

WORLD OUTLOOK

PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

Un service de presse ouvrier

PARIS OFFICE: Pierre Frank, 21 rue d'Aboukir, Paris 2, France

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THE MEANING OF THE GUAM CONFERENCE

From the evidence to be gathered in the press, Johnson has apparently decided to take the advice of the worst war hawks in the Pentagon and try for a military "victory" in Vietnam. Apparently he has been sold on the idea that a relatively early victory is possible, provided sufficient firepower is concentrated on the Vietnamese people, and that he will then be able to retrieve his steadily worsening political position inside the United States, appearing before the electorate in the 1968 election as the man who "saved" Vietnam from "the Communists" and achieved "peace" -- if at the cost of some blood and sacrifices.

The conference at Guam, if the same sources are to be trusted, is concerned with implementing this decision. On the one hand, the expansion of the war to new, previously barred levels will be detailed. The escalation will involve broadening the scope of the war geographically, including a series of new targets for the most fiendish and destructive weapons, and further stepping up the quantity of bombs poured on a hapless people lacking the necessary defensive weapons and left in the lurch in this by their most powerful ally, the Soviet government.

On the other hand, to assure carrying out these objectives with the efficiency demanded by Johnson, the entire staff in Saigon is to be reorganized. A "relief" team is to be sent in, properly instructed in ruthlessness. Johnson wants action and he wants it damn quick! Among the new appointments is Robert Komer, graphically described by Max Frankel of the New York Times [March 17] as Johnson's "blowtorch" in Vietnam, a man who has been "pressing for ever greater and faster efforts in pacifying the hostile country-

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side, controlling the nation's distorted economy and steering it toward constitutional government." According to Frankel, "He has often grated on the nerves of many Americans in Saigon, and has been berated by them. But he has satisfied the President with apparent results and with his enthusiasm and optimism about the trend of events."

Another of the appointees is Ellsworth Bunker, who played a key role in putting down the uprising in the Dominican Republic, saving the Trujillo machine and setting up the pro-Johnson government of Joaquin Balaguer.

Johnson's calculations -- or the calculations coming out of the electronic computers in the Pentagon -- are based mainly on the Kremlin's betrayal of the Vietnamese struggle. Kossygin-Brezhnev are following a policy of deploring the U.S. aggression, of sending sufficient aid to Hanoi to make the record, but in no case of sending the kind of weapons that could give the American generals pause in escalating the war.

Besides this, it is perfectly clear that the Pentagon considers China to be incapable of intervening effectively at present due to the profound political crisis affecting the Mao regime. But the Pentagon is not certain how long this crisis will last -- therefore the impulse to "strike while the iron is hot."

Can Johnson gain a military victory? Already, as James Reston of the New York Times notes [March 16], "In Vietnam the United States is dropping more bombs than it did at the most severe and savage part of the European war..." According to Washington sources (apparently the Pentagon) cited in the March 17 New York Times, 68,000 tons of bombs were dropped on north and south Vietnam in February. In Europe at the peak period, according to the same source, 80,000 tons of bombs a month were dropped. In the South Pacific in World War II, the figure was 29,000 tons a month; in Korea 17,000 tons.

By increasing the bombing and employing more deadly types of bombs, Johnson may succeed in converting Vietnam into a vast graveyard. Would that be a victory? If so, it would be of the same kind achieved by Hitler with his gas ovens and would so be remembered by humanity for all time to come.

And if Johnson is striving for a military victory, how does he expect to hold his achievement without ground forces? As in all wars, the infantry will be called on to seize and to occupy. This would signify a bloody shambles with many an American home in mourning. The opposition to the war would mount by leaps and bounds inside the U.S.

A third possibility is that Johnson hopes that a few swift additional turns of the screw will cause the tortured Vietnamese people to collapse and sue for "peace" on his terms. Even if considerable "pacification," or mopping up were still required, the end of major fighting, he may expect, would cause the opposition at home to also collapse.

Johnson appears to rule out three possibilities: (1) failure to achieve his military objectives due to the capacity of the Vietnamese people to survive and continue fighting; (2) a turn by either the Soviet or Chinese governments in the direction of an effective countermove; (3) deepening political opposition at home no matter what he does from now on.

These are very real possibilities. If any of them, or any combination of them occurs, Johnson's schemes will in the end merely facilitate his political downfall.

Perhaps Johnson senses this. Despite the calculation of the war hawks that Johnson can get away with escalating the war to an entirely new level and that this may well prove sufficient to bring an early military "victory," it is clear that Johnson is engaging in an immense gamble in which the odds against him are steadily mounting.

A single miscalculation and the resulting defeat to U.S. imperialism will take on major historic proportions, particularly because of its psychological consequences on an international scale, and not least of all in America. Is this the source of the note of panic in Johnson's latest move?

INTENSIVE PREPARATIONS IN U.S. FOR ANTIWAR DEMONSTRATIONS

In the teeth of Johnson's decision to escalate the U.S. aggression in Vietnam to a new and most ominous level, the work of organizing a massive nationwide protest demonstration on April 15 with two main centers in the United States, one in New York, the other in San Francisco, is proceeding vigorously. The most significant feature of the antiwar movement in the United States at the moment is its widening scope. Since Johnson

first began implementing Goldwater's program, successive new layers of the population have been joining the opposition initiated on the campuses. Each new contingent has brought fresh energy and indignation, constantly vitalizing the movement and saving it from sharp and prolonged sags.

Now some very solid phalanxes give signs of movement -- the main body of black civil-rights fighters and the labor movement. It is still too early to tell at what rate and how deeply these forces will become committed to the struggle. But the appearance of such figures as the Rev. Martin Luther King and the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy in the Spring Mobilization Committee is of great significance in this respect, particularly as to the mood in the Negro community.

The labor movement still remains an unknown. It was clear that if Johnson persisted in his war on the Asian mainland the working class would eventually become restless and finally would be goaded into action. In various parts of the country, certain signs would seem to indicate that this stage is approaching. A straw in the wind is the agreement of Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the powerful United Automobile Workers and a close associate of Walter Reuther to speak at a rally in Chicago March 25 against the war. Various labor groups have also endorsed the Spring Mobilization Committee. Once this process reaches a certain point, it could really take off.

Rank-and-file workers in the Spring Mobilization Committee have been greatly encouraged by the growing responsiveness they are encountering on all sides. This is particularly evident in the way the antiwar literature and the appeals for action are being received in sectors of the population that have hitherto not felt personally concerned or directly involved in what was going on in Vietnam.

SCANDINAVIAN VIETNAM WEEK

Representatives of the Finnish, Swedish, Danish and Norwegian committees for Solidarity with Vietnam decided at a joint meeting in Stockholm to organize a Scandinavian Vietnam Week for April 2-9, reports Orientering, the weekly newspaper of the Norwegian People's Socialist party. Coordinated activities to protest the war such as meetings, film showings, sales of literature exposing the nature of the war, and demonstrations will be held throughout Scandinavia.

On the Sunday following Easter a united march against the war will be held in Denmark. The march is being organized by the Vietnam committees in all four countries.

Further information may be obtained by writing the Den Norske Solidaritetskomite for Vietnam, Idungate 5, Oslo 1, Norway.

WITCH-HUNT IN BOLIVIA

The Barrientos regime in Bolivia has initiated a nationwide witch-hunt aimed at tendencies standing in the political opposition to the left. The tendencies hit the hardest include the Trotskyists, the pro-Peking Communists, the followers of Juan Lechin and even very small groups like the one that pays allegiance to J. Posadas.

The main targets of the repression are the POR [Partido Obrero Revolucionario -- Revolutionary Workers party], the PRIN [Partido Revolucionario de Izquierda Nacionalista -- Nationalist Left Revolutionary party], the MNR [Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario -- Revolutionary Nationalist Movement], and the pro-Peking Communist party.

The list of leaders who have been rounded up reads like a "who's who" of the entire left. At the beginning of March they included the following:

| | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| Zanón Barrientos Manani | Filimon Escobar | Víctor Reynaga |
| Sinfiores Cabrera | Gabriel Guzmán I. | Eulogio Sanchez T. |
| Luis Canipa | Alberto Jara Daza | Oscar Sangines |
| Orlando Capriles | Guillermo Lora | Víctor Sosa |
| Alejandro Carvajal | Miguel Lora | Amadeo Vargas |
| Nuflo Chavez Ortiz | Carrasco Marín | Felipe Villanueva |
| Carlos Daza L. | Edwin Moller | Oscar Zamora |
| Jorge Echazú Alvarado | José Palacios | |

The prisoners were exiled in remote regions -- Pokin, a village in the Beni area notorious for leprosy; Ixianas and Puerto Rico, extremely unhealthy places in the jungle; and Ulla Ulla, high in the mountains near the Peruvian border.

As in previous instances, the government used the excuse that it had discovered a "plot." To create the proper sensational headlines, the secret political police said the "plot" was aimed at assassinating "high government figures."

No trials were held, naturally, and no evidence was brought forward beyond the assertions of men appointed to office by Barrientos. Without further formalities all those seized by the secret political police were hustled out of La Paz and confined to the camps indicated above.

The nature of the witch-hunt can be judged from the account of a press conference that appeared in the March 2 issue of Presencia published in La Paz. The following is a translation of extracts sent to World Outlook:

* * *

The cabinet minister charged that armed bands, organized by extremists, were to carry out the mission of physically eliminating high government figures. Minister Arguedas indicated in his charge that the PORists had bought a piece of land near Santa Cruz in order to train its militants, who were also taught guerrilla tactics. He also said that upon discovering these terrorist plans, the emergency measure had been taken of exiling twelve extremist leaders to Puerto Rico.

The cabinet minister made some statements on the latest arrests that have occurred in the country. Upon beginning his exposition, he said that Miguel Lora and Filemon Escobar declared a hunger strike in the cells of the DIC [Dirección Investigación Criminal -- the secret police] as a protest against the security measures adopted by the government.

In response to the first question, Minister Arguedas said that intense work in subversive agitation was going on; this was synchronized with the preparation of armed bands organized by the Peking Communist party, the POR and the PRIN. Arguedas then added: "In reality, the one that ought to declare a hunger strike is the entire people of Bolivia, the victim of the divisive, anarchistic work of these tiny factions interested in blocking, by all the means within their reach, the institutionalizing of the country and its development."

