated by the assassination of Dr. King, constitutes a change in the American political scene of the greatest portent. Its first consequence was a nationwide explosion of anger. The fires that lit up the night in such metropolitan centers as Chicago will die down, but the feeling of hate, of intolerable suffocation and provocation, will endure.

This now becomes a new force which every political tendency in America will have to take into account from here on out. It derives not from a passing incident but from the superexploitation, the poverty, the segregation, indignities and violence that constitute life in America for some twenty million black people.

How will the capitalist ruling class seek to deal with this force?

The administration's immediate reaction gave a good indication. What up to that moment had been a crisis of the first order in foreign policy -- the war in Vietnam -- was pushed aside. Johnson cancelled his projected trip to Hawaii where he was to consider Hanoi's response to his reduction of the bombing of North Vietnam. The day after the assassination of King, President Johnson declared a state of "domestic violence and disorder" in the nation's capital. By Sunday the local police force of 2,800 men had been supplemented by 12,500 troops; the city resembled a battlefield, and the White House, surrounded by machine guns and battle-ready troops, reminded onlookers of the U.S. embassy in Saigon during the "Tet Offensive."

The line behind which the ruling class appeared to be uniting was expressed in an editorial in the April 7 New York Times: "There can be no hesitation, no timidity in protecting endangered cities. Burners and looters must be repressed by a massive show of police force and arrests."

In Chicago, Mayor Richard J. Daley, an influential boss of the Johnson machine, spoke even more clearly. With 7,500 national guardsmen and 5,000 federal troops in the streets and with casualties already at eleven dead and more than 200 wounded, the mayor, speaking over television April 6, demanded "sterner methods" and indicated that it was time to begin "shooting looters."

Johnson made the dramatic move of

#### JOHNSON'S BID TO "NEGOTIATE" THE WAR IN VIETNAM

The world is still speculating over the meaning of Johnson's withdrawal March 31 as a presidential candidate and his ordering a "limitation" on the bombing of North Vietnam.

The official interpretation is that Johnson put the interests of peace above his personal political ambitions and decided to remove himself as a center of division and controversy, the better to "unite America" and to "convince Hanoi" to come to the negotiations table.

Several more plausible explanations are circulating in political circles in the U.S. One is that Johnson became convinced by the latest polls and by the results of the primary elections in New Hampshire that he could not win the nomination in the Democratic party and that even if he did win he might well be defeated by even a Nixon in the November elections.

calling a special joint session of Congress. There were indications that he might make a demagogic ploy of insisting on passage of new civil-rights legislation, but Congress was described as in a "backlash" mood.

The legislators have in fact been rescinding concessions already granted, particularly in medical aid and social security. They have been allocating funds instead to the "war against crime in the streets," their way of describing the war they have declared against the dwellers in America's ghettos.

Thus the Senate Judiciary Committee recently approved an administration bill granting \$100,000,000 the first year to help local authorities in their "war against crime in the streets"; while the House approved a cut of \$100,000,000 in emergency appropriations for two poverty programs to help youth in the slums.

Even if Johnson makes a dramatic grandstand play at the projected joint session of Congress, it remains to be seen whether this body, which is completely monopolized by the capitalist class, will suddenly change its course and offer a few concessions to go along with the harsh repressive measures that have already been decided on.

As for the Afro-Americans, increasing numbers of them will now undoubtedly come to the conclusion that the great need now is effective political organization. The explosive force of the ghettos needs a revolutionary program, competent leadership and disciplined action to give it irresistible power.

The timing of his announcement was related to the primary elections in Wisconsin on April 2 where he was absolutely certain to be defeated, and even more decisively than in New Hampshire. To save face, he had to withdraw before April 2.

Johnson's "limitation" of bombing forays in North Vietnam is accounted for in parallel fashion as recognition of the staggering defeat dealt to the U.S. aggression by the "Tet Offensive." The victory won by the Vietnamese freedom fighters showed how illusory Johnson's pursuit of a military victory had become. The fresh impetus this gave to the antiwar movement in the United States deepened the fears of that sector of the ruling class that has long doubted the wisdom of Johnson's tactical course, won new adherents among the ruling class to this view and thus increased the pressure on Johnson to such an extent that he had no choice but to concede.

It is a curious fact that not even this explanation, so damaging to the standing of the president since it amounts to accusing him of truly colossal errors, is wholly convincing to wide sectors of the population. After the first reaction of relief and even gratitude, many asked themselves, "What does this slick, conniving, lying capitalist machine politician have up his sleeve?"

Obviously Johnson's move had one immediate benefit for his potential candidacy. It gave him a plausible excuse to avoid campaigning, to evade facing the hostile crowds that have made it impossible for him "to carry his case to the people," as the capitalist politicians put it.

Another immediate benefit was to clean up his image a bit and give him more of the appearance of the lofty president standing above sordid politics which he has sought to achieve since the beginning of the year.

Johnson's "peace offensive" ties in with such Machiavellian calculations. If "Hanoi" turned down his seemingly generous offer to negotiate "peace," he could in the months before the Democratic convention seek to convince the American people that the onus for continuation of the war rested solely with "the enemy" and that, like it or not, no choice was left open but to further escalate the war -- and on a qualitatively higher level.

The natural concomitant of this would be to draft a man who had gone to such extreme lengths to show his eagerness to end the war -- a man who at the same time had also shown his capacity to conduct a war in the style of a Churchill or Roosevelt.

That there might be a grain of truth in this account is indicated by the reports from Saigon that both the U.S. command and their puppet forces confidently expected that the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam would reject Johnson's "offer" out of hand. The first reaction in these circles, when news came that the Vietnamese had tentatively agreed to open talks, was deep dismay and even panic.

The corrupt layers around the Thieu-Ky government immediately began looking for escape hatches. Beverly Deepe reported in the April 5 Christian Science Monitor:

"Some are trying to buy Chinese Nationalist passports, selling under the table for 300,000 piastres -- \$3,000, a sizable sum of money in Vietnam. Others are attempting to buy Lao passports, less expensive, ranging from \$1,000 to \$2,000, depending on one's connections....Other

Vietnamese are arranging to be smuggled to Cambodia, and there try to buy Cambodian passports, reliable sources report."

Whether Johnson counted on his "offer" being rejected out of hand is, of course, uncertain. That fact that his order to "limit" the bombing nevertheless permitted bombers to continue their forays to within a few miles of Hanoi is highly suspicious. The continuation of bombing on this scale may have been intended as a provocation, the idea being that the continued raids would cause the Ho Chi Minh government to spurn the "offer" as fraudulent on the face of it.

In the resulting confusion and disappointment among the American people, Johnson might have figured he could still pin the onus on "the enemy."

This scheme, if that was what Johnson had in mind, was spoiled by Hanoi's countermove.

At the time of the "Tet Offensive," the Johnson administration discounted the Vietnamese victories as "only" psychological or political. If we take Johnson's March 31 speech at face value, then it must be said that the White House propaganda of last February was extremely light-minded. Among the political gains to be chalked up to the Vietnamese thrust was nothing less than Johnson's own candidacy for reelection.

Direct credit for Johnson's forced withdrawal goes, of course, to the development of the antiwar movement in the United States with its huge demonstrations and its increasingly militant tone.

But the Vietnamese victory in February served to precipitate things. It opened a new stage of struggle in Vietnam with immense repercussions not only in Vietnam but in the entire world, the United States in the first place for once.

The swift intensification of the black liberation struggle in the U.S. is part of the new pattern.

Another sector that may soon be heard from is the half million U.S. troops sent to Vietnam. They are in strategic position to cut through any fraudulent "peace" maneuvers emanating in Washington and play a decisive role in bringing the dirty war in Vietnam to an actual end.

A popular slogan in the antiwar movement in the U.S. is, "Bring them back alive -- NOW!"

Judging from various reports, the GI's may soon be of a mood to reword that slogan: "We're coming home -- NOW! And don't let Johnson or anyone else try to stop us!"

## THE DOLLAR CRISIS

By Ernest Mandel

Will the dollar follow the pound? Many capitalists both big and little asked themselves this question worriedly in the aftermath of the English devaluation. A couple of weeks ago this worry turned into panic. As a result there was a run on gold, and the central banks of the main capitalist countries had to do something. They instituted a dual "market" in gold -- one market for central banks, in which gold continues to be valued at \$35 an ounce; and a private or free market in which its price is to be established by the law of supply and demand.

The apparent parallel between the pound and the dollar should not deceive us, however -- the position of American capitalism is fundamentally different from that of British capitalism.

