

**INTERNATIONAL  
SOCIALIST  
REVIEW**

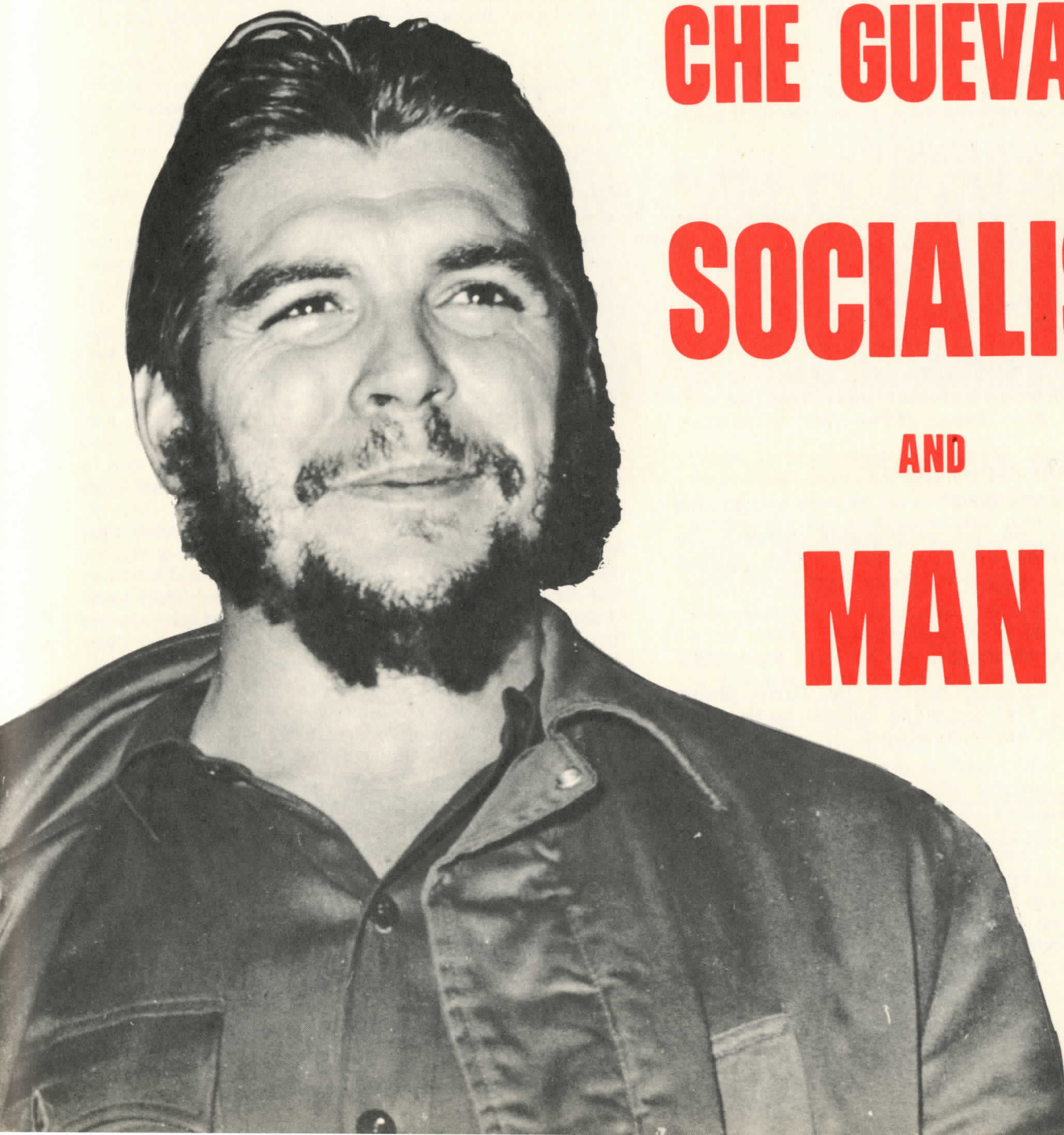
**CRISIS IN RHODESIA**

**VIETNAM AND**

**WORLD POLITICS**

Winter 1966

50¢



**CHE GUEVARA:**

**SOCIALISM**

**AND**

**MAN**

Editor, Tom Kerry; Managing Editor, Dick Roberts; Associate Editor, George Novack; Business Manager, Carolyn Kerry.

# Letters

## To the Editor:

My friend Cliff Slaughter has shown me a copy of the Fall 1965 number of *International Socialist Review*, containing a translation by me, made several years ago, of a 1923 speech of Trotsky's. It is, of course, always pleasing to see one's work in print, and acknowledged by the publication of one's name. How odd, though, to put it as mildly as possible, that I should first learn of the appearance in your journal of this translation of mine through the channel mentioned. If you did not have my home address, you could easily have sent me a copy of ISR care of the Oxford University Press (which I see you have managed, in a footnote, to bring into the act).

I hope no reader assumes I had any previous knowledge of the introduction you have provided, which contains the expected elements of fantasy and sensation-mongering. Your reference to alleged allusions in Trotsky's speech to certain writings of Lenin's which were in fact not made public in the Soviet Union until 1956 is beside the point; while, obviously in order to make it seem relevant, you have omitted to mention the writings by Lenin in January-March 1923 to which it is plain Trotsky is referring — "On Cooperation," "Pages from a Diary," "Better Fewer But Better," and "How We Should Reorganise the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate." It is in the last named of these articles that Lenin writes: "With the exception of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, our state apparatus is very largely a survival of the old one, and has least of all undergone serious change. It has only been slightly repainted on the surface, but in all other things it is a typical relic of our old state apparatus."

I don't know about you, but I first read these articles in Volume Nine of Lenin's Selected Works, as published here in 1937 by Lawrence and Wishart, the British Communist Party's publishers. They were, I thought, so well known to Marxists of all varieties that I did not think it necessary to even hint at them in the footnotes I supplied to Trotsky's speech.