He then added: "Our intelligence service succeeded in discovering that with funds coming from abroad, the POR acquired a piece of land in the outskirts of the department of Santa Cruz. This was done with the objective of preparing armed bands, the aim of which was to carry out terrorist acts against indicated figures in the government and acts of sabotage. In legitimately defending the constituted order and safeguarding the Bolivian people from the grave danger they ran in the event these groups succeeded in carrying out their plans, I was obliged to fix the residence of twelve extremists in the locality of Puerto Rico."

In reply to another question, he said that the security measures adopted by his office had no relation whatsoever with the arbitration dispute that is to be decided by the Ministry of Labor. "On the contrary," he said, "the members of the so-called Left Front [Frente de Izquierda] which includes the Peking and Moscow Communist parties, the FLIN [Frente de Liberación Nacional], the POR, the PRIN and the MNR, have mobilized and sent more than 200 activists into the miner's districts." He said that the objective was to incite the workers to launch a general strike of an insurrectional nature in case the Ministry of Labor did not approve the demands of the miners one hundred per cent.

He then indicated that when Miguel Lora, Victor Sosa and Oscar Sangines were arrested, the government discovered that the POR and its allies were not only carrying on a campaign of distorting what was happening in the country but they were also passing out arms among their members. He added: "Victor Sosa in his capacity of principal of a school, did not limit himself to teaching Trotskyism, but also corrected and added to the teachings written by Che Guevara on guerrillas, imparting concrete instructions on carrying out acts of terrorism."

Minister Arguedas said that in the mining districts, those named above had carried on recruiting in Huanuni and Catavi, and had enlisted young elements as supposed forces of national liberation charged with "executing the feverish plans of the extremist leaders."

SHIFT TO THE LEFT IN THE FRENCH ELECTIONS

By Pierre Frank

PARIS, Mar. 13 -- If the voting in the first round of the elections was mainly a question of registering preferences [see World Outlook, March 17, p. 281], in the second round the number of seats was particularly involved. To a certain degree this hinged on deals made in smoke-filled rooms, on a national as well as local scale. However, the parties propose...and the voters dispose -- providing a valuable indication of the trends in the country. The balloting yesterday resulted in a rather serious defeat for the gaullists, while the FGDS [Fédération de la Gauche Socialiste et Démocrate] and especially the PCF [Parti Communiste Français] won an important victory. The gaullists gained a bare majority thanks to seats they took in overseas territories (Réunion, Nouvelle Calédonie...) where the administration manipulated the elections in a shameless way.

The electoral pact between the FGDS and the PCF explains the success of these two formations, but only in part. Two important supplementary elements played a role. First, what is left of the electoral following of the Radicals did not hesitate to vote for Communist candidates on the second round. This was not the case in the municipal elections in the spring of 1965 when the procedure of Socialist and Communist candidates withdrawing in favor of each other was put into operation. The important thing here is not the number of Radical votes but the effect such a change in voting habits has on the Socialist and Radical politicians affected by it.

The second element involves de Gaulle. In the presidential election in December 1965, de Gaulle in the second round drew a majority of the votes that had been cast in the first round for Lecanuet, formerly of the MRP [Mouvement Républicain Populaire] who subsequently formed the Centre Démocrate. In the elections just held, the reverse seems to have occurred. A large number of Centre voters shifted in the second round to the candidates of the FGDS-PCF coalition, hurting the gaullists. This phenomenon appears to have been most in evidence in the cities and industrial centers. In Paris, Marseille, Lyon, Bordeaux, in the north, Pas-de-Calais, etc., the gaullists suffered serious setbacks and some well-known figures were defeated.

A preliminary conclusion can be drawn from this fact -- there is no de gaullism outside of de Gaulle. When he passes from the scene, France is certain to be faced with a grave crisis. The evening before the vote, Lecanuet was shouting at the top of his lungs that de Gaulle had weakened the center and thrown the left out of balance with regard to the PCF. In a more subtle way, Giscard d'Estaing indicated the same thing while congratulating himself that in presenting himself as "Fifth Republic" he had not suffered the setback dealt the gaullists as a whole.

In any case, in the immediate future de Gaulle will face no major difficulties in view of the miserable role assigned to the National Assembly under his regime.

Where does the opposition now stand? In the euphoria of success, everybody was talking last night about uniting still more, working out a program to show that a genuine alternative government solution is offered, etc. But this was election night euphoria. The FGDS is a patchwork formation. It includes the masses who follow the Socialist party headed by Guy Mollet, and men like Mitterrand, not to mention a maverick like Mendès-France. What about the PSU [Parti Socialiste Unifié]? It is still too early to see how this disparate assemblage will evolve.

As for the PCF, its leadership will not fail to say that they were right, that "the unity of the left" must be strengthened, etc. Very likely its strongly rightist orientation will become more accentuated, class lines being still more blurred.

To a considerable extent, the outcome of the March 12 elections will reinforce parliamentary illusions. But the electoral success of the left, particularly the success of the PCF, will also have other consequences which, without putting the parliamentary illusions in question can prove beneficial in the extraparliamentary field. On the economic level, where there is considerable discontent, it is possible that the parliamentary success will play a role in stimulating struggles for improvements. The shift to the left in the parliamentary field occurs amidst great confusion among the working class due to the policies of the traditional worker leaderships. But the shift to the left can, due to the electoral success itself, favor movements in which the working class acts as a class.

In the course of the coming weeks, each of the various formations is sure to draw its own lessons from the election results and the tendencies will emerge more clearly than the morning immediately following the balloting.

KY WELCOMES JOHNSON'S "KISS OF APPROVAL"

"Premier" Nguyen Cao Ky announced March 15 that he was flying to Guam to participate with President Johnson in the important war conference scheduled by the White House as part of the big new stage of escalation of U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

Ky's announcement reportedly caused a "great commotion" among the top staff of State Department, CIA and Pentagon officials in Saigon who are running both the war and the puppet government.

When the U.S. embassy in Saigon, which is headed by Henry Cabot Lodge, heard that Ky had been invited by Johnson to come to Guam, they argued against it in a return cablegram. They held that the invitation "will seem like a Johnson kiss of approval."

That was probably a diplomatic way of saying that in Vietnam, whether south or north, this would mean a kiss of death for the flamboyant general who has been so carefully groomed by his American advisers to run for the presidency in the elections that will eventually be held under auspices of the CIA and the Pentagon.

In Washington, however, it was held that it would look too raw if Johnson flew all the way to Guam to make life and death decisions on Vietnam without bringing Ky there to act as the "representative" of the Vietnamese.

In face of orders from Johnson, the embassy prepared to make the announcement; but Ky decided to rub in his victory by telling the press himself.

Another element, not reported by the press, is the fact that Ky is Johnson's favorite puppet. At their last meeting in Honolulu Johnson even went so far as to demonstratively throw his arms around Ky in front of the press photographers. The gesture, of course, received wide publicity and no doubt was viewed with envy among all the other puppets maintained by Washington.

It is not known whether Johnson has succeeded in becoming Ky's greatest hero. Up until two years ago or so Ky admired Hitler most of all. The July 4, 1965, London Sunday Mirror quoted Ky as saying at the time:

"People ask me who my heroes are. I have only one -- Hitler. I admire Hitler because he pulled his country together when it was in a terrible state in the early thirties.

"But the situation here is so desperate now that one man would not be enough. We need four or five Hitlers in Vietnam."



NGUYEN CAO KY

WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL SET UP IN DENMARK

A committee to support the International War Crimes Tribunal has been set up in Denmark, according to the January 28 Orientering, the weekly of the People's Socialist party of Norway. A number of prominent figures have sponsored the Danish committee, including Erik Vagn Jensen, Ebbe Reich, Ole Wivel, Erik Knudsen, Palle Kieaerulff-Smidt, K.E.Løgstrup and Gert Petersen.

Efforts are now being made to establish similar committees in the other Scandinavian countries. The preliminary spadework is well advanced, according to Orientering. In Norway favorable answers have been received from such figures as Sigurd Evensmo, Trond Hegna, Paal Brekke and Carl Hambro.



NGUYEN CAO KY



NGUYEN CAO KY

GENERAL SUHARTO TAKES OVER FROM SUKARNO

In a unanimous resolution March 12, the Provisional People's Consultative Congress in Jakarta deprived Sukarno of the fig leaf of authority he still retained and named General Suharto "Acting President." The decision was made retroactive to February 22 when Sukarno, bowing to the pressure of the reactionary generals whom he had placed in strategic positions in his government, turned over all real powers to Suharto.

Suharto is a political general trained in his youth in the Royal Netherlands Indonesian Army and later in the Indonesian Army set up by the Japanese during the occupation of his country in World War II. Although he fought against the Dutch in the war for independence, he is thoroughly "Western oriented." His final accession to absolute power was hailed with great satisfaction in Washington and New York.

The Indonesian legislature left Sukarno with the title of "President" but deprived him of the right to call himself "Great Leader of the Revolution." He had already lost the right to the title "President for Life."

In a broadcast March 13, General Suharto defined Sukarno's standing as follows: "For the time being we will treat President Sukarno as a President with no more power, as a President with no political authority, no authority of state and no authority of government."

For many years Sukarno appeared to wield virtually unlimited powers. Actually he played a balancing act between contradictory class forces. As Indonesia sank into a deeper and deeper crisis under the capitalist system, these forces began polarizing around the reactionary generals to the right and the Communist party to the left. Under the leadership of D.N. Aidit, the CP failed to prepare for the inevitable showdown. Instead of moving to take power and opening the road to socialism, the CP leaders deliberately stayed within the guidelines set by Sukarno. This class-collaborationist course met with the approval of both Moscow and Peking.



GENERAL SUHARTO

On September 30, 1965, a group of officers, alarmed at news of a plot among the generals to stage a coup d'état, attempted a preventive takeover. Six generals were killed in this abortive effort. The young officers spared Suharto. He, together with General Nasution, then mobilized the army and succeeded in crushing the putschists, claiming that the September 30 affair had been plotted by the CP. One of the most savage witch-hunts of all time followed, as many as 500,000 Indonesians, who either belonged or were said to belong to the Communist party, being murdered.

