

WORLD OUTLOOK

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Un service de presse ouvrier

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February 24, 1967

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SECRET POLICE CHIEF HEADS PEKING'S "PARIS COMMUNE"

An official notice, signed by the Red Guards of School 5 and posted February 11, announced that Hsieh Fu-chih has been named director of Peking's new Commune. Hsieh Fu-chih is the Minister of Security of the People's Republic of China. The appointment of the head of the country's secret political police to head the new organization indicates how little reliance is to be placed in the Maoist propaganda that one of the aims of the "cultural revolution" is to institute "extensive democracy" modeled on the democracy that made the Paris Commune of 1871 legendary in the history of the international socialist movement.

But even this is not all. On February 12, notices were posted in Peking announcing that a military commission has been placed in charge of controlling everything connected with public security. The security forces in turn have been reorganized into a "revolutionary police" which have been placed under the direction of Mao Lu-shan, a figure emerging into the limelight for the first time. According to Reuters, the headquarters of the police and a number of police stations in Peking have been placed under the guard of contingents of the army. All these measures were approved by the Military Commission of the Central Committee, which constitutes the supreme command of the army, and bear the official seal of the Ministry of Public Security headed by Hsieh Fu-chih.

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a labor press service

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In a parallel move, reported in Tokyo on the basis of all posters that appeared in Peking February 13, Mrs. Chiang Ching, the wife of Mao Tse-tung, was placed in charge of a Committee of Orientation for the Cultural Revolution. The job of this committee, apparently, is to screen the central bodies of the party and the government for possible deviationists. Its connection with the Committee of the Cultural Revolution headed by Chen Po-ta, which was functioning under the control of the party's Central Committee remains unclarified.



MRS. CHIANG CHING

According to the Hsinhua News Agency, the first new commune to appear was the "Revolution and Production Committee" which was set up in the Shanghai Glass Machinery Plant on December 27, 1966. As reported in Hsinhua's January 24 bulletin, "Members of the committee hold no official titles and call themselves 'servants.' They always work with 'Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung' in pocket and tools in hand. They do not divorce themselves from productive labour, sit in office rooms or act as high and mighty bureaucrats."

A sharp struggle occurred among the workers at the time, some of them suggesting that "members of the former staff were very 'shrewd' in management" and should be kept "to take care of technical matters," an argument that was, of course, rejected. In addition, "some of the workers grumbled that the object of the revolutionaries in seizing power was to place themselves in official posts." After a number of meetings, "many workers who had been misled by the 'Red Militia Detachment' came to see the truth and crossed the line to the [Maoist] revolutionary rebels." The allusion to the "Red Militia Detachment," which was evidently considered to be an opposition formation among the workers, was left unexplained in the Hsinhua dispatch.

According to Hsinhua, in the Shanghai Glass Machinery Plant, "Bureaucracy has been wiped out....Everybody is brimming with revolutionary enthusiasm and displaying great initiative in work. Production has gone up steadily, some of the workers redoubling their average quotas. A completely new, Communist-style revolutionary factory has come into being."

The setting up of such new communes has taken place under the general slogan of "smash the old state machine that did not correspond to Mao Tse-tung's thought." (Hsinhua, February 3.) However, the Maoists were not long in advancing certain limitations. "Ultra-democracy and liberalism: these are corrosives which eat away unity, undermine organisation, cause apathy and create dissension," according to an article issued by the Third Headquarters of the Peking Red Guards. (Quoted by Hsinhua, February 4.)

An article in Red Flag, the theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist party (quoted by Hsinhua February 5), spells this out at some length. "There is a class struggle in socialist society." The "concentrated expression of this struggle" revolves around "political power" and the "usurpation of political power by the bourgeoisie and its agents within the party and the proletariat's seizing power from them." In this struggle "counter-revolutionary discipline must be thoroughly smashed." But this does not mean that all discipline must be ignored. "Proletarian revolutionary discipline" must be consciously observed. Even while exercising "the most extensive democracy," the "highest degree of centralism should be enforced."

Then comes a revealing thrust at the Paris Commune: "We must bear in mind the lesson that the Paris Commune was too restrained in the use of its authority. The provisional organs of power and their leading members who carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in directing the struggle to seize power must display the mettle of proletarian revolutionaries, lead the masses, and successfully accomplish the historic task of the struggle to seize power."

In setting up the new Peking "commune," the Maoists have indicated what is meant by not ignoring discipline and in fact establishing a pattern which puts forward the "highest degree of centralism." A combination of police-military rule indeed represents the highest degree of centralism. It can now be expected that the Maoists will provide some illuminating examples on how to enforce this centralism. As for "extensive democracy," this appears to be boiling down pretty much to the equalitarian right of everyone to possess his own individual copy of the Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung.



MRS. CHIANG CHING

WESTERN SPECIALISTS CONSIDER WHICH FACTION TO SUPPORT IN CHINA

The Johnson administration appears to have succeeded in imposing extraordinary secrecy on the assessments being made in the Pentagon and State Department of the political crisis in China and how best to intervene in it to the advantage of the capitalist West and more particularly the American military position on the Asian mainland. Perhaps no hard and fast decisions have been made as yet.

However, the tentative line of thinking may have been indicated by C.L. Sulzberger in the February 3 New York Times. "Possibly now is the time for major new policy decisions, because the moment of opportunity may pass," said this expert in foreign affairs. [See World Outlook February 10, p. 149.] As an example of what could happen, Sulzberger suggested that "should the forces of Liu and the party hierarchs achieve a decisive victory one of their steps might be to reaffirm the shattered Sino-Soviet alliance."

Sulzberger indicated in this way a key criteria in weighing the factions from the American imperialist viewpoint -- which of them should be favored as most likely to maintain the breach with Moscow? A decision on which faction to favor is a necessary preliminary to any tactical moves designed to advance a consistent strategy.

Whether by coincidence or not, precisely this question was put on the agenda at a four-day conference of academic specialists on China which ended February 9. Held in Chicago, the conference was sponsored by the Chicago University's Center for Policy Study. A number of papers were read and discussed. The publicity, however, went to the topic of which faction to favor.

Several participants asserted, according to the February 10 New York Times, "that it was more in American interest in the short run to see the militant faction of Chairman Mao Tse-tung win Communist China's power struggle than his opposition."

The reasoning cited by the Times was the same as that hinted at by Sulzberger; namely, that "Mr. Mao's opposition, judging by past statements, would have tried to heal the split with the Soviet Union and would have pressed for unity of action with Moscow on the war in Vietnam, possibly leading to a more direct clash with the United States."

Dr. Uri Ra'anah of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, described as "an expert on Communist affairs," said: "In the short run, say two or three years, the Mao forces might be the lesser of two evils."

In a paper based on statements by the various Chinese leaders Dr. Ra'anah held that a victory of Mao over Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping might be preferable from the point of view of "the West."

"Many people have thought that the pro-Soviet opposition would be more moderate toward the West," he said. "This is exactly the reverse of what is shown by analysis of their public statements. They would have had to be more militant toward the West in order to sell, to justify the pro-Soviet policy at home, and this would have meant a greater commitment by both countries in Vietnam."

Dr. Richard Lowenthal of the Free University of Berlin advanced a comparable view. "In the present situation, Mao is better for us than his opposition," he said. "A victory by Mao excludes even a partial reconciliation with the Soviet Union. If he wins, China will not solve its economic problems."

Dr. Donald S. Zagoria of Columbia University held a similar view, although with some qualifications. "The Maoist faction regards the Soviets as the main enemy and they are unwilling to compromise even on Vietnam," he said. "Because they cannot afford to fight on two fronts, they do not want a confrontation with the United States on Vietnam."

In his opinion, the opposition to Mao wanted unity with the Soviet Union for various reasons. The military leaders had in mind strategic considerations both in the Vietnam situation and in modernizing the armed forces. He also thought that some Communist party leaders wanted better relations with the Soviet Union in order to renew the flow of economic aid.

Zagoria expressed doubt, however, that in the long run a victory by Mao would be preferable for "the West." His reasons were not reported in the press.

The three experts were in general agreement that China could not maintain two fronts, one against the Soviet Union, the other against the United States. "Forced to

choose, they said, the Maoists would make Moscow 'enemy No. 1' while the opposition would give the United States that place."

As for the current incidents, Dr. Lowenthal thought that Mao could use a diplomatic break with the Soviet Union as a "device in his internal power struggle."

"Through it," he was reported as saying, "Mao can isolate his opponents. He can turn them into traitors."

Dr. Ra'anan held that domestic issues were at the heart of the political crisis in China but that differences over strategic and military questions had played an "unexpectedly large part in top-level debate in 1965 and 1966."

The cold-blooded way in which these ideologues go about deciding which faction to favor is worth noting. They pay no attention to the oceans of propaganda in the West picturing Mao Tse-tung as some kind of devil incarnate. They keep their eyes on what is really at stake in the internal conflict in China; and, of course, the question of a united front between Peking and Moscow in support of the Vietnamese revolution and against American imperialist aggression is a vital issue affecting the defenses of both China and the Soviet Union. The specialists never lose sight of the basic antagonism between the world capitalist system and the entire camp of workers states. They do their best to analyze how to exploit the differences that arise and to favor those groups and forces which seem preferable from the imperialist point of view, if only temporarily and if only in comparison with the alternative.

This has always been the imperialist approach. For instance in the struggle between the bureaucratic forces headed by Stalin and the revolutionary Marxist opposition headed by Trotsky, the imperialists favored Stalin. Franklin D. Roosevelt even went so far, it will be recalled, as to present Stalin with a Hollywood film Mission to Moscow that pictured the notorious frame-up trials as authentic.

Socialists who stand for the unconditional defense of both the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union should keep careful watch of the imperialist machinations. They should maintain the position that it is up to the people of China and the Soviet Union and the working class internationally to decide on the merits of the Sino-Soviet conflict. The imperialists, with their reactionary ulterior motives, have no business intervening. This applies all the more with regard to the internal crisis in China. Imperialist intervention on either side in the factional struggle will only further embitter and poison relations and introduce fresh confusion. Let the imperialists stay out of it!

DEUTSCHER'S VIEWS ON THE CHINESE "CULTURAL REVOLUTION"

The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation has just published the interview with Isaac Deutscher on the Chinese "Cultural Revolution" which was given to Ernest Tate on September 20, 1966, and which first appeared in the Italian left-communist journal La Sinistra. The pamphlet is being sold by the Foundation, 11a Wormwood Street, London, E.C.2, for one shilling and sixpence. It may also be ordered from Merit Publishers, 5 East Third St., New York, NY 10003 for \$.35.

In the interview Deutscher dismisses the possibility that China harbors any "aggressive plans" in Southeast Asia. But he believes that the preparation of the Chinese government for an American attack has been a very important factor behind the current political crisis. He says that Mao and his supporters are "thinking in terms of fighting alone against the United States" and have been working to convert the whole of China into a replica of the organization during the so-called Yanan days so that the population can carry on partisan warfare for a prolonged period, as in Vietnam.

He holds that "many of the accusations the Chinese level against the Russians and their criticisms of Russian opportunism in dealing with the Western powers are justified." Moreover, the withdrawal of all Soviet aid from China "was a tremendous shock to the Chinese economy and people. The whole industrial development of China was set back by many years; and this coincided with a series of natural calamities and bad harvests..."

"Millions of Chinese lost their jobs in the cities and had to trek back to their native villages where there wasn't enough food for them. Thousands of factories, into which the Chinese had invested a great amount of their meagre resources, could not be built up and completed. Huge investments were frozen with disastrous results. Since then, I think, the Chinese have been reacting to blows and shocks in an irrational manner,

from deep resentment and a sense of grievance."

Nevertheless, he thinks that the Maoists are committing "a great, a fatal mistake" in their policy toward the Soviet Union in the present world situation, "comparable to the mistake committed by the German Stalinists between the years 1929 and 1933."

Deutscher says further on this:

"I really think that today Mao Tse-tung has, as it were, his own version of the theory of 'social fascism' which he has applied to Krushchev and American imperialism. He underrates the antagonism between Moscow and Washington. He underrates the inevitability of conflict between them. I don't speak of armed conflict here, but of the permanent, continuous social and political conflict that may or may not lead to armed struggle. The Maoists overlook the fact that the Soviet Union has a vital interest in stopping aggression and expansion of American imperialism, no matter how much Krushchev or Kosygin have tried to appease Washington.

"The Maoists therefore don't see any objective basis for their own co-operation with the U.S.S.R., and they reject the united front, instead of calling for it indefatigably, tirelessly, day in and day out; instead of appealing for the united front to Soviet opinion, to the Soviet masses, and to the Communist parties all over the world. It is the Russians who are calling for joint action; it is they who are appealing for the United Front. One may doubt their sincerity; but the Maoists, by refusing the united front, play into the hands of the American Administration and also into the hands of those in Moscow who really don't want to do anything over Vietnam, to co-ordinate action with the Chinese, who really are not interested in promoting the anti-imperialist struggle and the revolutionary ferment in the world."

Specifically on the "cultural revolution" in China, Deutscher said the following:

"Now the term 'cultural revolution' has to be clarified. You may use the term in a metaphorical sense to indicate the cultural rise of formerly oppressed and illiterate people, a cultural rise that must take many, many years and decades. When hundreds of million, or tens of millions of illiterate peasants are taught to read and write and are further educated, one can speak broadly of something like a cultural revolution extending over the lifetime of two or three generations. But to speak of a cultural revolution as a single act is absurd. What is a revolution? The classical definition of it is the transfer of power from one class to another. You can make a social and a political revolution. You make a social revolution when one class seizes the property of another and nationalises it. You make a political revolution when you seize political power from one class and another takes it into its hands -- then a revolution is made in a single act or within a very short time. A social revolution is already more than a single act. A political revolution may be an armed uprising which overthrows a government and establishes representatives of a revolutionary class in office.