Please publish this letter in your next issue, and, if you like, put in bold type this last paragraph:

**Since I left the British Trotskyist organisation, four years ago, the Socialist Labour League has been scrupulously correct in printing the date of any translation of mine they publish, from among those I did for them (and you) in 1957-61, so that no misapprehension can arise as to continued political association with them on my part. You, however, have not followed their good example. Any reader who may by this means have been misled into supposing, from the use made of my name in International Socialist Review, that I have any sympathy**

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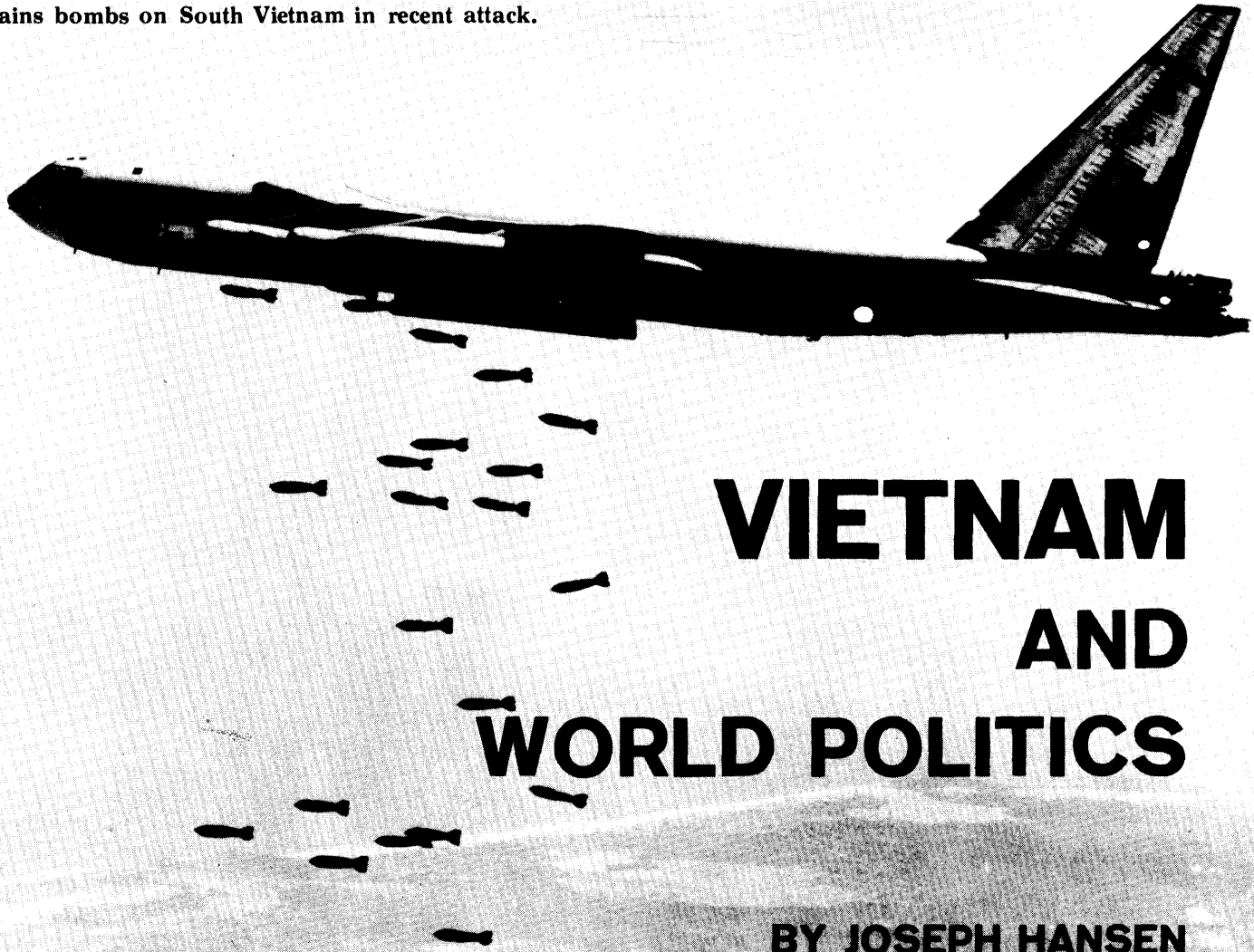
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B-52 rains bombs on South Vietnam in recent attack.



# VIETNAM AND WORLD POLITICS

BY JOSEPH HANSEN

The most important single turn on the world scene in 1965 was without doubt Johnson's decision, which he put into effect last February, to "escalate" American intervention in the civil conflict in Vietnam.

There has been widespread speculation as to the reasons for this ominous turn in which Johnson carried out the essential content of the foreign policy advocated by Goldwater, which the American people had emphatically repudiated by the greatest electoral landslide in the history of the country.

How was it possible to plunge the United States, which stands at the pinnacle of unparalleled power and prosperity, into a miserable and dangerous adventure in distant Asia that can end in a nuclear war and the conversion of the world into a radioactive desert? In such an outcome there would be no privileged sanctuary for the United States as in the first two world wars.

One explanation that is finding increasing echo abroad is that the current president of the United

*This article is part of Joseph Hansen's report to the recent Socialist Workers Party convention dealing with international developments over the past few years.*

States is not altogether normal. It cannot be denied that there may be validity to this view. But such an explanation is not sufficient. We must look deeper, turning to the economic and social forces that find such a personality to be their most fitting political expression.

The truth is that the foreign policy now being administered by Johnson is simply the continuation of a policy going back to Roosevelt, which was advanced by Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy before it was inherited by the bizarre person who likes to hear it repeated that he may well prove to be one of the "great presidents, if not the greatest" in the history of the USA.

In 1945, at the end of World War II, Gen. George C. Marshall indicated the international perspective in his Biennial Report to the Secretary of War. Here is how the meaning of this report was summed up in *The Militant* of October 20, 1945:

"The Third World War is already in the blueprint stage. Even before the official termination of the Second World War, Wall Street's newly fledged military caste has projected the opening phase of another bloodbath so frightful and destructive it can mean the end of mankind."

Gen. Marshall completely discounted the possibility of peace for the foreseeable future. He projected the construction of an enormous new military machine based on atomic weapons. He called for a huge standing army and the maintenance of military bases in a vast perimeter embracing the Atlantic and the Pacific and without forgetting specific mention of the Caribbean. Marshall predicted decades of tension and demanded that Congress "establish for the generations to come, a national military policy."

This grim perspective, it should be noted, was advanced before the end of the alliance with the Soviet Union, before Truman initiated the so-called cold war and the era of McCarthyism, and before the upsurge in China that was to lead to the overthrow of Chiang Kai-shek and the victory of the Chinese Revolution.

Marshall's report, despite its lip service to "peace," constituted documentary evidence of the very conscious policy provided for the guidance of the staffs in the White House, the State Department, the Pentagon and CIA no matter which of the two big parties, the Democrats or Republicans, happens to be in power.