With his left support thus smashed, Sukarno was no longer able to play his balancing act and the generals disposed of him at their leisure, even utilizing him to facilitate the process.

Sukarno is said to have stated what he would like for his epitaph: "When I die do not write in golden letters on my tomb: 'Here lies His Excellency Doctor Engineer Sukarno, First President of the Republic of Indonesia.' Just write: 'Here Lies Bung Karno, Tongue of the Indonesian People.'"

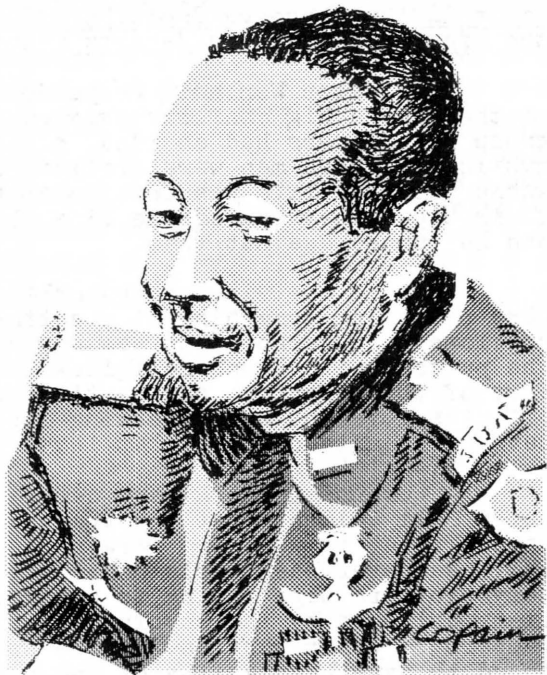
A more appropriate epitaph would be the statement Sukarno made to President Kennedy in 1961 during a visit to the United States: "You are against Communism. Then give me your support. I am the best bulwark in Indonesia against Communism."

LANDLESS PEASANTS SINGLED OUT IN INDONESIAN MASSACRE

The Paris daily Le Monde published an interview February 18 with Professor Wertheim, head of the Department of Sociology and Modern History at the University of Am-



GENERAL SUHARTO



GENERAL SUHARTO

sterdam, on the subject of the massacre in Indonesia in which as many as 500,000 victims perished following the seizure of power in October 1965 by generals Suharto and Nasution. Professor Wertheim, a specialist in the countries of Southeast and South Asia, lived in Indonesia from 1931 to 1946 and again in 1956-57. He is known particularly for two books, Indonesian Society in Transition and East West Parallels. While some of his political conclusions in the interview are questionable, such as his view that the Chinese Communist party had no responsibility for Aidit's suicidal policies, Professor Wertheim offers some useful information and illuminating insights into the motives of the massacre.

Jacques Decornoy, who conducted the interview, asked: "Many elements remain obscure in the abortive September 30, 1965 putsch. Could you clarify this affair which the present leaders in Jakarta reduce to a Communist conspiracy?"

Professor Wertheim responded: "It is possible to say with what we now know that at the time a big conflict existed in the army. Particularly in the center of Java, a group of officers had an ideal of incorruptibility, linked to the traditional Javanese mysticism. These men were critical of the generals in power, but not General Suharto, whose personal life was irreproachable, and whom the insurgents thought might line up on their side. They spared his life, but he was able then very intelligently to take power and he turned against them.

"It is certain, on the other hand, that a group of generals had got together and were preparing something at the time. They wanted to form a council which would be set up close to Sukarno. That was why this group got in touch in September 1965, thus before the putsch, with Dutch religious circles, whose material and moral support they sought. Part of the infantry, but particularly the air force, were against these generals. This officers movement was something like Nasser's. If they had won, probably they would not have been anti-Communist, at least in the beginning.

"Communist youth were certainly being trained at the Halim air base, but it is not at all evident that the PKI and its leaders played a role in the affair. If it did have a role, it was very marginal. The presence at the base of Aidit, the head of the PKI, has never been explained. It is not known whether it was voluntary or if the military plotters were trying to compromise him. No appeal was issued to the masses, and the list published by the Revolutionary Council on October 1 included fewer Communists than members of other parties. At the sessions of the military tribunal that tried those supposed to have been guilty of the coup, it was said that the putschist officers met in the presence of two civilians, Pomo and Sjam, who were Communists. But why weren't they ever brought to trial? It is not known what became of these two individuals, probably provocateurs, who in addition went under pseudonyms.

"Another item going against the official thesis -- in October the generals published some lists of Muslims, Catholics and Protestants whom the Communists were supposed to have marked for death if the putsch succeeded. These lists were false. At the time, nationalists complained that they were not included on the Communists' lists... So their names were added to these documents... In any case the brutal assassination of six generals and some other persons was avenged by a massacre of the left which took the lives of hundreds of thousands of Indonesians, including entire families."

Decornoy: "How are these massacres to be explained? Does sociology have anything on it?"

Wertheim: "The anti-Communist witch-hunt began at the beginning of October, and the party did not react until toward the twentieth, in central Java, after the arrival of green beret commandos acting without orders from their leaders. Two of them, Lukman and Njoto, in addition, turned up at Bogor, near the president, which was not any special sign that the PKI was seeking to organize a resistance.

"The massacres were primarily rural. To understand them, particularly in Java, it is necessary to go back to 1960, when Sukarno had a law passed on agrarian reform. It was badly applied by functionaries of little zeal. So the peasant unions themselves began to divide the land of Muslim proprietors who were often very pious. The PKI collaborated in Sukarno's government, and these movements served as a challenge to the party which tried to hold them back at the end of 1964, all the more so since at the time, parties like the Nahdatul Ulama (Muslim party that split from the banned traditional Masjumi party) and the Indonesian Nationalist party threatened to withdraw from the coalition if the PKI did not put a stop to the unilateral division of the land.

"What was seen next, in the fall of 1965, was the proprietors recuperating their land. So it was a massacre of the landless; it was the poor who were killed, along with their families. But why, one could ask, kill the laborers on the holdings? We have to take into account Java's overpopulation. After killing the landless, there still re-

mained a large mass of rural workers, and the feudal system of the owners enables us to understand why the proprietors, to whom a part of the rural population remains traditionally attached, were able to execute those who had divided up the land. The Islamic factor should be added. In Indonesia it is associated with landed property; in the absence of a transformation, it threatens, in this country, to remain tied to the reaction."

Decornoy: "The thirtieth of September was said to have been a defeat for China..."

Wertheim: "Chinese intervention in the September putsch has never been proved. We should also note that the PKI's policy of collaboration with forces like the Muslims and Sukarno was contrary to the views of Peking, and rather in accord with the Soviet theses. According to the Chinese, an alliance can be made with other groups, but on condition that the CP takes the leadership and is not dependent. But Sukarno's foreign policy pleased Peking.

"I can tell you that the Chinese were not satisfied with the PKI's tactics. In 1957 Mao advised Aidit to go underground and told him, 'When are you going to retire into the mountains?' But it must be said that the strategy of the Chinese CP is difficult to apply in Java for geographical reasons. In addition, 'power corrupts'; the PKI, in collaborating with Sukarno, did not escape this rule. The PKI should have been mistrustful of Sukarno; it should have disengaged and followed an independent policy, organizing in the countryside, not beginning the revolutionary struggle until the moment it was certain of being able to carry it through to the end.

Decornoy: "What do you think of the present situation?"

Wertheim: "It is a little reminiscent of things in China in 1927 after the Shanghai affair. There, too, the collaboration between the Communists and the Kuomintang, established under Sun Yat-sen, was broken by the military chiefs like Chiang Kai-shek, who unleashed a savage repression against the left. And in China, time was required for the revolutionary movement to again gain the lead..."

"But in the Indonesian military corps, contradictions are already appearing. There are tensions between Suharto and Nasution. Suharto is from Java; Nasution from Sumatra. Nasution is linked with some groups of fanatic Muslims. Some tensions are also to be noted in central and eastern Java between the nationalists and the generals, who are particularly strong in western Java. Nothing is stable. As for the 'Kami' youth movement, it was not spontaneous. It was created under the auspices of some of the military figures. Particularly strong in Jakarta, but in trouble in Bandung, for example, and a minority in Jogjakarta and Surabaya, it is linked to Nasution and swept over Suharto in his criticism of Sukarno.

"Today, in the streets of Jakarta, they talk about the 'Ampa Hidjau,' the 'four greens,' which are supposed to be ruling the country. These are, the green beret commandos, Islam, the Kami, whose insignia is green...and the ambassador of the United States, Mr. Green."

STUDENTS LAUNCH CANADA-WIDE MOVEMENT TO END WAR IN VIETNAM

After a two-day discussion at a conference in Toronto, March 11-12, representatives of thirteen Canadian student committees to end the war in Vietnam launched the "Student Association to End the War in Vietnam" as a nationwide organization.

The base of the organization includes committees on every major university campus from Vancouver to Montreal and high-school committees in Ottawa, Toronto and London.

The conference took up the structure and principles of the association and projected future activities. This will include a Canada-wide mobilization against the war on July 1.

The statement of principles that was adopted declares in part: "We stand in complete opposition to the criminal complicity of Ottawa in this war....Ottawa's diplomatic role has been to shore up and cover up United States intervention in Vietnam. Canadian-made armaments...play a significant role in the American war effort...The United States has no right whatsoever to be in Vietnam, and the presence of U.S. troops in Vietnam is calculated to violently prevent national self-determination for the people of that country. Therefore we demand the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. armies and their allies in order to allow the people of Vietnam to settle their affairs in a manner acceptable to them and in keeping with their national aspirations."

"Dogs...Might Lose Their Licence"

OPPOSITION TO WILSON STILL MARKING TIME

By John Walters

London

The abstention of 60 Labour MP's in the voting for the Defence White Paper after a two-day debate in the House of Commons is a sign of mounting unrest within the whole Labour movement at the policies being pursued by the Wilson government. The background to this "revolt" as the press have called it, is the still-growing unemployment.