In Great Britain, the pound sterling's international function as a reserve currency was in contradiction to the country's economic decline. Although British industry no longer plays anything but a secondary role in the world economy, the British bourgeoisie stubbornly insists on hanging onto "the good old pound." Nonetheless, sooner or later the pound will cease to serve as a reserve currency, and the sooner this readjustment is made, the better it will be for the British workers. (Their livelihood has just been brutally cut by \$1,200,000,000 to comply with the demands of the international bankers.)

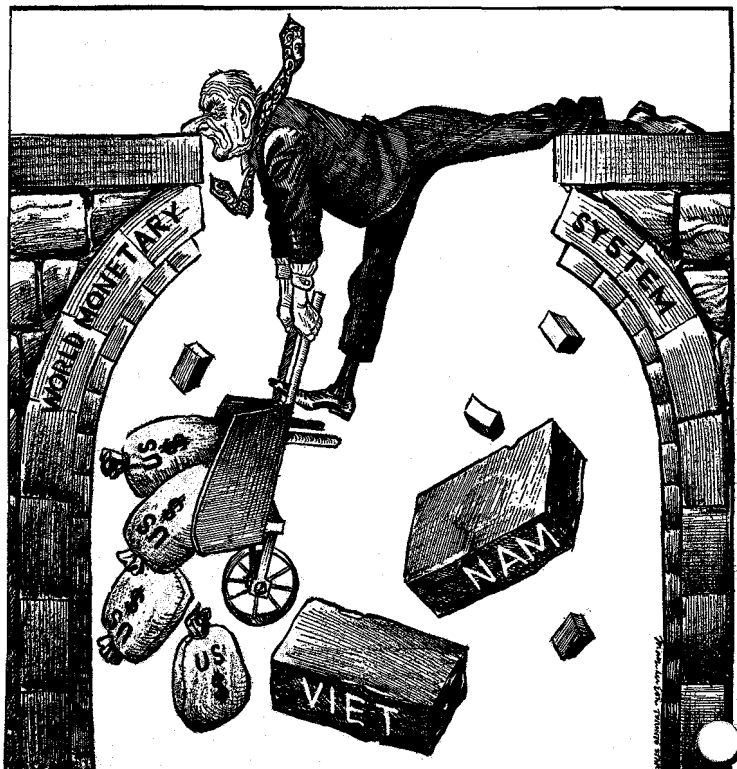
In the United States, on the other hand, the dollar's international role matches the economic power of American imperialism. If for two decades central banks, private banks, and capitalist enterprises have competed for dollars, it is because these dollars represented and still represent a means of purchasing a practically unlimited range of commodities -- both consumer goods and machinery. The dollar's function as a reserve currency corresponds to the balance-of-trade deficits which most capitalist countries have with the United States.

If tomorrow the United States had to practice a rigorous deflationary policy, or had to devalue the dollar, this would again strike panic in the other capitalist countries. They would risk losses in three respects. First their sales to the United States would drop and as a result the economic situation of their countries would take a turn for the worse. Secondly, American exports to Europe and Japan would rise and competition would become increasingly stiffer. Finally, the threat of a new dollar shortage would arise and this would precipitate endless difficulties in trade and finance.

What is the source of the sudden lack of confidence in the dollar? It certainly does not lie in American private capital exports because these are in balance with the repatriation of capital dividends to the United States.

"The-Americans-who-are-buying-'our'-factories-with-the-paper-dollars-they-are-sending-us" is a Gaullist myth. In reality the American monopolies are buying up the European factories with the capital which the European banks advance as loans. And these banks loan them this capital because the American monopolies are richer, more solid, make higher profits, and offer more security than the European monopolies. What must be challenged is the whole logic of the capitalist system, not Wall Street's diabolical use of the dollar.

The lack of confidence in the dollar has been created by the persistent deficit in the American balance of payments which arises from U.S. government expenditures abroad. Hidden behind this discreet rubric are two dramatic operations: financing the Vietnam war; granting military aid to reactionary and dictatorial regimes in many countries (from the military dictatorship in Indonesia to General Mobutu's military dictatorship in the Congo-Kinshasa and



-- Macpherson in the Toronto Star

### Credibility Gap



from the regime in Seoul to the one in La Paz).

It is these dollars that account for the constant flow of gold from the United States; it is these dollars that created the recent panic. One need only pose this problem to recognize the impasse in which the international bourgeoisie finds itself.

For, these dollars are not being spent for narrowly "American" aims; they are being spent to maintain the whole world imperialist system, which is more and more shaken. The real answer to the gold crisis would be to say: "Americans, dissolve your Atlantic pact, SEATO, and your assistance pact with Japan! Liquidate your overseas bases. Bring your soldiers home."

But the international bourgeoisie does not dare give this answer; first of all, because it would risk rapidly provoking that worldwide dollar shortage which I have just spoken about; and, secondly, because it would risk leaving world capitalism defenseless against the rising tide of anticapitalist forces throughout the world.

In urging Washington to reestablish its balance of payments, not by eliminating its unproductive foreign spending but by balancing the budget in the United States, the international bourgeoisie would like to force the American workers to pay the full cost of the Vietnam war. Washington, however, is not particularly entranced by this idea because the opposition to the Vietnam war is already very great. It would like to prevent this opposition from spreading too much among the working class. So, the American answer was, "Pay part yourselves." And the agreement on a dual market in gold does, in fact, imply that the European capitalists will pay part of the costs of this dirty war.

The dual market is only a temporary measure. The free market is precipitating a rise in the price of gold. It is hoped that this increase will bring

gold back on the market held in the form of savings (more than a billion dollars a year over the last years). In this way the price would become stabilized and another panic would be avoided.

But two conditions are necessary for this system to function perfectly. First of all, it is necessary that the two markets be completely separate, that is, that no central bank buy gold at \$35 an ounce in Washington for resale later at \$40 an ounce (or tomorrow at still higher prices) on the free market. But for many small poor countries the temptation is sure to prove too much. Thus there will be lapses.

Let us not forget either that American monopolies control some of these countries. For these monopolies, patriotism does not exist, no profits are too small to be overlooked: and they can make sure and substantial profits by trafficking in gold.

Secondly those holding gold must be sure that the American government will not, despite everything, jump the price to \$50 or even more. As long as they retain this hope, gold will not be released. And as long as it is not released the price on the free market will threaten to rise apace -- that is, speculation will continue and the pressure for devaluing the dollar will grow.

The Americans can "break" the price on the free market by throwing on it a great quantity of gold, that is, by officially demonetizing gold. But they hesitate to take such a step in the absence of complete solidarity among the central banks of all the imperialist powers. Such solidarity is chimerical, however, in the capitalist system where competition reigns. In these conditions, the plans to create a world currency detached from gold have slight chance of success. This means that the monetary crisis will persist, or more precisely that it will last as long as the capitalist system endures.

#### BOURGUIBA ANSWERS STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS WITH TERROR

The Bourguiba regime has answered the March 15-19 student demonstrations in Tunis with terror. Police clubbed students in their classrooms in two high schools, killing Ben Miled and wounding twenty others.

The March demonstrations were in solidarity with Mohamed Ben Jennet, a theology student sentenced to twenty years at hard labor last June for participating in a protest action at the American em-

bassy during the Arab-Israeli war.

In the wave of terror, the following have been jailed: the students Brahim Razgallah, Ahmed Ben Othman, Salah Zguidi, Kemais Chamari, Mohamed Salah Guarbi, Hedi Slama, and Hallel Abdeljaoued; the professors Hafed Southoum, Mohamed Charfi and his wife, Attia Hebib, Hechemi Troudi, and Sassi Ben Halima; and the government officials Nourridine Ben Khader, Naccache Gilbert, Houssime Baendi, and Ahmed Smaoui.

GREEK RESISTANCE MOVEMENT GIRDS FOR LONG STRUGGLE

By T.N.Themistocles

Several things have been written regarding the causes of the dictatorship in Greece, most often that economic crisis led the Americans and the Greek big capitalists to resort to dictatorship. The dictators say something similar, that is, that they saved Greece from the economic chaos in which the country found itself. The truth is completely contrary.

We had a political crisis in Greece, not an economic one. Before the dictatorship, Greece was in the midst of a boom; in 1966 the national income grew by eight percent and industrial production 14.5 percent. In Greece, the exploiting classes were represented by the Palace and the two bourgeois parties -- the Palace, basing itself on the state apparatus and the army, being the symbol of fascist repressive methods. The two bourgeois parties were the Center Union [Enosis tou Kentrou] and the ERE [Ethnike Rizopastike Enosis -- National Radical Union]. The latter was a conservative party representing a minority of the bourgeois class.