## U.S. Program for War

Occasionally we are provided with a glimpse of how Washington's real foreign policy is kept up to date. A year ago, for instance, at the height of the election campaign when Johnson was presenting himself as the sane man of peace in contrast to the irrational Goldwater, the subject of the Korean War came up. It was in the wake of the death of Gen. MacArthur.

The *New York Times*, in its issue of October 14, 1964, mentioned a secret paper called "NSC-68" (NSC stands for National Security Council). This secret paper "prescribed a broad basic strategy for the United States in international relations particularly with respect to the Soviet Union. It indicated a policy of bold aggressiveness under certain circumstances and of caution and restraint under others."

"N.S.C. papers are among the most secret documents in the Government's archives," the *New York Times* observed. Nevertheless, the *Times* indicated the gist of the secret document. Like the Marshall report, referred to above, this document considers the conflict between the United States and the "Communist world" as of such basic character that it will continue into "an unforeseeable future." It postulates the possibility of a war with the "Communist world" and it proposes that the United States adopt "an unflinching 'will to fight' posture toward its enemies." That was the posture displayed by Kennedy in the Caribbean crisis; it is the posture now displayed by Johnson in Vietnam and in the Dominican Republic.

Dean Acheson described NSC-68 as "one of the greatest documents in our history." The secret document was initiated by Truman in April, 1950, about sixty days before the outbreak of the Korean conflict. "The Administration's reaction to that crisis," the *Times* tells us, "was formed almost entirely within the context of the Security Council paper."

We note with interest that despite the seemingly completely unthinking and adventurous way in which the Truman administration plunged the United States into the Korean War, one major consideration operated as a restraint. "To President Truman and other leaders of his Administration in Washington," reports the *Times*, "the fear that the Korean struggle might ignite a catastrophic third world war was equally as great as the fear that our forces might be pushed off the Korean peninsula."

Does a similar fear affect the Johnson administration — or rather the policy makers behind Johnson in the State Department and the Pentagon and the counting houses of Wall Street? They deliberately seek to give the impression that while they may be insane they are at least not afraid, that they would even welcome a taste of nuclear war. And it must be said that Johnson's unusual personality shows to advantage in putting on a convincing show. Nevertheless, the secret documents that specify their policy most likely still call for "caution and restraint" under certain circumstances.

Direct evidence of the thinking in the inner circles of the rulers of our country is not easy to come by. One of their major political problems is to hide their thinking and to conceal their true aims, and to present them as the very opposite of what they are.

But since their decisions now involve the fate of the entire world in the most immediate sense of the term, other countries are very much concerned about what can be expected next. This includes bourgeois circles that exist as half servants, half captives of American imperialism. They have available means to get a more accurate picture of the decision-making process in Washington and sometimes this leaks into their press.

A good example of this is an editorial which appeared in the Paris *Le Monde* of February 26, 1964. The editorial noted that "almost everyone" in the top circles of the Johnson administration was "advocating the extension of military operations, the opening of a second front" in North Vietnam. It is becoming more and more obvious, said *Le Monde*, that a shift is being prepared. "It is clear that the agencies in Washington proposing this counteroffensive are coldly calculating all the diplomatic and military consequences. They believe that in view of America's superiority, there is nothing to fear from a confrontation with the Communist forces in that area of the world. They consider North Vietnam to be extremely vulnerable. As for China, for two years in a row, hasn't Mr. McNamara's report to Congress presented China as a 'paper tiger' with a worn-out arsenal incapable of risking a conflict of any scope?"

These cold-blooded calculations, it should be noted, were being made nine months before the election and an entire year before Johnson finally ordered "escalation" of the war.

Now we come to the most interesting observation of all. "The main unknown in this rose-colored equation," *Le Monde* reported, "is the attitude of Russia. In all the projects being studied it seems to be tacitly taken for granted that while Russia will not remain neutral, at least she will not intervene."

The well-informed French editor notes nonetheless

that there cannot be absolute certainty that Russia will not intervene. And he asks whether or not it isn't doubt "on this subject that still restrains Mr. Johnson from giving the green light to the suggestions of his advisers . . ."

We can add that Johnson first had to win his election. Besides doubt over Russia's possible reaction to escalating the war, he did not want to activate the antiwar sentiments of the American people on the eve of an election of crucial importance in his political career.

Two considerations thus caused Johnson to exercise "caution and restraint" at the end of 1963 and beginning of 1964. One was the possibility of a sharp response from the Soviet Union if he escalated American intervention in Vietnam. The other was the certainty of becoming the target of antiwar sentiment in the U.S. during his election campaign.

Within a couple of months after his election victory as the man of peace, Johnson began escalating the war. This, of course, put the calculations of the Pentagon and State Department policy makers to the acid test.

It is worth noting how they proceeded. The first bombings of North Vietnam were presented as "reprisals." The "reprisals" were then extended until they became "routine" bombing operations. At the same time a shift in the official status of U.S. involvement in the war occurred. From "advisers" of the South Vietnam mercenaries and puppets, the U. S. forces became direct participants. Along with this, the quantity of U. S. troops was enormously increased in a series of moves. The objective was to take the United States step by step deeper into the war until the qualitative point of change was reached and the country found itself in a conflict of the scope of Korea.

## Step-by-Step Escalation

Among the advantages of this step-by-step operation from the viewpoint of the rulers of America was that it put the country into a war in the face of widespread fear and opposition, without involving Congress, without a formal declaration of war.

Deepening involvement through a graduated series of steps also provided time for handling differences within the capitalist class over the wisdom of taking the plunge. And a crisis did occur. Sectors of the capitalist class voiced worries. Was this the right time? Was Vietnam the right place? Wasn't it too dangerous to provoke China and the Soviet Union in this way?

To meet such fears and arguments, the engineers of the imperialist aggression required empiric proof that they could get away with it.

All their calculations thus called for a step-by-step tactic in which they could feel their way, testing the ground as they proceeded, leaving open the possibility of backing down at any point if it turned out that the Soviet Union did react sharply to a military attack on another workers state; or if China proved to be neither a paper tiger nor a sleeping tiger; or if the plunge into Vietnam set off a chain reaction in a revolutionary direction.

Of course, one great danger was involved. Sup-

pose they committed themselves so deeply, in the absence of a stiff response, that a point of no return was reached? That is, a point where it would seem like an overwhelming defeat to draw back? What then? Wouldn't it be necessary to risk everything in a desperate gamble and begin using nuclear weapons?

That is one of the great unknowns in this situation and why effective political opposition to Johnson's war course is so important.

