

Intercontinental Press

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GIs Say: 'Get Us Home Now!'



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Ultraleftist Endorses Antiwar Movement

Foreign Aid

Poison Bullets

Benevolent Uncle Sam, who gives so generously in foreign aid . . .

According to the October 31 *New York Times*, a "secret memorandum prepared in 1966 by Chemical Corps officers for Secretary of the Army Stanley R. Resor said that thousands of the bullets had been produced and stockpiled at Pine Bluff Arsenal, in central Arkansas."

What bullets? Poison bullets, that's what bullets. More than 20,000 bullets containing Botulinum, "a toxin that produces an acute, highly fatal disease of the nervous system."

It is not known if the U. S. is still producing the poison bullets, but "Defense Department personnel have indicated that the bullets are, at the least, still stockpiled."

Why the secrecy? Because the Hague Convention of 1907, which the U. S. signed, prohibits the use of poison weapons. It wouldn't help the image of "Honest" Uncle Sam to let it become too well known that his name is not worth the paper it is signed on.

But most curious of all — with enough nuclear weapons to exterminate the human race seventy times over, what does the White House, the State Department, the Pentagon, and the CIA need 20,000 bullets for?

"Knowledgeable sources," explains the *Times*, "indicate that the poison bullets could logically serve only one purpose: assassination. To kill an enemy leader with a poison bullet, it would be necessary to do no more than nick him; he would very likely die of botulism, the disease induced by the powerful toxin."

Uncle Sam in the assassination business? Incredible! No, not so incredible; it's simply part of the American Way of Life. As everyone knows, that's a model for the entire world.

In case the head of a foreign government that has incurred the displeasure, say of an oil company, one day notices he has been slightly nicked, he might be interested in the following bit of information from a U. S. army manual:

"Botulism is an acute, highly fatal disease. It is characterized by vomiting, constipation, thirst, general weakness, headache, fever, dizziness, double vision and dilation of the pupils. Paralysis is the usual cause of death."

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1,365 Sign Up Against War in Vietnam

"We are 1,365 active-duty servicemen. We are opposed to American involvement in the war in Vietnam." That is the headline on a full-page advertisement in the November 9 *New York Times*, the most influential newspaper in the United States.

The ad, which calls for support to the November 15 march on Washington, was sponsored by the GI Press Service of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

The ad is a demonstration of the depth of antiwar sentiment in the armed forces, and of the courage of the antiwar GIs in putting their names on the line to oppose the war.

The names are there: column after column—name, rank, and base. There are 190 signers stationed in Vietnam. These GIs, in the front lines of the imperialist war, are particularly subject to victimization by their officers for publicly taking such a stand.

The petitions for the ad were circulated from hand to hand, with no publicity, and in face of active hostility from the brass.

The Defense Department has issued a confidential letter, warning GIs not to associate themselves with or take part in the November 15 demonstration. The letter was made public October 30 by a Republican Congressman. The October 31 *Washington Post* reported:

"Rep. Bob Wilson of California, a member of the House Armed Services Committee, released the Pentagon letter, which said military men will not be permitted to associate themselves with the Washington march in violation of law or established Pentagon policies."

Despite this attempt at intimidation, the Student Mobilization Committee petitions found their way all around the world. The GIs who signed are from more than eighty bases, countries, or naval vessels, in addition to those in Vietnam.

GIs signed from as far away as Germany, Korea, Guam, Japan, the Philippines, and Okinawa. In the United States they came from thirty-one states and the District of Columbia — including thirty-nine servicemen from three different bases in Alaska.

There were contingents of more than

sixty signers each at Barksdale Air Force Base, Louisiana; Fort Benning, Georgia; Fort Bragg, North Carolina; and Fort Sam Houston, Texas. At Fort Bliss, Texas, 141 GIs supported the ad.

The statement endorsed by the GIs was a forthright demand for the immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam. It read in full:

"We are 1,365 active-duty servicemen. We are opposed to American involvement in the war in Vietnam. We resent the needless wasting of lives to save face for the politicians in Washington. We speak, believing our views are shared by many of our fellow servicemen. Join us.

"On November 15, join hundreds of thousands of Americans from all walks of life who will march in Washington and San Francisco to demand that ALL the troops be brought home from Vietnam NOW. This will be a legal and peaceful demonstration.

"GIs, as American citizens, have the constitutional right to join these demonstrations. In the past, however, military authorities have often restricted servicemen to their bases, thus effectively preventing them from participating in demonstrations against the war.

"We ask you to write to the President and your representatives in Congress to demand that GIs not be prevented from participating in the November 15 demonstrations."

This is the first time that so many GIs have spoken out against the war in Vietnam. Prior to this, the largest GI action was a march of some 500 servicemen and 15,000 civilians in San Francisco October 12, 1968.

During the October 15 Moratorium this year, a number of GIs wore black armbands while on duty in Vietnam, but the press avoided giving any figures that would indicate the extent of this activity. One exception to this pattern was *Life* magazine, which in its October 24 issue, reported the results of interviews with 100 GIs in eight different units in Vietnam. "Many soldiers regard the organized antiwar campaign in the U.S. with open and outspoken sympathy," *Life* concluded.

The socialist left-wing of the antiwar movement, the Socialist Workers party

[SWP], and the Young Socialist Alliance [YSA], has long advocated efforts to win the ranks of the army to the struggle against the war.

The first major "GI case" broke on June 30, 1966, when three soldiers—Pvt. Dennis Mora, Pfc. James Johnson, and Pvt. David Samas—announced at a press conference that they would refuse orders to go to Vietnam.

Since its founding in December, 1966, the Student Mobilization Committee has championed work among the GIs. The SMC has fought for a policy of encouraging mass, legal organization and protest against the war by GIs. It has had to struggle against tendencies in the antiwar movement that either did not see the potential for such work, or sought to divert the GI movement into self-isolating acts of individual civil disobedience, such as desertion or disobeying orders. (Another tendency, represented by the American Servicemen's Union, strongly influenced by the sectarian Workers World party, has sought, without much success, to organize soldiers around "bread-and-butter" issues, such as living conditions or the lack of democracy in the army, while playing down the fight against the war in Vietnam. The SMC has insisted that it is the war, and not these other conditions, that has produced the mass antiwar upsurge among GIs.)

Throughout 1967 and 1968 the growth of GI newspapers and coffeehouses, as well as mounting victimization of antiwar GIs by the brass, were signs of the deepening antiwar sentiment.

Two cases made headlines in 1969: the frame-up trial of twenty-one soldiers at the Presidio army base in San Francisco, and the threatened courts-martial of eight GIs at Fort Jackson, South Carolina, for their membership in GIs United Against the War in Vietnam. The antiwar movement won a major victory in forcing the army to drop all charges at Fort Jackson in May.

If the *New York Times* ad is any indication, November 15 will see the most massive turnout yet of GIs — as well as of civilians—to demand that the troops be brought home now.

Nixon's Speech: 'A Formula for Continued War'

By M. R. Whitney

President Nixon, in his November 3 speech, told the world and the American people in almost so many words that his administration intends to continue its aggression against the Vietnamese people indefinitely. "We are not going to withdraw from that effort," Nixon declared. "In my opinion, for us to withdraw from that effort would mean a collapse not only of South Vietnam but Southeast Asia. So we're going to stay there."

There was little dispute as to the meaning of Nixon's words. The *New York Times* on November 4 called it "a formula for continued war." James Reston, in his November 5 column, said Nixon "put Spiro Agnew's confrontation language into the binding of a hymn book, and asserted he was different from Lyndon Johnson while sounding just like him."

Nixon himself made one thing crystal clear, to use one of his favorite expressions. He accepts full responsibility for the war. "The question at issue," he flatly stated, "is not whether Johnson's war becomes Nixon's war. The great question is: How can we win America's peace?"

Nixon made one more thing crystal clear. By "America's peace," he means peace on his terms; i.e., the equivalent of a military victory that will retain everything now held by U. S. troops in Southeast Asia.

Nixon had announced his speech on the eve of the massive October 15 anti-war Moratorium that brought millions into the streets across the country. His timing was aimed at undercutting the second round of the Moratorium, November 13-14, and the march on Washington and San Francisco called for November 15 by the New Mobilization and Student Mobilization committees.

Since he came into office last January, Nixon has stalled for time to allow him to continue the war while quieting public opposition at home. It was this gamble for time that led him to make the token withdrawals of U. S. troops from Vietnam, which, he has claimed, will number 60,000 men by December 15 — leaving just under 500,000 to fight on.

But public impatience has mounted,

and the giant outpouring October 15 was an indication that Nixon's time had run out and that the lying propaganda that he is in the process of "ending the war" has lost its effectiveness.

Many of Nixon's advisers warned him that his only hope of stifling the growing protest was to make a major new concession on November 3. He rejected that alternative and instead sought to overwhelm the antiwar movement. He resurrected the Cold War demonology that was his stock-in-trade in the days of witch-hunting Joseph McCarthy.

"For the future of peace," he said, "precipitate withdrawal would be a disaster of immense magnitude."

He rehashed his campaign propaganda of a year ago about a "secret" plan for peace — converting it into a secret "timetable" for withdrawal.

He did not make a single concession to the clearly expressed will of the great majority of the American people to get out of Vietnam — not even a new installment on his token withdrawal promises.

More significant, he did not even promise that all American troops would be withdrawn even in the dim and distant future — he spoke only of "combat ground forces." He did not mention the 275,000 logistics, supply, and air-force troops that the Pentagon wants to keep in Vietnam for years to come as a "residual force," a euphemism for an army of occupation.

Nixon even threatened to escalate the war again if the Vietnamese freedom fighters dared to defend themselves. "If I conclude that increased enemy action jeopardizes our remaining forces in Vietnam," he said, "I shall not hesitate to take strong and effective measures to deal with that situation."

Anthony Lewis, writing in the November 8 *New York Times*, commented:

"The President did not use the word victory. But he made clearer than ever that he seeks to achieve by 'Vietnamization' and gradual withdrawal exactly what we would achieve by military victory: preservation of the Saigon Government."

And for this formula for continued war, presented in a hymn-book binding,

the president claimed a mandate from the "great silent majority" — a Madison Avenue creation entity that is supposed to outweigh the great vocal majority that was heard on October 15 and that will be heard again November 15.

That Nixon had to resort to such a demagogic trick to show any support for his war policy evoked scorn even from the capitalist press. James Reston commented November 5 that it was "not clear" how Nixon knew he had the majority "if it was 'silent.'"

Russell Baker, writing in the November 6 *New York Times*, depicted the hunt for this "great silent majority":

"Newsmen immediately hurried over to Great Silent Majority headquarters, a two-room office without telephone located in the National Press Club building. . . .

"Members of the Great Silent Majority are permitted to speak when they order meals and when they have been short-changed, but all other breaches of silence are sternly frowned upon and political discussion is, of course, taboo. This is why membership in the Great Silent Majority is down to only eleven members. . . ."

The coldness with which Nixon's speech was received by both the general public and his congressional critics led him to try to "demonstrate" that he really spoke for the American people. Mimicking Lyndon Johnson, he summoned photographers and reporters to his office November 4 to see the big display of letters and telegrams that declared, "We silent Americans are behind you."

What he did not mention was that this exhibit had been largely produced by paid hacks of the Republican party. The Republican National Committee's weekly newsletter *Monday*, mailed to 13,000 party officials a few days before Nixon's address, had instructed these functionaries to organize the letter-writing campaign.

Nixon also discerned backing for his war policy in the victory of the Republican candidates for governor in New Jersey and Virginia November 4. The war, in fact, was not a major issue in either election. The machinations of both parties avoided any

forthright stand on the war. The *New York Times* accused the administration of playing a "self-deluding game": ". . . unless you are a dedicated tea-leaf reader, you will draw no sweeping inferences from Tuesday's elections . . ."

The only unstinting praise for Nixon's stand came from Saigon. David Hoffman, writing from Saigon in the November 5 *Washington Post*, reported:

"With unabashed exuberance, Thieu hailed Mr. Nixon's speech as 'one of the most important and greatest addresses' by an American president.

"Almost to a man, office-holders and important progovernment politicians applauded Mr. Nixon for what was interpreted here as a tough reaffirmation of America's commitment to South Vietnam."

But even in Saigon the effusions of the tin-pot dictator and his cronies were not echoed. Secretary General Tich Huyen Quang, leader of the An Quang Buddhists, told reporters: "The speech disappointed me because it contained no new peaceful overtures."

Thieu and Nixon have little support from the general population even in Saigon to continue the war: "It is almost a cliché here," Hoffman said, "that ordinary Vietnamese are now concerned with two things only — ending the war and arresting inflation."

Nor was Nixon's address well received among GIs. The *Washington Post* reported that at an American Special Forces camp in the Central Highlands, "derisive laughter greeted the President's statement, 'now we have begun to see the results of the long overdue' Vietnamization."