The figures for unemployment in the February issue of the Ministry of Labour Gazette now stand at 641,073 for the whole of the United Kingdom. This indicates that unemployment is still increasing, even though the rate of increase has slowed down since last autumn. In an effort to cover this up and put a gloss on the present situation, the press have all been referring to the figures for unemployment in Great Britain; i.e., England, Scotland and Wales. This of course excludes Northern Ireland where there is the highest rate of unemployment. It should be noted that the weather so far this winter has been exceptionally mild, and this has helped to keep the figures of unemployment down, for there is normally a seasonal upward movement in this period. Also these figures do not reveal the number of women who have been sacked but have not registered as unemployed, merely reverting back to their role as housewives.

The present recession is still working its way through the economy, and there is a great deal of anxious discussion in the financial and economic press about the right moment for reflating the economy and also about the long-term prospects, the latter being a perennial topic. Professor Paish, a consistent advocate of unemployment to tame the unions, has come out with a warning to the government not to reflate the economy "too soon."

Writing in a Hobart Paper [No. 29], recently published, he says: "If the Government does indeed yield to pressure and activates a new over-expansion of consumption demand in 1968, we may expect a rapid rise of both incomes and output during 1968, a slower rise of output but a continued rise of incomes during 1969, and a new sterling crisis in 1969 or 1970."

He goes on to urge the continued compulsory regulation of wages: "If the monopolistic power of the trade unions can be further restricted and a more equal distribution of unemployment between the regions achieved the economy might be set on the path of non-inflationary growth..." So that there should be no mistake in his intentions, he adds: "But there is no need to control dividends."

Insistence on the need to control wages is central for British capitalism at this stage. This was emphasised at a meeting held on February 22 organised by a leading firm of management consultants (John Tyzack and Partners). There A.J. Merret, Professor of Finance at the London Graduate School of Business, speaking about the prospects for profits for the rest of the sixties, said: "One is talking about a situation in which the profitability of U.K. industry, in the sense of return on capital, this year may well be something like one third below its norm. It seemed fairly fundamental for companies to have plans based on taking a very realistic view -- that it was most likely that the profitability of British industry for the remaining years of the 1960's would be extremely low by historic standards."

The seriousness of the present crisis in Britain (it can be viewed as a postwar climacteric) was underlined at the same meeting by George Cyriax, a well-known writer and financial journalist. He said he regarded the present credit squeeze as being really a part of a more fundamental change in gear in the economy; this flowed from an important shift in finance of the different sections of business, and management should be prepared for this. "If one looks back and says 'What sort of squeeze are we in at the moment?' not many people would disagree that if one took the average run of companies, the last year or 18 months has overall seen the toughest squeeze on company sales and cash since the end of the war."

It is against this background that the vote in the House of Commons took place. Defence had been debated in the House on February 27-28, during which many MP's spoke against the government, both from their own side as well as from the official opposition. Despite all the promises made before and since the general election, it is clear that the government does not intend to modify its policies; i.e., of supporting U.S. imperialism, nor are there any signs of reducing arms expenditure.

When it came to the vote 60 Labour MP's abstained. This became headline news in the press, with such comments as "Biggest revolt since election" which appeared on the front page of The Guardian. The government's majority in the voting was down to 39, as against its possible maximum majority of 85 at present. (There are a number of by-elections pending for Labour seats.)

At a meeting of the Parliamentary Labour party on March 1, Harold Wilson made a speech threatening the "rebels" with dire consequences if they repeat their actions. It was a speech notable for its brutality and cynicism. He referred to "dogs that were biting and becoming vicious, and they might lose their licence."

This was a hardly veiled threat that some of the rebels would not be endorsed as candidates at the next election, and so they would lose their Parliamentary seats. The fact that Wilson chose to use such metaphors about dogs shows his contempt for the rank and file of the Labour party and the tame left wing in Parliament.

On the past showing of the left in Parliament it is not to be wondered at that Wilson thinks he can speak to them in this manner. However, this time he may have overstepped the limit. There have been angry reactions from many quarters in the Labour movement and some sour comments in the press.

Sydney Silverman, an MP, wrote to the Labour chief whip saying amongst other things, "I do not believe that Mr. Wilson thinks that U.S. policy [in Vietnam] is right ...the continued assertion that it is all North Vietnam's fault is a lie of almost Hitlerian quality and scope."

On wages policy, Silverman said: "Nobody is against the wages policy. What we oppose is the endeavour to get one by imposing the sanctions of the criminal law. That is not merely foolish and unworkable, it is the abandonment of a clear socialist principle in favour of something very like a Fascist principle."

And further on, he said: "Of course it is the duty of its [the government's] supporters to sustain it in Parliament...But it is the duty of the Government to govern as it promised the people it would govern."

The Guardian also came out with some trenchant criticisms in its editorial of March 6. The editorial was headed, "Where is the Government Going?" Here are some of the points it makes. "At present Labour's ranks are depressed and disillusioned by events of the past nine months. For some the suspicion remains that the crisis need not have been so severe if action had been taken earlier. For many, the deflationary remedies smack not of firm government but of old-fashioned leech doctoring...On top of their economic disillusionment many Labour members have been troubled by the Government's performance on defence, Vietnam and Rhodesia... On Vietnam the Government has spent too long making excuses for inexcusable American action."

Directing its main complaint against Wilson, the Guardian went on: "It was he who, in 1964, condemned a civilisation that could talk of landing a man on the moon while tolerating, in Britain, 1½ million houses without a bath, without hot water, and without internal lavatories. It was he who thought that Britain must do more for the underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa. It was he who condemned a wasteful and wicked obsession with independent nuclear power and with a world-wide nuclear role."

So it is clear that the present trouble in the Labour party is not on this or that aspect of the government's policy but over the whole trend. The fact that a crisis was reached over defence is symptomatic of this, the Parliamentary left have been consistently asking the government to cut down its overseas military expenditure in particular as well as arms spending generally. The wage freeze and the mounting unemployment is seen as the result of a refusal to do so; therefore, the two issues, defence and economic policy are intertwined.

In view of the economic outlook, the Wilson government seems intent on maintaining compulsory control over wages after July when the present period of "severe restraint"; i.e., wage freeze, is supposed to end. This has brought a conflict with the TUC [Trades Union Congress] and the union bureaucrats generally. The conflict was partly presented in the press as some sort of revolt by the trade unions against the incomes policy. Nothing could be further from reality.

George Woodcock, general secretary of the TUC, speaking to the assembled union executives on March 1, said that there was no disagreement with the government about ends; i.e., wage restraint, only about means. What he wanted was for the government to allow the trade-union movement to carry out its own wage-vetting scheme and not impose one by law. He went on to say that the trade-union movement could not be told what to

do and would not become an agent of the government.

"Sooner or later," he said, "some lad, not necessarily a rogue, moved by his sense of injustice will say this is to me unreasonable and I am going ahead whatever the law says...Then what? A red-robed judge dealing with 50,000 workers? Judge--police--then military? We offer the best prospect in this democracy of dealing with people who don't conform."

That was what the revolt was about. What the bureaucrats are against is their role and position being undermined by legal sanctions. What Woodcock was saying was that they could police the working class better than the law courts.

It is noteworthy that Frank Cousins supported the TUC plan for wage vetting, and once again came out with the same tired phrases about this being a policy for expansion and not restraint. Whatever Cousins' subjective wishes in all this, his objective role up to now, since his resignation last July from the cabinet, has been to provide a left cover for Wilson. His union, the T&GWU [Transport and General Workers Union] has consistently led struggles against the wage freeze only to head them off. Each time it has been faced with the prospect of challenging the government, it has backed down.

The only militant opposition to the TUC plans came from the smaller unions, such as the draughtsmen, post office workers, boiler makers, etc. But they could only muster 963,000 votes and the plan for voluntary wage vetting was passed by a majority of 6,641,000. One ominous note was sounded for the government by William Hogarth, general secretary of the National Union of Seamen, when he said that if the seamen did not get their 40-hour week in July they would be out on strike again.

However, there is obviously the possibility of a conflict emerging between the TUC and the government if Wilson holds on to the idea of legal wage restraints after July. If such a conflict does take place the possibility is opened of its becoming a wider one with the rank and file, in its present mood, intervening and taking the offensive against the whole idea of wage freezing. Sectors of the trade-union bureaucracies will feel impelled to fight to retain their social base with capitalist society. It is clear that both Wilson and Woodcock are afraid that such a fight will open the floodgates.

PROGRESS OF THE U.S. ANTIWAR MOVEMENT

By Les Evans

It is little more than two years since President Johnson ordered the bombing of north Vietnam in February, 1965. The U.S. government counted on the docile acquiescence of the American people in order to paint its aggression against Vietnam as representing a "consensus" of the whole population. Opposition to the war seemed to be limited to small radical organizations and isolated groups of students.

The immediate response to full-scale American intervention in the Vietnam civil war was a call by the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) for a March on Washington to End the War in Vietnam. This brought 20,000 students and young people to the capital on April 17, 1965.

The SDS march marked a radical departure from the practice of conservative pacifist organizations in the United States of excluding "Communists" from participating in demonstrations. The policy of nonexclusion, a welcome change from the customs of the McCarthyite period, has become a hallmark of the present antiwar movement in the United States.

The movement has gone through a series of stages since the SDS March on Washington. Following the march, local committees which had been formed to bring people to Washington, reorganized as permanent "Committees Against the War in Vietnam." Hundreds of these independent committees sprang up across the country, primarily on college campuses, in the spring and summer of 1965.

The largest and most dynamic of these independent committees in this period was the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee, which staged a "teach-in" at the University of California in Berkeley on May 21, 1965. At the rally 15,000 people heard opponents of the war, ranging from student leader Mario Savio to historian Isaac Deutscher.

The Berkeley VDC was also the initiator of the "First International Days of Protest," October 15-16, 1965. On those days demonstrations against U.S. aggression in

Vietnam were held in a score of countries while in the U.S. itself 60,000 marched in major American cities. In Berkeley, 15,000 set out for the Oakland army base, but were turned back by steel-helmeted police at the "frontier" of the neighboring city of Oakland.

Sentiment rose to unify the innumerable local committees scattered across the country into a national organization. In the late summer of 1965 the question of the political basis for unity began to be hotly debated in the independent committees.