It was clear from the beginning that Johnson's escalation of the war in Vietnam was a major world development. It constituted a military thrust squarely at the workers states, directly involving the defense not only of North Vietnam but of China and the Soviet Union. It constituted a direct threat against every colonial people seeking political and economic freedom, for the United States was clearly trying to terrify them with the thought of what might happen to them if they should rebel.

The correctness of this conclusion was shown in most dramatic fashion when in the very process of stepping up American involvement in the civil conflict in Vietnam, Johnson reacted automatically to the rebellion against Trujillo's heirs in the Dominican Republic and sent in 30,000 troops — thus ending the pretenses of Kennedy's "Alliance for Progress" and Roosevelt's "Good Neighbor Policy" and showing to the world with supreme arrogance that from now on it's the "Big Stick" of Theodore Roosevelt, a big stick tipped with an H-bomb.

Johnson's escalation of the war in Vietnam faced the American people, particularly the working class, with truly fateful issues, not the least being the moral question.

Let us recall the feelings of many Americans when they learned about Hitler's gas ovens. How could it be, they asked, that the German people felt no moral agony, did not react as they should have, in accordance with those higher laws of humanity that demand rebellion at any cost against a government guilty of such crimes? Let Americans today search their own hearts as American planes, proceeding on orders issued by Johnson, fly over Vietnam day after day, dumping jellied gasoline and high explosives on a defenseless civilian population. And let Americans join the rest of the people on this earth in feeling the agonizing new urgency given to the threat of an atomic conflict by Johnson's escalation of the war in Vietnam.

The advance of American imperialism in Vietnam hinged on Washington's calculation that Moscow would offer no effective opposition. Up to this point, the calculation appears to have been well founded.

How *should* the Soviet government have reacted? One can visualize a regime, genuinely following Lenin's tradition, taking a course about as follows:

First, a statement would be issued informing the entire world about the true situation. This statement would point out the aims of U.S. imperialism: (1) The U.S. imperialist aim of taking over the colonial empires which the European powers are no longer capable of dominating. (2) The U.S. imperialist aim of beating back the colonial revolution that began in the Far East at the end of World War II and

which has swept through Africa and all of Latin America. (3) The U.S. imperialist aim of crushing the workers states — both the first one that came into being after World War I and the newer ones that came into being after World War II. (4) The U.S. imperialist aim of converting the entire world into a vast slave-labor camp with the earth's masses toiling for the profit, benefit and pleasure of the tiny circle of colossally wealthy families ruling North America.

In addition, the statement would offer a Marxist explanation of why the capitalist system breeds war and why a planned economy eliminates the economic motive for war and why it is that the long-standing alternative of socialism or barbarism has now reached the extreme stage of facing humanity with the alternative of socialism or atomic annihilation.

Secondly, a revolutionary Soviet government would issue an appeal to the American workers and their allies to resist the imperialist game of pitting the United States against peaceful peoples in other parts of the world and blocking their aspirations for a better life. The appeal would call on the American workers to organize a revolutionary-socialist party to struggle for power and by taking power, end once and for all the standing threat to world peace which American imperialism represents.

In reply to the imperialist argument that such an appeal constituted intervention in the internal affairs of the United States, the appeal might well list all the places on this planet where Washington is intervening in the internal affairs of other countries, and it might well call attention to the need for some responsible and weighty force to remind the American people of their obvious duties to humanity in the struggle for a world of enduring peace.

Thirdly, a revolutionary Soviet government would notify Washington that in view of the attack on North Vietnam and the clear threat this represented to the other workers states, the Soviet deterrent to nuclear war was being strengthened. The exact form of this strengthening would be specified: the equipping of the People's Republic of China with a full panoply of nuclear weapons.

Fourthly, as an immediate measure, a revolutionary Soviet government would most likely announce that it was rushing full material assistance to the people of North Vietnam in order to enable them to offer an effective defense against the raids of American bombers. It would most likely announce that this material aid included not only a big stock of ground-to-air rockets but fleets of planes.

And, finally, a revolutionary Soviet government would almost certainly issue an appeal for international assistance from all peoples and governments who stand for the right of self-determination to come to the aid of the beleaguered freedom fighters in South Vietnam.

It goes without saying that a revolutionary Soviet government would set the example in sending such aid to the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

It is not difficult to visualize what an impact such a course of action would have had. On the one hand it would have offered incomparable revolutionary

inspiration to the masses on all continents. It could have been a decisive catalyst in a number of countries where the class struggle is not far from a revolutionary level right now. And, on the other hand, it would have paralyzed the strategists in Washington, who calculate their actions in accordance with what they think they can get away with, this being the only principle they either know or observe.

If these strategists weren't sure about the meaning of the Soviet reply to their provocation, the readings on their electronic calculating machines would have been unmistakable: "Withdraw at once. Alternative is suicide; and suicide doesn't pay."

## Reaction of the U.S.S.R.

Instead of a reaction like that, or anywhere near it, what was the response of the Kosygin-Brezhnev regime?

They talked about the "need" for "peaceful coexistence" and how the possibility of peaceful coexistence with American imperialism was being "endangered" by escalation of the war in Vietnam.

They issued perfunctory denunciations of the U.S. imperialist aggression.

They talked about backing North Vietnam and even dropped bold hints about the possibility of sending "volunteers" to help in the struggle... if needed.

As Johnson continued methodically to bomb North Vietnam day after day, week after week, and month after month, the Kosygin-Brezhnev regime hinted that they would finally respond to the need to send material aid to North Vietnam.

At the same time, Soviet diplomats spread the word that the Chinese were holding up shipments of arms or making it difficult to get them through to Vietnam.

In brief, Moscow followed a course that fitted almost perfectly with the prognostications of the Pentagon brain trust, offering substance to the imperialist propaganda about Moscow's "lack of interest" in Vietnam and about the "common interest" of Washington and Moscow in cutting down China's influence there.

The policy of Kosygin-Brezhnev is so scandalously out of keeping with the needs of the situation that under their inspiration the big Communist parties of western Europe, particularly in France and Italy, have failed even to stage protest rallies at the American embassies, still less engage in any kind of effective or dramatic campaign in behalf of Vietnam and against the danger of a third world war.

Not the slightest step has been taken toward a countermove somewhere in the world. No embarrassment for Johnson in Berlin. No embarrassment for Johnson over Santo Domingo. In Greece today where it would not take much to bring down the hated monarchy, the Communist Party leaders are doing their utmost to restrain the people and to keep them behind Papandreou. The pro-Moscow Communist Party in Spain has even found "positive elements" in the Franco regime.