One reason for Nixon's all-out support to the Saigon puppet regime, however, was fear that it could not survive even the appearance of an American pullout. David Hoffman reported the powerful impact of the October 15 antiwar demonstrations in Saigon:

"Following Vietnam Moratorium Day in America Oct. 15, rumors of a coup swept Saigon. . . . A prominent senator and former general, Tran Van Don, urged that South Vietnam adopt a neutralist foreign policy and become a nonaligned nation. . . ."

"To some observers it seemed that political Saigon was destroying itself, that all this controversy, plus the war, had overburdened the frail new institutions here."

Nixon has chosen a course of direct confrontation with the antiwar movement. The immediate effect of this policy will be to frighten off some of the lib-

eral politicians who endorsed the October 15 Moratorium in the hope of taking some of the credit for the movement and ensuring their own reelection.

Now that Nixon has in effect declared the antiwar movement outside the bounds of respectability, some of these figures have refused to endorse the November 15 march on Washington. They have excused themselves on the grounds that radical groups such as the Socialist Workers party are included in the leadership of the November 15 action, or that "violence" is likely during the Washington march.

But if the antiwar movement stands up to this red-baiting, it has the opportunity to win to its banner the overwhelming majority of the American people. The largest single demonstration in the history of the United States may well be seen November 15.

By misjudging the popular anger over

Czechoslovakia

Students Jeer Stalinist Official

The bitterness among the youth over the Soviet intervention in the internal affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic can be gauged by the reception given Education Minister Jareoslav Hrbek at a meeting of some 700 students at the Strahov student hostel in Prague November 4.

It was the first known public encounter which the Husák leadership, newly installed by the Kremlin, has had with students who supported the de-Stalinization drive in 1968.

The meeting was off to a flying start when a student asked, "What kind of people do you want us to be if you want us to be a generation of turncoats again?"

Another questioner wanted to know the fate of Alexander Dubcek, the head of government removed by Moscow.

"He's holidaying in a hunting lodge," Hrbek said. "We have offered him various functions but he has not made up his mind yet."

The right of students to govern themselves was raised in many questions.

Hrbek said official approval of elected university bodies was an internal party matter that could not be discussed. The students drowned him out with jeering chants of, "Long Live KSC" [the Czechoslovak Communist party].

continuation of the war, Nixon's attempt to intimidate supporters of the antiwar movement promises to backfire. Rowland Evans and Robert Novak confirmed this estimate in their November 6 nationally syndicated column:

Nixon, they said, "was striving for a polarization of opinion isolating the dissenters and thereby dooming the extremist-led Nov. 15 march on Washington."

But, instead of isolating the antiwar movement, they wrote, "the President has unwittingly wedded to them a great mass of Americans tired of war — and thereby energized the Nov. 15 demonstration. . . ."

"'With a three-week build-up,' an Eastern Republican senator told us, 'Mr. Nixon's effort had only one immediate effect — antagonize the students and guarantee a quarter of a million turnout in Washington Nov. 15.'"

One of the loudest outbursts came when Hrbek mentioned Jan Palach, the young student who burned himself to death last January to protest the Soviet occupation.

"Palach," Hrbek said, "was tragically misguided by right-wing opportunists . . ." The audience whistled at top volume, drowning him out.

During the second half of the confrontation, Hrbek insisted that questions be submitted in writing so that he could select those he wanted to answer. The students agreed to this. As they explained later, the arrangement helped protect the identity of questioners who put Hrbek on the spot.

On November 7 Hrbek spoke to a meeting of teen-agers representing the 80,000 members of the Czech Union of Secondary School Students and Apprentices. He told them that a "cult" had formed around Alexander Dubcek and that this cult was worse than the one fostered by Stalin.

Hrbek also charged that Dubcek had surrounded himself with "incompetents" and had contributed "nothing of value."

As for Dubcek's role in ousting the hated Novotny regime in 1968, this had been "grossly exaggerated."

The high-school delegates received the lecture in cold silence.

A Revolutionary Awakening

By Nathan Weinstock

[The following article has been translated by *Intercontinental Press* from the November 1 issue of the Belgian revolutionary-socialist weekly *La Gauche*.]

* * *

The current Lebanese crisis highlights once again the rapid spread of Palestinian revolutionary enthusiasm to the neighboring countries. In particular, this crisis confirms the eminently revolutionary role that the dynamics of the Palestinian resistance is playing in the Arab world.

A pole of attraction for the Arab youth, the fedayeen collectively constitute the present driving force of the Arab revolution, if sometimes only unconsciously. Some Palestinian resistance movements are far from thinking in terms of international revolution.

Even in Lebanon, which harbors a prosperous cosmopolitan bourgeoisie enriched by serving as middlemen in the transit of goods destined for the Near East and as bankers for the oil sheiks—a land of speculation and productive investment par excellence—even here the very foundations of the system are crumbling.

The Palestinian insurrectionary spirit is spreading, threatening the bourgeoisie and the comprador parasites, and thereby profoundly disturbing American imperialism, which considers the stability of this little country essential to the maintenance of its dominance in this region of the world.

From the beginning, Lebanon has had the mission of serving as an axis for the penetration of Western capital. Let us remember that the autonomy of Upper Lebanon (the famous "Institutional Settlement") accorded by the Sublime Porte in 1864 resulted directly from Franco-British intrigues.

Since then the country has retained this special function, and the recent American guarantee of Lebanon's territorial integrity serves as a reminder of the importance the reactionary forces accord to maintaining this status quo. This importance was so great, more-



NASSER: Beauticians have been called in for facial work on his reputation.

over, that the threat of Lebanon's toppling over onto the side of progressive nationalism in 1958 was enough to make the United States decide to send its marines there.

But the Lebanese state rests on a fiction. Centuries of colonialist intrigues have fanned religious hatreds, making it possible to divert class antagonisms into sectarian conflicts. The constitution itself provides a careful balance between the Maronite Christians and the Muslims aimed at counterbalancing the nationalism of the Arabs by the Christians' Western attachments. No one dares carry out a census for fear that the results would upset the equilibrium.

Actually, while there is indisputably a Lebanese community consciousness, especially in the urban Christian population (Beirut, for example), the Lebanese people are aware of the profound ties that bind them to the other fragments of the Arab nation artificially divided by the political Balkanization imposed on the region in 1918.

This was clearly to be seen during

the recent days. As *Le Monde* recognized in an editorial, the youth have transcended the sectarian barriers and are resolutely orienting toward a revolution. The spectacular occupation by the Palestinian commandos — with the approval of the inhabitants — of the Sabra section of Beirut as well as the nearer suburbs; and the generalized rebellion in Tripoli, where the Palestinian and Lebanese insurgents fought together indistinguishably, show the extent to which the Lebanese are conscious of the common fate that joins them to the Arab nation.

It is apparent that under the impetus of the Palestinian struggle the vanguard is maturing at an accelerated rate. This development has been expressed concretely in the regrouping of the three organizations professing to adhere to revolutionary Marxism—the Socialist Lebanon party, the Lebanese Communist Union, and the Marxist-Leninist Legions (very close to the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine). And these far left forces are in position to rapidly outdistance the traditional leadership of notables who have "colonialized" the Lebanese political parties.

The present insurrectionary wave has spread out from the Palestinian refugee camps, although they have been systematically isolated from the surrounding population by the authorities. The refugee communities struck back with an energetic offensive against attempts by the Lebanese army to encircle and impose surveillance on them. The army's objective presumably was to bring the fedayeen to heel or to liquidate them outright. This strategy, however, enabled the Palestinians to secure control of the Tripoli-Lattaquié national highway as well as several police posts. The attempt to crush the Palestinian guerrillas thus ended in failure.

The result was a "Jordanization" of the situation in Lebanon. As in the Hashemite kingdom, the Palestinian commandos are tending to form an Arab state within a state, building up a military and administration network parallel to the official Lebanese institutions and armed forces. This situation guarantees freedom of action for the Palestinians and, in the event of new revolutionary developments among the Lebanese population, might constitute the beginnings of real dual power, consolidating Palestinian and

Lebanese popular militias against the army of the Lebanese bourgeois state.

It is this revolutionary process that Nasser is endeavoring to block by his proposals of negotiations, trying to restore his faded reputation by setting himself up as an arbiter between the fedayeen and the Arab bourgeoisie.

Central Africa's Thailand

Burundi and Rwanda, Satellites of the Congo

By Nadine Nyangoma

[The article below has been translated by *Intercontinental Press* from the November 1 issue of the Belgian revolutionary-socialist weekly *La Gauche*.]

* * *

East of the Congo are two of the smallest countries in Africa — Burundi and Rwanda. The population of the two countries added together reaches six million.

The history of these people, who have the same culture, is well known. A few centuries ago two feudal dynasties were established in Burundi and Rwanda, topping a social pyramid in which the ruling class was Tutsi and the subjugated peasant class Hutu. The Tutsi, who are of a different ethnic origin, imposed a system of racial segregation on the Hutus.

With the establishment of a mandate over the two countries, the system hardened and social and racial segregation worsened. The Europeans saw the cruel feudal customs of the ruling caste as an ideal system of "indirect administration" for keeping nine-tenths of the population, the Hutus, in the double subjugation of the feudal-colonialist system.

With the Belgian mandate,* the life of Burundi and Rwanda was politically, economically, and mili-

* The former territory of Ruanda-Urundi was part of German East Africa before the first world war. During the war, it became a British mandate and was assigned to Belgium at the war's end. Belgium assumed administration of the area in 1922. — IP.

Doubtless he does in fact represent the middle of the road between the revolutionary dynamism and proimperialist conservatism. But the Arab masses will be able to dispense rapidly with this conciliationist leadership and provide themselves with a well-structured revolutionary vanguard.

tarily integrated with that of the Congo. Nothing has changed since.

These two overpopulated countries, suffocating in a subsistence economy, serve as a manpower reserve for the mines in Katanga and to some extent in Uganda.

In 1959 a Hutu antifeudal revolution erupted in Rwanda. But, thanks to the skillful maneuvering of the Christian trade unions, which managed to get rid of those militants whose popularity was too great, this revolution was unable to go beyond the bourgeois stage. Taking advantage of the confusion involved in a too spontaneous and badly organized revolution, the Christian unions succeeded in convincing the mandate authorities, who until then had backed the Tutsi feudalists, to reverse themselves and install an extremely moderate Hutu government. Above all, this regime was extremely compliant toward the Belgian colonialists.

By a subtle operation, what Belgium had considered "the territory of Ruanda-Urundi" became two independent countries, the Kingdom of Burundi and the Republic of Rwanda. The sole motive was to block the antifeudal revolution from spreading over the entire territory.

In Burundi an unstable monarchy stumbled along through chronic political crises until 1965. After that, the United States, which is closely linked to Belgium and greatly interested in Burundi for strategic reasons, established a Tutsi military regime in three stages.

The first stage consisted of or-

ganizing, with the assistance of the Belgian technical assistance personnel [Assistance Technique], the physical liquidation of all those Hutus "inclined" to harm the security of the state and the royal person.

It is interesting to note that the reinforcements and bombs intended for intimidating and repressing an insurgent peasantry were brought in through private enterprises located in the Congo.

On the Tutsi side, the man who took responsibility for protecting the threatened monarchy was Captain Micombero. The "trials" were carried out at night, the executions as well. The bodies were discreetly disposed of. The foreign press referred to these incidents with reserve. Little by little, Captain Micombero pushed the king out of the way and then put the crown prince on the throne. After that, Micombero's eyes turned enviously toward the man he considers his political model — Mobutu.

The new king was invited to tour the Congo. As if by chance, at that moment Micombero became president of the new republic of Burundi. Following the example of his spiritual brother Mobutu, he called himself revolutionary. There is nothing surprising about this, since the CIA advisers in Bujumbura are the same as in Kinshasa.

As was done in the Congo, Micombero established a one-party system. The single party, UPRONA [Unité et Progrès National party], was formed by a fascist-type "revolutionary" youth serving as a parallel police force with the right to kill anyone they chose.

Since 1966 a military pact has linked Burundi, the Congo, and Rwanda. Its essential objective is mutual assistance in dealing with internal rebellion and the extradition of subversive elements. The Rwanda government, which enjoys the reputation of having carried out a revolution against the Tutsi feudalists, has avoided informing its people of the implications of this military pact.

This September and October a wave of preventive repressions similar to those of 1965 has again hit the Hutus. The arrests are always carried out arbitrarily, by preference in secrecy, and death under torture usually follows before there is any thought of a trial. The objective is not to identify offenders

but to prevent the formation of any political groups so as to purge the country totally of any *possibility* of subversion. In order to prevent the possible formation of dozens of militants or cadres, hundreds are being massacred.

The military pact has functioned admirably. Obviously such pacts are signed to be made use of . . . The Congolese arranged to be present in Bujumbura before the arrests, on the pretext of training Burundi officers. They carried their discreet intervention, however, to the point of taking over responsibility for guarding the regime's most important personalities. They chartered planes to transport themselves and others at the disposition of the Burundi military chiefs "to give instruction in maintaining order in the interior."

Thus, to protect their holdings in the Congo, the CIA and Belgium are setting up the most reliable kind of strategic hinterland from which it will be possible to check "a Congolese rebellion."