The EDA [Enosis tes Demokratikes Aristeras -- Union of the Democratic Left], a formation reflecting the viewpoint of the Greek Communist party, was bound hand and foot to Soviet foreign policy and to the policy of class collaboration. Although a majority of the working class followed this party, it played no serious political role. It continually pleaded for cooperation from the bourgeoisie, and its political function was limited to quieting and keeping down the exploited. It would approve slogans after their adoption by the Center Union.

A sharp political battle broke out in Greece between the two factions of the bourgeoisie, in which the majority was represented by the Center Union and the minority by the National Radical Union and the Palace. This struggle unfolded in several phases, and, in spite of the Center Union's passive attitude toward the Palace, which was the symbol of the regime, the situation of the monarchy was scarcely a favorable one.

A digression is necessary here in order to be able to interpret this phenomenon. An all-powerful, ponderous state and military apparatus remained in Greece from the time of the civil war (1945-1948); it had its own interests and its own mentality and by training and natural bent was disposed to resort to dictatorship when the regime faced any danger.

One of the differences within the bourgeoisie was over retaining this pon-

derous state apparatus. A group of officers in the armed forces general headquarters and in the capital's defense units stole the envelopes containing the plans for instituting martial law; they sent the appropriate signals by telegram and in lightning fashion put martial law into effect throughout the entire country.

Once these plans had been executed, they all realized that they had not carried out the orders of the top command and the Palace but of a small group of officers who already had the situation in hand. The group of colonels had the support only of a tiny minority of the bourgeoisie. The dictatorship was set up against the will of the bourgeoisie, though doubtless with the support and consent of the American intelligence service. Under compulsion, the Palace supported the dictatorship, basing itself on the navy and certain air force units.

After establishment of the dictatorship, a resistance movement began in Greece. Despite the fierce blows being dealt it, this wave of resistance, not only is not abating but is continually extending. The resistance within the country is expressed through various organizations -- both through those linked to the political parties and others which have sprung up spontaneously. From the first moment of the dictatorship, the Greek Trotskyists entered all the resistance movements and are playing a decisive role within them. Their sacrifices are unimaginable. The Trotskyists have been sentenced to a total of 500 years in prison. Greek Trotskyists abroad are continuing their activity.

With the dictatorship, the country has moved backward in every respect. Despite its previous dynamism, the economy has been shaken. Parallel to the struggle of the Greek people, the bourgeoisie is trying for its own political ends to regroup its forces against the colonels. Caramanlis has expressed these efforts through his declarations.\*

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\* Former Prime Minister Constantine Caramanlis, the leader and founder of the ERE. Caramanlis ruled Greece from 1955 to 1963, presiding over a right-wing authoritarian regime closely bound to the Crown. In 1963, in the first reasonably free election in postwar Greece, his party lost heavily, winning only 39 percent of the vote as against 42 percent for the Center Union. [See World Outlook, November 15, 1963.] After his defeat Caramanlis went into exile in Paris and maintained political silence until several months after

These statements of Caramanlis particularly affected the Palace. Under pressure from the bourgeoisie, but fearing for its fate because of the turn political developments might take, it acted precipitously to bring down the dictatorship and present the bourgeoisie with a fait accompli. But it was so hasty, its action so little coordinated, that it failed.

The colonels have won time by the use of armed force, but the resistance in the country is continuing. Armed struggle is the only way. But this is still several years off. The path of preparation will be long and the struggle hard. The

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the colonels' coup of April 21, 1967.

On November 29, 1967, approximately two weeks before King Constantine's abortive attempt to stage a coup of his own against the colonels, an interview with Caramanlis was published in the Paris daily Le Monde in which he condemned the military government and called for the junta's exit from power.

For example, in answer to a question whether he thought the junta would restore democracy, he said: "Indeed, the putschists' attempt to place the army under their control, their continual clashes with the Palace, which is the guarantor of the return to legality, the slandering of the [Greek] political world in its entirety, accompanied by unbridled demagogy, and finally the absurd aim that is attributed to the putschists of drawing up a new constitution lead me to the conclusion that they have no intention of restoring democracy."

He declined to say by what means the colonels might be ousted, but added, "I can in any case assure you that the Greeks will not permit the maintenance of dictatorship in any form." -- W.O.

#### WEST BENGAL -- WHAT NEXT?

[The following editorial appeared in the March 1968 issue of Marxist Outlook, journal of the Socialist Workers party of India.]

\* \* \*

The imposition of the presidential rule in West Bengal and dissolution of the State Assembly comes in the wake of a statewide mass upsurge "led" by the United Front [opportunistic alliance of the "left" Communist party (CPI-M) with capitalist and communal parties in a "non-Congress coalition" -- W.O.] against the Congress-sponsored P.C.Ghosh ministry in-

dictatorship is trying to achieve stability by gaining recognition abroad. The way has been prepared for this diplomatically by certain apparent concessions, i.e., freeing Andreas Papandreou\* for the benefit of the West and Mikos Theodorakis\*\* for the East. This recognition does not alter the situation, however, because the decisive struggle will be carried out within the country. The imposition of the dictatorship and the struggle to unseat it represent one phase of this struggle; several other bloody phases will follow.

It is useful to mention one fact. The magazine Tachydromos [Express], which is published in Greece, wrote in its last issue about profitable deposits of uranium existing in the country. A few days after the installation of the dictatorship, a small, unimportant Greek bank which had merged with a big American combine began prospecting for and mining uranium in Greece.

It has not yet been proved what relationship there was between the American economic groups whose interests are expressed by the U.S. intelligence service and the establishment of the Greek dictatorship. But it does not matter how indirect the relationship was. The role of the American government's intelligence forces and the dictators under their control everywhere is to throw humanity backward. The role of revolutionists, the sole defenders of civilization, is to continue their indefatigable struggle for the liberation of humanity. Everything depends on how they carry the struggle forward.

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\* The son of George Papandreou, the leader of the Center Union, and considered the head of the party's left wing.

\*\* Former head of the Lambrakis Youth, the youth organization of the EDA.

stalled after the dismissal of the government headed by Ajoy Mukherjee. The left constituents of the UF have hailed the development as a victory for them, the goal set before them being only that of a mid-term poll [election].

The mass resistance movement against the bourgeois state and brutal police repression was cleverly diverted into "civil disobedience" and "token defiance of law," etc., by the leaders of the left parties, who deliberately sabotaged the possibilities of the masses of workers and poor peasants entering the vortex of the struggle with their own class de-



IN PARIS a crowd of several hundred youth under the leadership of the Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire [Revolutionary Communist Youth] demonstrate in front of the Polish embassy March 28. They expressed solidarity with students in Po-

land who have been imprisoned for voicing sympathy with the democratic reforms won in Czechoslovakia. The Paris students demanded the immediate release of the Polish rebels. They closed their demonstration by singing the "Internationale."

mands. The whole strategy of the traditional left in West Bengal was that of containing the mass discontent within the bourgeois constitutional framework and to utilise the threat of mass action to force a presidential rule as a temporary constitutional solution and not of challenging the bourgeois social order as such. The bourgeois centre, shrewd enough to realise the game of the "left," acted in time before the mass upsurge assumed more serious proportions and got out of control.

It appears as if the Congress leadership has taken a calculated risk. It was clear that Dr. P.C.Ghosh did not command a majority in the Legislative Assembly in spite of the decision of the Congress party to join the coalition with the Progressive Democratic Front, especially after the revolt inside the Congress led by Ashutosh Ghosh.

Strangely enough Ajoy Mukherjee and Jyoti Basu as leaders of the UF despite their claim to be saviours of (bourgeois) "democracy" were prepared to support the Ashutosh Ghosh clique to form a government although this very clique was initially responsible for toppling the UF ministry earlier. What more blatant opportunism could there be for the self-styled Marxist and leftist leaders than this unprincipled horse-trading? Perhaps the faith of the leaders of the CPI(M) [Communist party of India (Marxist) -- the pro-Peking CP], CPI [Communist party of India -- pro-Moscow CP], RSP [Revolutionary Socialist party], SUC [Socialist Unity Centre], etc., in bourgeois parliamentarism has become so strong that they are prepared to make any "sacrifices" (even of their loudly proclaimed principles) to see that they regain their "ministerial gaddis" [throne cushions]. The

anxiety now is to see how soon the centre is going to order a midterm election in the state.

There is no indication when the centre will hold the midterm poll. The president's rule can last for six months "legally" and can be extended further under "special circumstances" although the prevailing mass combativity is a deterrent against any such dilatory tactics.

Even if the election takes place, the bourgeois leaders at the centre have no reasons to be unduly perturbed since the "Marxist" leaders of the UF are committed to playing the parliamentary game, strictly within the capitalist constitutional framework.