"But how can you make a cultural revolution in a single act? Can you transfer at a stroke the knowledge and the skills accumulated in the head of one class into the head of another? Revolutionaries who would achieve this would indeed perform a feat of which the philosophers, including the philosophers of Marxism, have not dreamt. One can, of course, kill, or reduce to silence, or send to concentration camps a whole generation of an intelligentsia and in this way deprive society of a certain fund of knowledge, civilised habits and skills that have been accumulated over generations, but this will not turn those who destroy the old intelligentsia into the possessors of the knowledge, the skills and arts they have annihilated.

"Lenin, therefore, spoke not of 'cultural revolution,' but of the cultural heritage which it was the duty of the Bolshevik Party and of the revolutionary government to preserve and develop. Trotsky posed the problem of employing specialists in this context -- he posed it with regard not only to military specialists employed in the army but to specialists employed in the economy and in education as well; he saw this as part of a great endeavour to make the cultural heritage of the past accessible to a new revolutionary regime. Not 'cultural revolution' but mastery of the cultural heritage was the guiding idea in Lenin's time.

"To be sure, the Bolsheviks were not just attending to the cultural heritage of the bourgeoisie and of the feudal classes -- they did their utmost to carry education into the masses of the Russian workers and peasants -- only in this way could the cultural heritage be made accessible to the rising social classes; and Lenin and Trotsky and their followers accepted the cultural heritage critically, with Marxist discrimination, absorbing what was vital in that heritage and overcoming its obsolescent elements. And so much was and is vital, because in science and in the arts the old dominant classes had in a sense transcended themselves and their own limitations.

"One may consider Shakespeare as a representative of the bourgeois dream, as the representative of what was in his time an essentially new bourgeois individualistic sensitivity. But in Shakespeare this bourgeois sensitivity transcended its own limitations and rose above itself, as it were, to create lasting artistic values which retain their force after so many changes of governments, regimes, and social orders. Similarly, the old Greek drama can be said to have represented a type of sensitivity and a way of thinking that was rooted in a society which lived by slavery; but Sophocles, Euripides and Aeschylus artistically transcended these limitations and created lasting values, which are not to be overthrown in any 'cultural revolution.' (My Italian readers will, of course, remember the contempt with which a Marinetti and other Futurists once treated Dante, Petrarch and the masters of the Renaissance.)

"Only savages, or petty bourgeois, half-baked ultra-radicals, or bureaucratic upstarts can make bonfires of the works of the great thinkers and artists of the past. The Maoists, who do it in the same name of Marxism and Leninism, commit moral harakiri. And they harm the revolutionary interest of China, they harm it shamefully and disgracefully! We must defend the revolutionary cause of China, despite them and even against them!"

KOSYGIN ON BBC

During his trip to England, Kosygin replied to questions asked him by a journalist in an interview over BBC February 10. Among other things he talked about the Sino-Soviet conflict. To our knowledge this is the first time that a head of a workers state has talked on such a subject, utilizing the facilities of a bourgeois communication system. Considering how far things have gone in the quarrel between the Chinese and Soviet leaderships, this in itself doesn't mean much. What Kosygin said, however, does speak volumes.

Here is one of his key statements as reported in the press:

"It [this struggle] has been caused by the setbacks they [China] have suffered both inside the country and in foreign affairs." (New York Herald Tribune [published in Paris], February 11-12.)

The statement appears harmless, but how revealing it is. Reverses in the field of foreign affairs? Kosygin did not mention what they were. It would be interesting to know what he meant by these words. There were defeats, certainly, which if they did not exactly cause the struggle in China, at least highly exacerbated it.

The most important defeat was the one in Indonesia, which in fact directly preceded the unleashing of the "great cultural revolution" in November 1965. Is this what Kosygin was referring to? Everything points to it. But then this was not only a reverse for China alone, it was a reverse for socialism, including the Soviet Union. The way in which the Soviet leaders acted after this defeat was criminal. Their policy encouraged Johnson to escalate the war in Vietnam. [See the statement of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International in World Outlook, November 4, 1966.]

Kosygin's remarks on BBC, his way of speaking about defeats for China internationally, were to the highest degree characteristic of the thought of the present heads of the Soviet Union. This does not appear to bother them. In the field of foreign policy, Stalin is not dead.

HOW MUCH AID IS VIETNAM RECEIVING FROM CHINA AND THE USSR?

In a rather extensive article in the February 14 Wall Street Journal, which clearly reflects briefing sessions at the State Department and the Pentagon, Frederick Taylor, a staff reporter of the New York business daily, assesses the impact of the Sino-Soviet conflict and the political crisis in China on the flow of aid to the Vietnamese. Taylor's conclusion is that shipments of arms and other supplies are being impeded.

The U.S. "strategists" are even speculating on the possibility of a shutoff on supplies shipped through China, "whether that came about by decision of Peking's rulers or through unplanned breakdowns of Chinese transport."

If this should occur, the Soviet Union would have to depend on sending heavy equipment by sea. This would mean a considerable increase in traffic flowing through the

port of Haiphong.

Taylor professes to believe that this might increase the chances for a clash between American and Russian forces, since there would be a strong inclination among the war hawks in the U.S. to bomb Haiphong under the general excuse advanced by Johnson for bombing north Vietnam -- to cut off supplies to the National Liberation Front.

Without indicating his specific sources, Taylor cites the following figures on the amount of aid that has been going to Hanoi:

"There's no question that the Soviet Union is the primary supplier of war goods to North Vietnam, even though rival China loudly disputes that fact. U.S. intelligence experts estimate that the Russians have supplied North Vietnam with more than \$600 million in military aid, including \$500 million in arms alone, since 1953; of that total, 85% has been sent since August 1964, when North Vietnamese ships attacked U.S. destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin [This version is part of the official war propaganda of the Johnson administration. -- W.O.] and the Vietnam war began heating up rapidly. Since 1953 the Chinese have given Hanoi only \$150 million in military aid, 65% of that since August 1964.

"The Soviet arms aid, according to U.S. estimates, has flowed like this: Before 1964, \$50 million; in 1964, \$25 million; in 1965, \$200 million to \$225 million; in 1966, about \$200 million. Analysts figure Chinese military aid in 1965 was about \$35 million and rose to \$50 million or \$60 million last year, most of it in small arms such as rifles and mortars that play a major role in the war in the south.

"Until 1964 the Soviet arms shipped to North Vietnam consisted mainly of artillery, armored vehicles, some 75 airplanes of all types, 20 naval patrol boats and small arms, mostly rifles. From then until mid-1966, the Soviets supplied 20 to 25 battalions of SAMs, each with six missile-launchers, radar equipment to operate them, and several thousand light and medium antiaircraft artillery pieces, much of it radar-controlled. Since mid-1966, most of the equipment sent has been radar, antiaircraft guns, trucks and other vehicles.

"In addition, North Vietnam has been slowly building up its air force, primarily with Russian-supplied planes, until it now has a total of about 220 aircraft. Included are about 115 jet fighters, 15 to 20 of them late-model MIG-21s and the rest Korean War-vintage MIG-15s and MIG-17s. Hanoi also has 8 light jet bombers, 50 light transports, 30 trainers and 20 helicopters....

"Back in 1955, the Chinese and the Soviets promised North Vietnam \$1 billion in economic aid, but up through 1964 they had delivered only \$600 million to \$750 million, it's estimated. Of this total, some \$250 million to \$300 million to \$400 million came from Russians, \$300 million to \$400 million from the Chinese, the remaining small portion from the Communist East European bloc. Since 1964, there's been \$400 million to \$500 million more in economic aid delivered, 75% or more from the Soviets.

"The economic aid has consisted mainly of machine tools, generators, road-building equipment and complete small factories to make plastics and textiles. But since 1964, the Soviet assistance has concentrated on products useful for war as well as peace: Tractors and trucks, wire, all kinds of spare parts, steel rails to repair bombed railroad lines, medicine, blood plasma and, of course, oil and gasoline. Some medicine and machine tools, the latter described as good quality but not highly sophisticated equipment, have come from East Europe. Most Chinese economic aid in the same period has been rice: China is the biggest supplier of food to North Vietnam.

"Last October Russia promised an additional \$800 million in material and money, with \$200 million more to come from its East European allies. But so far as U.S. officials can determine, there's no time limit on that aid and based on past experience it could take years for the full amount to be delivered, if it ever is."

At first glance it might seem that rather substantial sums are involved. However, the total military aid furnished by the Soviet Union since August 1964 (85% of \$600 million) averages out to about \$17.6 million a month. The total military aid furnished by China during the same period (65% of \$150 million) averages to about \$3.4 million a month. The total from the two sources equals \$21 million a month.

Even if the current estimate is taken as a base; the outcome is not much better. The rate of aid from the Soviet Union has declined to \$16.7 million a month; aid from China has increased to \$5 million a month, making the combined total \$21.7 million a month.

By way of comparison, the Johnson administration is currently spending \$2,000 million a month for its war of aggression in Vietnam.

The figures on Soviet and Chinese aid to Vietnam must be viewed with reserve in view of the source. Even if they are considerably below the reality, however, it is clear by merely looking at the struggle to see what enormous disparity there is in the military means available to the Vietnamese people in their defense against the mightiest military colossus in all history. Their capacity to hang on in the face of such an attack as the one mounted by the Johnson administration will go down as one of the most heroic pages in all history.

AMERICAN MAOISTS URGE CHINESE WALL FOR NORTH VIETNAM

The February issue of Challenge, the monthly newspaper of the American Maoist group, the "Progressive Labor Party," carries an editorial that should be of special interest to the international antiwar movement, to socialists and all those in every country who stand on the side of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The editorial offers hard evidence on how Mao's rejection of a united front with the Soviet Union in defense of the Vietnamese Revolution has been developed inside the imperialist United States into an ultraleft sectarian position highly injurious to the Vietnamese cause.

According to Challenge, the trip to Hanoi made by Harrison Salisbury, assistant managing editor of The New York Times, "America's version of Pravda," was "part of the United States and Soviet Union's attempt to crush the revolution in Vietnam." The purpose of Salisbury's trip was "to help arrange phony negotiations between U.S. aggressors and the Vietnamese."

"A central aspect of Salisbury's reportage concerns U.S. bombing of north Vietnam," continues Challenge. "He is dwelling on the horrors of bombing to feed the Soviet Union's tactic of obscuring the basic demand of U.S. GET OUT OF VIETNAM NOW. In its place the Soviets would like to see the terms to negotiate pivot around ending the bombing of north Vietnam. This slick U.S.-Soviet gambit has sucked in a good deal of the anti-war movement around the world and particularly in our country. The central demand of the anti-war movement in the U.S. is now 'stop the bombing.' This switch from 'GET OUT OF VIETNAM NOW' has been carefully guided by the Communist Party and their Trotskyite allies who dominate peace offices in many cities around the country."

In consonance with this thesis, Challenge finds it convenient not to mention what a bombshell Salisbury's report was in the United States as an exposure of the lies of the Johnson administration. The White House, the Pentagon, the State Department, the war hawks and fascist-minded "anti-Communists" were enraged at Salisbury. Some of them, too, claimed to see the hand of the Kremlin in his trip. The series of articles which Salisbury wrote, together with his interviews on radio and television, also had the effect of arousing a fresh wave of sympathy among the American people for north Vietnam. This was the main source for the broadened protest against the war which Challenge deplores inasmuch as it centered around "Stop the Bombing."

"Salisbury's mission, far from being a mission of 'good will' or his being a man of 'good will,' is designed to strengthen the 'trojan horse' tactic of 'aid' from the Soviet Union. Soviet 'aid,' like these phony 'good will' missions, is designed to lull the Vietnamese and betray the revolution. These acts are aimed at winning the confidence of the Vietnamese in order to cut their throats. The U.S. and the Soviet Union would like the Vietnamese to enter negotiations and surrender the revolution."

It is quite true that the New York Times wants negotiations. This influential daily considers Johnson's escalation of the war to be too dangerous and the concomitant losses to American imperialism in other areas to be too great to justify continuation of the bloody conflict. The New York Times does not stand alone but represents a sector of the American ruling class. In other words a rift -- not a big rift, but a rift just the same -- exists in the American ruling class over Johnson's war in Vietnam.

Challenge, like its Peking mentors does not choose to see this rift, still less try to take advantage of it. Their view is a logical continuation of the still grosser error of refusing to see any difference between the Kremlin and Washington and refusing to press the Soviet government for a united front against the common danger and in behalf of another workers state -- the Democratic Republic of Vietnam -- not to mention the mutual defense of China and the USSR against imperialism.

Thus we come to the remarkable policy proposed by Challenge to counteract the imperialist game. The first bit of advice is that "The Vietnamese people would be better off without Soviet 'aid.'" Yes, that is actually what the editors of Challenge wrote. "The Vietnamese people would be better off without Soviet 'aid.'"

The same goes for Salisbury, and, for that matter, anyone who values the worth of peace. "The Vietnamese people need Salisbury and his ilk in their country like they need a hole in the head," declares Challenge. "At this moment Vietnam is being flooded by scores of half-baked and outright phony 'peace missions.'" To believe Challenge, "Most of these people are not men of 'good will.' Most are agents of the U.S.! The few who go as well-meaning anti-war forces from the U.S., are sucked into the U.S.-Soviet scheme. The U.S. and Soviets know that these people are pacifists, and viewing the horrors of war will intensify their pacifism."

Thus we come to another prize proposal of these American Maoists: "The Vietnamese ought not to let any of them in." Yes, Challenge really said that. "The Vietnamese ought not to let any of them in."

This truly stunning slogan in favor of a Chinese wall for north Vietnam, while it may win high praise in some circles as an example of "Mao's thought," will not win much approval anywhere else. It may be, of course, that the editors of Challenge will enjoy the cynical laughter of the State Department which has been seizing the passports of persons whose pacifism has been intensified by visiting north Vietnam.

Finally, it should be noted that Challenge misrepresents the facts when it claims that the left wing of the antiwar movement has switched its opposition to the American imperialist aggression in Vietnam. The main slogan remains, "For immediate withdrawal of the American troops."

Heavy pressure is of course being exerted from the right to water this down. But those exerting the pressure in this direction have not succeeded up to now. This is shown by the preparations now underway for the April 15 Spring Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam. If the pressure has been successfully resisted, it must be added that no credit for this goes to Challenge.