Rwanda has an airport equipped for instrument landings, a facility quite rare in Africa, which the meager air traffic in and out of this rather unimportant country by no means justifies. An air navigational system of this type is obviously indispensable for military airplanes, which cannot be permitted to lose any time because of weather. Repressive operations require precise timing. The intervention of the paratroopers at Kisangani provides an example of this. The success of the action depended on its lightning character.

Thus everywhere the risk of revolution appears, imperialism creates a little Thailand.

This does not mean that the imperialists strictly prohibit the installation of revolutionaries in foreign countries, especially if they think they can corrupt them.

During the entire Mulelist phase of the Congolese revolution, the United States allowed a backward monarchical regime like the one in Burundi to play a progressive role internationally.

They did so in order to entice progressives into relying heavily on Burundi. The result was that left-wing movements and socialist powers received extreme rightist Tutsis who concealed the real situation in their coun-

try and deceived the world by revolutionary tirades.

By this means also the Tutsis could test the degree of interest a certain power or a certain movement might have in their country. For example, voting to admit China to the UN was, in part, a bid to see if China might be interested in Burundi and the Congolese revolution.

The game they played with the Mulelists was also a subtle one. Relying on a secure base in Burundi, the Mulelists were led to orient their strategy on the basis of having this avenue of retreat. They forgot to be wary and to rely on themselves. They who were outlawed fighters let themselves be taken in by capitalist legality. Their lives and travel were made easier, thus the corruptible elements were won over without difficulty, made accustomed to more open activities, and more easily kept under surveillance.

When everyone had taken the bait, all the imperialists had to do on the day set for the antiguerrilla operation

was to get Burundi to change its policy within a few seconds, and then seize the arms and arrest or drive out the troublemakers. If a revolution, seduced by such a hospitable country, stakes its success in this way on the possibility of a coordinated struggle or aid organized from a foreign base, it runs great risk of losing the battle.

In the eyes of the Belgian and American capitalists, Burundi, the Congo, and Rwanda have never ceased being a single economic and political unit. For them the borders are only academic and their strategy is formulated for the three countries as a whole. In the face of such a reality, a revolutionary movement that wants to be effective will likewise have to think of projecting its strategy on a commensurable scale.

In any case, Burundi and Rwanda cannot improve their situation in the context of a narrow and outmoded nationalism. That would be a suicidal policy.

Tanzania

Progress in Education on Island of Pemba

The Tanzanian island of Pemba on the east coast of Africa has nearly doubled its schools and more than doubled the number of pupils enrolled since its

revolution in 1964. A report on the island's progress in this area appeared in the October 21 *Nationalist*, published in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

Pemba, along with Zanzibar, was ruled by Sultan Seyyid Jamshid bin Abdullah bin Khalifa until he was overthrown on January 12, 1964, by the Afro-Shirazi party. The new regime, headed by Sheikh Abeid Karume, proclaimed the People's Republic of Zanzibar and joined with the larger mainland nation of Tanganyika in April 1964 to form Tanzania. The total population of Tanzania in 1967 was 12,231,342. The population of Pemba at that time was 164,243.



ABEID AMANI KARUME

"Soon after the Revolution," Winston Makamba writes in the *Nationalist*, "the Government of Zanzibar realised the need for increasing the number of schools in order to open their doors to many, if not all, sons and daughters of peasants and workers, whose chance of obtaining any education at all under the Sultanate rule was almost impossible."

The new government instituted free

public education for the first time.

"To date," Makamba reports, "the island of Pemba has a total of 39 schools as compared to the 20 schools just before the Revolution. These include six secondary schools, five of which were built after the Revolution at Chanjam-jawiri Kidongo, Chambani, Wete, Utani, Konde and Mkoani."

One secondary school is to be converted to a college. It will be called the Fidel Castro College.

Colombia

Deepening Division in Catholic Church

By Abel Sardinia

PRENSA LATINA, October 31 — Tulio Botero Salazar, archbishop of Medellín, known for his extremely conservative views, intervened last week with the city authorities to ask that four priests who were arrested in mid-October be allowed to serve their thirty-day prison terms in religious establishments.

Despite this, the archbishop took it upon himself to issue a communiqué stating that in his opinion "the authorities have acted correctly in the case that concerns us," despite the fact that it was already known that the priests had been mistreated from the time of their arrest.

The incident began on October 16 when the authorities arrested in Medellín the priests René García, Vicente Mejía, and Manuel Alzate, along with several worker and student leaders, who proposed to take over the local university symbolically, in protest against the electoral farce scheduled for next April.

The next day priest Luis Correa was also arrested. The four priests are members of the Golconda group which last December issued a document criticizing different aspects of the capitalist system, at the same time that they proposed, as the only solution for the Colombian situation, the struggle for the construction of a socialist society.

After their arrest the priests were held in the administrative security department (secret police), as they themselves have charged, where they were beaten and mistreated. They were later fined

"In keeping with the policy of education for all," Makamba continues, "the Government has been encouraging parents to send their daughters to school. As a result the intake of girls is now three times as much as that before the Revolution when very few girls found their way to school."

There are currently 14,919 pupils in all schools in Pemba, 5,336 of whom are girls.

about \$30, and when they refused to pay, they were sentenced to thirty days in prison.

But despite all these arbitrary measures, Tulio Botero Salazar considers that "the civil authorities have acted correctly in the case that concerns us."

There is nothing strange about this, because this archbishop—along with many other members of the Colombian Catholic hierarchy — was outstanding for his attacks against guerrilla priest Camilo Torres, and later on, again along with other reactionary bishops,

Northern Ireland

Political Police Busy in Post Office

Despite a promised reform, recurring incidents show that the British and Northern Irish authorities are continuing to follow authoritarian practices in Derry.

The *Belfast Telegraph*, a proimperialist daily, reported October 29: "The Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Home Affairs, Mr. John Taylor, told Opposition members at Stormont [the Northern Irish parliament] yesterday that it would not be in the public interest to give information sought by them about the percentage of letters which are opened at the request of his department by the head Post Office in Londonderry."

Following Taylor's admission of systematic police surveillance of the mails,

he engaged in a systematic campaign against the progressive priests, who have been transferred from their parishes, reprimanded and even publicly censured by the country's high Catholic authorities.

Recently the ecclesiastical figure supported — by remaining silent — the expulsion from the country of the priest Domingo Lain. But, in face of the attacks of the conservative hierarchy, the progressive priests enjoy the support of the population where they are active, as has now happened in the city of Cali's Saint John the Baptist parish, where the police had to impose by force a priest named by the ecclesiastical authorities to replace Manuel Alzate.

Over 300 people kept Luis Vallecilla, appointed as the new parish priest, from setting foot in the church. He was only able to enter after tens of policemen violently dispersed the people and forced the church doors.

Without any doubt, the sides are becoming drawn in the Colombian church as the days go by. The great majority of the members of the hierarchy remain faithful to the ultraconservative positions that have characterized it, but it finds itself forced to witness the process of acquiring consciousness on the part of an increasingly large number of priests who in their struggle count with the support of the popular masses, [who venerate] the guerrilla priest Camilo Torres.

a number of opposition members asked some sharp questions and made accusing statements requiring a reply from the Home Ministry.

Austin Currie, a Nationalist MP, said that the mail of opposition members was also sorted for political reasons. Republican Labour MP Paddy Kennedy said that not only letters but telephone calls were subjected to political spying.

The Home Ministry spokesman could not, however, be persuaded to divulge any facts about police violations of privacy to the members of the Northern Irish parliament.

"Despite the Opposition clamour for answers, Mr. Taylor remained firm," the *Belfast Telegraph* reported.

Which Road — Individual Terror or Mass Action?

[The latest phase of resistance to the dictatorship of the colonels in Athens has been marked by a proliferation of bombings and acts of individual terrorism. These have been associated with movements of the left. But recently a number of bombings were sponsored by the monarchist KEA (Kinema Ethnikes Antistaseos — Movement of National Resistance).

[The most dramatic incident in this wave of terrorism came when a resistance fighter was seriously injured by an accidental explosion. The following is an editorial on this episode from the July issue of *Ergatike Pale*, the organ of the Kommounistiko Diethnistiko Komma tes Ellados (Internationalist Communist party of Greece — the Greek section of the Fourth International). Like all socialist publications in Greece, *Ergatike Pale* is an underground publication.

* * *

On July 14 in a house in Agia Paraskeue, Professor Karagiorgas was wounded when a time bomb exploded in his hands. As was to be expected, the official representatives of the dictatorship and its paid scribblers raised a hypocritical hue and cry over the professor's "criminal activity."

Searches, arrests, interrogations, and the consequences associated with them followed this incident. Professors and students "linked" with Karagiorgas found themselves forced to make humiliating obeisances to the dictatorship (would they "exist" otherwise?). They found themselves forced to anathematize Karagiorgas.

This affair is truly shameful. Here we have a military dictatorship of monopoly capital imposed through a surprise attack in the night and with the use of automatic weapons, tanks, and terror in order to demobilize a people, to gag an entire people, to bind them hand and foot. And this dictatorship dares prattle and protest against manifestations of "individual terrorism" through its censored and totally chained press.

The dictatorship describes the relatively harmless use of plastic bombs (of the hundreds that have exploded

only one death has been reported when a stone was accidentally blown off a parapet of the Ministry of Justice building). It brands those who have engaged in these experimental actions as "criminals."

According to the dictatorship's peculiar logic, the colonels' coup d'etat of April 21, 1967, against the people did not represent a terrorist assault; but a plastic bomb that explodes in the open, only frightening passersby, is a terrorist act.

As the general public sees it, these explosions amount, by and large, to noisy demonstrations of individual protest in a situation of complete enforced silence and subjugation, not only of the working masses but also of the bourgeois opposition.

But even actual manifestations of individual terrorism against the dictatorship, as in the case of Panagoulis [Alexandros Panagoulis, who sought to assassinate George Papadopoulos in August 1968], or possible future attempts of a similar nature are easily explainable.

Inevitably today's stifling climate of tyranny fosters these acts. When the dictatorship has blocked every outlet for the masses to express themselves, when the revolutionary movement has not yet opened up new avenues for expression by the masses, then, for a time, acts of terrorism appear and spread.

Despite our sympathy for all terrorist fighters as heroic and tragic victims of the dictatorship, we categorically reject the method of individual terror for strictly political reasons.

Individual terrorism substitutes the individual, or a narrow circle, and heroic vengeance against a person for the masses and the class struggle.

This subjective method childishly simplifies the great problem of struggling against the dictatorship. It isolates the fighters from the masses, and the masses from the fighters. If it is not resolutely opposed, it creates fatal confusion among the masses and the vanguard. (What would be the use of a mass class struggle if the problem could be solved by individual terrorist action? What need is there for a mass revolutionary party, if a well-

organized mechanism of terrorist conspirators can play the decisive role?)

The objective effects of individual terrorism are opposite to the subjective aims of this activity which is to open the road to freedom by liquidating those who personify the dictatorship.

Revolutionary Marxists hate the dictatorship as much as the individual terrorists do. But they have no illusions that this regime can be swept away or shaken by setting a few fires or exploding a few bombs. They concentrate their efforts on, and orient their activity toward mobilizing the masses (no matter how many years or how much effort this may require).

For the revolutionary overthrow of the dictatorship.

For opening the way to a socialist workers democracy.

Nicolaus Awarded Deutscher Prize

The Isaac Deutscher Memorial Prize, to the value of £100, has been awarded to Martin Nicolaus on the strength of two essays: "Proletariat and Middle Class in Marx" in *Studies on the Left*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1967; and "The Unknown Marx" in *New Left Review*, No. 48, March/April, 1968.

Martin Nicolaus was born in Germany in 1942 and was educated in the United States. From 1966 till 1968 he was teaching assistant in Sociology at Simon Fraser University, Vancouver. He is at present working on a book in which the themes of the above-mentioned essays will be developed.

The second Isaac Deutscher Memorial Prize, also of £100, will be awarded in 1970. Works, either published or in typescript, should be submitted by May 1, 1970, to the Isaac Deutscher Memorial Prize, c/o Lloyds Bank, 68 Warwick Sq., London, SW1.

The jury that awarded this year's prize consisted of Perry Anderson, F. H. Carr, Tamara Deutscher, Eric Hobsbawm, Monty Johnstone, and Ralph Miliband.

NPD — the Party of National Honor

[In its issue preceding the September 28 elections in the Federal Republic, the West German revolutionary socialist magazine *Was Tun* published three articles on one of the most controversial political subjects in Germany, the neo-Nazi NPD (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands — National Democratic party of Germany).

[One article reviewed the revolutionary Marxist analysis of fascism. It pointed out that a fascist movement becomes a grave threat only when backed by the big capitalists and that these capitalists support it only in periods of crisis when their normal means of rule are discredited and ineffective.

[The article cautioned German socialists against paying too much attention to the NPD and becoming diverted from centering their fire against the main instruments of capitalist rule today.

[A second article compared the statements of the NPD and the establishment parties, showing that reactionary and repressive views were no monopoly of the neo-Nazis.