The poll might result in an increased strength for the left constituents of the UF in the new Legislative Assembly. The UF as a multiclass opportunist coalition, however, still continues. The real character of the UF during the nine months it remained in office has indeed undergone a change with the Bangla Congress (now the BKD) having gone through a split and the parties like the PSP [Praja Socialist party] and SSP [Samyukta Socialist party], discredited in the eyes of the masses. But the CPI(M) as the dominant partner of the UF, a prisoner of its own parliamentary cretinism, cannot forsake its bourgeois and middle-class allies. Another opportunist group of defectors from the BKD led by Jehangir Kabir is being admitted as a constituent of the UF.

There will be new horse-trading for redistribution of seats among the constituents of the UF. The Ashutosh Ghosh clique also might worm its way into the UF. So West Bengal is entering into another spell of "United Frontism" -- fundamentally the same as it was during the first nine months.

The only positive factor in the situation is the still sustained combativity of the masses of workers, urban petty bourgeoisie and land-hungry peasants and their growing realisation of the limitations of their basic problems being solved within the capitalist framework.

In several districts forest land or land owned by absentee landlords have been occupied and are being cultivated by landless peasants. The spectacular revolt of the Naxalbari peasants under the UF ministry was only an open manifestation of the new mood of the rural poor in West Bengal. Faced with prospects of large-scale unemployment, following the closures of the engineering, textile and other establishments, the working class

is left with no other alternative but to come in direct clashes with the state apparatus protecting the capitalist employers. Discontent is mounting among the petty-bourgeois masses and the students in the urban areas.

The growing restlessness of the masses is also reflected in the dissensions within the CPI(M) and the revolt against the party's present opportunist leadership staged by the so-called Naxalbari group influenced by Maoism. The leadership of the Chinese CP has begun to openly attack the leaders of the CPI(M) as "neorevisionists." The CPI(M) leadership on its part has adopted a political line which is critical of the Chinese CP.

Whatever be the outcome of the midterm poll, it cannot be gainsaid that West Bengal is passing through an advanced pre-revolutionary situation. The mass discontent cannot be contained within the capitalist framework very long. The newly formed unit of the SWP has a special responsibility in the present context despite its organisational weakness in that it has to generalise the experience of the mass movement and give it a new revolutionary orientation.

The main task before the revolutionary Marxists in West Bengal is to develop and coordinate the emerging struggles of the working class, students, and the rural poor on the basis of a clear anticapitalist, antilandlord programme. The student struggles should centre round demands like democratisation of university administrations, reduction in tuition fees, etc. Struggles of the working class must be built around demands like nationalisation without compensation of all partially or fully closed industrial establishments under workers management, unemployment wages for jobless workers, creation of elected factory committees, etc.

The movement of the rural poor should be developed to a higher stage around demands like land to the actual tiller, abolition of all debts, legalisation of all land occupation by poor peasants, minimum wages for agricultural workers, etc.

The opportunist policies of "multi-class coalitions" pursued by the traditional left parties must be thoroughly exposed. What is needed in the place of the present UF serving the needs of the capitalist class, creating illusions among the masses, is a united front of workers and peasants parties which will strictly subordinate their activities on the electoral front to the extra-legislative class struggle outside.

100,000 IN RIO DE JANEIRO PROTEST POLICE KILLING OF STUDENT

Sharp clashes between the army and students in Brazil threaten to precipitate the most serious political crisis for the dictatorship since it seized power four years ago.

The crisis began when police in Rio de Janeiro fired into a student demonstration March 28, killing a seventeen-year-old student, Edson de Lima Souto.

Irénée Guimaraes, special correspondent of the Paris daily Le Monde, reported April 3 that more than 100,000 people attended the student's funeral held the day after he was killed.

The New York Times said that some of the marchers in the massive funeral parade shouted, "Viva Che Guevara!"

Student organizations called nationwide protest actions for Monday, April 1.

Irénée Guimaraes, writing from Rio in the April 3 Le Monde, gives the following account:

"The revolt and indignation turned very quickly against the regime. Since the student organizations decided to call a protest meeting for Monday, the authorities took precautions. But the violence extended to all the large campuses in the country. The tally was: two dead, several dozen wounded, and hundreds of arrests.

"The authorities seem overwhelmed. An insurrectionary wind is shaking the country. The most extravagant rumors are circulating and fear is growing of an unforeseen tempest.

"At Belo Horizonte, capital of the state of Minas Gerais, the demonstrators set fire to cars, burned American flags and broke store windows. Police bullets wounded four students.

"In Goiânia, near Brasilia, there was an exchange of gunfire between police and students resulting in the wounding of one of the demonstrators....

"In São Paulo, where the governor decided to close his eyes, the university students' march took place without incident, but the speakers denounced 'military dictatorship whose time has run out.'

"In Rio de Janeiro, early Monday morning, the police occupied the center of the city. Night fell, the students, using a well-conceived tactic, began a provocative maneuver; they ran into the streets shouting 'Down with the dictatorship!' and disappeared at once into the middle of the traffic. Under cover of

traffic jams they organized lightning political meetings. The first clashes were sharp. Jittery police used their clubs on the crowd.

"A longshoreman was killed, several police were wounded, and governor Negrão de Lima, recognizing that he no longer had sufficient forces to assure order called on the army to occupy the city. By the time the tanks moved in, however, the demonstrators had vanished."

In its April 3 issue the Christian Science Monitor added to the account of the April 1 clashes:

"Tanks and armored personnel carriers loaded with combat troops patrolled Rio after student rioting Monday in the metropolis and four other cities....At least one person was killed in Rio and another death was reported in Goiânia, where an estimated 3,000 demonstrators battled 600 police. Other clashes were reported at Belo Horizonte, Fortaleza and at the university campus in Brasilia ....

"Machine-gun fire was heard in downtown Rio when federal troops came in after 11 policemen had been wounded by gunfire. Unofficial reports said more than 100 persons were hurt."

Other reports put the number of police wounded at seventeen. The Minister of War, General Lyra Tavares, ordered army commanders to take "any steps needed to maintain order."

Student assaults were said to have been made on the United States Information Agency offices in Fortaleza and Pôrto Alegre.

The commander of Rio's military zone said April 3, on the eve of a new series of memorial meetings by students, that demonstrators would be treated like "an enemy attacking the fatherland's territory and threatening the nation's basic institutions."

The students went ahead with their memorial meetings in spite of the threats of the military dictatorship. In Rio mounted police, wielding clubs, broke up a demonstration in front of Candelaria Church, arresting two dozen students. The police used tear gas against the crowd.

Churches throughout Brazil held masses for the slain student Edson de Lima Souto on April 4. At this writing the army has threatened to declare a "state of siege," the equivalent of martial law. The next move is up to the students.

MEXICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS TO JOIN DEMETRIO VALLEJO IN HUNGER STRIKE

Mexico City

APRIL 2 -- On March 29, Demetrio Vallejo, the head of the railway workers union, who has served nine years of a fourteen-year sentence in Lecumberri prison imposed on him for leading a nationwide railway strike in 1959, went on a hunger strike.

According to Mexican law, having served this much time, he is entitled to "confinamiento" -- release from prison, but confinement to a limited area. The authorities have failed so far to even reply to an application made by Vallejo months ago. His hunger strike is aimed at eliciting a definite yes or no.

When the news of Vallejo's hunger strike reached university circles, the response was immediate.

Today eleven students were conducting a solidarity hunger strike in the gardens of the Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales. Those participating were Romeo González, chairman of the Executive Committee of students of the above Facultad; Luis G. De Alba, chairman of the Executive Committee of students of the Facultad de Filosofía y Letras; Oscar Rivera; José González; Antonio Alonso; Vicente López; Armando Rendón; Rafael Padilla; Fernando Trejo; Gustavo Gordillo; and Jorge Madero.

An even more sensational development was the announcement by twelve other political prisoners in Lecumberri that unless the authorities responded to Vallejo's request, they would join him April 8 in his hunger strike.

The twelve political prisoners are Adán Nieto Castillo, Fábio Erazo Barbosa, Enrique Condes Lara, Francisco Luna Leal, Pablo Alvarado Barrera, Daniel Camejo Guanche, Luis E. Del Toro, Gerardo Pelaez Ramos, Gilberto Balám Pereyra, César Catalán Sánchez, Justino Juárez Martínez, and Ysaías Rojas Delgado.

Daniel Camejo is the brother of Peter Camejo, a well-known leader of the Socialist Workers party in California.