Economic, cultural and tourist exchanges continue to be fostered with the United States while American bombs crash on the towns and industries of North

Vietnam and the Pentagon uses that unfortunate country as a proving ground for fiendish new instruments of death and destruction, for the "bleeding" of raw American troops, and for "test runs" of B-52s capable of carrying H-bombs deep into China or the Soviet Union. The "test runs" of the B-52s have now become a daily routine.

So extraordinary is the Kremlin's course in relation to the requirements of Soviet defense, that it has caused comment in the most diverse circles. Thus in an article speculating on a rise in "isolationist" sentiment in the USSR, André Fontaine observed in the August 26 *Le Monde*, "Never has Soviet policy been less offensive, less revolutionary."

In truth the parallel that leaps to mind is 1939-40 when German imperialism was readying its invasion of the Soviet Union and Stalin in his wisdom followed a policy of sending supplies to Germany in accordance with the spirit of the peaceful coexistence pact which he had concluded with Hitler.

It is clear that the strategists in Washington measured off the Kosygin-Brezhnev regime as exceptionally weak and incompetent, a regime incapable of standing up to a strong bluff. By their failure to respond at once with a vigorous answer when the American bombers swept into North Vietnam on February 7 and 8, Kosygin and Brezhnev virtually told Johnson that it was safe for him to proceed with "escalation" of the war. Their failure to respond with a sharp counterblow or a meaningful warning showed that the Pentagon had guessed correctly in concluding they would turn up their bellies and play dead.

In judging Peking's reaction to Johnson's escalation of the war in Vietnam, we cannot apply the same standards as we do in the case of Moscow. The Soviet Union has highly advanced industries capable of matching the U.S. in many fields and surpassing the U.S. in at least a few. In addition, the Soviet Union has a stockpile of nuclear weapons and intercontinental missiles. This stockpile is not nearly as big as the U.S. stockpile but it is sufficient to wipe out the U.S. a few times over and the Pentagon therefore has no choice but to rate it as meeting the level of a deterrent.

The People's Republic of China, despite the giant strides it has made, still remains an industrially backward country, incapable as yet of mounting a real nuclear deterrent against an aggressive imperialist power like the United States.

## Russia's Responsibility

It is obvious, in view of these facts, that the major responsibility in meeting the aggression of imperialism rests with the Soviet Union. To meet Johnson's escalation of the war in Vietnam, Peking therefore had every right to require at least a guarantee from Moscow of full backing, including backing with nuclear weapons, in meeting the American aggression. This was all the more imperative in face of the openly voiced threat from high American officials to attack China and the provocative demands from ultra rightists like Goldwater to drop atom bombs on China's nuclear plants.

I repeat. Peking had every right to require full

backing from Moscow in meeting the American aggression in Vietnam and particularly in meeting the threat of a nuclear attack. In the absence of a guarantee of such backing, Peking could not be blamed for calling attention to China's vulnerability and therefore the difficulty of meeting the American aggression. Had Mao or Chou En-lai or some other government spokesman stated that this subject had been taken up with the Soviet government with unfavorable results, they could have truthfully said that Moscow's policy was counterrevolutionary, was a deadly blow to the defense of the Soviet Union and that a political revolution should be undertaken to replace a regime so injurious to the interests of the world revolution.

But Mao did not follow a course like that. Instead American military power was attacked with the weapon of derision. The more American troops that were sent to Vietnam, the greater the disaster for the Pentagon. This was Mao's theme. And the fearful cost in human lives and destruction of North Vietnam's industrial installations while waiting for the Pentagon to get bogged down in the swamps and jungles of Vietnam was simply disregarded.

It is true that spokesmen of the Mao government have said many correct things about the counter-revolutionary character of American policy. They have accurately described the hatred it inspires among the peoples of the world. They are correct in pointing out that American imperialism will surely be eventually overcome by revolutionary struggle. They are right when they predict final victory for the National Liberation Front. They have undoubtedly spoken the truth every time they said that if and when the North Vietnam government felt it had to ask for help, the Chinese people would surely respond. Perhaps that help is now on the way or has already begun to be received.

But none of this talk made much impression on the Johnson administration. Propaganda of this kind seems to have been anticipated by the Pentagon strategists. And the American bombers continued their methodical forays over North Vietnam, day after day, week after week, and month after month, despite Mao's derision.

The most unfortunate aspect of Mao's course was its failure to fill the vacuum left by the bankruptcy of Kosygin and Brezhnev. Instead of issuing a revolutionary program of action aimed at closing ranks in face of the American attempt to exploit the Sino-Soviet conflict, Peking gave the impression of seeking to worsen matters, of seeking to turn the Vietnam situation to factional advantage, of rejecting any effort to form a united front on the government level with the Soviet Union. The disclosures by Soviet diplomats in various capitals that the Chinese government was blocking shipments of arms and rockets to North Vietnam was not effectively countered and a very bad impression was made which the Washington propagandists skillfully exploited.

Mao's campaign in behalf of the cult of Stalin did not help to improve matters or to inspire revolutionary enthusiasm in the Soviet Union, in Eastern Europe, in Cuba, or anywhere in the world where Stalin's name is synonymous with the worst bureaucratic

practices and with the strangulation of revolutions.

Mao's factionalism has had pernicious consequences. Three examples may be cited.

In Belgium an effort was made by several groupings, including the Trotskyists, to organize a united demonstration to show solidarity with the Vietnamese people against American imperialist aggression. The proposed slogans were very good. They included the demand to withdraw American troops, and "Hands off Vietnam!"

A demonstration that included militant trade unionists, left centrist socialists, the pro-Moscow Communist Party, the pro-Peking Communist Party and Trotskyists was scheduled to take place in Brussels and preparations went ahead to mobilize the biggest possible turnout. It looked like it would be a very successful demonstration.

Then something unexpected occurred. The pro-Peking Communist Party went behind the back of the united committee, misinforming some of the committee members, in order to wangle registration of the police permit for the march. This would have given the march a unilateral character, enabling the pro-Peking Party plausibly to take credit for the demonstration and also to avoid giving the impression of agreeing to march in the same demonstration with members of the pro-Moscow Communist Party.

When this completely unprincipled factional move was discovered by the other participants they were naturally indignant. The effect was to blow up the demonstration and the members of the pro-Peking Communist Party found themselves marching alone in a tiny group.