Two views emerged from the discussion. The one centered around the slogan "Negotiate" and the other around "Immediate Withdrawal of U.S. Troops." Proponents of the former view argued that the call for immediate withdrawal was too radical and would isolate the antiwar movement from the broader layers of the population. Many in this sector of the movement looked toward the election of "peace" candidates, generally within the ruling Democratic party, for ameliorating or ending the war.

The advocates of the withdrawal position pointed out that the United States had no right to "negotiate" the internal affairs of Vietnam; that the demand for negotiations had initially been raised by the warmakers in Washington, and for the antiwar movement to try to adopt the slogan for its own purposes would only blunt the movement; and finally, that the Democratic party is part of the machinery of America's ruling circles for prosecuting the war. They argued that it was more effective to organize mass demonstrations than to engage in high-level maneuvers with a few "peace" Democrats inside Johnson's party.

The debate came to a head at a national convention of antiwar activists held in Washington in November, 1965. At that time those who advocated negotiations predominated; and they assumed control of the National Coordinating Committee Against the War which was established by the conference. The NCC was a loosely structured formation that sought to play the role of the central coordinator of the national antiwar movement.

The radical wing of the conference grouped itself around the "Bring the Troops Home Now" Newsletter, which increasingly played an independent role.

The equivocal stand of the NCC on the question of withdrawal of U.S. troops and its support of "peace" candidates made it plain that it was only one tendency within the antiwar movement, and in February of this year it finally announced that it will no longer seek to function as a national organization.

A second International Days of Protest was staged on March 25-26, 1966. Hundreds of thousands of Americans participated in this. The largest single demonstration, a march of 50,000 people, took place in New York City. The New York action was organized by the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, today the largest of the local committees. Similar national protests were held in August and again in November of last year.

In the past year, antiwar sentiment as a whole has increased considerably. Along with it, those favoring the slogan of withdrawal have experienced an encouraging expansion of forces. The movement today is significantly larger than was the opposition in France to the colonial war against the Algerian people.

After the November demonstrations, a representative national conference of activists in Cleveland set up the Spring Mobilization Committee, which has called for massive demonstration in New York and San Francisco on April 15. The committee represents a broad coalition that includes students, radical pacifists, the Communists and Socialist Workers parties, and other tendencies.

A week of campus protest is scheduled to precede the Spring Mobilization. This is being organized by the Student Mobilization Committee, founded in Chicago last December.

At its inception, the antiwar movement was composed almost exclusively of students and intellectuals. It has been a long and difficult process to extend organized opposition to the war into other sectors of the population. In its first year and a half, the movement concentrated on building a mass base among students. They still constitute the great majority of antiwar activists.

In the last six months the first organized reflection of the deep antipathy to the war in other sectors has begun to take form. Militant black leaders, such as Stokely Carmichael, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and Floyd McKissick, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, have become sponsors of the Spring Mobilization. The Reverend James Bevel, an associate of Dr. Martin Luther

King, has become national director of the Spring Mobilization and is working full time to build the action.

The antiwar movement has made increasing efforts to bring its antiwar views to the troops, and there are scores of instances of American soldiers speaking out against the war or refusing to serve in Vietnam. The best known case is that of the "Fort Hood Three": James Johnson, David Samas and Dennis Mora, three GIs who refused to go to Vietnam. Johnson and Samas were sentenced to five years imprisonment and Mora received three years.

The most difficult area to reach has been the labor movement. The case-hardened bureaucrats who sit on top of the trade unions in the United States have been among the staunchest supporters of the war. At its February meeting the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organization (AFL-CIO) voted to continue unconditional support of Johnson's policy in Vietnam.

Nevertheless, small but significant fissures have appeared even in the unions. The Northern California District Council of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union has endorsed the Spring Mobilization. Marshall Axelrod, president of the California State Federation of Teachers has become a sponsor of the Mobilization, and his union in a statewide convention in December passed a resolution demanding immediate withdrawal of American military forces from Vietnam. Cleveland Robinson, president of the Negro-American Labor Council recently became a vice chairman of the Spring Mobilization Committee.

Now, the powerful United Auto Workers Union, the largest union in the AFL-CIO with its 1,300,000 members, has begun to take tentative steps in the direction of opposition to Johnson's "consensus." Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the UAW, and generally regarded as a spokesman for UAW president Walter Reuther, has agreed to speak at an antiwar protest demonstration scheduled for March 25 in Chicago.

All indications are that the April 15 Mobilization will be the biggest demonstration of antiwar sentiment to date and will be militant in character. The call for withdrawal is predominant among the slogans adopted for the Mobilization, and a large majority of antiwar activists today favor the withdrawal position.

One of the most valuable accomplishments of the antiwar movement has been the encouragement it has given the heroic people of Vietnam by showing that in the heart of the American colossus there are people who are fighting for the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination. There have been frequent visits to north Vietnam by delegations from the American antiwar movement. Shortly after his return from such a visit, A.J. Muste, veteran American pacifist and chairman of the Spring Mobilization Committee, died on February 11. Ho Chi Minh sent condolences on Muste's death in which he described him as "a loyal and valiant friend of the Vietnamese people."

CANADIAN WAR CRIMES COMMITTEE FORMED

A Canadian Committee for the International War Crimes Tribunal was launched at a press conference in Toronto March 10. Among the sponsors present were Professor Chandler Davis, Professor Hans Blumenfeld and Carmen Guild of the University of Toronto, the Rev. Gene Young, Dr. Gustavo Tolentino and Ken Warren, executive secretary of the committee.

The committee announced that it will assist the International War Crimes Tribunal in its investigation into the nature of U.S. intervention in Vietnam. The Tribunal headed by Bertrand Russell, Jean-Paul Sartre and Vladimir Dedijer, is concerned about the crimes committed by the U.S. against peace and humanity as indicated by daily reports in the press. Since the body has no authority to impose punishment, it will function not as a court of law but as a commission of inquiry with the moral weight accruing from the character of its members and the procedures they follow.

The Canadian committee hopes to assist in presenting facts about the Tribunal and its work to the Canadian public and it will raise funds to help in its efforts. Dr. Tolentino has just returned from investigations he made in the Hanoi area as a member of a team of investigators. The committee already has an imposing list of sponsors, among them leading figures at the University of Alberta, the University of Western Ontario (London), Lakehead University (Fort William), antiwar committees in Edmonton, Ottawa and Montreal, and Ed Finn, director of publications of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers (Canadian Labour Congress).

CASTRO REAFFIRMS INDEPENDENT STAND

A speech made by Fidel Castro March 13 in commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the attack on the presidential palace has been given rather sensationalistic treatment by the capitalist press in the United States. The New York Times, for instance, reported it under the headline, "Castro Assails Soviet-Bloc Nations for Latin Ties." To believe the Times, Castro's main aim was to condemn the government of the Soviet Union and other workers states for seeking to establish diplomatic and commercial relations with the governments of the ruling oligarchies in Latin America. The Times also played up an attack leveled by Fidel Castro against right-wing leaders of the Venezuelan Communist party.

The main axis of the speech, however, was a powerful defense of Cuba against the charge of intervening in the internal affairs of Venezuela, a charge made in the most slanderous way by the Leoni dictatorship, particularly in relation to the recent assassination of Dr. Julio Iribarren Borges, a brother of the Venezuelan foreign minister.

In taking up the various questions that had become involved, Castro went into the history of the guerrilla struggle in Venezuela and the attitude of the right wing leaders of the Venezuelan Communist party toward it. He stated his frank opinion while making it clear that these problems were only of fraternal interest and had to be decided by the Venezuelan revolutionists themselves.

Castro's critical remarks about Soviet diplomatic and commercial policies in Latin America were expressed in the context of a strong reaffirmation of Cuba's right to determine her policies independently and in accordance with revolutionary-socialist principles. His chief point was the need to carry on the struggle for the socialist revolution in the most determined way and against all those who would sidetrack it out of faint-heartedness, discouragement or short-sightedness.

Referring to the Venezuelan Communist party, he said:

"In the name of what revolutionary principles, reasons or fundamentals were we obliged to say that the defeatists were right, to say that the rightist, capitulationist current was right? In the name of Marxism-Leninism? No. We would never have been able to say they were right in the name of Marxism-Leninism. In the name of the international Communist movement? Were we perhaps obligated by the fact that it was a question of the leadership of a Communist party? Is this the conception we are supposed to have of the international Communist movement? To us the international Communist movement is in the first place just that, a movement of Communists, of revolutionary fighters. And those who are not revolutionary fighters cannot be called Communists. (Applause.)

"We conceive of Marxism as revolutionary thinking and action. Those who do not possess a truly revolutionary spirit cannot be called Communists.

"Anyone can have 'Eagle' for a last name without having a single feather on his back. (Laughter.) In the same way, there are people who call themselves Communists without having a Communist hair on their head. The international Communist movement, to our way of thinking, is not a church, it is not a religious sect or Masonic Lodge that obliges us to hallow any weakness, any deviation, that obliges us to follow the policy of a mutual admiration society with all kinds of reformists and pseudo-revolutionaries.

"Our stand regarding Communist parties will be based on strictly revolutionary principles. The parties that have a line without hesitations and capitulationism, the parties that in our opinion have a consistent revolutionary line will receive our support in all circumstances. But the parties that entrench themselves behind the name of Communists or Marxists and believe themselves to have a monopoly on revolutionary sentiment -- what they really monopolize is reformism -- will not be treated by us as revolutionary parties. And if in any country those who call themselves Communists do not know how to fulfill their duty, we will support those who, without calling themselves Communists, conduct themselves like real Communists in action and in struggle. (Applause.) For every true revolutionary, who bears within him the revolutionary spirit, revolutionary vocation, will always come to Marxism...and every revolutionary on the continent who is deserving of the name will arrive at the Marxist conception of society. What is important are the revolutionaries, those who are capable of making revolutions and developing themselves in revolutionary theory.

"Many times practice comes first and then theory. Our people too are an example of that. Many, the immense majority of those who today proudly call themselves Marxist-Leninists, arrived at Marxism-Leninism by way of the revolutionary struggle. To exclude, to deny, to reject a priori all those who from the beginning did not call themselves

Communists is an act of dogmatism and unqualified sectarianism. Whoever denies that it is the road of revolution which leads the people to Marxism is no Marxist although he may call himself a Communist.