The twelve belong to different political tendencies but decided to join in a common action in behalf of their fellow prisoner. They drew up a statement addressed to the workers, peasants, intellectuals, students, and people of Mexico:

"Demetrio Vallejo is a symbol. Honest and incorruptible, a synthesis of the best qualities of his class, while also expressing its limitations and present level of consciousness: refusal to go beyond the bourgeois legal order, concern

about restricting his demands to the bourgeois 'constitutional' framework, etc.

"But the bourgeoisie are not mistaken; they know that in the workers they find a mortal enemy that will finish by sweeping them into the dustbin of history. Conscious of what he represents, they became rabid over Demetrio Vallejo -- nine years in prison on the 'basis' of the most absurd juridical technicalities.

"The arbitrary action against Demetrio Vallejo is a clear expression of the policy of repression against the peasantry, the working class, and other oppressed layers of the Mexican scene, in behalf of the privileged class, particularly the big investors, representatives and partners of Yankee imperialism.

"That is why Vallejo decided to begin an indefinite hunger strike until he wins confinamiento, meaning the limited freedom of having one city as prison.

"Vallejo's decision, which constitutes an individual form of struggle, dramatically expresses the inability of the revolutionary movement to organize a broad, deep-going struggle for the release of all the men and women political prisoners in Mexico.

"In this situation of crisis in revolutionary leadership, it is up to us to assume full responsibility in carrying out our obligation of struggling in support of Vallejo and the release of all the political prisoners.

"That is why we are signing this appeal, putting aside our ideological and political differences. We have decided to likewise go on an indefinite hunger strike (beginning at 9 a.m., April 8, 1968) in support of Compañero Demetrio Vallejo.

"We appeal to the workers, peasants, students, and the entire Mexican people to mobilize and demonstrate their solidarity with the struggle of Demetrio Vallejo. Free Demetrio Vallejo. Free all the political prisoners, both men and women. For independence of the unions and the right to strike which have been trampled on. For unity in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and Yankee imperialism. For the destruction of the big capitalist estates and genuine return of the land to the peasants. For observance of democratic rights."

The Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners in Mexico is urging actions in behalf of the prisoners. Protests should be sent to Lic. Gustavo Díaz Ordaz, Presidente de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, Palacio Nacional, México 1, D.F., México.

ANIBAL ESCALANTE, MIKE BANDA, AND WHITEWASH FOR THE KREMLIN

By Ernest Germain

The trial of Anibal Escalante and his "microfaction" in Cuba has been seized on by The Newsletter, the organ of an isolated ultraleft group in Britain that split from the Fourth International, to renew the attack it has been conducting for some years against the Cuban revolution and the world Trotskyist movement. After some initial sniping on the subject, Gerry Healy, the leader of the group, ordered up the heavy artillery; and in the March 16 issue of the weekly, editor Mike Banda turned loose with two entire pages, featuring his contribution under a ten-column headline.

The most revealing passage deals with the Moscow trials. Mike Banda says: "The trial is analogous with the Moscow Trials where people were executed for their alleged intentions and plans -- and not for what they did or did not do."

It is hard to believe that any "Trotskyist," even a self-proclaimed one, could write these lines. It is absolutely untrue that people were executed in the Moscow trials for alleged "intentions and plans." They were executed for alleged acts of treason.

The monstrous character of these trials did not lie in a perversion of the legal distinction between "intentions" and "acts," but in the completely slanderous, lying, invented nature of these "acts." Honest revolutionists were executed under the false accusation of having conspired with Hitler, the Mikado and world reaction in order to overthrow the socialized property relations in the USSR, restore capitalism, and carve up the homeland by agreeing to let the imperialists annex wide areas. They were executed on false charges of having wrecked factories and mines, of having poisoned workers, of having murdered government figures, and of having committed a series of other heinous crimes.

To say that the victims of the Moscow trials were found guilty of only "intentions and plans" is to whitewash Stalin's falsifications and to minimize the monstrousness of his crimes. But whitewashing the Moscow trials is a necessary part of The Newsletter's attempt to establish an "analogy" between the Escalante trial and the Moscow trials. Stalin utilized the Moscow trials in exterminating the entire generation of leading Russian Bolsheviks after submitting them to inhuman torture, whereas in Cuba not a single partisan of the Kremlin has been tortured or executed. But aside from this, the central fact remains that all the accusations leveled against the vic-

tims of the Moscow trials were completely untrue, fabricated and slanderous. Escalante was not accused of a single thing he did not actually do.

Would Mike Banda venture to maintain that the political views attributed to Escalante were not really his views, the same views to be found in the polemics of the Latin-American Communist parties against Fidel Castro? Would Mike Banda venture to deny that Escalante sought to have the Soviet bureaucracy bring economic pressure to bear on revolutionary Cuba? Does he conclude from his analogy that Zinoviev, Radek and Bukharin actually "intended and planned" to overthrow Stalin with the help of Hitler? It is sufficient to state the case to see that Mike Banda is guilty of a despicable slander against the Cuban revolution, and, by implication, against the victims of the Moscow trials as well.

Freedom of Tendencies  
and the Struggle Against Bureaucratism

The attitude of the Trotskyist movement toward workers democracy in any country in the world, including Cuba, is crystal clear. It has been stated over and over again. We are in favor of freedom of expression for tendencies that proclaim adherence to the working class, defense of the socialist program and respect for the broad framework of socialized economy in all the workers states, whether they be bureaucratically degenerated, deformed or simon-pure. We are for freedom of the press, for the right to demonstrate and to organize, for all working-class groups. On the other hand, we are for the dictatorship of the proletariat; i.e., under the rules of normal proletarian justice, we are for the punishment of all acts committed against the interests of the workers state.

In our opinion, Escalante should have been tried in such a way that it became clear that sentence was passed on him because of acts committed by him and not because of ideas he held. The way the case was conducted by the authorities was unfortunate, since his ideas and his acts were mixed together. But the verdict itself made it clear that he was condemned because of his acts and not because of his ideas. As Livio Maitan pointed out, Escalante himself made the same distinction.(1)

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(1) See Livio Maitan: "The Condemnation of Anibal Escalante." In World Outlook, February 23, 1968, p. 155.



On the level of principle, the distinction between proletarian democracy and defense of the dictatorship of the proletariat is completely clear. What has made it less clear in practice is the appearance of malignant bureaucratic social layers within the working-class movement.

This is not a new problem. Lenin had to deal with it in "Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder". Under normal conditions of working-class democracy, a certain minimum number of rules should be observed inside the labor movement by the members of all tendencies. But bureaucratized trade unions and mass organizations do not abide by the normal rules of working-class democracy. Their bureaucracies have divided loyalties, to say the least. They do not hesitate to collaborate with the bourgeois state apparatus, even with the police and the secret services of imperialist powers, in order to fight against revolutionary "agitators." Under such conditions, it would be suicidal were revolutionists to prove so naive as to abide by rules which the bureaucrats do not respect in relation to them.

If this holds true between working-class tendencies and the bureaucracies of the labor movement in the capitalist countries, it applies a thousand times more to working-class tendencies internationally (including those that have conquered power) in relation to the most hardened and privileged of all the labor bureaucracies wielding state power, the Soviet bureaucracy.

Normally, a certain number of self-evident rules should govern relations between workers states. Elementary solidarity and collaboration in face of the class enemy should be observed. A minimum amount of mutual economic and military help should be extended. Ideological differences should be thrashed out by purely ideological means; i.e., through open political discussion. This implies free circulation of the documents of any tendency in any party among the members of any other party; and, within certain limits, even among all the workers of all countries. As long as imperialism endures, this rule would apply only to party documents; and, of course, would not mean that confidential state documents could be freely circulated.

But anybody today who demands that workers states that have escaped the control of agents of the Kremlin should immediately apply such rules must be taken as either a fool or an agent of the Soviet bureaucracy. For it is obvious under the given conditions, in which, in place of workers democracy governing all the workers states, the Soviet bureaucracy exercises a dictatorship over many countries, these rules would turn against workers democracy and become weapons in

the struggle of the Soviet bureaucracy to crush its opponents, both at home and abroad.

In the first place, it would mean that they would be applied unilaterally by the anti-Stalinists alone. The Cuban, North Vietnamese, Yugoslav, and Chinese leaders would be asked to divulge all their state secrets to agents of the Kremlin, which, of course, would never hand any of its secrets over to these states. As a result, the Stalinist leaders could maneuver with much greater ease in their efforts to maintain control of the parties they still dominate and to develop factions subservient to them in all the parties where they have lost control.