It is too bad that Challenge and the American Maoists under its influence have chosen to stand on the sidelines, following an ultraleft sectarian policy, rather than join a united front in opposition to the dirty colonial war being conducted by American imperialism in Vietnam.

THE WESTERN PRESS AND U.S. CRIMES

By Bertrand Russell

[The following article, issued by the International War Crimes Tribunal, was written by Bertrand Russell in November 1966. Additional copies can be obtained by writing the tribunal at 11a, Wormwood St., London, E.C.2. A single copy is 3d. (\$.04) each. Postage is 3d. on orders under 6 to one address. Bulk orders post free.]

* * *

The United States maintains an army of occupation in Vietnam, engaged in suppressing a movement of resistance which, by humane standards, commands the support of the vast majority of the people. The Resistance in Vietnam advances demands for national sovereignty and independence, the right to self-determination. It is in this setting that we must study the record of American actions.

"Anyone who has spent much time in the field has seen the heads of prisoners held under water, bayonet blades pressed against throats, victims (with) bamboo slivers run under their fingernails, wires from a field telephone connected to arms, nipples or testicles."

This statement appeared in the New York Times Magazine, November 28, 1965, and was written by the correspondent of Newsweek, Mr. William Tuohy. Such torture and mutilation on the part of American forces has been described with increasing frequency. Earlier, Donald Wise, the Chief Foreign Correspondent in London of the Sunday Mirror, reported:

"No American is in a position to tell his pupils to stop torturing. They are in

no mood to, either. Standard tortures are dunking men, head first, into water tanks, slicing them up with knives, swinging silk stockings full of sand against temples and hooking them to the electric generators of military headquarters." (Sunday Mirror, April 4, 1965.)

This documentation is verified in independent reports by American correspondents:

"One of the most infamous methods of torture used by the Government forces is partial electrocution, or 'frying.' This correspondent was present when the torture was employed. Wires were attached to the thumbs of a Vietcong prisoner. At the other end of the string was a field generator. The mechanism produced electrical current that burned and shocked the prisoner."

American reporters have stated that electrical torture is employed throughout Vietnam by American forces, including the battlefield, where small, portable generators have been "modified" for torture purposes and "are prized for high mobility."

"The ding-a-ling method of interrogation involves connection of electrodes from the generator to the temples of the subject. In the case of women, the electrodes are attached to the nipples," stated A.P. correspondent, Malcolm Browne.

An American soldier wrote to his sister, in the Spring of 1965:

"Our platoon leader stuck one end of this wire to the lady's chest. It was a kind of electric shock, because she got a real bad burn. They took the same wire and tried it on the lady's husband and brother, but on their lower parts."

The New York Herald Tribune is more detailed:

"Techniques designed to force prisoners to talk involve cutting off the fingers, ears, finger-nails or sexual organs of another prisoner. A string of ears decorate the wall of a Government military installation. One American installation has a Vietcong ear preserved in alcohol." (April 25, 1965.)

Malcolm Browne of the Associated Press writes:

"Many a news correspondent has seen the hands whacked off prisoners with machetes. Prisoners are castrated or blinded. A suspect has been towed, after interrogation, behind an armoured carrier across the fields. Many soldiers enjoy beating up Vietcong prisoners. The subjects of interrogation so often die after questioning that intelligence seems to be a secondary matter." (The New Face of War, 1965.)

The Australian journalist, Wilfred Burchett, gave this description, substantiated by the International Control Commission, of a young girl:

"The girl bared her right shoulder. I wanted to vomit. The satiny skin ended in small, cauliflower-like eruptions, where the flesh had been torn out with red-hot pincers. There were half-a-dozen searing scars on the upper part of the arm. The girl was tortured for months. She had soapy water and urine forced down the mouth and nostrils, electricity applied to the vagina and nipples, flesh torn from the breasts, thighs and shoulders by red-hot pincers, a ruler thrust into the vagina. These were interspersed with beatings, starvation and milder forms of torture."

This reporting has been so considerable that we begin to understand how it is possible for more Vietnamese to have died before the National Liberation Front began its resistance in the South than since. The years of peace between 1954 and 1960, so-called, claimed more lives in Vietnam than the period since 1960, which includes nearly two years of bombing of the North with tonnages, according to Secretary of Defence McNamara, of four million pounds daily. The American Press, in its descriptions of the treatment of prisoners speaks freely:

"A helicopter pilot looked up from his drink to relate what happened to a captive. The man did not respond, so the officer heaved him out of the helicopter from 2,900 feet."

Similar reports appeared in the Herald Tribune:

"Vietcong prisoners were interrogated in an airplane flown towards Saigon. The first refused to answer questions, and was thrown out of the aircraft at 3,000 feet."

Again, in the New York Times of July 7, 1965:

"One American helicopter crewman told friends that he had become infuriated by a

youth, pushed him out of a helicopter at 1,000 feet."

In the New York Herald Tribune of September 29, 1965, a detailed description is given of the treatment of prisoners after capture:

"They get a V.C. and make him hold his hands against his cheeks. Then they take wire and run it through the one hand and through his cheek and into his mouth. They pull the wire out through the other hand. They knot both ends around stakes.

The New York Times Magazine of November 28, 1965, states:

"Further villagers were rounded up and one man was brought before the company commander. The Vietnamese officer turned to his adviser and said: 'I think I shoot this man. O.K.?' 'Go ahead,' said the adviser. The officer fired a carbine round point blank, striking the villager below the chest. The man slumped and died. The patrol moved on."

The Houston Chronicle of December 24, 1964, described the fate of captured prisoners:

"There were four, all suspected of being Vietcong. They lined them up and shot the first man. Then they questioned the second. They shot him too."

David Halberstam reports in 1965:

"The marines simply lined up the seventeen and shot them down in cold blood."

Reuters reports on November 18, 1965:

"In one place, Americans found three Vietnamese wounded. 'You won't smile any more,' said one of the soldiers, pumping bullets into his body. The other two met the same fate."

The Chicago Daily News reports, November 19, 1965:

"It is almost impossible to walk without stumbling upon a body. Suddenly, a wounded soldier lifted one arm weakly. An American sergeant poured a long burst of rifle bullets into him. 'I'd like to find more of those bastards trying to give up,' the sergeant said. No one disagreed with him."

The New York Times of October 14, 1965, quotes a former executive of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva:

"When (the Vietcong prisoners) were tortured, the American army started to destroy Vietcong hospitals and to cut off medical supply."

U.P.I. reports on August 3, 1965:

"I got me a Vietcong. I got at least two of them bastards.' The Americans ordered a Vietnamese to go down into the hole to pull out their victims. The victims were three children, between 11 and 14."

Malcolm Browne of the Associated Press reported again:

"A man leaped up fifty yards away and began to run. Every machine gun poured fire at that man. Finally, he went down silently. We found him on his back in the mud, four bullet holes across the top of his naked chest. He was alive, moving his legs and arms. The squad looked down at the man and laughed. One of the men picked up a heavy stake, lying in the mud; and rammed one end of it into the ground, next to the wounded man's throat. He forced the stake down over the throat, trying to throttle the man. Someone stamped on the free end of the stake, to break the wounded man's neck, but the stake broke instead. Another man tried stamping on the man's throat, but somehow the spark of life was still too strong. Finally, the whole group laughed and walked back to the path.

"Two women ran up from one of the huts. One of them put a hand to her mouth as she saw the wounded man, whom she recognized as her husband. She dashed back to her hut and returned in a moment, carrying a bucket which she filled with water. She poured paddy water over the wounds, to clean off the clotting blood. Occasionally she would stroke his forehead, muttering something. Slowly, she looked around at the troops, and then she spotted me. Her eyes fixed on me, in an expression that still haunts me sometimes."

The New York Post of April 30, 1965, quotes a marine who, after having shot a villager in the back, said:

"Don't think we're killers. We're marines."

The New York Journal American on September 16, 1965, states:

"This is a new breed of Americans that most of us don't know about, and it is time we got used to it. The eighteen and nineteen-year-olds have steel in their backbones and maybe too much of the killer instinct. These kids seem to enjoy killing Vietcong."

I have concentrated on the small daily events of this war, as reported in the Western Press, because these accounts disclose more than the equally full Western descriptions of the special and experimental weapons, which have been developed and used on a vast scale against the Vietnamese people. The casual accounts of the behavior of the American occupying army in Vietnam have been published without noticeable protest from significant numbers amongst those who have read these articles. It is necessary to understand why.

Two weeks ago, one of the Editors of the New York Times, Mr. James Reston, wrote an article entitled: "That Coon Skin on the Wall." In this article, he quotes the President of the United States in his remarks to American troops at Cam Ranh Bay: "Come home with that coon skin on the wall." "Coon skin" referred to Vietnamese. "Coon skins" are an American expression for Negroes. "Coon skin" explains how it is possible for the most esteemed paper in the Western world to print, without inhibition or apparent embarrassment, descriptions which are just those we have come to know in Auschwitz, Dachau and Buchenwald. The President of the United States who so addressed his soldiers is the same man who said in the House of Representatives of that country on March 15, 1948:

"No matter what else we have of offensive or defensive weapons, without superior air power America is a bound and throttled giant, impotent and easy prey to any yellow dwarf with a pocket knife."

This is the legacy, the true and direct inheritance of the extermination squads and the gas chambers to which the yellow dwarfs and the coons and the gooks were sent to inferior extermination.

The New York Times of September 25, 1966, published a lengthy article by the leading military correspondent, Hanson Baldwin:

"The Defence Department contends that our utilisation of chemical agents in Vietnam is not only militarily useful, but more humane than bullets or explosives."

Mr. Baldwin states:

"Production of many different types of chemicals has been expanded in the United States since 1960. These include the deadly nerve gases and the newer so-called 'benevolent incapacitators.'"

He continues:

"Many of the experts add that modern chemical agents offer greater hope for humane warfare than any other weapons."

Documented reports of these chemicals and gases establish that they result in paralysis, convulsions, asphyxiation and blindness. They have been used throughout South Vietnam. A Washington official stated on November 1, 1965, at the National Foreign Policy Conference:

"We are making limited use of arsenic and cyanide compounds in the southern part of Vietnam, but not yet in the North."

The documentation which I possess concerning the bombing of hospitals, schools and sanatoria, consciously and systematically, is taken also from Western sources. The use of such weapons as bombs containing millions of razor-sharp steel fragments, jelly-gasoline in immense quantity, phosphorus and bacterial devices is considerable. The development of forced labour camps and a policy of scorched earth, which has led to the imprisonment of 59 per cent of the rural population of South Vietnam, numbering eight million people, is Western in origin and has been reported in Time Magazine and the London Observer.

AMERICAN ANTIWAR MOVEMENT FEELS LOSS OF A.J.MUSTE

The loss of A.J. Muste, who died of a heart attack in New York February 11 at the age of 82, will be felt by the antiwar movement in the United States. A pacifist, he was not of the ordinary kind who are against war in general, so long as peace endures, only to join the flag-wavers upon the outbreak of war. Muste maintained his opposition to war after the war began and he was specifically opposed to the war in Vietnam from the very beginning. In this he represented a progressive tendency in the United States -- pacifists who oppose their own government's war aims and war efforts and who engage as active participants in antiwar demonstrations during the war itself.

Muste played a key role in the development of the antiwar forces that took shape in the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee of which he was chairman. He played a similar role in launching the Spring Mobilization Committee where he was also chairman.

The forces that came together in this formation represent a rather broad political spectrum, ranging from revolutionary socialists on the left to tendencies that hope to reform the Democratic party.

The issue that brought them together was opposition to Johnson's war in Vietnam. The question of a correct axis for this opposition was determined through debates in the early phases of the movement that at times became quite heated. As finally agreed on, the axis became the demand for immediate withdrawal of American troops. Muste was influential in settling this but he was greatly helped by the attitude of the Vietnamese and by the swift rise in popularity of the slogan.

Repeated attempts were made to introduce a different axis such as "negotiations," but Muste stood against this as not fitting for an American antiwar movement, not the least of the reasons being the ease with which it could be bent to the needs of the Johnson administration.

Muste was also insistent upon the need for antiwar demonstrations as opposed, for instance, to dispersed "community" work which could be diverted all too easily into doorbell-ringing for alleged "peace" candidates of the Democratic party, a harmful waste of energy to say the least.

Finally, Muste was for the principle of nonexclusion; i.e., the inclusion of all tendencies in the antiwar movement no matter what their political persuasion. This was in direct opposition to the policy of previous pacifist movements which, under pressure from Washington, barred such radical groups as the Communist and Socialist Workers parties.

Adherence to these three conditions made it possible to bring together in common demonstrations groupings that hold widely divergent political views. All of them have been able to contribute effectively toward building up actions that none of them could have achieved separately. At the same time not a single grouping has had to make any concessions whatever in the programs they advocate in their own press or the criticisms they may wish to make of each other in their own publications.

Besides maintaining this overall formula, Muste brought his own personal contribution. A man of the highest integrity, each of the groupings knew they could trust him to carry out any commitment he made and also to do what he could to prevent any unduly ambitious grouping from taking advantage of the others. Muste was very firm about maintaining a balance roughly proportional to the forces involved. And with his long background in the radical movement he understood the views of each of the groupings, what each of them is seeking to achieve and what each of them would consider impermissible.

Due to his well-known honesty, Muste was also able to secure financial contributions that would hardly be given to anyone else. The donors knew that when Muste said the funds were for a certain purpose that was exactly what they were intended for and that was exactly how they would be used.

A.J., as his friends called him, was active to the very day of his death -- exceedingly active. He did not hesitate to fly to Saigon and to Hanoi or to speak at every opportunity to advance the antiwar movement. Despite the physical strain, there was no doubt that he enjoyed moving in this swift stream. And his efforts were yielding the most encouraging results. At the very moment he suddenly had to leave, new perspectives were opening up and A.J. understood their import.