[The article that we have translated below deals with the moral and social aspects of the NPD leadership. Among other things, it indicates why the capitalists are reluctant to turn things over to the fascists except in periods of extreme crisis.]

* * *

Thousands of anonymous conservatives have left the NPD [Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands — National Democratic party of Germany] because of the antidemocratic tendency of this organization.

Past defectors have included many in the leadership circles, such as the first federal chairman of the party, Thielen; two state [Länder] chairmen, Franz Florian Winter of Bavaria and Lothar Kühne of Lower Saxony; deputy state chairman of Nordrhein-Westfalen, Dietrich Dehnen; and Siep, the general secretary of the party in the Rheinland-Pfalz.

Others who have quit the party are state parliament members, Walter Mandauer of Bavaria and Hans Müller of the Rheinland-Pfalz.

But much more interesting than these defections is the kind of people the NPD attracts. The fact that the party fraction chairman in Bremerhaven, Ewald Marwede, is employed by the U. S. military forces is supposed to be rather inconsistent with the NPD's general outlook [i.e., supernationalism]. But there is a long tradition of such activities among the party VIPs.

Gutmann, for many years the NPD chairman in Baden-Württemberg and a former federal chairman, has not sued for libel because he was accused of serving in the French intelligence in 1945 [*Die Welt*, March 15, 1968].

The former federal chairman Thielen told Adolf von Thadden [his successor]: "You're a total crook." (Incidentally, the *Deutsche National-und Soldaten-Zeitung* [German Nationalist and Soldiers' Gazette, an independent neo-Nazi weekly] had pretty much the same thing to say about the present NPD federal chairman: "Thadden, known to friend and foe alike for his untruthfulness.")

Thielen also claimed that Thadden was an agent of the Polish secret police after 1945 [*Die Welt*, April 15, 1967].

So much for the honor and mutual confidence among the party tops. But at the middle management levels, the organization has become a field of activity for even common gangsters.

As befits the elite character of the party, it must be conceded in all fairness that these men come from the most skilled layer of the underworld. The first Berlin party chairman was a high-society swindler, used a fraudulent doctoral title, was active as a sex offender and — and it was only because of this that he took a powder — as an agent of the SSD [Staatssicherheits Dienst — State Security Service — the East German Intelligence Service].

His successor was worthy of him. The next Berlin chairman also had a long criminal record and landed in court in 1963 because he had employed twenty-three "housekeepers" since 1959. His pedagogical abilities were indisputable. Some of the most highly reputed prostitutes in Berlin

came out of his school [*Die Zeit*, April 14, 1967].

These cases are not exceptions. A district chairman in Dinslaken, Fritz Hoffmann, was a proficient and successful bank robber. The underworld in Hessen was especially successful. The state secretary Leder, among other things, used the name Heinz Günther Biscaya for his private affairs and had a long record.

Horst Lidmaier, a candidate for the district convention in Dieburg, had a proud list of achievements — fourteen convictions including two prison sentences.

Lidmaier's colleague Pollack had to go to prison for two years — rape was the charge. Likewise, thirteen candidates in the Gross Gerau municipal election had long records.

There is nothing new about fascist parties being especially attractive to criminals. It was not by chance that Horst Wessel, the martyr of the NSDAP [Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter-Partei — National Socialist German Workers party], died the way he did. He was left lying in a gutter, not as the casualty of a political fight but as a petty pimp who got the worst in some sharp competition over female means of production.

Portugal

No Surprise in Vote

Portugal's new dictator Marcello Caetano conducted what was for him a very successful election for the National Assembly October 26. His party, the National Union, won 88 percent of the votes and all of the seats in the "parliament." The opposition won only 12 percent of the votes cast.

Despite this happy outcome, a few flaws were to be noted. Only roughly 20 percent of the population was permitted to vote. Of these, some 40 percent abstained. In Lisbon, abstentions reached 51 percent.

The indifference of the public was also shown by the fact that only 28,000 persons voluntarily registered this year. The rest were holdovers from previous "elections" under Salazar or were automatically listed.

Out of Portugal's population of 9,335,400 (1966 estimate), fewer than 1,115,000 went to the polls.

The tally for Caetano's party was 980,800 votes; for the opposition, 134,046.

Nixon's Secret Letter to Ho Chi Minh

July 15, 1969

His Excellency Ho Chi Minh,
President, Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Hanoi.

Dear Mr. President:

I realize that it is difficult to communicate meaningfully across the gulf of four years of war. But precisely because of this gulf, I wanted to take this opportunity to reaffirm in all solemnity my desire to work for a just peace. I deeply believe that the war in Vietnam has gone on too long and delay in bringing it to an end can

benefit no one—least of all the people of Vietnam.

My speech on May 14 laid out a proposal which I believe is fair to all parties. Other proposals have been made which attempt to give the people of South Vietnam an opportunity to choose their own future. These proposals take into account the reasonable conditions of all sides. But we stand ready to discuss other programs as well, specifically the 10-point program of the N. L. F.

As I have said repeatedly, there is

nothing to be gained by waiting. Delay can only increase the dangers and multiply the suffering.

The time has come to move forward at the conference table toward an early resolution of this tragic war. You will find us forthcoming and open-minded in a common effort to bring the blessings of peace to the brave people of Vietnam. Let history record that at this critical juncture, both sides turned their face toward peace rather than toward conflict and war.

Sincerely,
RICHARD NIXON

And the Reply Nixon Didn't Read

Hanoi, Aug. 25, 1969

His Excellency Richard Milhous Nixon
President of the United States
Washington

Mr. President,

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter.

The war of aggression of the United States against our people, violating our fundamental national rights, still continues in South Vietnam. The United States continues to intensify military operations, the B-52 bombings and the use of toxic chemical products multiply the crimes against the Vietnamese people. The longer the war goes on, the more it accumulates the mourning and burdens of the American people. I am extremely indignant at the losses and destructions caused by the American troops to our people and our country. I am also deeply touched at the rising toll of death of young Americans who have fallen in Vietnam by reason of the policy of American governing circles.

Our Vietnamese people are deeply devoted to peace, a real peace with independence and real freedom. They are determined to fight to the end, without fearing the sacrifices and difficulties in order to defend their country and their sacred national rights. The over-all solution in 10 points of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and of the provisional revolutionary



HO CHI MINH

government of the Republic of South Vietnam is a logical and reasonable basis for the settlement of the Vietnamese problem. It has earned the sympathy and support of the peoples of the world.

In your letter you have expressed the desire to act for a just peace. For this the United States must cease the

war of aggression and withdraw their troops from South Vietnam, respect the right of the population of the South and of the Vietnamese nation to dispose of themselves, without foreign influence. This is the correct manner of solving the Vietnamese problem in conformity with the national rights of the Vietnamese people, the interests of the United States and the hopes for peace of the peoples of the world. This is the path that will allow the United States to get out of the war with honor.

With goodwill on both sides we might arrive at common efforts in view of finding a correct solution of the Vietnamese problem.

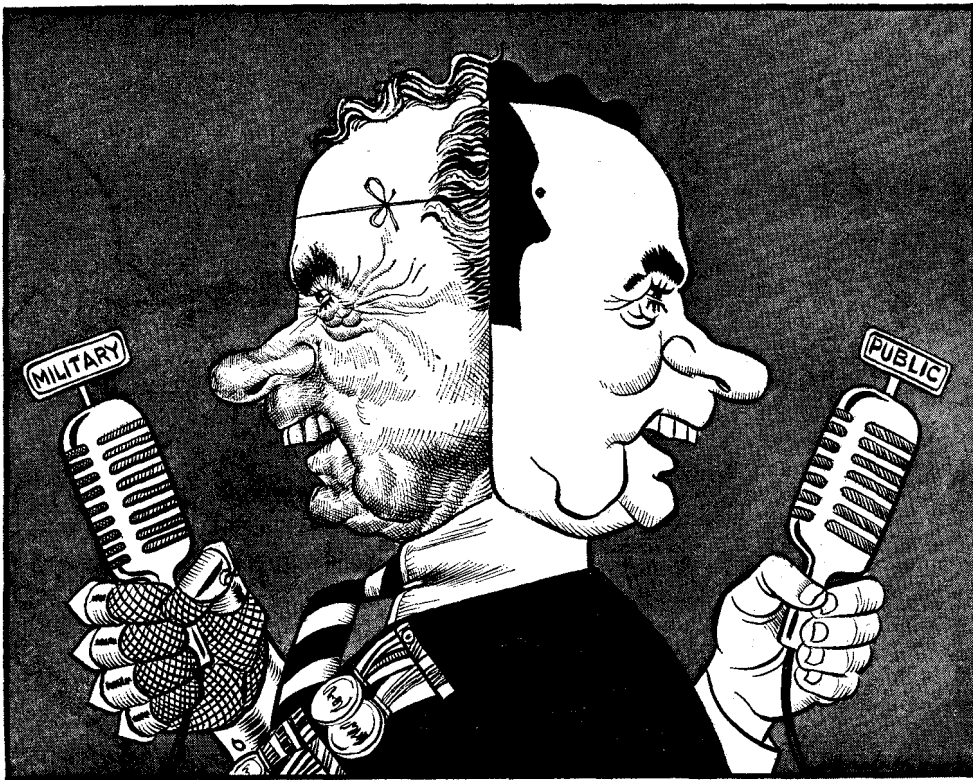
Sincerely,
HO CHI MINH

Nixon Opts for Concentration Camps

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak reported in their nationally syndicated column October 16 that the U. S. Justice Department will seek to defeat a legislative proposal in Congress to repeal the section of the Internal Security Act of 1950 authorizing construction of "detention" camps where "subversives" can be held without trial on orders of the president.

He Remembered to Collect His Pay

When asked at a September 16 New Delhi press conference if it were true that Cabinet Minister Jagjivan Ram had failed to file an income tax return last year, India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi replied: "It is true that there was some such forgetfulness."



— Macpherson in the Toronto Star

'PEACE IS WAR AND WAR IS PEACE'

The Neo-McCarthyism of Spiro T. Agnew

On October 14, the day before the nationwide Moratorium in the U. S. against the war in Vietnam, Spiro T. Agnew demanded that the leaders of the giant mobilization repudiate a letter from Hanoi expressing solidarity with the American people in their struggle for peace.

The purpose of Agnew's demand was crudely obvious. He sought to sow division within the ranks of the antiwar movement by insinuating that they were playing the game of "the enemy" if they did not disavow the letter. If they complied with his demand, this would cause bitterness among those in the antiwar movement who feel anguish over the terrible destruction and slaughter wreaked on a small, weak, colonial people by the mightiest military power on earth.

If Agnew succeeded, his demands and those of other witch-hunters in and about the White House would immediately be escalated in order to drive the wedge deeper and deeper into the antiwar movement.

The mastermind behind this strategy was no one less than Nixon himself. Agnew came directly from a session

with Nixon to the press conference where he made his witch-hunting ploy.

Joseph Alsop, who belongs to the buzzard wing of the hawks, has revealed (October 27 column) that Agnew's statement "was carefully planned at the White House." Agnew's "first attack" was "directly encouraged by Mr. Nixon himself."

Agnew's first attack failed. He followed up with an even choicer bit from the slop bucket. On October 19, in New Orleans, he said of the antiwar Moratorium: "A spirit of national masochism prevails, encouraged by an effete corps of impudent snobs who characterize themselves as intellectuals."

Agnew then flicked a blob at a leader of the Democratic party, Senator Edmund S. Muskie. On October 22 he said Muskie was playing "Russian roulette with United States security" because he proposed a six-month halt in testing of multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles [MIRV's].

The liberals grew hot under the collar. Washington buzzed with the question: "Why doesn't Nixon muzzle Agnew?"

Nixon responded at a White House reception October 30: "I am very proud

to have the Vice President with his Greek background in our Administration, and he has done a great job for this Administration."

By these remarks, Nixon gave his personal blessing publicly to Agnew's witch-hunting forays. This is the kind of politics that comes natural to Nixon. But more than that. He is obviously delighted with Agnew. Maybe it's Agnew's touch. The November 6 *Washington Post* reports an example from remarks made by Agnew at a stag dinner for Prince Philip at the White House November 4: "All of you with tightened sinews and constricted sphincters can relax . . ."

Like Agnew? Perhaps this is part of the explanation for the loose sound heard when Agnew speaks.

It could prove painful, however, to conclude that Agnew is only a clown. Through him, Nixon — that is, the president of the United States — is inciting a swarm of lesser but just as vicious clowns to witch-hunt the antiwar movement.

In his column of November 5, the infamous Alsop indicated what is up. He suggests that those planning the march in Washington may lose "control." Then the march will end in "violence." He quotes an anonymous but "eminent member of the liberal establishment" who told a member of the Kennedy staff (likewise unnamed) who was warning about "violence":

"It's useless. The Trotskyites control the whole show. I'd come right out and say so in public, if I weren't afraid of being accused of McCarthyism."

What's a "Trotskyite"? Alsop has it: "Nowadays, a Trotskyite is nothing much more complicated than a fervent believer in violence." And he ends his column saying, ". . . it is hard to see how violence can be prevented if the Trotskyite control has not been exaggerated. . . ."