In the second place, the Soviet bureaucracy does not limit itself to purely ideological means of struggle. It defends its power and privileges by any means, including subversion, economic pressure, and military repression. Information obtained through the naiveté of those who insisted on granting workers democracy to agents of the Kremlin, too, would be utilized exclusively to bring them into line or else to overthrow them. Between Stalin's attempt to overthrow Tito through a military conspiracy backed by concentrations of troops on the borders of Yugoslavia; Khrushchev's crushing of the Hungarian revolution through direct military intervention; and Kosygin's and Brezhnev's economic blockade of China, there are only quantitative, not qualitative differences.

Anyone who claims that merely "intending" to bring economic pressure to bear against Cuba was a normal thing which the Cuban workers state has no right to punish should also state clearly that any Hungarian Stalinist who merely "intended" to bring on Russian military intervention against his country's revolution at the beginning of November 1956 was, after all, only representing an "ideological faction" inside the Communist movement and the correct attitude was to let him alone.

#### The Cuban Revolution and the Soviet Bureaucracy

In the field of Marxist theory, Mike Banda handles himself with all the ease and grace of the proverbial bull in a china shop. "The Escalante trial is another demonstration of the proof that Cuba is a bureaucratic and capitalist [!] dictatorship," he boldly proclaims. Further on he draws the infamous analogy between the trial of Escalante and the Moscow trials. Are we to assume, then, that the Moscow trials proved that the USSR is a bureaucratic and capitalist dictatorship, too? But for our unlucky "theoreti-

cian," busily whitewashing Stalin, the Moscow trials were not as serious as the trial of Escalante...perhaps they were a lesser evil. (We shall return to this "lesser evil.")

What about the crushing of the Hungarian proletariat, then? Wasn't that, to follow Banda's logic, ample proof of the capitalist character of the Soviet Union? Bringing grist to the mill of all the state capitalist revisionists, Banda forgets the ABC's; i.e., that the social nature of the state is not determined by the degree it applies the norms of workers democracy. To proceed otherwise would make it impossible to find a single workers state on this unhappy planet.

The American imperialists, of course, have a better appreciation of the theory of permanent revolution than a clown like Mike Banda. From the moment the Cuban revolution began to actually solve bourgeois-democratic tasks; i.e., began to carry out a radical agrarian reform, the imperialists understood that a mortal conflict had opened between all the propertied classes (including themselves) on the one hand and the revolutionary government on the other. They understood, in other words, that a workers state was being established.

This was officially acknowledged a few years later by the Castro leadership itself. Since then, U.S. imperialism has maintained a tight economic blockade on the Cuban revolution, trying to bring down the Cuban workers state through crippling material shortages and hunger. Up to now, it has not had much success.

Castro not only led a victorious socialist revolution. Ever since the Second Declaration of Havana he has advanced a second fundamental thesis of the theory of permanent revolution which should be of special interest to anyone claiming to be a Trotskyist. Castro is the first leader of a workers state since Lenin and Trotsky to make international extension of the socialist revolution a matter of government policy.

It can be argued whether Castro has done this out of genuine theoretical understanding, out of moral solidarity with the oppressed and exploited in Latin America, or simply out of a pragmatic realization that the Cuban workers state cannot survive, isolated at the doorstep of the imperialist fortress, if the revolution is not extended into the continent of Latin America. Probably all three motives are involved. But the result is of the utmost importance. It vindicates forty years of struggle by the Left Opposition and the world Trotskyist movement. It makes possible a convergence of the revolutionary Marxist movement in Latin America with the tendencies inspired by

the Cuban revolution in pursuing the common goal of extending the socialist revolution into several Latin-American countries where prerevolutionary situations obtain today.

The Kremlin has not failed to grasp the historical significance of this position taken by the Cuban leadership. Everywhere, its agents are actively condemning Castro and his followers as "Trotskyists." Ernesto Che Guevara, who remains one of their main targets, has been especially singled out as a "Trotskyist adventurer." This was likewise the line taken by Escalante and his "microfaction" in Cuba itself. All this is another "demonstration of the proof" that Castro and Guevara should be labeled "capitalist dictators," of course...

When the imperialist blockade was first imposed on Cuba, Castro turned to the Soviet Union for help, and rightly so. So far as we are aware, Mike Banda did not offer at the time to send large quantities of coal, oil and wheat to Cuba. As for revolutionary propaganda, vital as it is, it is not sufficient, unfortunately, to help fill stomachs or to produce electric power, even with the help of Mao's and Healy's thought.

There was nothing wrong in Cuba's turning to the Soviet Union. Banda, who sneers irresponsibly about the \$350 million in aid received by Cuba each year from the Soviet Union, remains strangely silent about the \$1 billion in aid received from the same source each year by Ho Chi Minh, whom he admires so much. The revolutionary struggles carried on by the peoples of these two lands in the face of violent aggression from U.S. imperialism have created so much sympathy and such a strong current of solidarity among the workers of the world, including the workers of the Soviet Union, (2) that the bureaucracy does not dare refuse a minimum amount of aid to these revolutions.

The analogy, however, holds still further. The Kremlin remains faithful to its strategy of "peaceful coexistence" and maintenance of the status quo. It helps the Vietnamese -- but only enough to strengthen their resistance, not enough to inflict a crushing defeat on the imperialists. It helps Cuba -- but only enough to permit bare survival under the imperialist blockade, not enough to permit the

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(2) The demonstrations that occurred in the Soviet Union during Castro's visit there, were the largest and most spontaneous since the end of World War II. Many observers, in fact, were of the opinion that Khrushchev organized a tour for Castro of several Soviet towns in order to gain something for himself out of Castro's popularity.

blossoming of genuine socialist economic construction.

In both cases, furthermore, granting of military and economic aid is combined with increasing pressure to modify the revolutionary orientation. In Vietnam this pressure is exerted to bring Hanoi to the conference table with the imperialists, even without the Front for National Liberation, if necessary, and in any case without concern for the revolutionary gains scored by the South Vietnamese masses through countless sacrifices. In Cuba this pressure is aimed at compelling Castro to liquidate the revolutionary strategy projected for Latin America and to give up extending political and material support to revolutionary groups engaged in action to the left of the Moscow-led Communist parties.

To complete the picture, it should be added that at this very moment U.S. imperialism is so anxious to block revolutionary developments in Latin America that Vice-President Humphrey is even speaking of accepting "peaceful coexistence" and lifting the blockade, if the Cubans will only stop their revolutionary propaganda and stop helping the Latin-American revolution. The parallel action of the State Department and the Kremlin (with the Pentagon skulking in the background) is obvious here.

And it is in such a situation that Banda, instead of denouncing the Kremlin's conspiracy against the revolution in Latin America and Cuba, instead of leveling his fire and scorn against the way the campaigns of Johnson, Kosygin, and Escalante coincide, rushes to the defense of Escalante and sneers at Fidel, because, you see, the Cuban revolutionist does not dare publicly denounce the Kremlin, being condemned because of the imperialist blockade to polemicize with the Soviet bureaucracy in an indirect way. How low can you sink, Banda? By the same token, why don't you denounce Ho Chi Minh's "silence" about the Kremlin's counterrevolutionary strategy in Vietnam?

#### The Class Nature of the Political Conflict

The political degeneration of the Socialist Labour League, of which Mike Banda is a leader, is rooted in its need to justify its existence as a sect separated from the world Trotskyist movement. Because of this need it is unable to remain objective in political analysis; everything is bent to serve the aim of "fighting revisionism." We warned the SLL leaders repeatedly that by permitting themselves to drift in this way, they could become unconscious instruments of alien social forces. This prediction has now been fully confirmed.

The SLL leaders set out by denying that Cuba is a workers state. We have repeatedly shown how this theoretical mistake has led these sectarians into inextricable contradictions and continual revision of the theory of permanent revolution. (3) Revolutionary cadres able to maintain minimum self-discipline and capacity to use the tools of analysis in an objective way would have realized after a few years that they had made a mistake and would have tried sooner or later to correct this mistake.

Occasions for this have not been lacking. The Cubans themselves announced their adherence to Marxism-Leninism. They themselves called their revolution a socialist revolution. They themselves proclaimed the leading role of the proletariat in their revolution. They became established as a working-class tendency far to the left of both the pro-Moscow and pro-Peking Communist parties by rejecting any bloc with the "national bourgeoisie" in struggling for the Latin-American revolution and by clearly stating that this revolution could triumph only as a socialist revolution under a workers and peasants alliance led by the working class. Surely, never in history have we seen any "bourgeois" or "capitalist" party come out for the victory of the socialist revolution and for extending it internationally!

In Cuba itself, the socialization of the means of production and exchange has proceeded much further than in the Soviet Union ten years after the October revolution. In agriculture and trade, it is even further advanced than in the Soviet Union and China today. To picture Cuba, under these conditions, as a "bourgeois state" is, of course, to make a travesty of the elementary principles of Marxism.