These were the first signs that the antiwar movement is beginning to have an effect on the thinking of the American workers. The first slight tremors are now visible

in the hitherto solidly welded ranks of the top bureaucrats of the union movement. One of the reasons for the rift between Reuther and Meany is that Reuther is uneasy about remaining so far to the right in face of a possible shift of the rank and file in the unions toward the antiwar movement.

Already looming are a whole set of new problems connected with this impending development. Muste will not be able to contribute to solving these problems but he would be the last one to think that they could not be solved without him. Just the same, his contribution would have been appreciated and those who must wrestle with what comes up in the new phase will often no doubt wish that A.J. were still here.

POEM BY 12-YEAR-OLD GIRL BURNS THE PENTAGON

A religious magazine aimed at nine- to twelve-year-old children is in trouble with the Pentagon because of a poem it published. And the author of the poem, twelve-year-old "Pitt" Beidler has zoomed to instant fame in the United States because her poem got under the skin of the arrogant Washington brass.

The magazine, Venture, is published in Philadelphia by the Presbyterian Board of Christian Education. It has a circulation of 130,000 of which about 13,000 copies are used in Protestant Sunday Schools of American military bases around the world. A spokesman for the religious group said that the Defense Department had canceled the 13,000 subscriptions as a result of publication of the poem. A Defense Department spokesman, however, implied that the statement of the Presbyterian representative was not in accordance with the truth. All the department did was to take the magazine off its recommended list. Chaplains, he said could still order the magazine "if they so desired."

The poem that caused all the trouble is entitled, "Afterthoughts on Napalm Drop on Jungle Villages Near Haiphong." As quoted in the press it reads in part:

Then there was the flash -- silver and gold
Silver and gold.
Silver birds flying,
Golden water raining.
The rice ponds blazed with new water.
The jungle burst into gold and sent up little birds of fire.
Little animals with fur aflame.
Then the children flamed.
Running -- their clothes flying like fiery kites.
Screaming -- their screams
Dying as their faces seared.
The women's baskets burned on their heads.
The men's boats blazed on the rice waters.
Then the rains came.
A rag, fire black, fluttered.
A curl of smoke rose from a rice stem.
The forest lay singed and seared.
A hut crumbled.
And all was still.

"Listen Americans,
Listen clear and long.
The children are screaming in the jungles of Haiphong."

"Pitt" is the pen name chosen by Barbara Beidler. She frequently submits verses and other writings to magazines but the press did not report whether much had been published before Venture accepted this effort of hers and sent her a token payment of \$1.

Barbara's father is an elder of the Presbyterian Church and is a director of Indian River County mosquito control in Vero Beach, Florida, where the family live.

Barbara is reported to be a straight "A" student who is "extremely interested in world affairs.

She is opposed to the U.S. war in Vietnam, she said, "because I think it's wasting lives for an unworthy cause. It seems like this ought to be left up to the South and North Vietnamese."

CHE GUEVARA IN VENEZUELA?

Speculation over the whereabouts of Che Guevara, often spiced with "reports" about someone having seen him, appears periodically in the press. A typical example was the "information" given to Associated Press February 8 by counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles in Miami. According to Julio Garcera, a former Cuban Supreme Court justice, Che Guevara is "directing construction of a network of secret tunnels in the South American Andes."

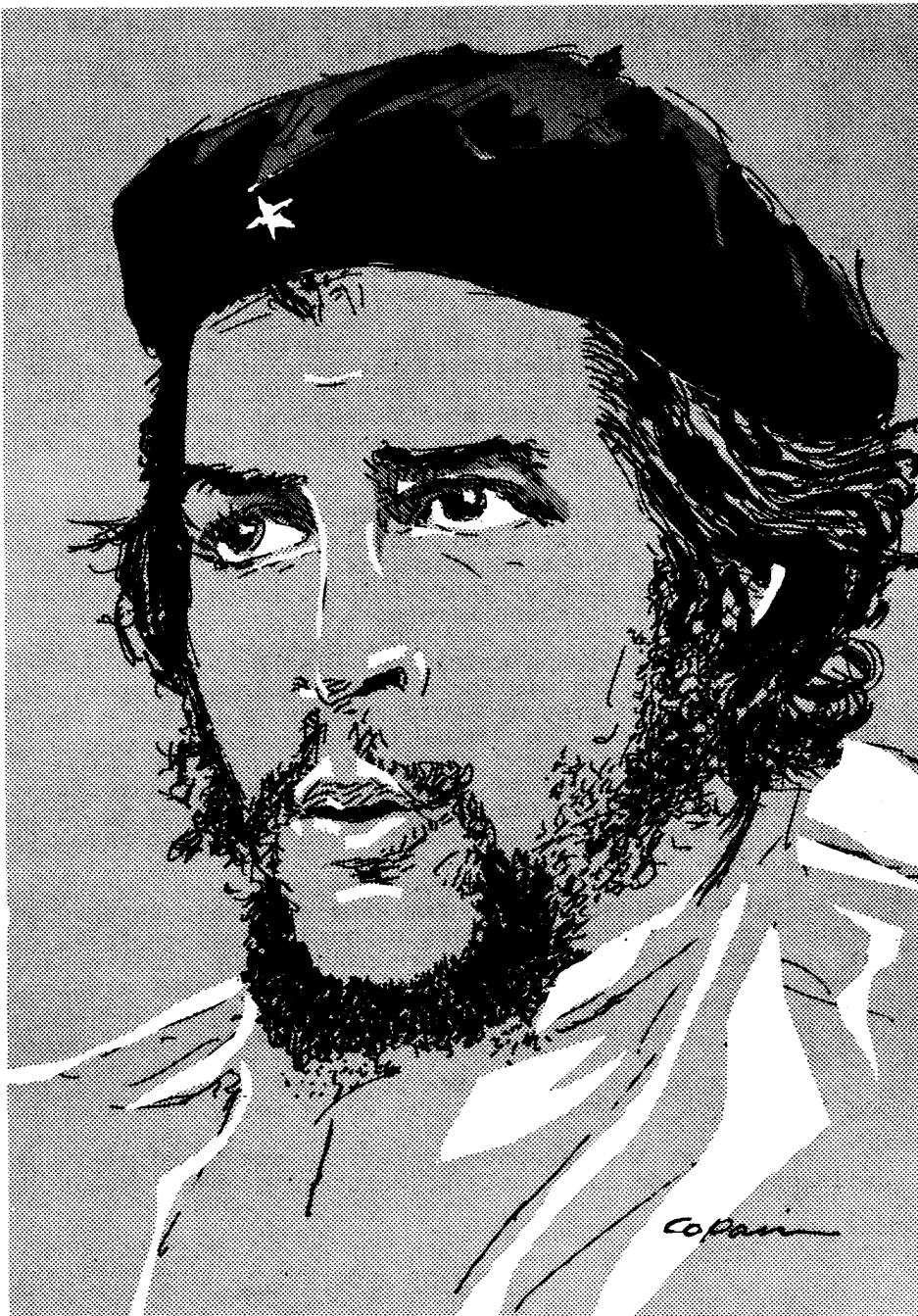
The AP did not report what the purpose of the secret network of holes and passageways might be.

A January 21 report claimed that Guevara, his hair dyed blond, slipped through Montevideo on his way from Argentina at Christmas. To this Che's 60-year-old father said: "I don't know where he is and if I did I wouldn't say. My son has not been in Argentina....If he did come, nothing would please me more than to welcome him in my home."

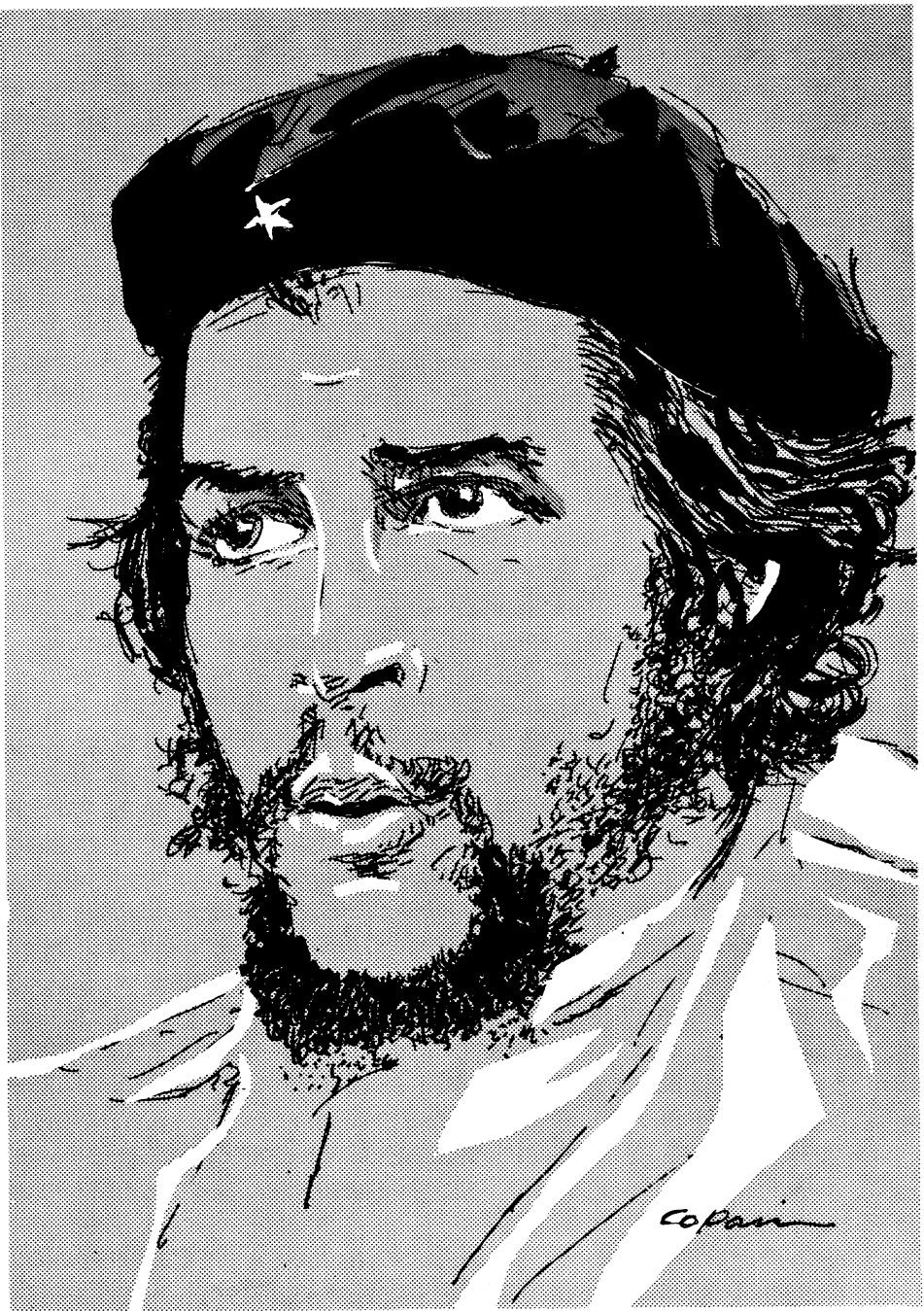
A more serious bit of speculation appeared in the February issue of the Monthly Review, the independent socialist magazine published in New York by Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy. On the basis of an encouraging report on the creation of a strong guerrilla center in Venezuela, they observe that this offers evidence of "great organizational talent" and they wonder if this could "provide any clues to the activities of Che during the last year and a half."

The suggestion represents a considerable turn on the part of the editors of MR. Last year they expressed the gravest doubts concerning the fate of Che Guevara and demanded that Fidel Castro clear them up. The persistent rumors that Guevara might be dead, they noted, were damaging to the Cuban Revolution and a worry to its most ardent supporters.

MR's evident relaxation on the question of Che's whereabouts is part of their more general conclusion that the fears they expressed last year of a turn to the right in Cuba and the strengthening of the conservative, bureaucratic wing have fortunately not been borne out. Instead, in their opinion, a turn to the left occurred. They adduce considerable evidence in support of their view, including a definitive break with the



ERNESTO "CHE" GUEVARA



ERNESTO "CHE" GUEVARA

reformist leaderships of the Latin-American Communist parties, active support for real revolutionaries, the functioning of the Latin-American Revolution across national borders, and the resources placed at the disposal of guerrilla forces like those active in Venezuela. As they see it a "new phase" has opened in the Latin-American Revolution as a whole. In this heartening development, Huberman and Sweezy give credit to the Cuban leaders. The young revolutionists in Latin America, they say, are looking for inspiration and example "not to the Soviet Union or China but to revolutionary Cuba" and the Cubans have responded by animating and stimulating the new movements that are developing in a number of countries in this part of the world.

WELCOME OMISSION IN FIDEL CASTRO'S SPEECH

The speech given by Fidel Castro at the closing session of the Tricontinental Conference in January 1966 has been rebroadcast in installments over Radio Habana. This was the speech that at once stirred up sharp controversy among revolutionary circles throughout Latin America and other countries.

On the one hand the speech contained a powerful denunciation of American imperialism and a firm affirmation of the revolutionary road as the only one through which an oppressed people can win their freedom. On the other hand the speech included a strange and mystifying attack against "Trotskyism" in terms reminiscent of the worst period of Stalinism. The MR-13 guerrilla movement in Guatemala came under particular fire as having been "infiltrated" by "Trotskyites."

The sectors of the speech dealing with American imperialism and the need for socialist revolution were well received. The attack on "Trotskyism" came under heavy fire from some of the strongest friends and supporters of the Cuban Revolution. The attack, in the opinion of many of them, put a question mark over the actual direction in which the Cuban leaders were moving.

Under this strong criticism, Blas Roca, an old-time Stalinist hack guilty of periodically leveling similar attacks against "Trotskyism," responded with a long article that sought to prop up those sectors of Castro's speech that had repeated the ancient Stalinist slanders.

Blas Roca's defense in turn came under blistering attack from those who considered it completely unseemly for Fidel Castro to engage in Stalinist mudslinging. [See in particular "Trotskyism Versus Stalinism in the Cuban Revolution" by Joseph Hansen in the May 27, 1966, World Outlook.]