This line is being pushed in various channels. The ultimate source may be Nixon himself. There's a president who knows all about Trotskyism! And Communism, and Socialism, and all the pinkoes right down to the fifty card-carrying members that McCarthy "uncovered" in the State Department.

Will the antiwar movement let itself be taken in by this witch-hunting? It is not likely in the climate of today. For Nixon, however, it is apparently part of the "secret plan" through which he counts on winning the kind of "peace" he has in mind for Vietnam.

Concerning "Limited Sovereignty"

By Pierre Frank

Paris

To justify the entry of Soviet troops into Czechoslovakia in August, 1968, the Kremlin had its spokesmen put forward a doctrine of so-called limited sovereignty for the countries of the "socialist camp." According to this doctrine, one workers state is justified in intervening in the internal affairs of another if socialism is threatened there.

There is little point in inveighing against such a doctrine in the abstract. It is sufficient to note that the Soviet government has not intervened directly in Vietnam—which might mean that in its view socialism was not threatened there by the American intervention. However, the Kremlin did intervene in Czechoslovakia because it felt that socialism was threatened in that country by the introduction of a few freedoms which might have led to the establishment of a system of workers' and socialist democracy.

It might be observed, too, that according to this doctrine, Albania has the right to intervene in the Soviet Union, where it has denounced the re-establishment of capitalism. This doctrine of "limited sovereignty," it can be seen, is a "theoretical" fabrication designed for use by the Kremlin.

Moscow, it is true, has not explicitly espoused this doctrine, but it has had its agents openly advocate it, a fact which throws a certain light on the recent developments in the relations between China and the Soviet Union.

A "journalist" by the name of Victor Louis—we have to put journalist in quotes because he is better known for the missions he has undertaken for Soviet government departments than for his talents as a publicist—wrote the following lines in the September 17 issue of the London daily *Evening News*, that is, at a moment when the Sino-Soviet dispute seemed on the verge of going over the brink into an armed conflict:

"Some circles in Eastern Europe are asking why the doctrine that Russia was justified in interfering in Czechoslovakia's affairs a year ago should

not be extended to China. Events in the past year have confirmed that the Soviet Union is adhering to the doctrine that socialist countries have the right to interfere in each other's affairs in their own interest or those of others who are threatened.

"The fact that China is many times larger than Czechoslovakia and might offer active resistance is, according to these Marxist theoreticians, no reason for not applying the doctrine. Whether or not the Soviet Union will dare to attack Lop Nor, China's nuclear center, is a question of strategy, and so the world would only learn about it afterward." [See "Nuclear Strike or Renewed Alliance" in *Intercontinental Press*, October 6, p. 867-68.]

In the same dispatch, this "journalist" added that it is a common assumption in Moscow that "Soviet nuclear rockets are pointed at Chinese nuclear installations."

The "Marxist theoreticians" who used Victor Louis to make known their doctrinal conceptions are closer in outlook to the Washington "hawks" than to Marx and Lenin, to say nothing of Trotsky. But the developments in the relations between the Soviet Union and China, which have occurred since the lines quoted above appeared in the London daily, show that these "theoreticians" have had and—it is quite reasonable to assume—will have less success in their sphere of influence than their American counterparts.

It is not a matter of Marxist principles so far as Brezhnev, Kosygin, and Company are concerned. What is involved in Moscow, as we shall see further on, is merely a more accurate appreciation of the real relationship of forces than that shown by the White House and the Pentagon when it comes to political and military calculations.

The propositions put forward by Victor Louis, as imprudent as they were shameless, may result in some unpleasantness for this "journalist." But his fate is of little concern to us. Nevertheless, the comparison he made between the Soviet Union's policies to-

ward Czechoslovakia and China is interesting and merits some analysis.

In 1968 the Dubcek leadership, which had with difficulty succeeded the Novotný team, was not looking for any quarrel with the Soviet leadership. To the contrary, it reaffirmed its friendship with the Soviet Union.

What the Brezhnevs blamed the Czechs for was their weakness toward the mass movement which by its logic was heading toward establishing socialist democracy in the country. Since Dubcek was incapable of repressing this mass movement, the Kremlin sent in its armored divisions.

The operation did not go as smoothly as Gretchko's logistics had anticipated. Nevertheless, a little more than a year after the invasion, by extracting concession after concession, the Kremlin eliminated Dubcek from the leadership.

Next, Moscow won a thoroughgoing shakeup of the Czechoslovak CP Central Committee and the reestablishment of "order" à la Novotný.

And all of this was crowned by the revocation of the August 1968 decisions of the Central Committee and the party congress.

The official proceedings will thus be corrected, and as a result, it may no longer be said, on the word of the Czechoslovak party itself, that there was a Soviet intervention. Everything has officially returned to "normal" . . .

Now let us turn to China. For almost ten years the Chinese leadership (even when Liu Shao-chi was part of it) has endeavored to undermine the Kremlin's authority and prestige. This is not the place to state the Fourth International's position on the underlying causes of the Sino-Soviet dispute, its developments, and the domestic and foreign policy of Peking. But one thing is certain—the Chinese leadership has succeeded to a large extent in achieving its objective, without this always being to its own benefit.

As for Moscow, which started the conflict by taking measures to put pressure on Peking, it has sought in this

same period to isolate and intimidate China. In the case of the Communist parties, the Kremlin succeeded with great difficulty in holding an international conference this year. However, China was not mentioned explicitly in the resolution of the congress and even this resolution was not adopted unanimously.

In the diplomatic sphere, the Kremlin's anti-Chinese activity has been considerable. Besides the criminal withdrawal of aid to China in 1960, there was the aid—including military supplies—that Moscow gave to India during the period of the Sino-Indian border incidents, the spreading of propaganda among the imperialist chancelleries about some kind of "yellow peril" at the time of Sino-Soviet border incidents, an attempt at establishing relations with Taipei (through the good offices of this same "journalist" Victor Louis, mentioned early in this article), the proposal to the Asian nations of a pact clearly directed against China, and finally the threat of a military strike against the Chinese nuclear centers.

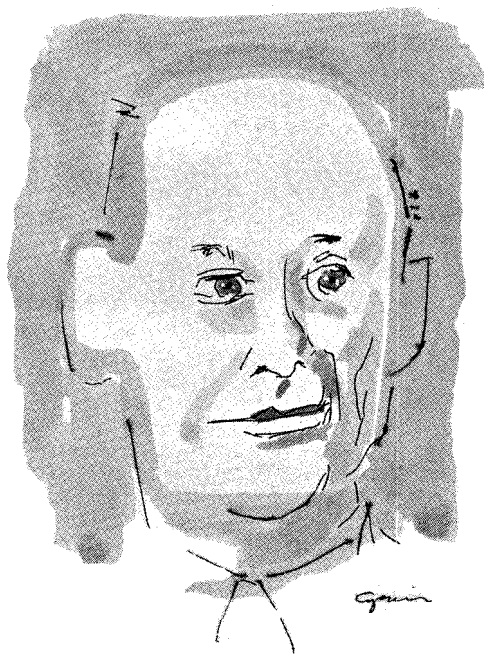
All this has not intimidated the Chinese leadership. In answer to the openly expressed threat of an attack on its nuclear installations, Peking let it be known that it would respond with a "people's war." This is where we come to the calculations made by Victor Louis's esteemed "Marxist theoreticians."

It is quite probable that a surprise preventive operation would succeed in destroying the Chinese nuclear centers. But once this result was achieved, the Chinese would not remain quiet.

In the present circumstances, they have no reason for, no interest in, deliberately starting a war against the Soviet Union. And, to my knowledge, no one outside the Kremlin — which has done so for obvious propaganda reasons — has attributed such an intention to them.

But if the Soviets engaged in such a "preventive operation," a qualitatively new situation would be created in which the Chinese inevitably and *legitimately* would be compelled to respond by armed action.

In this case, the Chinese strategy would inevitably be a long war of raids and harassment, which would be painful for the Chinese, unquestionably, but in which the Soviets would be condemned to exhaust their forces, as the Japanese did in the 1930s and



WALDECK ROCHET. On stage in Paris with a vulgar farce.

1940s and as the Americans are doing now in Vietnam.

The Kremlin bureaucrats have seldom sinned by adventurism in the international field. Those "theoreticians" who put Czechoslovakia and China on the same plane could not have much success.

Already at the time of the incidents on the Ussuri in the early months of this year, Moscow tried to telephone Peking, but the Chinese refused to pick up the receiver. This time, the Chinese leadership agreed to meet with Kosygin on Chinese territory.* Negotiations are to be undertaken to achieve an agreement or perhaps only a *modus vivendi* on the border question.

China and Czechoslovakia represent the most extreme cases so far, but they show that Moscow's relations with its "sister states" and "sister parties" are governed simply by the relationship of forces without regard to any principle.

This was always true; it was apparent when the Yugoslav affair came to a head in 1948 and Stalin's excom-

* Although the Soviets are strict formalists in diplomatic matters, they agreed to go to Peking, despite the fact that they already did so for the last Sino-Soviet meeting. The hypothesis has been suggested that this was a final Soviet maneuver before staging an escalation. This is not absolutely impossible, but it hardly seems probable.

munication fell flat. Now it is incontestable.

The resistance of the Chinese has had the consequence, among other things, of giving other countries a certain margin for maneuver in their relations with the Soviet Union.

This margin, however, is restricted as the Hungarians found out in 1956 and the Czechoslovaks in 1968. Even the Rumanians and the Yugoslavs have put a damper on their statements since August 1968.

It is evident that a positive solution for this situation can be provided only in the Soviet Union, when the Soviet masses rise up against the bureaucratic regime and overthrow it in favor of a system of workers' and socialist democracy.

But, no matter how little the Kremlin leaders regard the Communist parties throughout the world, they are not totally indifferent to the attitude of these parties, as is shown by their efforts to bring them together in an international conference. In this regard, the differences in attitude existing among the various Communist parties must be pointed out, along with the present limits of these divergences.

On the Chinese question, the Communist party leaderships are, with some exceptions, hostile to the policy of Peking. And there are very few that have dared say anything at all openly on the provocative policy toward China followed by the Kremlin. It is only behind the scenes that efforts have been made to prevent the rupture from becoming irremediable.

The PCF [Parti Communiste Français—French Communist party] leadership, on the other hand, has sought to add fuel to the fire. Just a short while ago, following the meeting between Kosygin and Chou En-lai, the Political Bureau gave the editors of *l'Humanité* the word to extract the most anodyne phrases from the statements and wire-service reports. These were printed without commentary.

It is on the Czechoslovak question without any doubt that the Communist party leaderships feel most uncomfortable. The Italian Communist party, which has established a relative independence from Moscow (not to the point, just the same, of not participating in the international conference of CPs or failing to reaffirm a certain solidarity with the Soviet Union), has

condemned in circumspect terms the "normalization" that has occurred.

But the French Communist party is becoming more and more deeply mired in its contradictions. In August, 1968, its leadership expressed "disapproval" and "disapprobation" of the entry of Soviet troops into Czechoslovakia.

These declarations echoed primarily those of the Czechoslovak party, and were made in the name of noninterference by one party in the affairs of another.

One member of the Political Bureau, Jeannette Vermeersch, who supported the Soviet position, resigned from this body and from the Central Committee.

The PCF realigned itself with the CPSU in September by approving the "accords" concluded between the Soviet party and the Czechoslovak CP.

But the recent "normalization" has confronted them with the choice of either accepting the revocation of the proceedings of the Czechoslovak Central Committee in August 1968 and then withdrawing its own declarations, or else protesting against the "normalization."

For the time being, it has solved its difficulty as follows: In his report to the Central Committee plenum in October, 1969, Waldeck Rochet went as far as September 1968 in considering the affair and ignored everything that has occurred since then in that country.

Waldeck Rochet then centered all his fire on Garaudy, formally still a member of the Political Bureau, who has not gone along with what is happening in Czechoslovakia nor with the outcome of the international conference of Communist parties.

To balance this, a few days before the Central Committee plenum, Louis Aragon, a member of this body, wrote an article in *les Lettres francaises* condemning a questionnaire sent out by the Czechoslovak minister of education calling on his subordinates to inform on each other. The article was reprinted in every paper except *l'Humanité*. In the face of a tragedy for socialism, the PCF is putting on a vulgar farce.*

* In its account of the Central Committee plenum, *l'Humanite* published only Waldeck Rochet's speech against Garaudy. It was from *Le Monde* that one learned that Garaudy spoke only twice, that there were no more than ten speeches on the topic, that only two "top-rank" leaders (Rochet and Marchais) spoke, while two

Whether they take a certain distance from the Kremlin's policy or align themselves with it as closely as possible, the leaders of the Communist parties that accept "peaceful coexistence" bow to one degree or another to the doctrine of "limited sovereignty," which means the acceptance of a "guide state" and a "guide party" run by the Soviet bureaucracy.