"This will be our line of conduct. It is the line that has guided our conduct in relations with the revolutionary movements.

"At the Tricontinental Conference in Havana representatives of revolutionary organizations of the three continents met. Some called themselves Communists and others did not. What defines a Communist is his attitude toward the oligarchies, his attitude toward exploitation, his attitude toward imperialism -- and on this continent his attitude toward the armed revolutionary movement.

"What will define the Communists of this continent is their attitude toward the guerrilla movement. Toward the guerrilla movement in Guatemala, in Colombia, and in Venezuela. No one who claims to call himself Communist will support the rightist official leadership opposing Douglas C. Bravo. Communist parties must differentiate between the guerrillas who are fighting in Venezuela and the defeatists who wish to renounce the struggle, who in practice wish to give up the guerrilla movement. And this will be a dividing line, for we are arriving at the time of definitions, not by anyone's whims, but by the force of the process, of historical events themselves."

Castro wryly noted that "at the very moment a delegation of high Soviet officials were present for the signing of a commercial, cultural and financial agreement with the Lleras Restrepo government," the Colombian police arrested the leadership of the Communist party and attacked the Tass news agency office. He also noted that the Venezuelan government which has "slaughtered more Communists than any other on this continent" is also bidding for relations with the Soviet Union.

"As for us, we are Marxist-Leninists. Let others do as they please we will never reestablish relations with such a government."

Cuba, he recalled, had recognized the German Democratic Republic although it had meant reprisals from West Germany. "All is not rose-colored in the revolutionary world. Complaints and more complaints are repeated because of contradictory attitudes. While one country is being condemned for reopening relations with Federal Germany, there is a rush to seek relations with oligarchies of the sort of Leoni and company. A principled position in everything, a principled position in Asia (applause), but a principled position in Latin America, too."

"What would the Vietnamese revolutionaries think if we were to send delegations to South Vietnam to deal with the Saigon puppet government?" Castro asked. "What would those who are fighting in the mountains of America think were we to seek close relations with the puppets of imperialism on this side of the continent, with the puppets of the future Yankee aggressions and interventions in this continent?"

Castro's speech was a long one, covering a number of points of extreme interest, besides those indicated above. It is bound to become the subject of considerable discussion not only in Latin America but elsewhere. We will return to it in coming issues.

ELUDES SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE IN 700-MILE TREK FOR FREEDOM

A graphic account of how a political prisoner escaped from a Botswana jail cell and managed to walk 700 miles through wild bush country until he finally gained refuge in Zambia appeared in the Times of Zambia last December 21.

Ernest Jama, 25, a student, was declared a prohibited immigrant in Botswana. He was being held in the Lobatsi prison awaiting deportation to South Africa where he faced a five-year jail sentence in the notorious Robben Island penal settlement for political prisoners. He had been "banned" by the South African government for holding membership in the Society of Young Africa and the African Peoples' Democratic Union of Southern Africa, an affiliate of the Unity Movement.

After slipping out of Lobatsi, he moved parallel to the railway line north, successfully evading police dragnets. At one stage he went for three days and nights without food or water.

"I had some vitamin tablets," he told newsmen in Lusaka, "and was able to beg food in some places. It was terrible walking through that hard country. But I was confi-

dent that I would get to Zambia.

"I lit fires at night to keep animals away. Often it was too dangerous to sleep, but I knew if I followed the line of the railway I would reach safety."

Jama was endorsed out of Cape Town originally and banned to Indwe in the Transkei. He and his brother Eric, now in Britain, were badly beaten by South African police. He managed to escape to Botswana.

The government there, economically dependent on South Africa, is collaborating with the South African police. They are barring any more political refugees from entering the country. If regulations are broken by those already present, an estimated 260, the policy is to jail them and then turn them over to South Africa. Jama said that a companion of his, Miss Fidelia Sidzumo, was deported in this way after being held in the Lobatsi jail.

Jama backed the charge made by officials of the Unity Movement in Lusaka that the representative of the Pan African Congress in Lobatsi, whom they knew as Loabile, had been kidnapped and taken to South Africa.

TSOTSI ESCAPES WHILE BEING DEPORTED TO SOUTH AFRICA

The following article is from the March 1 issue of the Times of Zambia, published in Lusaka.]

* * *

Officials of the Lusaka-based Unity movement are making strenuous efforts to rescue a political refugee on the run from two police forces.

He is Mr. Wycliffe Tsotsi, who escaped at the week end while being deported from Lesotho to South Africa on the orders of Lesotho Prime Minister Chief Leabua Jonathan.

The news was broadcast over South African radio.

Mr. Tsotsi is vice-president of the banned Unity movement. He was based in Lesotho.

Inquiries by movement president Isaac Tabata, who is in Lusaka, have revealed that Mr. Tsotsi's wife is in jail in Maseru, an organisation spokesman said yesterday.

The organisation is hoping to bring Tsotsi to Zambia, but as well as being hunted by South African and Lesotho police, he faces the additional difficulty of being a prohibited immigrant in Botswana.

He was made a prohibited immigrant last September while making arrangements to enter Botswana. There he hoped to establish a law practice, before moving to Zambia.

The attempt to deport him was made after Chief Jonathan promised to rid the country of "foreign and undesirable elements" allegedly backing King Moshoeshoe and the Opposition in an attempt to overthrow the Lesotho Government.

Mr. Tsotsi was president of the All-Africa Convention, a graduate of Fort Hare College and then principal of a Transkei secondary school.

He was leader of the outlawed Cape African Teachers' Association and fled to the then Basutoland in 1960.

On his return to South Africa in 1964, he was detained under the 90-day Law. After being released, he returned to Basutoland, and set up a law practice with another South African Political Refugee, Mr. Tsepo Letslaka.

Mr. Letslaka is reported to be in detention awaiting deportation.

Meanwhile, Reuther reports from Maseru that Mr. Tsotsi's wife was today charged with helping to hide her husband.

Mrs. Blanche Tsotsi was charged with contravening the Public Safety Proclamation by allegedly helping in hiding her husband soon after his escape.

OPEN LETTER TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

[The author of the following document, Peng Shu-tse, was one of the founding members of the Chinese Communist party. He later became one of the founders of the Chinese Trotskyist movement. A victim of the repression following the unsuccessful 1925-27 Revolution, he spent many years in Chiang Kai-shek's prisons. As a Trotskyist, he together with many other courageous revolutionists suffered at the hands of the Maoist faction. Despite this, he remains a firm defender of the Chinese Revolution and the Chinese workers state.

[In the current situation in China, readers of World Outlook will undoubtedly find the programmatic proposals advanced by Peng Shu-tse at the end of his open letter of special interest. They reflect the views of the Chinese section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

Dear Comrades,

In May 1966, in the Liberation Army Daily, the chairman of your party, Mao Tse-tung, launched the so-called cultural revolution. Since then, and especially since the organization of the Red Guards in August 1966, a storm has arisen over China, and a series of extraordinary events have taken place which have greatly shocked some of the most devoted friends and supporters of the Chinese Revolution. In particular, these events have included such things as the dismissal, the arrest, and imprisonment of top leaders in your party and government like Peng Chen, Lu Ting-yi and Lo Jui-ching, without any recourse to the laws of the state or the regulations of the party. These same people have also been so insulted and abused, and even humiliated by being paraded through the streets by the Red Guards, that some of them have attempted suicide. Hundreds of other well-known leaders and cadres in the cultural and educational fields, such as Chou Yang, Wu Han, Teng To, Tien Han, Sha Yen, Yang Han-sing, Li Ta, Lu Ping, Kuang Ya-ming, Peng Kang, etc., have been purged. Even Liu Shao-chi, the vice-chairman of the party and president of the People's Republic of China, and Teng Hsiao-ping, the general secretary of the party, have been openly attacked by the Red Guards and obliged to make self-criticisms. Moreover, in recent weeks, Mao Tse-tung has used the army to take over the government and party apparatuses in certain provincial capitals such as Tayuan in Shansi, Nangchung in Kiangsi, and Hofei in Anhwei.

All these events taken together demonstrate that your party not only finds itself in the grave crisis of an open split, but that the country itself could be on the brink of a civil war. If this situation is not corrected in time, the outcome will be catastrophic and socialist China will be led into an impasse. For the sake of the perspectives of socialism in China, the fundamental interests of the workers and peasants, and the fate of thousands of militants inside and outside the party. I can no longer remain silent. Therefore, I am addressing this letter to you in order to express my views on the crisis in the party, and to offer my ideas on how that crisis can be resolved.

First of all I would like to ask you to notice that all the top leaders of the party, as well as the leading cadres in the cultural and educational fields have been purged or attacked for the "crime" of being "antiparty," "antisocialist," and opposed to "Mao Tse-tung's thought," and they have been accused of being "capitalist restorationists" and of "taking the capitalist road." But, one must demand, what evidence is there to support such extreme charges as being "antisocialist" and "taking the capitalist road"? We must say that absolutely no such evidence has been offered, and that these charges are very clearly nothing more than a frame-up. They are similar to the ones Stalin employed thirty years ago when he eliminated his political opponents by accusing them of being "enemies of the people."

As far as I am concerned, I am not in agreement with the fundamental political positions and organizational methods of those leaders of your party who have been purged. Nevertheless, I feel that these leaders cannot be accused of being antisocialist, nor are they taking the bourgeois road and trying to restore capitalism.

I am personally acquainted with Liu Shao-chi. I know him very well since I was a co-worker with him in the party from 1920 to 1927. Since he joined the Communist movement in the autumn of 1920, he has actively and wholeheartedly participated in revolutionary activities. After the defeat of the second Chinese Revolution, our ways parted politically (Liu supported the position of Stalin, while I turned in the direction of Trotsky). However, at that time I still considered him to be a revolutionary. As far as your party is concerned, Liu has made a very great contribution. During the "White Terror" of Chiang Kai-shek, he worked in the underground under very difficult and dangerous circumstances in order to overthrow Chiang Kai-shek's bourgeois regime and to put China

on the road to socialism. It is absurd and absolutely impossible to believe that such a person as Liu Shao-chi, who enjoys the high post of head of state, would, seventeen years after the victory of the revolution, now turn against socialism and work for the restoration of capitalism.