Fans of Radio Habana, familiar with this background, therefore listened with some forebodings of a fresh outbreak of controversy as Fidel Castro's speech came over the air loud and clear from the tapes made at the final session of the Tricontinental Conference. To their surprise and relief, the entire section of the speech dealing with "Trotskyism" and the MR-13 guerrilla movement, including the attacks on various journals like Monthly Review and Marcha were left out!

No explanation was given as to why this material had been omitted. Someone hearing the speech for the first time would never know that this was a shortened version.

Whatever the reasons for leaving out the divisive attack on "Trotskyism," the decision to do so could only be welcomed by the revolutionary vanguard.

CUBAN CP SUSPENDS THEORETICAL MAGAZINE

The following dispatch from Havana appeared on the wires of Agence France Presse February 9:

"The organ of the Cuban Communist party, Cuba Socialista, is suspending publication, according to an official announcement in the February issue of the magazine.

"The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist party decided to cease publishing the theoretical magazine of the CCP until the next congress of the party has decided on certain theoretical, strategical and tactical problems facing the world revolutionary movement, and also certain aspects of the construction of socialism and communism, according to the official notice published in the magazine."

"Founded in 1961, the monthly magazine Cuba Socialista was edited under the direction of Mr. Fidel Castro, the president of the republic, Mr. Osvaldo Dorticós and three veterans of the CCP, Messrs Blas Roca, Carlos Rafael Rodríguez and Fabio Grobart."

ANGOLAN GUERRILLAS FAIL TO HEAL RIFT

[The following item has been translated by World Outlook from the February 10 issue of IV Internazionale, an Italian biweekly news bulletin published in Rome.]

* * *

In issue No. 19 (1966) of IV Internazionale, we printed the news of a partial reconciliation which took place in Cairo between the two Angolan nationalist movements -- Holden Roberto's movement, represented by the GRAE [Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile], and the movement led by Agostino Neto [MPLA -- People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola].

According to a recent bulletin of the FLNA [National Front for the Liberation of Angola, the fighting forces headed by Holden Roberto], representatives of the FLNA and MPLA agreed at a meeting last October to: (1) cease all hostile propaganda against each other; (2) free the prisoners held by each side; (3) send an OAU [Organization of African Unity] military commission to the guerrilla zone in Angola to reevaluate the forces in the field; (4) set up a joint commission to study the possibilities for cooperation between the two sides.

Shortly after the Cairo meeting, in response to comment in the African press, Holden Roberto declared that it was premature to call the Cairo document "a pact of cooperation" because it was not possible to overcome a deeply rooted division with a wave of the magician's wand.

According to the February 1967 FLNA bulletin published in Cairo, "The October document could at most, owing most particularly to its first point, have prepared the way psychologically for a hoped-for reconciliation. As for the second point, an impasse was indeed inevitable, since, despite all the evidence collected by us (the testimony of a UTA hostess present on the day Matias Migueis and Jose Miquel were arrested and photocopies of documents from the airlines which transported the two to Brazzaville where they later disappeared), the MPLA of Neto continues to dismiss our accusations, and even puts the blame for their disappearance on Congolese army commandos. (Luis de Azevdo's deposition to the Congolese parliamentary commission)."

Further, according to the FLNA, Neto is also violating the first point of the Cairo document by continuing his public attacks (such attacks are said to have been broadcast over Radio Brazzaville in particular).

For his part, Neto has accused Holden Roberto of failing to keep the commitments. A violent attack along these lines was expressed in an interview which appeared last December in the official Algerian army magazine El Djeich, where the MPLA leader referred to the "so-called GRAE," and maintained that the FLNA "owes its existence exclusively to the support of the Congolese authorities and some elements in the OAU."

TANZANIA NATIONALIZES THE BANKS

On February 6 Julius Nyerere announced that all the banks in Tanzania were being nationalized forthwith. The announcement was made at a rally sponsored by the Tanganyika African National Union [TANU] in Dar Es Salaam.

"The banks must become the property of the people," Nyerere said. The banks, he declared, had been chosen as the base of departure in exercising the country's "option" to move in the direction of socialism. The proclamation met with enthusiastic response from the crowd of some 30,000 persons. The exact nature of the measure was not clear, however. The Ministry of Information stated in a press release that "nationalization" did not mean "confiscation" and that "possible compensation" was not excluded. The main banks are foreign owned.

In a program adopted February 5 the TANU barred ministers and other high government officials from owning stocks, managing any private enterprises, receiving more than a single salary or renting out lodgings.

INFLATION CONTINUES UNDER THE COUNTERREVOLUTION IN INDONESIA

The counterrevolutionary generals in Indonesia who unleashed one of the worst blood baths in history under guise of stamping out "Communism" in the archipelago, have little to boast about in their professed objective of stabilizing the Indonesian economy, particularly their promises to bring inflation to a halt.



SUKARNO

A special correspondent of The New York Times, in a dispatch from Djakarta, published in the January 20 issue of the daily, writes that the Indonesians "have seen their costs of living increase from a base of 100 in 1957-58 to 200,615 by the end of the third quarter of 1966, based on the prices of 62 items in Jakarta."

From June 1965 -- that is, three months before the coup d'état that put the generals in power -- to June of 1966, prices had risen 1,320%.

It was expected that by the end of December, costs would be 15 times what they were as of December 31, 1965, despite some slowing down in the rate of growth of the inflation that has been ravaging the country.

The correspondent of the Times cites some examples of how rapidly prices are increasing in Indonesia. A housewife began hoarding light bulbs. Her neighbors laughed at her. Within a week, however, the price had tripled.

"Even such a homely item as a coconut may increase from one day to the next, from 5 to 8 cents. A few days after the withdrawal of Government subsidies from

inefficient state enterprises in November, sugar prices went from 4 to 30 cents a kilogram (2.2 pounds), and the cost of a half quart of cooking oil rose from 3 to 10 cents."

The pace of economic deterioration in Indonesia signifies but a relatively short time may be permitted the generals despite the terror marked by the slaughter of as many as 500,000 persons in the "anti-Communist" witch-hunt which began in October of 1965 and which has not yet come to an end. In view of the worsening economic situation, the regime, under the leadership of General Suharto, is stepping up efforts to consolidate its rule.

One of the obstacles in this path is President Sukarno. Although he is reported to be in uncertain health and virtually isolated politically (he played a key role in enabling the reactionary generals to seize power), Sukarno remains a possible preliminary rallying point for political opposition. In any case, the strategists of American imperialism prefer to have him removed from the scene.

Thus the generals have been inching toward eliminating Sukarno, testing the ground as they proceeded. On February 13 the Indonesian Supreme Court demanded that Sukarno be placed on trial for "treason," the charge being that he stole large sums of money for his personal bank accounts and was involved in the abortive coup engineered by a group of young officers who have since been accused of taking orders from the Communist party although the evidence would seem to indicate that the Communist party leaders were not aware of their plans, or, if they had learned of the projected coup, opposed it.

Washington envisages Indonesia becoming, under a fascist-like military regime, a central piece in a Southeastern colonial empire. The formation of the ASA [Association of Southeast Asia] was a step in this direction.

Discussing the many problems standing in the way of realizing this scheme, Tom Wicker, a columnist of the New York Times, wrote from Bangkok February 8:



SUKARNO



SUKARNO

"But the likelihood that Indonesia, with its hundred million people and its wealth of resources, now is ready to remove the intractable and unpredictable President Sukarno permanently from power has brightened the outlook for the A.S.A. nations. Among Indonesia's neighbors, it is believed that only with Sukarno out of the way can his country achieve political stability, tackle its shattered economy and regain the confidence of other nations."

It remains to be seen whether Washington's strong-arm policy and strong-arm men can withstand the corrosive work of the inflation and corruption now raging in Indonesia.

DETROIT CITY COUNCIL EVADES RESPONSIBILITY IN BERNARD CASE

By Neil Bronson

Detroit

It has been nine months since Leo Bernard, Jan Garrett and Walter Graham were shot at Debs Hall, the Socialist Workers party headquarters here, by anti-Communist fanatic Edward Waniolek. Since June, Waniolek has been undergoing rehabilitation at society's expense at Ionia State Hospital for the Mentally Insane. But the innocent victims -- victims not only of the gunman but of the negligence of the city of Detroit -- have received no assistance from the city or state in paying their medical costs, and friends had to assume the burial costs for the slain Leo Bernard.

The negligence of the city in this case is glaring. The killer, Edward Waniolek was known both by the U.S. Secret Service and Detroit police as a dangerous man. On many occasions he had proclaimed his intention to "kill Communists." His delusion that the U.S. was being "overrun by Communists" led him to attempt to emigrate to South Africa as it was "the only free country in the world." When even the South African racists wouldn't accept him, he announced he was returning to Detroit with several guns to go into action.

Detroit police subsequently investigated him and urged his wife to have him committed. Perhaps fearing Waniolek would make her a part of the "conspiracy" that plagued his mind, she refused to have him committed. Although there exists a law in Michigan which would have made it possible in this circumstance for the police to initiate commitment proceedings, they did nothing until the Young Socialists were shot.

The months since the shooting have demonstrated that the city of Detroit has learned nothing from this experience. Even the so-called liberals on the City Council have assisted in covering up the role of the police. The police have made no investigation to determine whether or not the killer was directed to Debs Hall by any existing right-wing organizations, although it is known that the incipient fascist gang "Breakthrough," which has been involved in conflicts with the local antiwar movement, attracts such elements.

Why this investigation has not taken place is not difficult to determine. Only recently, Detroit Mayor Jerome Cavanagh made a loud but effectless denunciation of police collaboration with right-wing hoodlums and mentioned Breakthrough by name. A critic of the mayor, however, pointed out that Breakthrough fuehrer Donald Lobsinger works for the mayor in one of the city's departments!

Last September, local civil-liberties Attorney Ernest Goodman submitted a brief to the Detroit city government pointing out the city's negligence prior to the shooting and requesting that it meet its moral obligation to the survivors by paying their hospitalization and recovery expenses. The sum involved would be negligible for the city but would have meant a lot to the victims.

The callousness of the City Council was made apparent at a hearing on December 20 of last year, where the councilmen demonstrated that they had not taken the trouble even to read the brief. In order to facilitate their evasion of the issues, the council chose as its chairman for the hearing Councilman Van Antwerp, a former member of the Detroit police department who never discarded his cop image for the liberal front of most councilmen. Under Van Antwerp's guidance, the council completely ruled out the presentation of any witnesses but one and they totally ignored the urging of Garrett and Graham that they meet the request of the victims as a sort of moral bond that the city regarded its duty to protect all its citizens, regardless of political persuasion, from the type of violence perpetrated on May 16.

Friends of the victims presented the council with petitions signed by more than 4,200 Detroiters urging compensation, as well as a statement signed by all active poli-

tical clubs at Wayne State University, which the three Young Socialists had attended. Subsequently, another petition signed by several leading Detroit clergymen urged that the council take positive action. The Michigan Chronicle, a Detroit paper directed at the Negro community, urged compensation in a January 7 editorial which went on to say: "The fact that Waniolek's intended victims were politically unpopular could account for the slow action on the part of the police. Could the fact that probable victims of many potential killers walking Detroit streets are Negroes account for the fact nothing is done ahead of time to stop them either?"

On January 20, friends of the victims discovered that the council intended to pass a resolution on the request at its meeting January 24. The Wayne State University Young Socialist Alliance issued a leaflet on campus January 23 that urged student attendance at the council meeting to support the victims' request. The leaflet briefly summarized the request and concluded with the statement: "Let our do-nothing council know it can't afford to 'do nothing' in this case!"

The police, "unable" to prevent the shooting in the spring, proved quite capable of mobilizing 200 cops -- including the entire day shift of the central station and the Gestapo-like Tactical Mobile Units -- to head off what they must have imagined as a massive student invasion of the City-County Building! But the student delegation attended quite peacefully and simply walked out when the council rammed through a denial of the victims' request without discussion.

Council Chairman Edward Carey said, "The City Council, in denying this request, is denying it on the basis of legal advice and also to give due process to the petitioners so that they can have recourse to the courts."

The essence of the legal advice received by the council was that state law exempts the city from such a suit and thus the statement that the victims could take the city to court was fantastic.

Friends of the victims are now urging that a broader citizens' committee be constituted to collect funds to defray the hospital expenses. Contributions may be sent to Emergency Medical Fund for Garrett and Graham, c/o English Dept., Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan 48202.

TROTSKYIST POSITION IN THE FRENCH ELECTIONS

[The following resolution on the legislative elections to be held in France on March 5 and March 12 was adopted in January by the Nineteenth Congress of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste, the French section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

The populace by a big majority, particularly among the workers, is now following the electoral campaign and will participate in the legislative elections on March 5 and March 12. Due to this, the elections are an important political event toward which it would be wrong to adopt an attitude of abstention. But, on the other hand, we know that the elections can by no means transform society in any way. Social forces can be mobilized in them and, to a certain degree, they can hold back or facilitate certain developments depending on how they go.

Against the Gaullist candidates, against the spokesmen of the reactionary formations of the right and ultraright, the policies of the two big workers parties do not make it possible to turn the elections into a class against class demonstration of the workers against the capitalist system and for socialism. The Socialist party is associated, in the Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left [FGDS], with bourgeois formations which, in addition, press this electoral grouping in the direction of an alliance or an agreement with formations that stand still further to the right. This bloc stands without a clear position against the American imperialist aggression in Vietnam.

Due to its reformist program of "genuine democracy" and its electoral deal with the FGDS, the French Communist party is not offering to the workers the only correct solution in this period of the decline of bourgeois democracy and of a strong state in the service of capitalism. As for the PSU [Parti Socialiste Unifié -- United Socialist party], it offers a motley crew of candidates ranging from a rather marked left socialism to a neocapitalist technocratic position that is little different from that of the "left Gaullists." This formation has just made a deal with the FGDS in favor of Social

Democratic candidates, conventional or radical, who have nothing in common with the working class.