These leaders have disavowed this or that measure of the Kremlin, not

members of the Secretariat, Roland Leroy and Rene Piquet, said nothing. From this source it was also learned that the "pain" that Aragon expressed in *les Lettres francaises* was not mentioned in the plenum.

Document

An Appeal by Arab Lawyers in Israel

[The following appeal by Arab lawyers who are citizens of Israel was addressed to the participants in the First Jewish International Congress of Lawyers and Jurists held in Jerusalem August 25-28. It was signed by Attorneys Hanna Nakkarah, Sabri Jiries, Mohammad Mi'ari, Abdul Hafiz Darawsheh, Nabil Asfour, Anis Shaqour, Kamel Daher, Hasan Nasar, and Ali Rafi'.]

* * *

Dear Colleagues,

We, the undersigned, Arab lawyers, citizens of the State of Israel, practicing our profession in Israel, wish to extend to you our greetings and hope that your congress would be able to promote democracy, progress and a just peace in our region.

On this occasion of the convening of your congress we deem it necessary to bring before you our protest and our complaint against the undemocratic and arbitrary measures taken by the Israeli authorities against us as lawyers and as citizens of Israel.

1. You may be astonished to learn that we cannot come to Jerusalem freely and whenever we find it necessary even in the way of exercising our profession. More than that, some of us are, as a matter of fact, obliged by the military authorities to remain within our town, village or locality

for their reactionary or antisocialist character, but because they impeded or could impede their search for bourgeois or reformist allies in pursuing a class-collaborationist policy.

At the international conference of Communist parties held this year in Moscow, it was hoped that difficulties could be avoided by formally ignoring the problems. The official resolution of the conference mentioned neither Czechoslovakia nor China. But these questions will inevitably reappear and give fresh impetus to the international crisis of Stalinism. And we can be certain that other problems will soon arise to intensify the crisis.

October 16.

and not leave these localities without a permit in writing issued by the military authorities or by the police on their behalf.

Some of us were detained administratively on 5.6.67 or soon thereafter. No charge was preferred and no trial took place.

Others are ordered to report to a police station once a day and remain in doors one hour after sunset until sunrise.

2. These measures are against the elementary democratic rights of the citizen to move freely in his homeland and live without being subjected to restriction of movement.

Such measures are against human rights and a disgrace to our profession as lawyers and defenders of rights and of accused persons.

We are unable under these circumstances to fulfill our duties towards our clients and uphold law and justice.

We are ready to stand for trial before the courts and answer any charge that might be preferred against us. But we adamantly refuse administrative measures and arbitrary restrictions.

It is noteworthy to state that one of us, Advocate Abdul Hafiz Darawsheh from Nazareth, has already petitioned the High Court of Justice to show cause why these restrictions or some of them should not be abrogated, but we are sorry to say that

our High Court refused even to entertain the petition and issue an order nisi to show cause. And thus we are left at the mercy of the executive and its military and police institutions.

3. We should point out as well that the above restrictions deprive persons accused and put on trial in Arab territories, occupied after the June 1967 war by the Israeli forces, from our legal services especially as lawyers in the occupied West Bank of Jordan are on strike and refuse to appear before the Israeli Military Courts.

4. These repressive measures taken against us are imposed by the Israeli Authorities in accordance with the mandatory Emergency (Defence) Regulations, 1945, inherited from the British colonial rule in Palestine and granting the executive authority unrestricted powers including detention, deportation and banishment of citizens without any trial or accusation. These regulations have been used in Israel, since 1948, to impose as well upon the Arab population of Israel a Military Rule depriving them of freedom of movement in their country.

Hundreds of Arab citizens in Israel are administratively at present subjected to these restrictions depriving them of freedom of movement or ordered to house arrest, or detention.

These regulations which were promulgated by the British Rule in Palestine in 1945 were applied against the Jewish and Arab peoples in Palestine with the purpose of maintaining the British Colonial Rule.

It is worthwhile quoting the present Israel Minister of Justice, Mr. Y. Sh. Shapira, who, on the 7th of February 1946 at a meeting convened by the Palestine Bar Association to protest against these Regulations and attended by some 400 Jewish lawyers, rightly described these Regulations as follows:

"The regime established in Palestine with the publication of the Emergency Regulations is quite unique for enlightened countries. Even Nazi Germany didn't have such laws, and acts such as those perpetrated at Maidenek actually ran against the letter of German law. A regime of this type only fits a country having the status of an occupied territory. It is true we are assured that the Regulations are aimed solely against offenders and not against the entire population, but it will be remembered that the Nazi

governor of occupied Oslo, too, declared no harm would befall citizens who would just go about their business as usual. No Government is entitled to enact legislation of this kind." (Quoted from the February 1946 issue of "Hapraklit" — the Solicitor).

It is in accordance with these laws that we have been subjected to such repressive measures depriving us of free movement and ordering some of us practically to imprisonment in their houses.

5. It is alleged by the authorities

U.S.A.

Unemployment Reaches 2,839,000

The U.S. Labor Department announced November 7 that unemployment for October stood at 3.9 percent, or 2,839,000 persons out of a total labor force of 78,026,000, excluding the armed forces. This was down from 4 percent in September, but the decrease was so little that the *New York Times* commented November 8 that unemployment "has clearly reached a higher plateau than earlier in the year." The level stood at 3.3 percent a year ago.

The growth in jobs, the Labor Department reported, had dropped to an average of 93,000 a month for the period June through October. It had been 234,000 a month from October 1968 to June 1969.

Secretary of the Treasury David M. Kennedy caused a scandal when he told Congress October 7 that September's 4 percent unemployment rate was "acceptable" to the Nixon administration, and that it might go even higher.

The government was forced to retreat, at least verbally, the next day, when Kennedy added that "any unemployment in our country, however small, is an unhappy condition."

But Kennedy indicated October 17 that this pious sentiment did not mean the government would change its "deflationary" policy. At a meeting of the Business Council, a group of more than 100 executives of major businesses, in Hot Springs, Virginia, Kennedy said he expected a decline in the Gross National Product for some time.

While the executives told reporters that a "small" recession was not only like-

that these restrictions are imposed in the interest of public security and for the defence of the State of Israel but it is clear that the only reason for these measures is our disagreement with the policy of war, aggression and occupation practiced by the Israeli government.

6. We would be very grateful if you support our struggle in the manner and means you find fit with a view to abrogate the military orders and restrictions against free movement in our country imposed administratively and arbitrarily against us.

ly but desirable in 1970,* Kennedy told the businessmen:

"In the long run, the national interest and your own interest are identical." (October 18 *Washington Post*.)

The administration has indicated that its deflationary policy is aimed not only at workers' jobs, but at the wages of those still employed. Secretary of Commerce Maurice H. Stans spelled it out in an October 29 speech to a business conference called by the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce. The October 30 *Los Angeles Times* reported:

"Stans said the Administration hopes that the current profit squeeze will help corporations develop 'a little more backbone' in dealing with unreasonable labor demands."

* See "Turn in the International Economic Situation," *Intercontinental Press*, October 6, page 877.

A CORRECTION

In Ernest Mandel's article "Revaluation of the Deutsche Mark" in our October 27 issue, page 940, the final paragraph in column three should read:

"In both April and May, German total exports of machines and transportation equipment exceeded \$1,100,000,000. At this rate, these exports would come to \$13,000,000,000 over a year's period, thus equaling the figure for U.S. exports of producer goods. A few years ago, exports of American producer goods to Germany were still 25 percent higher than imports. This U.S. 'triumph' is really impressive . . ."

The Lesson of "Popular Frontism"

By Pekka Haapakoski

Helsinki

Since May, 1966, leaders of the Communist party have held posts in the government in Finland. This is the only country in Western Europe where this is to be seen today. Now, three and a half years after the "popular front" was founded, it is time to survey the experiment from the Marxist point of view.

The balance sheet is not at all favorable to either the working class or the parties in the government. The Communist party is split wide open, the number of "unofficial" strikes is rising very rapidly, and even the Finnish students, who have been quite conservative up to now, are starting to move. Everything indicates that Finland's social stability is coming to an end.

For a clear understanding of the reasons for these developments, it is necessary to consider the origin of the government's policies and to place them against the international background. Such an analysis has importance not only for Finnish Marxists but for the European working class as a whole.

In the mid-sixties a severe crisis threatened Finnish capitalism. Industrialization of the country was proceeding but slowly. In general, the industries were small scale, while agriculture was disproportionate and divided in small units. The balance of payments had gone from bad to worse over the years, and the lack of investments was very apparent. Finnish capitalism simply could not afford to continue with governments that did not favor industrialization, and—more importantly—could not keep the workers under control. Capitalism, faced with this objective situation, turned to a coalition government that included both the big working-class parties.

The Finnish Social Democratic party [SDP] had not participated in the government since 1958. The party had become unpopular because of its crude anti-Communist and anti-Soviet policies. In 1961 the SDP even tried to form a "patriotic front" with the extreme right;

but when this collapsed the party leadership was compelled to reconsider its political course. To regain ground in the Finnish political scene and play a leading role in the center, the party had to make a bloc with other forces caught in a similar situation. The SDP found—the Communists.

The Communist party had existed in isolation since the collapse of the postwar popular front in 1948. Throughout the years of being on the outside they had proclaimed their readiness to participate in the government and had demanded that the other parties stop discriminating against the Communists.

In 1964-65, the party conducted a broad internal discussion in connection with the so-called de-Stalinization. In practice this meant officially accepting the "peaceful and parliamentary road to socialism." Another main principle proclaimed by the party for years was "to create a broad alliance of the democratic forces to prepare the conditions for socialism."

The Communist party, including the old-line Stalinist wing, was thus quite eager to join a class-collaborationist government without insisting on any important conditions. It was just happy to see "discrimination" come to an end.

The first to serve as prime minister of the popular-front government was Rafael Paasio. His cabinet included six Social Democrats (himself among them), five members of the Center party, three Communists, and one Left Socialist.

The main planks of the government's program were industrialization, maintaining a balance of payments, and deflation. The severe deflationary policy aimed at restricting demand for consumer goods and improving the balance of payments through increased savings. The policy failed to achieve its stated aims but it did bring about a big increase in unemployment.

At the end of 1967, the government changed its course. The currency was devalued 31 percent, and the new prime minister, Mauno Koivisto [also a So-

cial Democrat], initiated the so-called stabilization policy. This was a Finnish version of an "incomes policy" based on freezing wages. Prices and other forms of payment were also formally frozen.

The stabilization agreement was reached through negotiations between the heads of the employers' organizations and the unions together with government officials. The government set up a body to oversee the stabilization.

A second agreement was signed in September of this year, the only union refusing to line up being the metal workers.

It must be admitted that the government has achieved certain concrete results along the lines it sought. The balance of payments has improved; industrialization has proceeded at a rapid pace, and foreign capital has flowed into the country. In short, Finland is advancing its "neocapitalism." Even Sweden's leading capitalist, Marcus Wallenberg, has praised the "reasonable" policies of the Finnish government.

From the viewpoint of the working class, the picture is not nearly so bright. Devaluation signified a heavy shift in income in favor of capital and at the expense of labor. The wage freeze prevented the workers from making good a part of the loss. As for price controls, these were mostly for the record and it was easy to get around them by altering the quality of products, changing the packaging, or simply withdrawing the lower-priced items from the market.

By the spring of 1968, the average real wages of workers stood 3.1 percent below that of the previous year. Values on the stock exchange had risen about 70 percent. Unemployment rose continually, the top figure in 1968 being almost 100,000. Even today, despite the boom, unemployment remains high.

The gradual integration of Finland into the European market, one of the government's main objectives, has raised the possibility of unemployment

remaining at a constant level of 2 to 3 percent. The rationalization of Finnish industry has been achieved principally through layoffs and the speed-up.

If we add to this picture the worsening housing shortage in the big cities, it is understandable why the Finnish workers do not care for "their government."

The most important consequence of the popular front is the split in the Communist party. The conflict had in fact begun in 1964-65, before the formation of the popular-front government, but it did not flare into the open until 1968.

Two things brought the dispute into the open. One was the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia; the other was the stabilization policy.

With regard to the first, the opposition within the party attacked the leadership for not approving the invasion of Czechoslovakia. The opposition was charged, in return, with "Stalinism."

With regard to the stabilization policy, the opposition scored the party leadership for "accepting a bourgeois incomes policy."

The deepening differences led to the opposition walking out at a party conference despite the Soviet attitude of opposition to "splintering."

Currently, two completely separate organizations exist within the party, each with its own slate of candidates in the parliamentary elections.

It seems to be only a question of time until the split is formalized with the declaration of two separate parties.

At the same time, the situation has become still more complicated with the appearance of pro-Chinese tendencies within the opposition.

Many youthful members, who have been critical of the government's policies, seem to hold illusions concerning the opposition in the Communist party. It should be recalled that this opposition is precisely the same tendency that led the CP during the postwar popular front. It is likewise the same tendency that advocated forming the present government. Aside from those who are blind followers of the Soviet Union, the evidence is plentiful to show that this opposition has little connection with revolutionary Marxism.