The others postponed the united march, scheduling it to take place several weeks later. And, since the inspirers of the demonstrations were genuinely interested in building up the strongest possible show of force, they invited the leaders of the pro-Peking Communist Party to reconsider their attitude. Jacques Grippa, the head of this grouping, which happens to be the largest pro-Peking formation in Europe, had no choice but to go along; and so a united demonstration was held in Brussels.

This demonstration, in which all currents of the Belgian radical movement participated, was the broadest yet held in Europe in solidarity with the Vietnamese people and against the American imperialist aggression. So far as I know it was the broadest yet held anywhere in the world. But it was organized despite the sabotage of the pro-Mao grouping.

In the West European countries outside of Belgium, the pro-Peking currents are extremely weak and have been steadily declining in the recent period.

They were unable to prosper under the terrible burden of having to proclaim the personal and political virtues of Stalin as demanded by Mao. Even in Belgium this current is in decline and in Switzerland the representatives of Maoism drew the logical conclusion and recently announced that they were breaking away and going independent. Mao's thought may be good, but they prefer to think for themselves.

The second example of the evil consequences of Mao's factionalism is the chill that has developed in relations with Havana. If you follow the Chinese publications carefully you will no doubt have ob-

served that for some time reports about Cuban developments have virtually vanished. An occasional sports item is printed, perhaps a declaration by Robert Williams in which praise for Mao is not omitted, and very little else.

The third example of Mao's factionalism is the policy followed in relation to Colonel Boumedienne's *coup d'etat* in Algeria.

Without the slightest hesitation, Peking, in the most indecent haste, recognized Boumedienne and even hailed his *coup d'etat* although this military seizure of power was a clear turn to the right, a blow against the Algerian Revolution.

The reason for Mao's unseemly speed in this instance was painfully obvious. By his quickness in recognizing Colonel Boumedienne, he hoped to undercut Moscow and to strengthen his factional moves against the Khrushchevists at the Afro-Asian conference which was scheduled to be held in a few days.

When the first moves were made by the other powers to postpone the Afro-Asian conference in view of the embarrassing removal of Ben Bella, who, after all, was the host of the gathering, the Chinese spokesmen maintained that it would be a victory for imperialism not to go ahead. And when the postponement occurred anyway, despite all their pressure to go ahead, with Colonel Boumedienne playing the host, they tried to cover up by claiming that this outcome was a defeat for imperialism. A defeat for imperialism if the conference is held; a defeat for imperialism if it is postponed. By confronting imperialism with dilemmas like that, it is easy to prove that you are only dealing with a paper tiger.

Peking's prestige suffered heavily as a result of this course which so obviously sacrificed revolutionary principles for the sake of the most passing diplomatic objectives, in this case factional advantage over Moscow in the expected jostling at the Afro-Asian conference.

Castro, on the other hand, spoke out plainly on the injury Boumedienne's *coup d'etat* did to the Algerian Revolution and Castro did not hesitate to say a good word for Ben Bella and his courage in coming to Havana on the eve of the Caribbean crisis.

## The Cuban Response

In contrast to both Moscow and Peking, the Cuban revolutionists have followed a very good policy against Johnson's escalation of the war in Vietnam.

At the very beginning, when American bombers first invaded North Vietnam, Castro openly called for a vigorous reply to the imperialist aggression.

This took great courage because Cuba is not on the far side of the Pacific, or the other side of Europe and it does not have hundreds of millions of inhabitants. It is a tiny country, only ninety miles from the mainland of the U.S. and it has only a small population and but limited resources.

Despite Cuba's vulnerability, Castro stood on the socialist principle of solidarity under attack. He called for a closing of ranks against the enemy. And he explained why a vigorous reply to the imperialist aggression was required — that's the only kind of language an imperialist bully understands.



To demonstrate their sincerity, the Cuban revolutionists offered material aid to the Vietnamese. As a token, they announced shipment of a big load of sugar, which happens to be the material they have most of, outside of revolutionary enthusiasm and courage.

These moves were followed up by fresh appeals to the peoples of the colonial and semicolonial lands, particularly the peoples of Latin America, to study the Cuban example and to carry out their revolutions.

Revolutionary Marxists everywhere in the world can feel very proud of the way the Cuban revolutionists spoke up despite the dangers in their exposed position in the front-line trenches facing American imperialism.

And once again we were offered fresh evidence of the importance of Castroism as one of the manifestations of the rise of a new revolutionary generation, a new revolutionary leadership on a world-wide scale that points in the most unmistakable way to the resurgence of revolutionary socialism as embodied in the program of Lenin and Trotsky.

### Inter-Imperialist Rivalries?

There are further repercussions of Johnson's escalation of the war in Vietnam. This major development on the international scene has not left the front pages of the press since February 8. It has confronted all the big powers with the need to take a stand.

In the process, the view that interimperialist rivalries would serve to slow down the American war drive has been given a thorough test. This view, if I am not mistaken, was elaborated most hopefully in recent years by theoreticians heavily influenced by Mao's thought.

What does the record show? The British bourgeoisie lined up one hundred per cent behind Johnson. In return for backing the Pentagon in Vietnam, the British got the *quid pro quo* from Washington of helping them to maintain their colonial holdings in Southeast Asia, and especially to help support the artificially created federation of Malaysia.

This utterly reactionary deal has been upheld by Prime Minister Wilson with a dog-like loyalty that has left even the perfidious British capitalists a little aghast. They worry about Wilson's carrying things so far that it could provide an opening for the rise of a militant left wing in the Labour Party.

The American-minded Wilson, however, has appeared confident that his game of pressing Hanoi and Peking to enter into "negotiations" with the Pentagon beasts is sufficient to lull the British workers into believing that all that can be done is being done to end the war in Vietnam.

The most ironic part of it is that Wilson is so afraid of the slightest frown from the Dr. Strange-likes in the State Department that he clears every single move with them, thus completely subordinating British diplomacy to the whims of the Washington strategists.

To the shame of Yugoslavia, it must be noted that Tito has played a prominent part in furthering this same treacherous policy. Tito nevertheless knows

very well that it is up to the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam to decide on the question of negotiations and no one has any business pressing either them or their supporters on this. Where the heat should be placed is on Washington and the heat should be on one point — get the American troops out of Vietnam. They are foreign invaders serving an imperialist power.

The German bourgeoisie vie with the British in demonstrating docility and licking the hands of their American masters. They have made it an axiom of their foreign policy never to get crossed up with the White House — never, under any circumstances.