Because of its numerical weakness, the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (French section of the Fourth International) is unable to undertake an electoral campaign of sufficient scope nationally to enable the vanguard workers to register their class views in accordance with the program of revolutionary Marxism. A limited campaign in one or two districts would not have sufficient response.

In the popular vote, as it has developed in relation with the laws of the Fifth Republic and the evolution of the workers parties, the electoral platforms do not constitute a means of testing class relations in the country. These are indicated only by the way the various social classes regard the political parties.

Since the end of the second world war, the majority of the French working class, including its most militant sectors, has voted for the candidates of the French Communist party, while the Socialist party has enjoyed the support of only a minority sector of the working class -- the most politically backward.

Despite long experience, the bulk of the workers continue to view the French Communist party as the one they consider capable of achieving their aspirations. That is why, in order to give the greatest force to a simple vote of class opposition, the Parti Communist Internationaliste (French section of the Fourth International) calls on all the workers and all the partisans of a socialist society to vote in the first round for the candidates of the French Communist party whose relative success will be felt everywhere not so much as a measure of the power of this party as an indication of where the working class in France stands.

This vote does not in any way signify acceptance of the policies of the French Communist party. In particular it cannot signify approval of the agreement reached with the FGDS. In the second round, the Parti Communiste Internationaliste asks the voters to support, not the "candidate of the left," but the worker candidate highest on the list [as determined in the first round]. By worker candidate we mean any candidate of the French Communist party, the Socialist party or the United Socialist party, so long as this is not taken as a label for candidates who are obviously outside the workers movement like Mendès-France or Lacoste. We urge the vanguard militants, unionists and politically conscious workers everywhere to take the floor in the public meetings of the workers parties to express the genuine aspirations of the working class, to condemn class collaboration and to demand a policy of class struggle.

A new edition of the combination of workers parties with bourgeois formations (like the Popular Front, Tripartism, etc.), if it should win the majority of votes needed to form a government, could only lead once again to the process of capitulation which, to say the least, has been of service only to reaction. Only a United Front of Workers Parties on the basis of a completely anticapitalist program can succeed in mobilizing the broad toiling masses to kick out the Gaullist regime and install a government of the workers to attack the capitalist regime and undertake the building of a socialist society. We urge all those who vote for the traditional workers parties to come out in favor of this demand as the only means of transcending the present situation and sweeping out the leaders committed to class collaboration.

200 FRENCH YOUTH VOLUNTEER FOR VIETNAM

According to the February 16 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, 200 French youth, including 25 women, have responded to an appeal issued by a number of prominent figures, among them Professor Laurent Schwartz and Jean-Paul Sartre, to join a "corps of volunteers for Vietnam."

The volunteers in turn issued an appeal to broaden the action so that "the movement of international solidarity will take on the scope of the one that gave birth to the international brigades in Spain."

The appeal reported that applications had been received from various countries such as Germany, Great Britain, Belgium, Italy, Sweden and Switzerland; and the hope was expressed that corps of volunteers could soon be set up in these countries.

The appeal called attention to a recent declaration made by Pham Van Dong, the prime minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, according to which "an appeal for foreign volunteers might be issued in the more or less near future." Van Dong also expressed "the hope that many Americans would join the brigades."

WOHLFORTH TRIES TO BRAZEN IT OUT

Some Comments on a Curious Way of Defending Healy in the Tate Case

By Joseph Hansen

Last November 17, Ernest Tate, an internationally known Trotskyist active at present in furthering the work of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign and the International War Crimes Tribunal, was set upon by a gang at the entrance of a public meeting sponsored in London by the Socialist Labour League, an ultraleft British organization that claims to be Trotskyist. Ernest Tate was so severely beaten that he had to be hospitalized. The beating was administered by stewards belonging to the SLL and took place in the presence of the national secretary of the group, Thomas Gerard Healy. The beating was administered to prevent Tate from offering socialist literature to persons entering the hall. The literature included copies of the International Socialist Review and a pamphlet, Healy "Reconstructs" the Fourth International.

The National Committee of the Socialist Workers party sent a protest November 21 to the National Committee of the SLL, demanding that they at once place their national secretary on trial for his part in employing physical violence against a political opponent in the socialist movement, that they publicly condemn such hoodlum tactics, expel all those involved, and immediately assure all workers organizations in Britain that measures had been undertaken to prevent any repetition of such criminal assaults on workers holding political views differing from those of the SLL.

Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers party, sent copies of this letter to the organizations sharing the political views of the SLL and asked them to make public statements indicating their positions in this matter. The request was addressed to Pierre Lambert of Informations Ouvrières in Paris, Tim Wohlforth of the American Committee for the Fourth International in New York, and James Robertson of the Spartacist League in New York.

Instead of responding, all four organizations remained silent. Healy then compounded the outrageous scandal of the beating inflicted on Ernest Tate. He opened legal proceedings against his victim and against two working-class newspapers that published a letter from Tate describing the circumstances of his being beaten by the SLL stewards and charging Healy with responsibility for the attack.

The Newsletter, the organ of the Central Committee of the SLL, then sought to bring down a curtain of silence on this unsavory business by publishing the following notice in its December 3 issue: "The issues raised in the Nov. 21st letter by Farrell Dobbs, Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, about what happened at Caxton Hall on the night of November 17th, we cannot discuss at this stage for legal reasons." The notice was remarkable for its modesty in the usually flamboyant Newsletter. The seven-line notice appeared at the bottom of page 3 and did not even have a headline.

The Political Committee of the Socialist Workers party again wrote to the National Committee of the SLL, calling their attention to Healy's second violation of the most elementary norms of conduct in the labor movement; i.e., in effect calling the cops against the very victim of the beating inflicted by the stewards of the SLL in the presence of the national secretary of the organization. [See World Outlook, December 23, 1966, for the text of this letter.] The Political Committee of the Socialist Workers party appealed to the SLL National Committee to act on the recommendations already submitted to them concerning bringing Healy up on charges and expelling all those involved in utilizing physical violence against workers holding political differences with the SLL.

As in the previous instance, Farrell Dobbs sent copies of this letter to Pierre Lambert, to Tim Wohlforth and to James Robertson, asking them to take a public stand on the issues involved.

Spartacist, which is edited by James Robertson, responded in its January-February issue. It took an honorable stand, denouncing the use of physical violence against other currents in the labor movement. The statement included a reaffirmation of the "political similarity between the Spartacist League and the SLL" and the group's political differences with the Socialist Workers party. Of special interest was the inclusion of fresh testimony as to the antidemocratic nature of the SLL. The statement ended by calling for a "workers' inquiry" to expose Healy, "this fraud who disorients and corrupts the Trotskyist movement by posing as a revolutionary leader." [See World Outlook, February 3, for the text.]

Tim Wohlforth has now responded to the two letters addressed to him by Farrell Dobbs. The February 13 issue of the Bulletin, edited by Wohlforth, carries a statement issued by the "Political Committee Workers League." [See page 216 of this issue of World Outlook for the full text.]

The statement represents a decided shift from the previous position of the Bulletin, indicated by a box in the December 19, 1966, issue which read: "The issues raised in the Nov. 21st letter by Farrell Dobbs, Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, about what happened at Caxton Hall on the night of November 17th, we cannot discuss at this stage for legal reasons. -- Dec. 3 Newsletter." Alert readers will note that the stand taken by the Bulletin was not widely divergent from the one taken by the Newsletter. The Bulletin was, however, somewhat bolder. Instead of page 3, it put the notice on page 1. It placed a heavy border around the box and it used a somewhat sensationalistic headline: "LEGAL REASONS."

Just why "legal reasons" prevented the bold and fearless editor of the Bulletin from reporting the beating inflicted on Ernest Tate was left unexplained at the time and it still remains unexplained in the statement. Equally baffling is the reasoning that led Wohlforth to conclude that after all no legal reasons actually prevent him from taking a stand in this case. Perhaps he came to the conclusion that the American colonies are no longer subject to the British courts. Or it may be that Healy decided that evasion of the issues was not paying off and that Wohlforth's brains were needed to get him and Informations Ouvrières off the hook.

Wohlforth, it is clear, thought the whole thing through and saw where Healy had pulled some real boners. The statement is designed to rectify things. Healy's denial of guilt in indicating to his stewards that they should beat up Ernest Tate is an instance of this. When Tate publicly charged that Healy was guilty, Healy utilized this as the legal pretext for running to the courts of Her Majesty the Queen. The letters sent out by the solicitors hired by Healy cited Tate's testimony as the basis for legal proceedings, and it was because Healy appealed to bourgeois jurisprudence on this count that two newspapers which had published Ernest Tate's charges made the formal retractions demanded by Healy and paid the legal costs he also demanded. Wohlforth brushes aside the fumbling course taken by Healy. Not only does Wohlforth concede Healy's guilt, he defends in principle Healy's "right" to have his political opponents in the labor movement beaten up whenever he feels such action is called for!

As a defense of the use of physical violence in answering arguments advanced by other tendencies in the labor movement, Wohlforth's statement is probably unique aside from the precedents to be found in the Stalinist movement when the GPU sought to justify the use of violence against "Trotskyites" and other political dissidents.

As outlined by Wohlforth, the criteria to be used in deciding who should be victimized follows the same grim precedent. These criteria exist solely in the warped mind of the head of the cult, in this case the warped mind of the tinpot despot who serves as the national secretary of the badly degenerated SLL.

Perhaps the strangest twist in Wohlforth's statement is that even after going so far as to defend and advocate the use of violence in polemics with other tendencies in the labor movement, the author cannot quite screw up enough brazenness to defend Healy on resorting to the bourgeois courts. It is too gross for even this boneless political contortionist to swallow in one gulp. And so his statement breathes not a word about Healy's monstrous action of rushing to the class enemy for help against Ernest Tate. However, Wohlforth indicates that he will eventually manage to down this, too, for he approvingly cites the fruits of the solicitors' letters served by Healy; namely, the formal retractions printed by two working-class newspapers (although he does not mention the cash fines levied by Healy).

As a final curiosity, it should be noted that Wohlforth, embarrassed at indicating that his statement is in response to two letters sent him by Farrell Dobbs, gives his statement the form of a denunciation of James Robertson for taking a public stand on the issues involved in the Ernest Tate Case, hence the bizarre title of Wohlforth's statement: "Spartacist Joins Revisionists Against Fourth International."

Robertson, we should imagine, must feel grateful to Wohlforth for this small assistance in the rather sticky job of trying to remove the loathsome taint of "political similarity" between the Spartacist group and an outfit that so clearly echoes the abominations of "third period" Stalinism.

WOHLFORTH'S STAND ON THE ERNEST TATE CASE

[Below we publish the full text of a statement on the Ernest Tate Case which appeared in the February 13 issue of the Bulletin edited by Tim Wohlforth. The original title of the statement is "Spartacist Joins Revisionists Against Fourth International" and it is claimed to be "by political committee workers league." The subheads appear as shown in the original. We have taken the liberty of correcting some obvious typographical errors. Joseph Hansen has supplied footnotes to help clarify the more obscure or contradictory points. These are identified in each instance. The emphasis appears as shown in the original.]

* * *

On November 21st, 1966, Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, wrote to James Robertson, National Chairman of the Spartacist League about the so-called "Tate Affair." "We trust that you will clarify your stand -- and its relation to your expression of political solidarity with Healy -- in an adequate way and as rapidly as possible," Dobbs demanded.

Robertson hastened to oblige Dobbs, the man who sent condolences to Kennedy's widow. And so the lead editorial of Spartacist #9 is entitled: "Oust Healy!" This is the real political relationship between Spartacist and the SWP. This is the concrete meaning of the statement in our Perspectives Resolution: "The Spartacist must be understood as a 'left' expression of the nationalism and revisionism of the SWP."

Let us now take a look at the Tate Affair. Our purpose is not so much to pass judgement on the facts of the case, about which we know little,(1) but rather to discuss how such a question should be approached. It seems that there was an altercation between stewards at a large meeting in London, sponsored by the Socialist Labour League and Ernest Tate who was selling literature in front of this meeting. Tate claims he was beaten because he was selling literature critical of the SLL and of Gerry Healy, national secretary of the SLL.

However, as previously reported in the Bulletin, two papers which printed Tate's charges issued apologies to Comrade Healy stating in part: "We have since been informed that Mr. Healy asked a steward to clear the pavement in front of the entrance of the Hall so that passengers alighting from coaches would not be delayed in getting to the meeting, that he certainly did nothing to prevent the writer of the letter from selling literature; and others were selling literature on each side of the entrance without any interference."(2) These are the basic facts as known to us and as known to Spartacist.

first task

Our first task is to put this incident within the context of the class struggle. Trotsky deals with this question with great thoroughness in his "Their Morals and Ours." When attacked for having hostages during the Russian Civil War Trotsky responded: "The petty-bourgeois moralist thinks episodically, in fragments, in clumps, being incapable

(1) It is odd, in view of this professed ignorance and the extreme seriousness of the case, that Wohlforth does not join Robertson in demanding a workers' commission of inquiry. -- J.H.

(2) The two papers were Peace News and the Socialist Leader. They published legal retractions that were almost identical in text. They referred first to having published a letter by Ernest Tate in which he accused "Mr. Gerry Healy, National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League, of having instigated several of his supporters to assault and prevent him from selling literature outside Caxton Hall, where an SLL meeting was being held." Then came the alibi provided by the distinguished client of the solicitors: "We have been informed that Mr. Healy asked a steward to clear the pavement in front of the entrance of the Hall so that passengers alighting from coaches would not be delayed in getting to the meeting; that he did nothing to prevent Mr. Tate or anyone else from selling literature; and that others were selling literature at each side of the entrance without interference." Both retractions then "sincerely apologise to Mr. Healy for having published the suggestion that he employs violence or seeks to curtail freedom of expression."

It is particularly instructive that Wohlforth omitted quoting the sentence including the actual apology. It goes counter to his defense of Healy's "right" to use violence against workers who disagree with the SLL. -- J.H.

of approaching phenomena in their internal connection. Artificially set apart, the question of hostages for him is a particular moral problem, independent of those general conditions which engender armed conflict between classes."