First of all, the criticisms voiced by this opposition against the government have been completely economist in nature. They have not offered an alternative political solution. They advo-

cate nothing more than wage increases without raising any immediate or transitional socialist demands. They raise no objections of a principled nature against continuation of this kind of government.

The opposition follows a vague line of "building a broad anticapitalist front" by pressuring the other governmental parties to support "democratic antimonopoly reforms." It is hard to see how one can pressure people who represent these monopolies into enacting antimonopoly reforms. It is still harder to see how one can succeed in the fight against the monopolies without taking them over.

But the opposition in the CP sees the question otherwise. They propose "isolating" the monopolies first and nationalizing them sometime in the distant future. According to this prescription, the masses must limit their action to economic struggles and to putting pressure on the government.

The question of independent political action, which could pose the issue of state power, is not even discussed.

Japan

Police Raid Zengakuren Offices

Tokyo police searched the offices of six Zengakuren factions as well as the headquarters of the National Federation of All-Campus Joint Struggle Committees October 22. The October 23 *Japan Times* reported that the police were looking for "evidence in connection with the student riots in Tokyo on Tuesday's [October 21] International Antiwar Day."

The organization whose offices were searched, according to the *Japan Times*, included Chukakuha, Shaseido Kaihoha, the Fourth International, ML [Marxist-Leninists], the Red Army, and Hantei.

The Tokyo Metropolitan Police Department [MPD] assigned about 1,000 investigators to question the 1,221 persons arrested October 21 in the capital. "Senior MPD officers hinted that they might apply the Antisubversive Activities Law to the riots," the *Japan Times* said, "depending on the outcome of the investigation."

The District Public Prosecutor's Of-

The political situation today is objectively ripe for broad mass action. The number of strikes is rising continually. Militancy, especially among the young workers, is the highest it has been for twenty years. At the same time the left wing of the Finnish student movement is rapidly becoming radicalized. The capitalist system in its decay has once more opened the objective possibility of establishing a higher social order—socialism.

However, as has occurred many times before, capitalism has inveigled the leaders of workers' organizations into doing their dirty work—saving the system when it is in trouble.

The most important task for Finnish Marxists today is to build a new vanguard, one capable of replacing the conservative bureaucrats of the workers' organizations, of meeting the essential needs of the working class, of formulating transitional political demands, and bringing the coming mass struggles to a victorious conclusion in a socialist Finland.

rice has assigned 170 prosecutors to prepare the students' trials.

The Police have announced that they will take even stricter security measures against student demonstrations slated for November 17 when Prime Minister Eisaku Sato leaves for a visit to the United States.

"Permanent Revolution" in Norwegian

A Norwegian translation of Leon Trotsky's *Permanent Revolution* has been listed for publication this fall by Pax Forlag, Oslo's principal left-wing publishing house.

The Norwegian left Socialist paper *Orientering* commented favorably on this filling of a gap on Norway's bookshelves, stating that the "political importance" of *Permanent Revolution* "has increased in recent years."

A New Monthly Record

The economic loss from traffic accidents in the U.S. in August passed the \$2-billion mark, according to the Insurance Information Institute.

Some Advice that Nixon Chose to Ignore

[The following is the text of an editorial that appeared in the London *Times* of October 17 under the title "The Day After"; that is, the day after the October 15 antiwar Moratorium in the United States. It is a warning to Nixon from an authoritative voice of British capitalism that he had "better think again" if he believes he can get away with "a pretence of withdrawal . . . while persisting in a policy of supporting Saigon . . ."]

The editorial is of interest in three respects: (1) For its declaration of solidarity with U.S. imperialism in its difficulty. (" . . . the withdrawal from Vietnam must not involve an intolerable national humiliation.") (2) For its tactical advice to Nixon on behalf of a ruling class with no small experience in these matters that he had better make a major concession to the massive antiwar sentiment at home—an admonition that Nixon chose to ignore in his November 3 speech. And (3) for its promotion of the myth that Nixon is "committed" to an eventual withdrawal.

[The last point is especially important, for the myth has been assiduously fostered in order to demobilize the antiwar movement. The October 15 Moratorium showed that the American people today do not believe that Nixon is about to end the war. It is to be hoped that Nixon's November 3 speech will dissipate any illusions on this question that papers such as the *Times* have fostered in Britain and elsewhere.

[The view of the *Times* that Britain is involved in the struggle is well taken. "Nobody abroad," observes the *Times*, "should imagine that the demonstrations for peace are something to be watched from the grandstand." The British people, we may confidently expect, will now again show—to a degree that may disconcert the *Times*—that they are not just watching from the grandstand, but are "in it."]

* * *

Those who organized the peace demonstrations of Wednesday in the United States can exult. They succeeded beyond their expectations. Millions joined in who were expected to stand aside, at

least this time. The cry went up to end the war, and the solemn mourning for those who have died gave the proceedings a dignity to which millions could readily subscribe. But just because the moratorium meant different things to different people the problem of interpreting it remains—and so too does the problem of taking account of it in formulating policy.

One lesson can be swiftly drawn. If Mr. Nixon's administration thinks it can get away with a pretence of withdrawal to appease a temporary war-weariness at home while persisting in a policy of supporting Saigon as long as seems necessary to American generals—1972 has been mentioned—then the administration and the President had better think again. The one thing needed to provide another head of steam for a still bigger demonstration, and more after that, would be the spread of the idea that the President is not straining every nerve to end the war, or is being frustrated or outwitted by the Pentagon.

Some people think this is the case. Whether it is or not, the first personages to draw conclusions are the American Chiefs of Staff, who have failed to win the war and who apparently still think they can maintain a conflict in which America's vital interests are not involved with a conscript army. The men they propose to arm and use, as well as their parents, were in the streets on Wednesday.

The second group which should think about the moratorium is the Saigon Government. No matter what Mr. Bunker may tell President Thieu, the American people have sent a direct warning to Saigon that their patience and sympathy is worn out. The Americans are not only going but, according to most of the evidence, are going faster than Saigon calculates.

It has naturally been argued that the demonstrations help Hanoi to be obdurate. This can be discounted. Hanoi has long known the state of American home opinion. The moratorium confirms an assessment on which their tactics are partly based. Few people

believe that, with the Americans committed to withdrawal, and Mr. Nixon himself repudiating a military victory, Hanoi will give Saigon a political settlement that has not been won on the field by arms. The only question is the point at which Hanoi will do a deal to save what remains of its people and economy and to meet the grim challenge of the post-war period.

For President Nixon the problem is to decide which element in the antiwar demonstration is strongest and gaining ground. There were many cross-currents. Is it the group—which probably is growing—which wants immediate and unconditional withdrawal for the sake of America's own internal unity, and which says all that is needed is ships? Or must he take more account of those who likewise "want out", but require the retreat to give Saigon a last chance to do a reasonable deal, and thus to be able to claim that American honour has somehow been upheld? In those calculations, cold politics enters. Nobody, on yesterday's reports, can be sure just where the balance lies.

A mistaken assessment could be disastrous, and not just for the 1970 congressional elections or for President Nixon in 1972. If the United States is not to over-react into isolationism, the withdrawal from Vietnam must not involve an intolerable national humiliation. If it does, scapegoats will be sought, and America's allies, who expect to be defended without undue efforts of their own, while retaining liberty to criticize Vietnam policy, are in line for selection. Nobody abroad should imagine that the demonstrations for peace are something to be watched from the grandstand. Everybody is in it.

On the Deathless Prose Front

"The film has been completed and those who have been fortunate enough to have seen the preview are beside themselves with enthusiasm." — Michael Banda, editor of the *Healyite Workers Press*, describing a "new 22-minute 16 mm. sound film" showing his paper coming off the press.

An Ultraleftist Endorses the Antiwar Movement

By Les Evans

Gerry Healy, the head of the Socialist Labour League in Britain, has just offered his followers and well-wishers a pleasant surprise. The October 18 issue of the SLL's newspaper, the *Workers Press*, signaled a switch in line on a very important question. For the first time since the beginning of the Vietnam war, the sectarians of the SLL decided to endorse a major antiwar demonstration. True, they endorsed the action after it was over; they did not participate in it; and they expressed reservations—but endorse it they did.

Under the headline, "Workers march against war," the *Workers Press* told its readers about the October 15 antiwar Moratorium in the United States. Noting the participation of groups of trade unionists in the demonstrations, the anonymous author of the article declared: "That is why it would be a fatal mistake to dismiss the 'moratorium' as just another, if bigger, 'day of protest' . . .

"At last the fight of the US working class against unemployment, speed-up, racialism and mass poverty is developing an international, anti-imperialist character."

In a later comment, on October 21, the *Workers Press* was even more enthusiastic, in accordance with the flowery of the new line:

"After the vast demonstrations of 'Moratorium Day' US imperialism finds itself faced, as the revolt in the army itself develops, with a war on three fronts."

And on October 25: "The 'Vietnam Moratorium' hit Nixon really hard and forced those sections of the ruling class opposed to a continuation of the war to speak out more loudly than they have ever done before."

The editor of the *Workers Press* is to be congratulated. What a refreshing contrast to the old line! Who, other than a Trotskyist of the outmoded orthodox school would even think of asking for an explanation of the reasons for the 180-degree switch?

For years, *The Newsletter* (which was just recently renamed *Workers Press*)

has denounced the antiwar movement in the most ringing language.

The August 12 *Newsletter*, for example, carried a piece by John Crawford polemicizing against an article on the united-front tactic written by Tom Kerry, a leader of the U.S. Socialist Workers party, in the revolutionary-socialist weekly *The Militant* published in New York.

"Anti-war campaigns and ad hoc committees were formed as substitutes for Marxism," Crawford argued.

"For example, Kerry's friend, Ernest Tate [a leader of the International Marxist Group, the British section of the Fourth International], tried to persuade us that the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign was a united front and that we were therefore prohibited from warning its members about the dangers of Stalinism betraying the Vietnamese revolution. . . .

"In pretending that working in such organizations, or even leading them, would somehow contribute towards the overthrow of imperialism, the revisionists were only echoing the Stalinist traditions from the late 1920s onwards."

Two months later, this line perished. While few will mourn its demise, perhaps some would appreciate a report from Crawford on how it happened that the movement denounced as a "Stalinist" popular front suddenly came to display an "anti-imperialist character." A dialectician might explain that the antiwar movement had this potential from the beginning. The SLL leaders claim to adhere to the dialectical method. Why then did they stand on the sidelines all these years and condemn the antiwar movement—do everything in their power, in fact, to stab it in the back?

If this question were limited to the SLL alone, it might be of small interest. But the attitude of the SLL on this question is not much different from that of various ultraleft sectarian groups in several countries. These include the Maoist Progressive Labor party and the Students for a Democratic Society in the United States, who

have refused to support the antiwar movement on the grounds that it does not raise "anti-imperialist" demands.

Wars and revolutions offer decisive tests for revolutionists. The SLL claims that it is a "Trotskyist" organization, and its leaders justify splitting from the world Trotskyist movement by claiming that the Fourth International founded by Leon Trotsky degenerated and became "revisionist." But the Healyites must explain how it happened that in the midst of an imperialist war against a colonial country, they sought up until October 18 to destroy the very movement which they then suddenly decided to praise. As they finally had to admit, the mass movement against the war reached such depth that it "hit Nixon really hard."

Will they now follow the logic of their new line and admit that they were wrong in the past? This is hardly likely, for it would be tantamount to admitting that the "revisionists" of the Socialist Workers party and of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International were consistent builders of the antiwar movement from the beginning and played a central role in promoting the mass actions in the streets which are having such praiseworthy impact in the United States today.

Has the Antiwar Movement "Changed"?

If we examine Healy's sudden change of line more closely, we will discover a few flaws.

The October 18 *Workers Press* report on the Moratorium is quite inaccurate. A White House "official" is supposed to have admitted that "at least 30 million people were involved." No source is given for this, but it would be good news for the antiwar movement if it were so.

A real whopper is the following: "For the first time ever, groups of workers marched behind their trade union banners, not as individual 'protesters', but as contingents of their class." (Emphasis in original.) And: "Workers from the motor, transport and chemical indus-

tries were to the fore in the rallies."

Why did the Healyites print these fantasies? The reason is simple. According to their schema, it is a betrayal to support an action that is not proletarian in character. They want to switch their line on the antiwar demonstrations in the U. S.: Therefore, they find it necessary to locate a proletarian character that was previously missing, according to their theory. The Healyites, in short, required a pragmatic basis to enable them to make the shift.

The truth is that there were few mass marches on October 15. The antiwar outpouring took the form of rallies, school boycotts, and in some cases work stoppages. Because of this, virtually no "groups of workers marched behind their trade union banners," as *Workers Press* has it.

Undoubtedly there were more trade unionists involved than ever before, but it was precisely as "individual 'protesters'" that most of them participated. As to the three industries mentioned, there is not a single report from a major city of official banners being carried by any of these unions or of any official contingents showing up at any rally.

What actually happened is that the Alliance for Labor Action put an advertisement in the October 14 *New York Times* endorsing the action. This was the first time that a major union organization had given official sanction to an antiwar protest. As such it was an important indication of the pressure the mass antiwar movement is placing on the union bureaucrats to join the protests.