Teng Hsiao-ping, Peng Chen, Lu Ting-yi, Lo Jui-ching, and others in the cultural and educational fields -- who all have a history similar to that of Liu Shao-chi -- have also been labeled "antisocialist" and accused of "taking the capitalist road." Such absurd accusations can only be described as slanderous. Are these not almost the same accusations as those used by Stalin when he accused Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, and their supporters of being "capitalist restorationists" and "enemies of the people"? How could such base and absurd slanders find their way into your party? This is the central question that now confronts you, and which you must try to understand and resolve.

Your party refers to itself as "Marxist-Leninist," and has stated in its statutes that it bases itself on democratic centralism. But as you know only too well, in reality there is no democracy in your party, but only a bureaucratic centralism in which the power is centered in the hands of the party's chairman, Mao Tse-tung. All the important decisions taken by the party are arbitrarily decided by Mao Tse-tung himself, and the party must accept them as being infallible. If anyone did not agree with or criticized Mao's opinions, he would be accused of being "antiparty," "antisocialist," and "anti-Mao Tse-tung's thought," and would almost certainly be purged. These procedures, which violate democratic centralism, are the source of the grave crisis in which your party presently finds itself.

If your party actually operated on the basis of democratic centralism, such slanders would be impossible. The method of democratic centralism practiced by the Bolsheviks, placed all important questions before the entire membership, and allowed them to freely present their own ideas and to criticize anyone's position, including that of the top leaders. The final decisions were taken at the party congresses, and it was after these decisions that the party became united. The minority had to obey the majority decision, although it had a right to maintain its ideas, and to ask the party, at any time it felt necessary, to reconsider them. The minority was at no time punished for its ideas. This, then, was the democratic centralism instituted by the Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin.

During the period of Lenin's leadership of the Soviet party and government, the congresses of the party were held each year, and emergency congresses were even called when urgent and important issues arose. It is only by such practices that the opinions of the rank and file can find expression. This is the embodiment of democratic centralism.

In the Soviet party, then, all important issues, such as the Brest-Litovsk Treaty and the New Economic Policy, were decided upon only after a full and free discussion. After the decisions were taken, the minorities were able to maintain their political position. It was only mandatory that they unite with the rest of the party to help carry out the majority decisions. The leaders of the minorities, such as Bukharin and Radek, who continued to maintain their minority position concerning the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, were not only not punished, but they retained their official posts in the party and in the government. This is a concrete example of democratic centralism in practice.

After the death of Lenin, Stalin usurped the leadership of the party and turned the democratic centralism practiced by the Bolsheviks into bureaucratic centralism without democracy. He took all the power into his own hands and made himself into a dictator. Under these conditions, all the important issues concerning the party and state were arbitrarily decided by Stalin himself, and as a result, neither free discussion within the party nor regular scheduled party congresses were any longer necessary. (After the Sixteenth Congress, when Stalin established his rule, there were only three congresses of the party until his death in 1953 -- a period of twenty-three years). Those who did not agree with Stalin and criticized him were purged as being "rightist," "antiparty," and "enemies of the people." It was for this reason that the entire generation of the old Bolsheviks, as well as numerous newer, young revolutionaries, were liquidated under Stalin's dictatorship.

Since your party took power in 1949, none of the important questions has been decided upon at a party congress following a democratic discussion. For example, the "Great Leap Forward" policy -- especially the people's communes, involving the lives of 500 million peasants -- and the current "Proletarian Cultural Revolution" policy, were never democratically discussed by the party or decided upon by a party congress, nor were they even discussed and decided upon by your Central Committee. These and all other important questions have been decided by your party's chairman, Mao Tse-tung, and he has merely given the party orders to carry them out. The Central Committee of your party

only meets to ratify Mao's decisions, often after they are already being carried out. For example, Mao Tse-tung arbitrarily instituted the people's communes in the beginning of August 1958, and then, an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau at the end of August 1958, had to ratify his decision. And again in May 1966, Mao organized the "Cultural Revolution," and it was not until August 1966 that the Plenum of the Central Committee, which adopted the resolution on the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," took place.

During the seventeen years that your party has been in power, there has only been one party congress -- the Eighth Congress in 1956. Therefore, the conditions of your party resemble those of the Soviet party under Stalin, if in fact they do not duplicate them. Hence, if your party continues in the same way, it will engage in a purge comparable to the one carried out by Stalin in the 1930's. The present purge of Peng Chen, Lu Ting-yi, Lo Jui-ching and the others is only a prelude to a much greater tragedy.

The most serious and dangerous condition which has so far presented itself is your Chairman Mao's ordering the army to intervene in the struggle taking place inside the party. He has used the army, as well as the Red Guards, in order to take over, step by step, the offices and administrative powers of the party and state throughout the country, and in order to establish his bonapartist military dictatorship. By doing this he has ignored and violated all laws. (These are laws which were initiated and passed by your party and government.) Mao has gone even beyond the actions of Stalin. This situation will inevitably lead to a large-scale civil war if it is not countered in time.

As you already know, the Mao-Lin Piao faction is a very small minority among the rank and file of the party. Except for Peking and the capitals of Kwangtung, Shansi, Kiangsi, Anhwei, and Heilungkiang provinces, where the Maoist forces claim they have control -- even in these places the Maoist forces have had to depend upon the army and the Red Guards for their power -- the rest of the country remains under the control of the opposition or neutralist elements. If Mao Tse-tung continues to insist upon occupying the rest of the country, he will undoubtedly meet strong resistance from the opposition and neutralist elements, who will be forced to unite to protect themselves in many areas, and especially in the Southwest, Northwest, and in Inner Mongolia; in such an event, a great civil war will be unavoidable. Who can say what amount of economic destruction would take place in the event of a civil war, or how much suffering it would bring to the people, and how many would meet their death? It is impossible to say. Yet, there is one thing which can be predicted: a civil war would set China back many years, her energy would be exhausted, and the cause of socialism would receive a very, very damaging blow. There is even a strong possibility that American imperialism would be influenced to take this opportunity to strike. In the event of such developments it is impossible to predict what the fate of China would be.

My dear comrades, the present situation is so serious that not only is your party endangered, but the fate of socialist China itself is at stake. The time has come for you to rise up and begin to struggle.

It is claimed that your party has around twenty million members, and the youth organization around thirty million. The party is unique because of its huge mass membership, and because of the real and potential power it possesses compared to all other forces in China. With such masses and power, any and almost all obstacles should be easily overcome. Except for a minority of corrupt bureaucrats, case-hardened Stalinists and Maoists, I believe that the majority of the party is made up of militants who are loyal to socialism and concerned that China remain on the socialist road, and who are willing to sacrifice themselves in the interest of the worker and peasant masses. Therefore, I would like to put forward the following proposals as a means to overcome the present critical situation.

I.

You must immediately make an appeal to the whole party and its youth, calling on them to intervene with practical action. First you must demand that your chairman, Mao Tse-tung, comply with the following measures:

(1) Immediately stop using the army to remove the party and government officials throughout the country. The leadership of the party must be elected by the members of the party through democratic procedures. As regards the government, it should be democratically elected by soviets (councils) of the workers, peasants, and soldiers.

(2) Immediately dissolve the Red Guards, because the majority of them are completely controlled by Chen Po-ta (Mao's ex-secretary) and Chiang Ching (Mrs. Mao Tse-tung) through the Cultural Revolutionary Group, and because they have been used as an instrument to slander and physically attack the opposition. Their activities have been

contrary to democratic procedures, and are hence reactionary.

(3) Immediately release all the party opposition leaders and cadres who have recently been arrested and imprisoned, and restore them to their original positions. At the same time, release all those political prisoners who have been arrested in the past and who believe in socialism, and let them freely express their opinions and participate in political activities.

(4) All the organs of the party, as well as other journals and radio broadcasts, must immediately stop their slanders against the oppositions -- the use of such epithets as "antiparty," "antisocialist," and "capitalist restorationist" -- and stop the absurd propaganda relating to Mao's personal cult. Substitute in their place the actual political positions of the different tendencies, and launch a public discussion on all important questions.

(5) Immediately establish a consulting committee made up of representatives of all the different tendencies in the party. Its task should be to prepare a party congress and to launch a democratic discussion inside the party on all the essential questions on which differences have arisen, such as the failure of the people's communes and the "Great Leap Forward"; the different ideas on literature, art and education; the personal cult of Mao Tse-tung; democratic centralism in a Bolshevik party; the reasons for the tragic defeat of the CP in Indonesia; and especially the question of a united front with the other socialist countries to oppose U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. The many different tendencies should be allowed to express their opinions and submit their resolutions on the issues stated above, and then a final decision should be adopted at the party congress.

These proposed measures, if carried out, would make it possible to avoid a civil war, and would restore peace.

II.

If Chairman Mao should fail to comply with the measures outlined above, it would demonstrate that he has absolutely no respect for your opinions, and that by using the Red Guards and the army he is bent on taking the power and destroying any and all opposition in the party and government in order to establish his own bonapartist military dictatorship. This, then, will inevitably lead to a civil war which could lead socialist China into a blind alley.

In such circumstances, you not only have the full right but a duty to split with him and openly appeal to the worker, soldier, and peasant masses, calling on them to struggle in defense of the socialist conquests and for the reunification of the country, that is, to transform the present factional struggle into a revolutionary struggle against bureaucratic dictatorship.

As a program in this struggle, I urge you to consider the following proposals:

(1) It is absolutely necessary to defend the conquests of the revolution and the socialist property relations, and to resolutely attack all attempts at capitalist restoration led by the remaining bourgeois elements, rich farmers, and corrupt bureaucrats who might try to take advantage of the present situation. The payment of interest to the remaining capitalists must be stopped, and they must be removed from their high positions in the factories, etc.

(2) It is necessary to form a united front with all socialist-minded groupings in order to do away with the dictatorship by one faction or by one party. At the present time your party is divided into two uncompromising factions -- pro-Mao and anti-Mao -- but in reality it is already split into two parties. In addition to this, there are several tendencies in the opposition. There are also many revolutionaries who are outside the party, such as those people who were expelled after the crackdown on the "100 Flowers Blossom and Contend" movement. All these revolutionary tendencies must be allowed to form their own independent party or grouping, and every group or party claiming to be fighting for socialism must be allowed to present its political position and program in an attempt to win the support of the masses. These different socialist groupings and parties must then unite in one common front to oppose the Mao-Lin Piao faction and prevent it from establishing a bonapartist military dictatorship -- thereby preventing a tragedy similar to that of Stalin's purges in the 1930's -- and in order to establish a truly democratic socialist regime.