This is Spartacist's method. The SWP raises this incident and the Spartacist judges it without exploring its context! the politics of the forces involved in the incident, the relation of these forces to the class struggle. On the basis of its moral evaluation of this isolated incident the Spartacist concluded: "Oust Healy."(3)

We are reminded of two recent incidents within the trade union movement which may help illustrate this point. During the New York City Welfare strike conducted by the SSEU a person turned up in front of a strike meeting distributing a piece of literature entitled: "Strike? An Obsolete Weapon." The leaflet turned out to be an open appeal for scabbing against the strike. It ended up by urging welfare workers to get in touch with the Socialist Labor Party, a sectarian group opposed to working in legitimate unions.

One SSEU militant, stumbling to the meeting after 8 hours on the picket line in bitterly cold weather, took one look at this leaflet and began to work over the person distributing it. As far as this militant was concerned this "socialist" gentleman was as much a scab as somebody crossing the picket line.(4)

Earlier this fall a group of thugs descended upon James Morrissey, the leader of a rank and file opposition within the National Maritime Union, and beat him up with lead pipes. Morrissey's crime, no doubt, was distributing literature critical of NMU President Joe Curran. How do we judge these two incidents? Are they of equal weight? Are they really identical? We hold that despite a formal identity they are in reality opposites in content. In the case of Morrissey violence was being used to terrorize the rank and file workers who were struggling to make their union a more effective weapon for fighting the bosses. In the case of our "socialist scab," violence was being used to terrorize those who would break the unity of the working class against the bosses, those who act as the agents of the class enemy.

A strike without some sort of intimidation and terror, yes terror, against those who seek to break the unity of the class is not serious.(5) An unserious strike is a blow against the working class. Violence used to terrorize workers when they seek to battle the bosses and the bosses' agents, the union bureaucracy, is unforgivable, criminal, intolerable.

(3) Spartacist maintained that the incident was not isolated. Spartacist cited its own experiences with Healy, offered to submit fresh evidence to a bona fide workers' investigating commission, and pointed to the two incidents in the current scandal -- the beating inflicted on Ernest Tate and Healy's appealing to the bourgeois courts. Wohlforth's argument that the beating was an "isolated incident" stands, of course, in contradiction to his view that it was morally justified. In fact, in the very next paragraph, trying to put up a case for Healy, Wohlforth seeks to show empirically that it is quite customary in the labor movement to reply to political arguments with physical violence and that this often warrants applause. -- J.H.

(4) If this alleged incident is not simply a concoction, the worker obviously reflected the notorious political backwardness of the American proletariat and was sadly in need of attending a class where he could learn about working-class democracy and elementary morality in the conduct of political disputes within the labor movement as well as gain a correct understanding of the views held by a leaflet distributor willing to brave "bitterly cold weather" to bring what he thought (if mistakenly) was a socialist message to striking workers. The Socialist Labor party is well known in the American radical movement as an ossified sect with no influence in the unions, fanatically devoted to the program and memory of Daniel De Leon, one of the pioneers of American socialism. The fact remains that the American working class can still learn much from De Leon's writings although he has been superseded in the field of theory by the contributions of the Russians who led the October Revolution. It is sad that one of the members of this completely unimportant group should have been beaten and still sadder that Wohlforth should feel under compulsion to hail the beating and even label it as morally good. -- J.H.

(5) In the days of the Stalinist terror against working-class political opponents, the standard excuse advanced by Stalin's hatchetmen for using physical violence to stamp out dissidence, was that their opponents, particularly the "Trotskyites," were breaking the "unity" of the working class. Wohlforth at one time understood the falseness of this argument to perfection. As a newly converted "conditional" supporter of Mao, he appears to have undergone a "cultural revolution" on this as well as some other important items. -- J.H.

The only way we could thus make a decision as to who was right or wrong in the above cases was to go beyond the act of violence itself to get at the politics of the participants. There is no other way for Marxists to proceed.

classic position

The first question then is who is Ernest Tate: what are his politics; how does he fit into the class struggle? Tate is the representative in England of the Socialist Workers Party. His specific task is to peddle SWP literature throughout England and to work together with the SWP's political co-thinkers in Europe -- the Pabloite revisionists like Germain, Frank and the little British Pabloite grouplets.

The SWP and its international friends have become the agents of capitalism within the working class movement.(6) This is the classic centrist role they are playing all the more clearly and openly as every day passes. Can there be any doubt about this?

What is the position of the SLL? This too is crystal clear. The SLL is the only organization in England to battle consistently and unceasingly for the interests of the working class. As the SLL sums up its relations with the SWP: "It is a fight between the working class and the servants of the class enemy." (See SLL declaration "Course of the Socialist Workers Party" in Jan. 2nd Bulletin.)(7)

The relationship between these two international forces -- the Fourth International and the Pabloite Revisionists -- is symbolized by this confrontation with Tate. Less than two weeks before the meeting in question, the Young Socialists and the French Revoltes youth has sought to defend the Hungarian Revolution during the international demonstration at Liege. Tate's political collaborators sought to prevent the SLL and YS members from carrying a banner supporting the Hungarian Revolution. These finks even went so far as to seek police help in preventing our comrades from carrying this banner.(8) Tate then shows up in front of the SLL meeting also organized to defend the Hungarian Revolution to peddle a pamphlet containing scandal which, interestingly enough, originates with Spartacist.(9)

When the SLL and YS raise a banner defending the Hungarian Revolution in Liege Tate's political allies bloc with the Belgian Stalinists and call the cops. When the SLL holds Hungarian memorial meeting in London Tate turns up to sell his political smut.(10) These are the politics of the contending forces in front of Caxton Hall.

political scabs

Tate and his political allies represent political scabs of the worst sort. These gentlemen have been instrumental in aiding the right wing of the British Labour Party in expelling our comrades. These gentlemen have a habit of calling the cops against our com-

(6) Wohlforth comes late to the field. This charge was invented decades ago by the Stalinists. Its age does not improve its flavor. -- J.H.

(7) In other words, Healy serves as prosecuting attorney; Healy serves as judge; Healy's stewards carry out the sentence; and Healy's altar boy Wohlforth pipes the moral sermons. An efficient system! Credit for perfecting, if not inventing this megalomaniac way of drawing the class line properly belongs, however, to Stalin. -- J.H.

(8) Wohlforth appears to be counting on the ignorance of readers of the Bulletin. The slander which he repeats here first appeared in The Newsletter. It was exposed in detail by Henri Valin in an article "The Healy School of Falsification." See World Outlook January 27, p. 104.

(9) The unmentionable pamphlet, Healy "Reconstructs" the Fourth International, contains documents originating from all three of the tendencies that attended a conference of the "International Committee" in London last April. An introduction, "Sectarianism and Tinpot Despotism -- An Example for the Textbooks," attempts to draw some of the main political lessons. A copy of the pamphlet can be obtained by sending \$.35 to the Socialist Workers Party, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. -- J.H.

(10) "Smut." In this obscure way Wohlforth may be referring to the letters written by Healy which were a prominent part of the documents in the pamphlet, Healy "Reconstructs" the Fourth International. It is true that these letters need to be read to be believed. However Healy has not denied their authenticity, and the internal evidence shows them to be genuine. -- J.H.

rades. These gentlemen bloc with the Stalinists everywhere -- in Belgium, France, England, U.S. -- against the interests of the working class.(11)

On the other hand the SLL has consistently championed the interests of the working class. It has fought in every corner of England exposing the role of Wilson as a servant of capitalism. It has exposed the fake lefts who refuse to fight Wilson seriously. It has reached out to the young workers of Britain and built a strong working class youth movement.

The SWP comes along and writes us a letter accusing the SLL of "the poisonous methods that were the hallmark of Stalinism in its worst period." We cannot help but view this "moral indignation" in the same light as we would that of a supporter of Joseph Curran who attacked SSEU militants for reviving trade union hoodliganism.(12)

The truth is that the SWP is presently in a political bloc with the Stalinists. As we pointed out in the last issue of the Bulletin the SWP is collaborating with the CP to limit the struggle against the Vietnam War to politics acceptable to pacifist Muste. Today the SLL and its comrades in the International Committee throughout the world consistently expose this political bloc of the revisionists with the Kremlin's agents and call for the military victory of the National Liberation Front.

spartacist

Where does Spartacist stand in this principled political struggle? The Spartacist views itself as a "supporter of the IC." It speaks of "the political similarity between the Spartacist League and the SLL." On the other hand an earlier issue of the Spartacist characterizes the SWP as moving "from centrism to reformism."

Spartacist is very broad minded about it all. They are very happy to overlook their proclaimed political solidarity with the SLL and supposed political antipathy with the SWP. Everything is to be subordinated to a clear stand -- on an incident in front of Caxton Hall, taken out of context, distorted by the revisionists and used by them in a war against principled Trotskyists.

The Spartacist's role in this affair is even more reprehensible than that of the SWP. The SWP makes no bones about it. They are the political opponents of the SLL and the Tate affair is just one weapon -- admittedly a slimy one -- to use in this war.

But Spartacist claims political solidarity with those it slanders and attacks. These "moral" people find nothing immoral in exchanging slander and scuttlebut with the revisionists and uniting with them in a common organizational struggle against Healy. Dobbs asks Robertson where he stands. Robertson gets up and yells: "Oust Healy." First the SWP peddles Spartacist's organizational criticisms of the IC. Now Spartacist peddles SWP's organizational criticisms of the IC.

common front

The relationship is clear. The real politics of the SWP and Spartacist require a common front against the common enemy. The difference between reform and revolution must be subordinated to the mutual hostility to the revolutionary camp.

We state that this organizational bloc of the political smut peddlers is the politics of the Spartacist while its supposed adherence to "revolutionary principles" is an artificial formal declaration unrelated to Spartacist politics-in-action.

We warn Spartacist: There is presently a war going on between revolutionary Trotskyists represented by the International Committee and revisionist agents of capital represented by the SWP-Germain-Frank Pabloite formation. You are on the other side in this war. Henceforth we will have no relations with you.

(11) Wohlforth's capacity to testify on the occurrence of unspecified alleged incidents in many countries may appear surprising in view of his professed ignorance about the facts of the Ernest Tate Case. The enigma is easily resolved. Wohlforth is simply displaying in his own fashion his familiarity with the area of London known as Billingsgate. -- J.H.

(12) And what about Wohlforth's silence concerning Healy's hiring solicitors and bringing the full majesty of the law of the class enemy down upon a working-class political opponent and two working-class newspapers because they sought to publicize a beating that Wohlforth approves? This spectacular silence provides a convincing measure of the worth of his "moral indignation." -- J.H.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

By K.A. Jordaan

[Continued from last issue.]

The CPSA Seek the Retention of Race Categories

We have seen that, far from basing themselves on the most exploited sections of the people, as every genuine Communist party does, the CPSA stood in dread of them, fearing the "racial" consequences of their mass mobilisation. When they were organised at times then the CP simply used them as a pawn in order to negotiate from strength with the ruling class for petty reforms; and this they did with scant regard for the lives, the sacrifices and the morale of the black masses.

The attitude of the CP to the race divisions in Azania is intimately connected with their collaborationist politics and their limited democratic objectives. Their goal of a multiracial imperialist state in Azania rules out a class approach to politics completely. Instead, the CP operate purely within the assumptions of the race divisions laid down by the despotic state.

As a predominantly white organisation, the CP could have done a service to the movement if they had attempted to work among the white workers, especially the Afrikaaner workers, and helped to bring them to their working class senses. Not that whites should only organise whites and blacks organise blacks, but they were obviously more accessible to the economically less privileged white workers than the black leaders of the movement. They could have made propaganda among the white workers by showing that, because they are used by imperialism and the Afrikaaner bourgeoisie as an instrument for the oppression of the blacks, the ruling classes thereby strengthen their domination over them. The working class consciousness of the whites can be aroused by showing that, while the wages of the blacks remain low and the wages of the whites high, the latter are constantly being exposed to the threat of wage cuts by the employers who would try, by the most devious routes, to hire cheaper labour irrespective of colour. This is in fact one of the objects of so-called Border Industries. In the words of Marx, they can be taught the lesson that "labour with a white skin cannot emancipate itself where labour with a black skin is branded." On this basis some measure of working class solidarity between white and black workers can finally be forged. But the CP preoccupation with race categories and their interest in the imperialist connection even ruled out such a narrow class approach.

The CP concern is how "men of different races (can) live and work together in harmony and peace -- to cooperate for the good of all." They seek to be all things to all men and end up by being nothing to anybody. "All the peoples," says Fischer, "...must be given a voice in their own affairs and in the whole of the country which they work in and they must be taught that races can live and work together in harmony."

The CP do not even measure up to the Liberal party of South Africa that have opted for a nonracial democracy under which there will be no distinctions based on race and each is simply regarded as a human being, and not a member of a distinctive species. Emphasis is placed by the CP on the Freedom Charter of the Congress Alliance which foreshadows the retention of the race categories in a democratic South Africa. It says: "All people shall have equal rights to use their own language, and to develop their own folk culture and customs"; and: "All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride."

In the colonial world, imperialism's traditional policy is the division of the people by exploiting tribal, religious and race differences. This is part of the policy of divide and rule. Imperialism is thus able to establish its hegemony over the colonies and semicolonies on the basis of such differences.

To this day imperialism fosters such racial differences in order to thwart the movement for national unification and full independence.

In Azania imperialism and the Afrikaaner bourgeoisie had erected within the framework of an integrated society the barriers of race in order to exclude the Africans from the body politic on the grounds of their "inferiority" and the need to safeguard the cultural "supremacy" of the white race. This served as the basis for the economic superexploitation of the Africans. The creation of "Cape Coloured" and "Indian" groups, with just so much social privilege as will keep them apart from the Africans, yet not enough to close the social gulf between them and the whites, was designed to sow the seeds of race divisions among the oppressed so that the whites could maintain their supremacy. These groups were calculated to act as social buffers for a small white mi-

nority against a turbulent black majority and in this way maintain a social equilibrium. Quite obviously also, as the PAC communiqué with the ex-Coloured People's Congress observed, "the myth of white purity and superiority would have exploded if they had been incorporated in the white power structure."