Undoubtedly the ALA—an alliance of the United Automobile Workers, the Teamsters, and the International Chemical Workers unions—was acting under pressure from the rank and file as well.

But it should be pointed out that the ALA endorsement came *after* some seventeen U. S. senators and forty-seven congressmen, including many top leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties, had come out for the Moratorium. The *Workers Press*, it should likewise be pointed out, refrained from reporting this fact.

It must also be said that the ALA did not organize any union contingents. (This does not mean that they will not do so in the future: An ALA representative is slated to speak at the rally following the November 15 march on Washington called by the

New Mobilization and the Student Mobilization committees, and union contingents are expected to take part in that demonstration.)

The Healyite newspaper is also inaccurate in saying that the antiwar movement has never involved the organized working class before. In the April 15, 1967, demonstrations in New York and San Francisco, there were large official delegations from such unions as the longshoremen, clerks, teachers, social-service employees, hospital workers, etc.

The most curious item of all in the October 18 *Workers Press* article—perhaps it is also the most instructive item—is the fact that the author confused the working class with the trade-union bureaucracy. (Even in their last-minute endorsement, the ALA spokesmen were careful to cover their right flank by denouncing "every form of totalitarianism, whether communist, fascist or military dictatorship," and by deploring "the reprehensible activities of a small minority who burn the American flag and equate anti-Americanism with antiwar . . .")

The *Workers Press* conveniently fails to report the red-baiting statement of the Reutherite bureaucrats. Instead it hails their decision as proving the proletarian character of the demonstration. Upon these bureaucrats finally being prodded into giving official approval to an action organized by others, Healy decided he was now free to give his official approval—after the demonstration. Could a more perfect example be asked of an ultraleft phrasemonger tail-ending opportunist trade-union bureaucrats?

"Repelled by . . . Middle-Class Protest"

In their October 18 report on the Moratorium, the Healyites indicate what impelled them to "proletarianize" the antiwar movement before they would deign to support it:

"The working class," we are informed, "by the very nature of its struggle, is repelled by all forms of middle-class protest, however genuine the feelings supporters of such movements may have."

What an absurd idea! Two paragraphs further on the article declares: "It is, of course, true that the 'moratorium' was largely led by religious, Democratic, Republican and 'liberal' figures." If this is so, and the working class is "by the very nature of its strug-

gle" repelled from such people, how did all those workers come to show up on October 15?

The fact is that the antiwar movement has from the beginning consisted of a coalition of various tendencies, ranging from the revolutionary socialists in the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance, to "liberals" of many sorts. The anti-imperialist character of the movement has been determined by three slogans, for which the SWP has been the main champion:

1. *For the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam.* As the central axis of the movement, this slogan stands in the way of any defenders of imperialist policy, liberal or otherwise, who would like to divert the struggle into a compromise that would permit the imperialists to continue their aggression. There have been bitter fights in the antiwar movement as various tendencies have tried to replace this slogan by "more reasonable" ones such as "negotiations," "peace" in the abstract, "cease-fire," etc. The slogan "Bring the Troops Home Now!" is, of course, a popular expression of the principle of self-determination for the Vietnamese and hands off the Vietnamese revolution.

2. *For mass mobilizations in the streets.* In the absence of any mass working-class political party in the U. S., the only means to express independent political action today is through mass street demonstrations. The SWP has opposed every attempt to substitute actions by small groups for the masses or to abandon demonstrations for other kinds of actions such as petition campaigns.

3. *For a "single-issue" movement.* Precisely because the movement includes large groups of middle-class people, who do not have a working-class perspective, the SWP has opposed introducing other issues that would ostensibly give the antiwar movement a "full program." At this stage, such a program would inevitably be reformist; and, instead of a mass revolutionary movement, what would result would be a popular front of the notorious Stalinist variety. It is only by a strict agreement to fight for the specific aim of immediate withdrawal of the troops that the anti-imperialist thrust of the antiwar movement can be maintained.

It was on the basis of this three-point platform that the antiwar activists built a force that finally reached such proportions as to begin to draw in sectors of

the organized labor movement despite the decades of political quiescence on the part of the American working class. And it is precisely this systematic construction of a mass movement against an imperialist war that Healy still dismisses as "platonic breast-beating about Vietnam" (October 23 *Workers Press*).

Healy's American disciples, the Workers League, a split-off from the Socialist Workers party, go even further in making a "principle" of rejecting common action with liberals, and using this as a pretext for abstaining from the struggle against the war. In the November 3 issue of their paper the *Bulletin* they declare:

"The liberal capitalist politicians behind the Moratorium Committee are the enemies of every worker in this country. They want to extricate themselves from Vietnam only to [in?] order to attack us further. They want to make sure the protest remains just that: a middle class protest and a plea for reforms. We will have nothing to do with these spokesmen for the bosses.

"The New Mobilization Committee including representatives of the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party, collaborates with these same enemies of the working class. They act as a transmission belt for capitalist politics. The Communist Party does this openly, carrying forward the Popular Front policies of the 1930s, arguing that it is necessary for the workers to ally themselves with the progressive bosses on the basis of the bosses' program.

"Now the Socialist Workers Party plays the same role as the Communist Party. No matter how they may squirm and maneuver, no matter how much they may talk about immediate withdrawal and mass demonstrations, nothing can disguise the fact that these leaders have gone over completely to the policy of the Popular Front, of working with the bosses."

What this amounts to is providing a "left" cover for strikebreaking in the struggle against the imperialist war in Vietnam.

To describe the demand for immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam as a "plea for reforms" is ultra-left phrasemongering. According to this school of thought (if "thought" it can be called), any struggle short of the seizure of power is a "plea for reforms."

The fact that liberals can be drawn

into supporting such struggles is not a decisive criterion. The tactics of revolutionists are determined by the potential for mass confrontation with the capitalist state, not by what allies are won in the course of such a struggle, however dubious their credentials may be.

What was wrong with the popular front was not that Marxists found themselves momentarily in an "alliance" with liberals, but something quite different.

First of all, the so-called Marxists were not Marxists; they were *Stalinists* serving as a border guard for the Kremlin which in turn was interested in maintaining the status quo. The popular-front tactic cooked up by Stalin was a rehash of the Social Democratic policy of class collaboration. Through it, Stalin hoped to divert revolutionary struggles into safe channels and to receive in payment from the Western bourgeoisie agreements not to invade the Soviet Union. Thus the Stalinist popular front involved a program committing its adherents to preserve capitalism.

In correctly rejecting the popular front, the Healyites, and other ultra-lefts, went a shade too far. They threw out Leninism.

Revolutionary Marxists have always made "alliances" with liberals on certain specific issues such as defense of the victims of the class struggle, support for strikes, the defense of civil liberties, and even striking together against fascists and other ultrareactionaries. And if the Healyites are unable to see the obvious reasons for such a policy in relation to the living struggle against the Vietnam war, let them go back to the books. They will discover that it is their leaders who are guilty of revising Marxism on this elementary question.

Lenin on "Alliances"

In Lenin's classic work on revolutionary tactics, *What Is To Be Done?*, written in 1902, he discusses the bloc with the "legal Marxists," who helped smuggle Marxist ideas past the czarist censor in the 1890s:

"It is no secret that the brief period in which Marxism blossomed on the surface of our literature was called forth by an alliance between people of extreme and of very moderate views. In point of fact, the latter were *bourgeois democrats* [emphasis added];

this conclusion (so markedly confirmed by their subsequent 'critical' development) suggested itself to some even when the 'alliance' was still intact.

"That being the case, are not the revolutionary Social-Democrats who entered into the alliance with the future 'Critics' mainly responsible for the subsequent 'confusion'? This question, together with a reply in the affirmative, is sometimes heard from people with too rigid a view. But such people are entirely in the wrong. *Only those who are not sure of themselves can fear to enter into temporary alliances even with unreliable people; not a single political party could exist without such alliances.*" (*What Is To Be Done?*, Lenin's *Collected Works*, Volume 5, page 361-362, Moscow, 1961. Emphasis added.)

Lenin goes even further in justifying this bloc:

"The rupture, of course, did not occur because the 'allies' proved to be bourgeois democrats. On the contrary, the representatives of the latter trend are natural and desirable allies of Social-Democracy insofar as its democratic tasks, brought to the fore by the prevailing situation in Russia are concerned." (Ibid., page 362.) The one condition Lenin places on such an alliance for limited aims is that the socialists have full opportunity "to reveal to the working class that its interests are diametrically opposed to the interests of the bourgeoisie."

Compare the condition insisted upon by Lenin with the way the American antiwar movement, particularly its left wing in the Student Mobilization Committee, has functioned since the SWP entered it in 1965. The condition has been observed as the principle of "non-exclusion." This is the right of all tendencies that oppose the war to participate, no matter what their views are or what they think of the programs of the other participants. They have the right to advocate their revolutionary ideas and to criticize other tendencies in the coalition.

The interests of the antiwar movement were served in another way by insisting upon "nonexclusion." It blocked the witch-hunters, who would have liked to revive the red-baiting practices that played such havoc in the American labor movement in the McCarthyite period. It assured a *democratic* process in deciding on given actions. Observing "nonexclusion" as a principle in the antiwar movement also meant

opposing any attempts by ultraleftists to bar liberals because they were not socialists, or anti-imperialists, or proletarians.

But more is involved than the mere permissibility of temporary blocs with liberals in the course of working-class struggles as such. In fact, blocs with liberals are permissible, according to Lenin, in struggles for purely democratic demands that involve only petty-bourgeois or even bourgeois layers. Lenin is quite explicit on this. To show how far present-day sectarians have retreated from Bolshevik politics, it is worth citing a few more lines from Lenin:

"In a word, every trade-union secretary conducts and helps to conduct 'the economic struggle against the employers and the government'. It cannot be too strongly maintained that *this is still not Social-Democracy*, that the Social-Democrat's ideal should not be the trade-union secretary, but *the tribune of the people*, who is able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects; who is able to generalise all these manifestations and produce a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation; who is able to take advantage of every event, however small, in order to set forth *before all his socialist convictions* and his democratic demands, in order to clarify for *all* and everyone the world-historic significance of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat. (Ibid., page 423. Emphasis in original.)

Lenin insists that this is not simply a propagandistic intervention on behalf of the workers, but that revolutionists should be leaders of democratic struggles:

"We must also find ways and means of calling meetings of representatives of all social classes that desire to listen to a *democrat*; for he is no Social-Democrat who forgets in practice that 'the Communists support every revolutionary movement', that we are obliged for that reason to expound and emphasize *general democratic tasks before the whole people*, without for a moment concealing our socialist convictions. He is no Social-Democrat who forgets in practice his obligation to be *ahead of all* in raising, accentuating, and solving *every* general democratic question. . . .

"We must train our Social-Democratic practical workers to become political

leaders, able to guide all the manifestations of this all-round struggle, able at the right time to 'dictate a positive programme of action' for the aroused students, the discontented Zemstvo people, the incensed religious sects, the offended elementary school-teachers, etc., etc." (Ibid., pages 425-428. Emphasis in original.)

The fight against the war in Vietnam is perhaps the most serious and vital of all the struggles involving democratic rights in the world at the moment. At issue is the democratic right of a people to self-determination in face of the violation of that right by the mightiest imperialist power on earth. Because of the democratic issue at stake, it necessarily involves those elements among the bourgeoisie who genuinely believe in democracy. The only condition placed on their joining the antiwar movement is that they support the demand for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops and that no political confidence be placed in them, since they will do everything they can (as the record shows) to divert the movement into supporting bourgeois politicians or parties.

The sharpest struggles within the antiwar movement have occurred precisely over the efforts of certain tendencies to divert the coalition from the path it has followed as a giant lever of independent mass action.

The SLL and the Workers League, it must be stated, have not participated in this struggle either. They have abstained from the antiwar movement, contenting themselves with watching — and kibitzing — from the grandstand during the five years

in which U.S. imperialism has continued to pour death and destruction on the people of Vietnam. They have acted as if they were completely indifferent to the struggle *within* the antiwar movement. Their attitude was, let the liberal bourgeoisie divert it.

Now that they have belatedly recognized that a struggle of great historical significance has been going on, what can we expect from these strategists of the typewriter and the ballpoint pen? Can we hope to see them participate in building the next wave of antiwar actions on November 15? Will they now undertake a self-reform?

Skepticism is in order. And yet it may be that a miracle is about to occur. The October 21 issue of the *Workers Press* expresses the greatest concern about bringing up the level of the antiwar movement. This, they assert, requires exposure of the leadership of the antiwar movement. These leaders, it seems, have been aiding imperialism!

"The role of the liberals, the Stalinists and the revisionists in containing the anti-war movement at a protest level is a real aid to imperialism at this juncture," the *Workers Press* declaims, "and must be exposed as such."

Perhaps it would be of greater service to the antiwar movement if Healy would kindly explain just who he was really aiding by abstaining up until October 18 from participating in the struggle for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam — that is, if he believes anyone is interested in his explanation.

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