But caught in the trap of petty factionalism, and lacking the moral courage to admit a mistake, the SLL leaders have performed one somersault after another until today they have lined up objectively with the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Kremlin against the revolution in Cuba and internationally.

The conflict between the leaders of the Cuban revolution and the Escalante group is, of course, a political conflict; yet it must have a social explanation.

Mike Banda admits that politically

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(3) See Ernest Germain: Marxism vs. Ultra-leftism -- Key Issues in Healy's Challenge to the Fourth International. [Available from Merit Publishers, 873 Broadway, New York, or from Pioneer Book Service, 8 Toynbee St., London, E.1, England.]

Escalante stands for reformist policies in Latin America. Banda admits that the Soviet leaders "are trying desperately to freeze the status quo in Latin America." So far so good. But what does Castro stand for? Here Banda engages in sleight of hand typical of the school of Stalinism: "Castro, on the other hand, would like to see sympathetic [?], or even less hostile regimes on the mainland in place of military juntas who govern at present. This implies [?] armed struggle against dictatorship, but armed struggle devoid of a working-class basis and under petty-bourgeois leadership."

What nonsense! In Banda's analysis, social classes are dissolved into vague moralistic notions! You lie, Banda, when you suggest that all Castro wants is to have "military juntas" replaced by "less hostile regimes." One of the main arguments of both the Social Democrats and the Stalinists against Castro is that he fights against the "constitutional" regimes in Chile and Peru as strongly as against the "military juntas" in Brazil or Paraguay. You keep the truth from your readers when you remain silent about the fact that Castro stands against collaboration with the "national bourgeoisie" and for socialist revolution in Latin America. You revise Trotskyism in the most vulgar way by presenting things as if it were possible for a government that has broken with imperialism and the native propertied classes, that has expropriated the capitalists, to remain "petty bourgeois" and to be based on anything but a workers state. In the theoretical field, the logic of your factionalism has led you to support Menshevik Khrushchevism against Trotskyism.

Not only in the theoretical field, unfortunately. For once you become prisoner of the nonsense that the state in Cuba is bourgeois in character, then it is only logical to conclude that it is necessary to "defend" a reformist Kremlin agent like Escalante against the Cuban government. Banda took this position long ago. We predicted what this could lead to, but things have become even clearer than we could have expected at the time. Banda has now reached the conclusion that Castro's struggle against the Kremlin and its agents, his struggle against the line of peaceful coexistence in Latin America, is a struggle...against the working class!

This may sound incredible. But here it is, spelled out as clearly as one could wish:

"Thus every struggle against imperialism [by Castro] is accompanied or followed by a corresponding repression of the working class. The Escalante faction, by virtue of its historical connections and its social composition, and despite its reformist line, stands closer to the

Cuban working class than the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leadership of Castro, which continually oscillates between imperialism and the USSR.

"In this sense -- and in a very qualified way -- the repression of Escalante represents a blow aimed against a section of the working class which has tried to organise itself independently of the Castro-ite apparatus." (Emphasis in the original.)

There are three criteria which are applicable in judging the social nature of a tendency: program, objective role in society, and social composition. From the viewpoint of program, there is no doubt that the conflict between Escalante and Castro represents the conflict between the reformist, peaceful coexistence line in Latin America and the revolutionary tactics and strategy adopted at the conference of the Organization of Latin-American Solidarity. From the viewpoint of objective role in society, Escalante is a direct agent of the Soviet bureaucracy and Castro is the leader of a genuine revolutionary movement, even if it is one whose program does not coincide in all questions with the program of the Fourth International. From the viewpoint of social composition, Banda has concocted out of nothing the "working class" historical connections and "composition" of the Escalante group. In reality, Escalante recruited his followers exclusively from the top layers of the state apparatus. He tried to build a privileged bureaucracy composed of factory managers, their secretaries and families. He lost his job as secretary of the Cuban Communist party because by following this course he alienated the mass of Cuban workers and risked alienating them from the party and the revolution, too.

As for the Cuban Communist party, while its leadership has not yet been democratically elected at a congress, its members have been elected in the shops, factories and farms. It is the only Communist party in the world which has used this type of selection in order to strengthen its ties with the urban and rural working class. And when the first elections of representative bodies took place in Cuba -- the elections to municipal committees, or "local power bodies" as they are called officially -- the outcome was an absolute majority of workers, 12,565 out of 21,838 members, according to the October 8, 1967, weekly edition of Granma. Let Banda compare the "social composition" of these bodies with that of the state bodies in the USSR, not to speak of China, and draw the appropriate conclusions.

So, no matter which approach we take in trying to solve the problem of the political and social nature of the

contending groups in Cuba, we reach the same conclusion -- the conflict is between leaders of a socialist revolution seeking to extend that revolution internationally and representatives of the Soviet bureaucracy seeking to block that extension. But in this conflict, Banda and The Newsletter support the agents of the Soviet bureaucracy against the genuine Cuban revolutionists(4) and consider them a lesser evil. This shows how much the SLL leaders have degenerated.

If there is a single key question in world politics today permitting a revolutionist to separate friends from foes it is the Vietnamese revolution. Where does Castro stand on this question in comparison to the Kremlin and its agents like Escalante? The Kremlin is unhappy about the splendid development of the Vietnamese revolution -- it upsets the apple cart of "peaceful coexistence." The Kremlin seeks to convince the international working class that it is all right to let the Vietnamese fight alone against the concentrated power of the strongest imperialist country in the world, provided some "material aid" is given (in insufficient quantity). A more revolutionary policy is denounced as "provocative" and "adventuristic," if not "Trotskyist."

On the other hand, Castro and Guevara, like the Fourth International, have condemned this policy of the international Stalinist movement as dangerously insufficient. They have called for international extension of the revolution as the most effective way to help the heroic Vietnamese masses. They have criticized the Communist parties that limit their action to "peaceful demonstrations" in support of the Vietnam revolution, viewing the struggle the way the Roman spectators viewed the battles of gladiators. On this key question, too, the Cubans stand far to the left of the Kremlin and the Stalinist parties.

The Vietnamese Communist party leaders, whom Healy-Banda & Co. admire so much, consider Castro and the party he leads to be their closest ally. Again

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(4) We should stress here that even if the Cuban revolution were not yet a victorious socialist revolution and were still in the process of developing in that direction, it would be our duty to defend it against the right-wing Kremlin agents. No Trotskyist in his right mind would have "defended" the leadership of the Indian Communist party against the July 1942 revolutionary upsurge in India under the pretext that the leadership of the upsurge was bourgeois -- as it really was! In India, in 1942, the Kremlin served the interests of imperialism as it does in Latin America today.

and again they have proclaimed solidarity with the Cuban line. They sent an official delegation to the OLAS conference, which Healy-Banda despise, and they approved the resolutions issued by that conference. By what ludicrous twist of the mind can one then characterize the closest ally of the most outstanding revolutionary fighters in the world today as "bourgeois"?

For the Defense of the Cuban  
Revolution -- Against the  
"Newsletter" Fakers, Too

Banda makes fun of Livio Maitan's contention that Escalante and his group "went so far as to wish that the USSR would undertake economic measures which... would lead Castro to correct his attitude!"(5) "He actually dared to WISH [sic] dangerous things," exclaims Banda. What nonsense! And what counterrevolutionary nonsense, too!

Escalante happens to be a Cuban, not a Russian. In the same way, Ferencz Munich and Janos Kadar were Hungarians, and not Soviet citizens. Both could only "wish" and "ask" for the Soviet bureaucracy to bring down the axe to destroy a living revolution. The real decisions remained in the hands of the Kremlin. But "wishes" that become translated into acts, into attempts to sway people, into theft and transmission of documents, into gathering information, are no will-o'-the-wisp. They have a very concrete reality, a very tragic reality, as the Hungarian and Chinese workers learned to their misfortune. We can only hope that the Cuban working class does not have to learn the same lesson in a similar way.

Escalante knew that the overwhelming majority of the cadres and the masses of Cuban revolutionists favor the Castro line for Latin America. He also knew that the Kremlin and the Latin-American Communist parties oppose this line. So he went to the Russians and told them in effect: "Please apply some pressure. Reduce deliveries of oil and other necessities. Cut the wheat ration. Let them go hungry. Then it will be easier to convince them. We'll do the rest to reeducate them."