The Japanese bourgeoisie are not far behind in kowtowing to Johnson, although they are now finding this increasingly embarrassing due to the swift rise of an antiwar movement in Japan as a direct result of Johnson's escalation of the war in Vietnam. Big demonstrations have already occurred in Japan; and Tokyo, the world's largest city, significantly voted socialist in the July election.

The beginning of a recession in Japan has also served to remind the Japanese capitalists that their economic system is not immune after all to crises, and they have an evident feeling of uncertainty about the future. Yet the Japanese government continues to support Johnson's escalation of the war in Vietnam.

The French government is the only one that has offered to indicate a disapproving or critical attitude toward the White House. It is understandable that the French colonialists should feel some heartburn over the loss of empire in Southeast Asia and a certain melancholy at finding themselves elbowed out by American imperialism.

In addition, Gen. de Gaulle sees possibilities for maneuver in the Sino-Soviet conflict and also some opportunity for blackmailing Washington. He wants the French chips cashed in gold, for instance.

But the French capitalists and their political representatives have repeatedly indicated that their attitude toward U.S. imperialism is not at all one of deep opposition. They understand very well that they have no real choice but to go along with their Wall Street cousins if the conflict deepens in Vietnam and turns into an intercontinental war.

The hope that interimperialist rivalries might serve to slow down the Pentagon is thus based on little substance.

There is, of course, nothing wrong in any workers state attempting to take advantage of whatever rivalries can be found among the imperialist powers, and such rivalries do exist, but it would be completely delusory to expect an outcome such as occurred in World War II when the rivalry between the Allies and the Axis powers constituted a major component of the conflict.

The whole constellation of imperialist powers underwent an irreversible change with the defeat of Germany, Italy and Japan and the victory of the U.S., a victory that was likewise at the expense of Britain and France, for this meant such a decline for the European capitalists and such a leap forward for the Americans that the U.S. emerged as a superpower.

(Continued on Page 27)

# Crisis in Rhodesia

By Dick Roberts

Southern Rhodesia's declaration of independence from Great Britain November 11 did not catch any interested party by surprise. It was an event clearly forewarned by the appointment of Ian Smith, racist spokesman of Rhodesian white supremacy, as Prime Minister in April 1964. In August of the same year, the Rhodesian African Nationalist Parties were banned and their leaders confined to prison camps. Britain read these events correctly, and in October 1964 publicly warned Rhodesia that a unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) would be considered "treasonable."

Since the visit of British Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs, Arthur Bottomley, to Salisbury in February, Britain has been engaged in continuous diplomatic skirmishes with Rhodesia. On October 19, the Labor government announced that it had completed contingency plans to meet *any* decisions on UDI reached by the Rhodesian government. Speaking from their respective prison camps, Rhodesia's leading black nationalists have warned of the consequences of UDI since their detentions; and in September of this year, African heads of state meeting in Accra, Ghana, deemed the impending declaration worth two committees, one of which issued a strong resolution, and the other, an announcement of "secret plans" for military retaliation.

Nevertheless UDI occurred. The political and economic forces which Smith hopes will allow a relatively smooth transition to Verwoerdian fascism have been given the unofficial stamp of approval by the world's major powers. Wilson's promise not to oppose Smith militarily has been fulfilled; and his promise of economic sanctions designed to hurt only those who support Smith in Rhodesia has been carried into effect.

November 20, the United Nations passed a strongly-worded resolution implying that Britain should take further economic sanctions, and a committee has been set up to contemplate carrying these out. The Soviet Union has "reluctantly" supported this resolution. The United States has enacted an



Rhodesian tobacco farmer

embargo of Rhodesian sugar that will affect less than five percent of Rhodesia's total exports.

Whatever immediate plans the Accra military committee developed, its desire to prevent the emergence of a new South Africa has been carefully weighed against Smith's modern, helicopter-supplied and British-trained counter-guerrilla forces, particularly since there is no guarantee to them whatsoever, that Britain might not bring military forces to the aid of . . . Smith's regime.

Only the black worker in the larger Rhodesian towns has acted definitively. In the streets of Salisbury and Bulawayo, there have been large and militant demonstrations against Smith. Many black workers—facing dire reprisals—have walked off their jobs. Hundreds have been rounded up and imprisoned. Martial law prevails, while heavily armed police guard the streets and helicopters survey the land. A few acts of sabotage appear to have been committed, but it is well known that mandatory death sentences await even those who contemplate such actions.

Why is it then, that, the forces of the Anglo-American world have not found it possible to uphold the will of the black majority of this country against a



**Rhodesian tobacco farmer**

handful of white racists? This is the question Rhodesia poses, and its answer is relevant both to Rhodesia's future and that of Africa as a whole.

In order to understand the forces that made UDI possible, it is necessary to examine its history in the greater context of Rhodesian and African history. UDI must be seen as a particular step in the general unfolding of the struggle between the forces of white colonialism on one side and those of black African nationalism on the other. Further, it is important to remember that this struggle has been developing for a long period of time, and that in the course of this time there have developed significant, if temporary, counterforces, both within the white camp of colonial dominance, and the black camp of those struggling for freedom.

In fact, the present Rhodesian development is first and foremost the reflection of a disagreement within the camp of the white masters, about how best to maintain their cherished grasp on the fabulous wealth of all of Southern Africa. The seeds of this disagreement go back to the very origin of the colonial system in Africa, and in the case of Rhodesia, to the founding of this British colony in 1888.

In this year, emissaries of the British financier Cecil Rhodes, who had founded a diamond empire further to the south about a decade earlier, purchased the mineral rights to the kingdom of Lobegula, chief of the Matabele. This act, for the paltry sum of 110 pounds monthly plus rifles and ammunition, gave Rhodes' British South Africa Company the key to fabulous mineral riches in the area. But it also planted within a black nation a nucleus of white adventurers who soon conquered the Africans, established white rule, and in the area later known as Southern Rhodesia, became the owners of vast plantations.

If we jump ahead six decades, we will find that Rhodes and his financial copartners were certainly the more fortunate of the colonists. When the British South Africa Company sold its mineral rights to one portion of this area, then having become an independent state and having reverted to its African name of Zambia, they reckoned up their profit on mineral royalties alone at \$476 million.

But the white settlers, steadily reinforced by European immigrants, were gainers too, and it is to their present system of land-control that we must first turn our attention, because they are the bastion of the Smith government in Rhodesia.