Race divisions and their forcible perpetuation by the rulers are part and parcel of the proletarianisation of labour and its superexploitation on the grounds of cultural differences, artificially sponsored and forcibly maintained. At bottom, therefore, race differences are political-class conflicts. "But race," says Engels, "is itself an economic factor." All movements towards cultural assimilation are therefore anathema to the ruling classes, because cultural assimilation diminishes the exploitative possibilities. The rulers need to show that "inferior" groups do not have the capacity to assimilate the "higher" culture of the rulers and their supporters, and in this way try to justify the territorial and cultural segregation of the brown and black people and thus ensure their continued exploitation.

The rulers of South Africa encourage cultural parallelism by endowing each group with a special culture and exhorting them to develop along their own lines and take pride in their race and customs. It has truly been stated that "dominant races have a vested interest in the perpetuity of the cultures of weaker races."

With the rapid politicalization of the masses in Azania and the growing awareness that, despite their forcible division on racial lines, all of them share a community of interests, they are sloughing off "Colouredism," "Indianism" and tribalism in order to form a unified national movement. For the CP and the Congress Alliance to peddle such things as "race pride" and emphasising the need to maintain race differences is the most abject capitulation to the white racialists that we can find anywhere.

The emphasis on race pride and customs that divide us is an insidious attempt by "progressive" whites in the movement to preserve their identity and prevent themselves from being swamped by a black majority. The CP therefore repeatedly refer to the position of the whites as a special group in a democratic Azania, because they are seeking a built-in bill of rights for the white minority as a form of protection against the dangers of black majority rule. This is not only a manifestation of racial fears, but race prejudice.

The CP envisage the retention of the race categories in a future Azania because their political goal excludes the abolition of the exploitative relations in which these categories are rooted. So that the CP-ANC clamour for "race harmony" and "race tolerance" is an attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable interests of the exploited black masses with imperial and local capitalist interests and thereby keep the liberation movement within the bounds of the existing property relations. The emphasis on race pride is consequently calculated to undermine the growing class solidarity between the black and brown workers and to blunt the edge of the class struggle between capital and labour.

Interracial cooperation is a special technique to keep in check the pretensions of the black masses and gain security against them. On the other hand, revolutionary socialists form a unified organisation that transcends the barriers of race and that is squarely based on the most downtrodden sections. The most exploited and militant workers and poor peasants cannot have any race discrimination. How can they when they are victims of race discrimination every minute of the day? They realise that at the root of race discrimination lies economic exploitation that must be tackled in a most revolutionary way. The racial fears and animosities of other groups do not enter into their reckoning. But it is precisely when they are on the move that the class positions of the more privileged layers take on the form of racial fears and animosities. Since in some way these relatively privileged groups are already committed to the struggle, something must be done to contain the growing mass movement. So by the well-known device of transferred diagnosis, they attribute their own racialism to the militant workers, warn them not to alienate the support of well-meaning sections by going it alone, and call on them not to stir up racialism by making "unreasonable" demands and embarking on a "reckless" course of action.

The CP may have a difficulty which we must try to meet if they contend that, by reason of the all-pervading influence of race and racialism down the centuries, one cannot expect the feelings of race and race prejudice to evaporate into thin air on the very morrow of the revolution. No one is saying this. Indeed, the task of eliminating the haunting traditions of racialism and race feeling will continue for some time after the revolution.

What we do say is that it ill becomes a revolutionary leadership simply to reflect passively the consciousness of the masses. The duty is to transform a race con-

sciousness into a national consciousness so that people do not look at their problems through the prism of the time-hallowed race categories. Above all, the mass of the people must develop a class consciousness that can alone undermine and finally eliminate feelings of race.

With the consummation of the revolution therefore the new state abolishes the statutory race categories so that all simply become members of a single nation, without special treatment or special representation for any section of the nation on the grounds of physical appearance and colour difference. It is as much in the interests of the erstwhile white minority as it is in the interests of all to cooperate simply as human beings. For to perpetuate differences on such lines is to conspire to perpetuate racialism.

The establishment of such a unified nation -- so necessary for the development of the productive forces -- on the basis of complete equality does not preclude but in fact guarantees the rights of every individual to practice those customs (religion, language, etc.) he holds dear. This is an elementary principle. The continued existence of religious communities like the Jews, Moslems and Indians in a nonracial Azania does not contradict the principle that in relation to the state and political representation all are treated as individuals.

If the CP are concerned over the place of a white minority in a democratic Azania and seek to retain it as a distinct group, so that, according to Fischer, it may secure a "fair share" of political and economic power, then they are holding the revolution to ransom and entrenching that very racialism among the whites which they fear in the blacks. Indeed, how can a dictatorship of workers and poor peasants embracing the majority of the nation, share power with a privileged group that moreover elects to stand aloof from that nation?

The CP may profitably reflect on the policy which the French CP followed in Algeria for a long time during the civil war. For, in the interests of the French settlers in Algeria and as a manifestation of their national chauvinism the French CP persistently called for the retention of Algeria as an inextricable part of France. This disastrous policy exacerbated the race feelings among the colons and encouraged them to make a last ditch stand, when the French CP with their professed Marxist principles should have exhorted them to cooperate with the revolutionary forces to help rid the country of French imperialism and in this way shorten the civil war.

Marx says that for a "total" revolution, as opposed to a "partial" revolution, a class must be organised that is not in but of civil society. "There must be formed a sphere of society," he continues, "which claims no traditional status but only human status...a sphere...which has a universal character because its sufferings are universal and which does not claim a particular redress because the wrong which is done it is not a particular wrong but a wrong in general."

In Azania the downtrodden blacks are outside the body politic, although their labours sustain an official or civil society in which they are not recognised. They form the backbone of "total" revolution; and on their accession to power they will not cling to their traditional status as blacks, but will simply claim human status. Liberation from their universal sufferings therefore also signifies the liberation of the whole nation. Their assumption of human status means its extension to all other groups as well. And with that the race categories so beloved by the CP are dissolved.

Birth of a New Azania -- By CP's Immaculate Conception?

There is no historical proof that the ruling classes surrender without a bitter struggle. Fischer's reference to the peaceful extension by imperialism of independence to the African states is of course illusory. What happened was that under colonial mass pressure imperialism was forced to groom a new "native" ruling class to act as the custodian of her vested interests in the African country. At the same time the introduction of black majority rule under a bourgeois parliamentary system was designed to canalise the aspirations of the masses and act as the façade for the continuing dictatorship of the imperialist interest. In this way formal political independence came to stabilise imperial rule at a higher level, and helped to preempt a revolution.

The rulers stay in power as long as they have the necessary force to defend their positions. To talk to them about legal change is useless, because the law itself is the instrument of the old order and serves to guard the existing property relations. To be sure, the law contrives to entrench the position of the dominant class by preaching against the use of violence so that the armed might of the state may use violence as its monopoly against the threat of revolution.

In this respect, the Rhodesian crisis holds important lessons which we are sure will not be lost on the dedicated revolutionaries of Southern Africa. One is that while, on the one hand, Britain warns the liberation movement in Zimbabwe to follow the constitutional path to independence, on the other hand, she is quite prepared to stand idly by when Smith seizes independence by force and rules by violence, because his regime can still guarantee, in view of the prevailing weakness of the liberation forces, the protection of the imperial interest. For it is patently clear that imperialism does not use force against movements and regimes of the extreme right if they can keep in check the pretensions of the revolutionary forces and safeguard vested interests. The other lesson is that Britain will intervene swiftly to crush a growing liberation struggle that threatens "law and order" in Zimbabwe, and then prepare the ground very carefully for a neocolonialist solution with a black leadership who, with the support of a middle class, carefully groomed and brainwashed, can come to "a proper understanding" with the South African regime and Portugal with the view to preserving the massive foreign interests in the African subcontinent. Which means -- and this is the third lesson -- that a negotiated independence is no independence whatsoever.

It is the lesson of history that the most all-embracing liberation of a people can be brought about only by an armed revolution of the most sweeping kind. For no ruling class gives up of its own volition its economic and political power. That a man's property is finally worth far more than his very life is a Machiavellian dictum borne out by the struggle to the death of the dominant classes in defence of their possessions. Attempts to argue with them rationally to surrender do not help, because they are asked to give up, at their own expense, to those on whom their privileged positions depend. It is presumptuous cheek on the part of the CP to expect the South African ruling classes to respond to "reasonable requests" and to alert them to the dangers of revolution so that they would introduce reforms with the consent of the people.

The ruling classes do not listen to "reason" unless it has the support of superior force; and when they do respond peacefully, then this is only in order to avert their own downfall by introducing petty reforms in order to derail a revolution. The institution on "one man, one vote" in the various African states is a case in point.

It has been proved by history that attempts to bring about social change by methods of conciliation and moderation lead to a greater loss of blood than methods of armed revolution. The vacillations of the Spanish Republicans in the thirties resulted in the death and persecution of well-nigh half the population of Spain, and paved the way for the fascist reaction. On the other hand a decisive break with the past by the most revolutionary methods does not only lead to more permanent gains, but helps to save more lives in the long term. How many people in Azania do not die every year of hunger and overwork, persecution and police massacres? Must millions more continue to die just because a peaceful way out must be found? Such "humanitarianism" does not consider human feeling.

We are arguing about elementary matters. The imperialists, the Soviet bureaucracy and the various Social Democratic parties of Western Europe warn the people of the colonies not to use force to settle their problems and enjoin on them to attain their independence by peaceful methods. But this does not prevent them from sanctioning the use of force, if only after the event, when they give recognition to those favourably disposed governments that come to power as a result of military coups.

Whether one wants a "partial" revolution or a "total" revolution depends on the methods one invokes to achieve either. In dealing with means and ends Rosa Luxemburg drew a distinction between the aims of the reformist and the revolutionary socialist. She writes:

"...people who pronounce themselves in favour of the method of legislative reform in place of and in contradistinction to the conquest of political power -- a social revolution -- do not really choose a more tranquil, calmer and slower road to the same goal, but a different goal. Instead of taking a stand for the establishment of a new society, they take a stand for slight changes in the old society."

The downtrodden masses of Azania have a vested interest in the most radical break with the existing order. In the words of Marx, they are "not opposed to particular consequences but (are) totally opposed to the assumption of the...political system." They naturally take to armed struggle, because they are incessantly subjected to violence.

The assassination of Verwoerd does not alter the situation in Azania, but the masses were none the less jubilant, because they realise, in the words of Malcolm X, when he commented on President Kennedy's assassination, that the chickens are coming home to roost.

A proposal has recently been made by the revisionists and agents of the imperialist powers that the blacks should now be given training in the administrative aspects of government (naturally by imperialist agencies) so that when the time comes they will be fully prepared to work the machinery of state in Azania. It is certainly a convenient arrangement whereby the blacks become enmeshed in the administrative machinery to serve and be subordinate to the economic and military power of imperialism.

But the black masses of Azania will prepare themselves to handle all aspects of their own affairs not in the houses of the rich nor in academic seminars whose job is to brainwash and to confuse. They will equip themselves only in the veld and forests, the mountains and high grasslands, of their own country where a life and death struggle will teach them to organize, to learn techniques, to improvise and to produce. The use of violence as an end in itself is naturally not the answer.

It is only by changing their environment in the furnace of a revolution that Azanians can also change themselves and be fit to master their own affairs.

[The end.]

UNDER THE CLOAK OF THE CIA

The exposure by Ramparts magazine of the Central Intelligence Agency's subversion of the National Student Association, a body to which most student governments in the American universities belong, constitutes one of the most sensational scandals in years in the United States. The extent of CIA infiltration of the American campus may cause little surprise abroad, particularly in colonial countries where CIA activities have long been experienced at first hand. In the United States, on the other hand, there is wide popular acceptance of the official propaganda that America enjoys full freedom and democracy and is untainted by a secret political police that manipulates public opinion and exercises insidious control over communication media and public institutions.

Set up as a cold-war spy agency under the Truman administration, the CIA became one of the hallmarks of the McCarthyite period. During the early fifties, exposure of its totalitarian practices would have occasioned little public shock. With the erosion of McCarthyism, the CIA has become increasingly suspect in the public mind. Since Johnson's plunge into the Vietnam civil war, a broader and broader sector of the American people have worried about the role of the CIA in dragging the country into this dirty military adventure on the Asian mainland.

Coming on top of a "credibility gap" so wide that it is now beyond the capacity of the administration to close it, the exposure of the CIA can have considerable impact on the political mood of the American people, deepening and broadening the opposition to the war in Vietnam. The exposure of the CIA directly discredits the two-party system, since all the top figures in government, both Democratic and Republican, ranging from Robert Kennedy to the most reactionary racists were acquainted with the activities of the CIA, approved them, and indeed sponsored them in the first place.

Although the March issue of Ramparts magazine has not yet appeared on the newsstands at this writing (February 19), the advance notice of the contents was sufficient to set off a nationwide furor. Within days, following the information and clues provided by Ramparts, the big newspapers had uncovered a mass of further startling facts and information about the "cloak and dagger" outfit whose "highly sophisticated modern techniques" turned out to be mainly the not so new means of buying up people and subsidizing organizations, books, magazines, newspapers, radio and television stations, unions and any institution that it could bend to its sinister purposes.

A by-product is a list that lengthens each day of institutions that served as direct fronts for the CIA or relied almost exclusively on CIA funds for their "anti-Communist" activities abroad. A wealth of hard, specific facts now confirm to the hilt the repeated charges made in other countries of how certain bodies were serving as spy agencies for the CIA. These charges up to now had always been met in the United States with supercilious smiles and arrogant references to foreigners -- unacquainted with free America and lacking experience in the democratic processes -- always "seeing plots" and sinister motives in American activities abroad.

The exposure of the CIA has already gone so far that it would appear exceedingly difficult for this bipartisan replica of the secret political police of totalitarian states to buy its way out despite the virtually unlimited funds placed at its disposal for which it has to make no accounting, not even to its own sponsors.