Can anyone conceive of anything baser than such actions against a revolu-

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(5) The complete sentence is as follows: "The reference [to the economic blackmail applied by the Kremlin to China] is not at all to an abstract analogy -- everyone knows what pressures are constantly exerted on the Cuban leaders; and, according to Raúl Castro's report, Escalante and his friends went so far as to wish that the USSR would undertake economic measures which, by having very grievous repercussions for the country, could lead Castro to correct his attitude!"

tionary party and a revolutionary people? Is it possible to find a clearer admission of political bankruptcy, of one's inability to convince his own party, than the need to stoop to such methods, to try to starve the workers of your own country into submitting to realignment with the Kremlin's foreign policies?

But Banda has nothing to say by way of condemning the rotten bureaucrats who resort to such methods. He reserves all his scorn for those who denounce such people for what they are -- despicable tools of the Kremlin against their own working class. And he goes to the length of lauding as "a section of the working class" that must be defended (!), these very people who are being used by the Kremlin against their own party and against their own state in blackmailing the working class by threatening it with hunger.

If Banda-Healy & Co. were staunch upholders of proletarian democracy at all times and places, no matter what the concrete situation might be, beginning, naturally with their own small movement, one could at least say that they are honest, if dangerously naive, defenders of abstract principles, who inadvertently stumbled into a complex situation where they lost their way.

However, their whole political evolution is such as to preclude such a limited verdict.

First of all, Healy is not a novice in politics. He was already around at the time of the Tito-Stalin conflict. Against Stalin's attempts to subvert the Yugoslavs, the Tito regime used much stronger methods than those applied by Castro. Many Communist party leaders lost their lives. Many others were imprisoned for long terms. Not once did Healy raise his voice in protest against the reprisals taken by Tito against Stalin's agents in Yugoslavia.

Furthermore Healy-Banda & Co., who are such staunch defenders of proletarian democracy in the case of others, resorted to physical violence and bourgeois justice to prevent supporters of the Fourth International from distributing a pamphlet to members of their own party telling the truth about a fake "international conference" which their "International Committee" had organized. (6) Presumably it is perfectly proper to distribute Stalinist propaganda in Cuba, but strictly forbidden to distribute Trotskyist literature to members of the SLL!

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(6) The pamphlet was Healy "Reconstructs the Fourth International". It is available from Merit Publishers and Pioneer Book Service.

Last but not least, there is another Communist party in the world today racked by internal strife and differences compared to which the handling of Escalante appears like a model of drawing-room manners. We are referring to the conflict inside the Communist party of China. There a broad section of the party cadres have been accused of the worst crimes in the exact pattern of the Moscow trials. Liu Shao-chi, one of the main leaders of the CCP for forty years, has been accused of "plotting the restoration of capitalism since 1949." At least a dozen persons have been executed for alleged crimes, which no one can verify. Hundreds of party cadres have been imprisoned, dragged through the streets, humiliated and tortured, without being able to defend their ideas or even to state them. Large working-class demonstrations have been broken up, sometimes even by means of direct intervention of the army.

But of these events one can hardly find an echo in the pages of The Newsletter, still less the slightest condemnation. A person capable of devoting ten columns to defending the Moscow agent Escalante, claiming that he was tried for "ideas" and not "acts" committed, is incapable of writing a single line to defend Liu Shao-chi against slanderous charges of "crimes" which he never did commit, charges fabricated in the style which the GPU made famous in the Moscow trials. How can anyone have the slightest respect for fakers who simulate indignation about Cuba but who hold their tongues about what goes on in China because they happen to be courting a few pro-Peking trade unionists in Britain?

Our position remains a principled one. We stand for workers democracy everywhere in the world. We stand for workers democracy in our own organizations. We don't ask for rights which we are not ready to recognize as belonging to other proletarian tendencies.

If Escalante had been put on trial and condemned only because of his views, we would consider his trial a political mistake and a disservice to the Cuban revolution. But notwithstanding confused and sometimes mistaken formulations in his trial, we believe that he was condemned for treacherous acts against the vital interests of the Cuban masses and the revolution in Cuba and Latin America; i.e., for attempting to aid and abet the Kremlin in the use of economic blackmail to bring the Cuban revolution "into line."

Anyone who challenges the Escalante trial must answer two questions: Was Escalante guilty of such acts? If he was guilty, was it right to condemn him for them? To raise a hue and cry about the Escalante trial without answering these questions is moral fakery.

Our duty is to defend the Cuban revolution whatever the shortcomings in workers democracy may be in that country. Precisely because of the worsening economic situation faced by the Cuban revolution, we have the double duty of defending it against the open blockade maintained by U.S. imperialism and the more "subtle," more hypocritical, but no less damaging, slow economic strangulation

imposed by the Kremlin.

And when fakers of the Newsletter type whitewash the Soviet bureaucracy's counterrevolutionary pressure against Cuba, when these fakers whitewash and defend the Kremlin's agents and tools, then we have the revolutionary duty to defend the Cuban revolution against them, too!

#### TEXT OF VIETNAMESE ANSWER TO JOHNSON

[The following is the text of a statement issued by the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam taking cognizance of President Johnson's announcement that he had decided to issue orders "limiting" the bombing of North Vietnam. The statement was broadcast in English over Hanoi radio's international service April 3.]

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For over ten years now, the U.S. imperialists have been blatantly violating the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam, strenuously carrying out a policy of intervention and aggression and waging war against the Vietnamese people. Their design is to prolong the partition of Vietnam and to turn South Vietnam into a neocolony and a military base of the United States.

The people of South Vietnam, united as one man, have risen up in a resolute struggle to defend their fundamental national rights.

Since 1965, in an attempt to retrieve its defeats and to get out of the South Vietnam quagmire, the United States has massively brought in U.S. expeditionary troops to wage a "local war" in the South. At the same time it has conducted a war of destruction against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. It has thus committed an extremely barbarous crime of aggression against the entire Vietnamese people.

The heroic South Vietnamese people, under the talented leadership of the National Liberation Front, have fought with wonderful gallantry, successively defeated all schemes and tricks, however wicked and perfidious, of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, and recorded very great victories.

The generalized offensive and uprising of the South Vietnam armed forces and people early this year have inflicted a fatal blow on the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys. Nothing can save from collapse the puppet administration and army, props of U.S. neocolonialism in South

Vietnam. Nothing can save the U.S. aggressors from a total defeat.

The valiant North Vietnamese people, firmly resolved to thwart the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction and to defend their sovereignty and territory, have meted out well-deserved punishment to the U.S. aggressors.

The Vietnamese people's fight for independence and freedom has entered a new period. The U.S. defeat is already evident. The United States must bring its aggressive war in Vietnam to an end, withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops from South Vietnam and let the Vietnamese people settle the internal affairs of Vietnam themselves.

The Vietnamese people's stand for peace and independence, as expressed in the four points of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the political program of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front, embodies the fundamental principles and main provisions of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam. It is the correct basis for a political settlement of the Vietnam problem.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has stated on many occasions: Talks between the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the United States will begin as soon as the United States has proved that it has really stopped unconditionally the bombing raids and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

This just stand and goodwill attitude of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has elicited warm approval and support from broad sections of public opinion in the world. Peace- and justice-loving peoples over the five continents demand that the United States meet the reasonable and sensible requirement of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, stop definitely and unconditionally the bombing raids and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and put an end to its aggression against Vietnam.

Recently, in the face of an extremely critical situation with no way out in South Vietnam and the heavy setbacks in the war of destruction in North Vietnam, in the face of great difficulties -- political, social and financial -- due to the aggressive war in Vietnam and in the face of ever stronger pressure from world public opinion and from progressive American opinion, President Johnson has had to announce the "limited bombing" of North Vietnam.

This is a defeat, and at the same time a perfidious trick of the U.S. Government to appease public opinion. In fact the U.S. Government keeps sending more U.S. troops to South Vietnam, makes every effort to strengthen the puppet army and asks for additional appropriations to pursue the aggressive war in Vietnam. In fact the United States continues to bomb an important part of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, from the seventeenth to the twentieth parallel, and refuses to stop unconditionally the bombing raids and all other acts of war on the whole territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

It is obvious that the U.S. Government has not seriously and fully met the legitimate demands of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, of progressive American opinion and of world

opinion.

However, for its part, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam declares its readiness to appoint its representative to contact the U.S. representative with a view to determining with the American side the unconditional cessation of the U.S. bombing raids and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam so that talks may start.

So long as the United States pursues its aggression against Vietnam, the Vietnamese people, responding to President Ho Chi Minh's sacred appeal, will resolutely fight on till final victory to defend the North, liberate the South, proceed toward peaceful reunification of the fatherland and thus contribute to the defense of peace in Indochina, Southeast Asia and the world.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam earnestly calls on the Governments and peoples of the fraternal Socialist countries, peace-loving countries in the world and the progressive American people to extend still stronger support to the just struggle and correct stand of the Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

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