(3) To establish a democratic socialist regime, it is necessary to work among the worker and peasant masses, to call on them to struggle, to encourage them to form soviets and elect their soviet representatives by secret ballot, and to form a government

based on soviets, in place of the present government which obtained power by fraudulent elections. The organization of soviets is not only one of the best ways to mobilize the masses for struggle, but it is the only type of structure that can lead to a democratic socialist government.

(4) The present militias must be expanded and reorganized, and their commanders elected through secret ballot by those who belong to the militias. This organization must take the place of the public and secret police in maintaining social order, and if necessary, it should be used to defend the democratic socialist government against its enemies.

(5) Worker's committees must be democratically formed by secret ballot in every factory and mine in order to direct production in cooperation with the technicians, and in every commune administrative committees must be formed, through the same democratic methods, in order to manage production and distribution. As for the communes themselves being reorganized, this question should be resolved only after a complete and thorough discussion among the whole peasantry.

(6) It is necessary to improve the living standards of the masses by such means as increasing wages and cutting working hours for the workers, and increasing the incomes of the peasants while doing away with their excessive work loads. Improving the material benefits of the working masses, and developing their initiative through democratic procedures is the only way to increase production and to mobilize the masses for struggle. At the present time, Mao's faction considers any material improvement for the masses to be "economism." This only reflects the psychology of those in the top bureaucratic layer who themselves enjoy privileges, including luxurious material benefits.

(7) In the history of China, the antagonisms between national minorities have led to many civil wars. Resolving the question of the national minorities, therefore, has become a very important factor in unifying the nation and stabilizing society as a whole. In 1922 the Chinese Communist party decided to acknowledge the right of self-determination of the national minorities, which meant they had the right to establish their own independent government in such places as Tibet, Inner Mongolia and the Moslem community in Sinkiang. This decision was taken in order to win the sincere collaboration of the national minorities and to unify the nation on the basis of equality.

Since your party took power in 1949, it has yet to solve the problem of the national minorities on the principles practiced by Lenin. Formally the party has established the autonomous regions of Tibet and Inner Mongolia, yet, in practice the national minorities are still ruled in the tradition of the great Han race, and they have never enjoyed the right of self-determination, let alone the right to establish their own independent government. It is for this reason that old antagonisms still lie just beneath the surface and could possibly foment a crisis of still another civil war. Already in the present crisis of the party, the problem of the national minorities has again erupted.

To unify the nation, then, it is absolutely necessary to acknowledge, both in word and deed, the right of the national minorities to form their own independent parties and governments in Tibet, Inner Mongolia and the Moslems in Sinkiang. Only in this way will it be possible to win the sincere collaboration of the national minorities, and to form a Soviet Union of China, that is, to accomplish the socialist unification of the nation. It is imperative, then, that the recognition of self-determination for the national minorities be an important point in any socialist program.

(8) It is necessary to adopt a revolutionary foreign policy, and in order to do this, it is necessary to draw the lessons of the tragic defeat in Indonesia. As you have all personally witnessed, the leader of the Indonesian Communist party (PKI), D.N.Aidit, visited China several times, and each time he talked with Chairman Mao. Aidit also made several speeches in which he supported the NASAKOM of President Sukarno. These speeches were reprinted in the People's Daily, the organ of your party, not only without criticism, but even with much praise; the Indonesian CP was held up as a great Marxist-Leninist party, and D.N.Aidit as its great revolutionary leader. Mao encouraged the PKI to lend its support to Sukarno in order that Mao himself might win Sukarno for his own diplomatic interests. He also encouraged Aidit to practice the same revisionist policies of Khrushchev in order to win Aidit to his side in the dispute with Khrushchev. The result of these policies was the great October tragedy in which the blood of hundreds of thousands of Indonesian Communist militants, workers, and peasants was spilled. This gigantic defeat has dealt a serious blow to your party and to the cause of socialism in China and all of Asia.

The tragedy of the PKI is a repetition of the disastrous setback dealt to the Chinese revolution in the years 1925-27. Mao's encouragement of the PKI's support of

NASAKOM -- which support was the very reason for the defeat of the PKI -- echoes the way Stalin forced the Chinese CP in the 1920's to support Chiang Kai-shek and his continuation of the "three principles of the people," the program of Sun Yat-sen. The only difference is that the defeat in Indonesia was a still greater calamity. From this we have to learn an important lesson: the policy of class collaboration, embodied in the theory of a bloc of four classes -- working class, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie -- being required to carry out a national democratic revolution before coming to the stage of a socialist revolution, is a policy which dooms the revolution to a catastrophic defeat. This lesson must be clearly presented in any program seeking to promote the world revolution, especially in the backward countries of the world.

(9) At present, Chairman Mao Tse-tung accuses all his opponents of being Khrushchevists, that is, modern revisionists, and this has caused considerable confusion in the party. Mao has even said that there can be no unity with the Khrushchevists, and has in practice tried to break off all relations with the USSR. Therefore, it is necessary to clarify the question of Khrushchevism.

First of all one must define Khrushchevism. In general, there are two different aspects of Khrushchevism. One is the political revisionism, i.e., the policy of peaceful coexistence between socialist countries and capitalist countries, and the perspective of a peaceful transition to socialism. This is, of course, complete opportunism, and must be rejected and exposed. The other is de-Stalinization, i.e., the partial repudiation of Stalin's personal cult, and the partial exposing of his personal dictatorship and horrendous crimes. However limited the de-Stalinization has been, it is nonetheless progressive, and must be supported with the necessary criticisms of its inadequacies.

Mao lumps both of these two quite different aspects together, attacking them both as "revisionist." It is even being said in official party publications that under the leadership of Khrushchev the Soviet Union is becoming a capitalist state. This is absolutely absurd, because the socialist property relations remain intact. One must differentiate between the socialist property relations and the bureaucratic political dictatorship. Every Marxist must defend the former against the latter.

Mao's own political policies have not differed much from those of Khrushchev, as the Indonesian affair demonstrates; consequently, Mao has in mind, for the most part, de-Stalinization when he speaks against revisionism, and he attacks de-Stalinization in order to maintain his own personal dictatorship and cult.

As far as the relationship between the socialist countries is concerned, it must be pointed out that the ideological struggle must not interfere at the state level nor interrupt the advancement of the country by hindering such things as commerce, military aid, etc., despite the fact that the ideological struggle must still be carried on against the revisionists.

(10) Since U.S. imperialism began its systematic escalation of the war in Vietnam and its savage bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, it has inflicted immense suffering upon the people; not only has the Vietnamese war of resistance been endangered, but China herself is being threatened, and there is even a possibility of a nuclear war. The only way these perils can be overcome is for the socialist countries to unite in a common front to oppose the aggressive might of U.S. imperialism. However, Chairman Mao has refused to join in any united front under the pretext of opposing revisionism. Objectively, such a sectarian position only helps U.S. imperialism in the end. It is absolutely clear that the Soviet bureaucracy, with its line of peaceful coexistence, is not resolved to help the Vietnamese people win their struggle against imperialism. On the other hand, because of the pressures from the people of the USSR and the other socialist countries, the Soviet bureaucracy has been forced to take certain steps to aid the Vietnamese people, and even to adopt the position of agreeing to a united front with the other socialist countries. China has no alternative but to accept the united front proposals, and to join in common action with the other workers states to oppose U.S. imperialism in Vietnam.

Should the Soviet bureaucracy then reject the united front, they would expose themselves before the whole world as insincere. If they accepted the united front but then sabotaged it in practice, it would be much easier to expose them and their treacherous policies. The possibility of such an exposure might be enough to prevent them from even attempting such sabotage. The result would be to enormously strengthen the Vietnamese people. For these reasons, it is necessary to counter Mao's sectarian policy with the policy of joining in a united front so that the Vietnamese people can carry their struggle forward to victory.

* * *

The program outlined above can be condensed into the following slogans:

Struggle against the restoration of capitalism, and defend socialist property relations.

Down with the personal cult and dictatorship of Mao, and establish a democratic socialist regime.

Advance the world revolution by replacing all class-collaborationist policies with revolutionary Marxism.

A united front with the socialist countries and all revolutionary and democratic-minded forces to defend the Vietnamese revolution.

February 15, 1967

NO SURPRISE ON THE CREDIBILITY FRONT

"Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge has asked to be relieved of his duties in Saigon late in the spring or early in the summer, according to friends....Informed sources said that the White House was conducting an intensive search for a successor. The search has proved more difficult than expected, the sources indicated, so the Ambassador's departure date has not yet been set." [The New York Times, March 7.]

* * *

"These reports about my resignation are reports that come up every so often. The last time was last December.

"I repeat now what I said in December. I serve at the pleasure of the President. Obviously, all tours of duty must come to an end sometime.

"I have no definite plans or firm decisions whatsoever." [Lodge's denial of the report as quoted by Associated Press from Saigon March 8.]

* * *

"Q. There are reports that Ambassador Lodge would like to be relieved of his post and that you're looking for a successor. Any truth to these reports?

"A. No, there is no truth that I'm looking for a successor." [Johnson at a televised news conference in the White House March 9.]

* * *

"Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, who has served us with such great distinction, is coming to the end of his second distinguished tour of duty in Saigon. To replace him I am drafting as our Ambassador to the Government of Vietnam Mr. Ellsworth Bunker, the able and devoted, full of wisdom and experience acquired on five continents over many years." [Johnson, speaking in Johnsonese, before the Tennessee legislature, March 15.]

* * *

"There was no surprise about Mr. Lodge's retirement..." [Editorial in the New York Times, March 16.]

NEXT ISSUE

Our next issue will be dated April 7. This will not affect any subscriptions, all of them being automatically extended one week.

Several features are planned for the April 7 issue, among them a review by George Novack on Maurice Hindus' new book, The Kremlin's Human Dilemma, Russia after Half a Century of Revolution.