Today there are about 220,000 whites in this land of nearly four million blacks. Although Rhodesia's wealth is small in comparison to the mineral giants that are its neighbors, it is the second largest producer of Virginia leaf-cured tobacco after this country, with a production in 1963-64 of 304 million pounds. Including additional exports of sugar, gold, coal, and rare minerals, Rhodesia realized a trade surplus of \$95 million last year.

*Britain's Responsibility in Southern Rhodesia*, a paper issued by the government of Ghana, summarizes the essential features of the system of white land ownership: The total acreage occupied by whites (41 million acres) is approximately the same size as that allotted to Africans (44 million acres).

The Europeans gave themselves the best and most fertile land, leaving scrub-land to the Africans. Only two percent of the European farms are less than 1,000 acres in size, and over 33 percent of them greater than 20,000 acres.

The amount of land legally allowed each African farmer is six acres maximum, but since about two million Africans live on reservations, where the soil is exhausted through excessive cultivation, lacks roads, irrigation and running water, the arable land on these six-acre plots may be only one-half or one-third the total size.

High-grade Virginia tobaccos are limited to Europeans alone; the European immigrant is given a minimum allocation of 750 acres, but he sometimes gets as much as 3,000 acres. Over one million Africans, forced off the poverty-stricken reservations, work on European farms, hired on terms often requiring long separation from their families.

Black city-workers have no civil rights. They are excluded from skilled industrial jobs and when they live outside the reservations, they do so only with the permission of their employers.

Statistics, however, do not tell the story as vividly as Smith's constituents themselves. A candid glimpse of the Rhodesian ruling class may be seen in the press cables from Salisbury over the last several weeks. *Wall Street Journal* staff-reporter Ray Vicker, for example, visited a former manager of a South African mine named Harry Wells.

In 1949, Vicker writes in the *Journal* of Oct. 27, this "wavy-haired, handsome Englishman" had only \$210 in his pocket when he drove into Rhodesia from South Africa as a 23-year-old. "Today," Vicker continues, "he owns a 6,600-acre farm, two clothing firms and other properties that make him worth over \$2 million. His bougainvillea-shaded home, set on 22 acres amid a grove of pine and gum trees, boasts a 39-foot living room; outside are a 65-foot swimming pool, a tennis court and a barn housing eight polo ponies."

Roger Elliot, correspondent for the *Illustrated London News*, stopped in at the more modest 2,000-acre tobacco farm of a fellow named Wally Hustler. Hustler is "a relaxed, genial man," Elliot reported in the Oct. 23 issue, "past 50 now, who came up from South Africa in 1937, 'without a sou in my pocket...'"

"A mechanic by trade, he wanted most of all to be a garage foreman. Instead, he drifted into farming, became manager of an 8,000-acre estate and in 1953 bought Squatodzi for 16,000 pounds. [1 pound has the value of \$2.80 at the current exchange rate.] By ploughing profits back every year, he reckons he has made the place worth 35,000 pounds today..."

"Wally has played White Boss to 300 Africans," Elliot continues, "including the wives and children of his workers. 'I gave them everything — food, clothing, firewood, education, pensions, medicine, housing, and 4 pounds a month pocket money. I've got my own little country out here. My boys get everything from me but a kick in the pants.'"

"In contrast to the two European-style bungalows where the Hustlers and Browns live, [Streth Brown is

the farm manager] the native compound is a stretch of bare earth littered with bones, broken utensils, and rotten fruit. Along one edge stand the square concrete houses, three rooms apiece, that Wally built for the Africans . . .

"The Africans had taken one look at them, then gone back to their smaller, home-made, thatched mud huts . . . 'Most of these young girls, from the age of eight onwards, are promised to teenage boys,' explains Wally. " 'Streth's cookboy, for instance, is paying one pound a month for that one. They'll marry in a few years' time, rear a few children, then the boy will get bored and start paying for another girl, or the girl will hitch-hike to Salisbury for a new life. Not many, though — we're a very closed community . . .

" 'There are only three things my boys worry about — beer, women, and more beer . . . They're the greatest twist dancers in the world . . . But they're the best workers in the world, too. I never have any labor troubles . . . ' "

Such a totally repressive society can only be maintained by the strictest "rule of law." Any breach, that would allow the Africans, no matter how few, the advantages of a higher education — even a glimmer of freedom — must be plugged. All those lucky enough to get such an education in the past, if they have not become totally servile to their white masters must be confined . . . if not slaughtered.

Rhodesia's whites have no recourse if they are to maintain their near-slave system of power, but to step up the repression of the blacks. Caught in the morning tide of African revolution, Rhodesia must back-track on the rights previously allowed blacks. In short, Rhodesia must now undertake what Verwoerd began about a decade ago: the re-tribalization of the Rhodesian black masses. In this process, UDI is a preliminary formality. Much more significant is the increase in political prisoners from several hundreds to many thousands in the course of less than two years; the enlistment of 215 African chiefs to the rolls of government salaries; and Smith's Rhodesian-Bantustan plans.

In this desire, however, Smith and his cohorts are somewhat less ambitious than the descendants of Cecil Rhodes. On the one side is a narrow and short-ranged plan, which would do little else than fix Rhodesia at its present level of development, confined by the limitations of unskilled labor to farming and mining. On the other are the plans of London's and New York's modern-day Rhodes: a dream of extensive industrialization, conveniently located near sources of tremendous power and vast mineral deposits, encompassing a continent, so far at least, barely touched by modern technology. But this empire would require a base of *skilled labor*, a labor force technically and socially educated for the "benefit" of modern-day capitalism; and it is on this point, that Rhodesia's present-day rulers not only disagree with their cousins in London. They stand in London's way.

Before discussing this conflict, however, it is well to remind ourselves of what is at stake for the other side, the side of modern finance capital, for it is in this connection that Rhodesia is deeply interlocked with other African states.

Again we could return to Rhodes and the European entrepreneurs like him, who beginning in the last quarter of the nineteenth century laid stake to the mineral deposits of all-Africa. In fact, there have been few changes in the original pattern of ownership of these old colonial empires since that time, except that in recent years America has become a major partner (and we will return to this fact below).

However we can take advantage of two highly informative articles by Fenner Brockway in the January and May 1965 issues of *Africa and the World*, which describe in detail the present structure of corporate ownership of African minerals.

Brockway demonstrates that all the mineral wealth in central and southern Africa is owned by a handful of American, European and one or two African entrepreneurs, who maintain their control of this wealth through the interlocking directorates of ten major corporations, and over 100 subsidiaries of these corporations.

The two "kingpins" are the DeBeers Consolidated Mines which Rhodes founded in 1880, and the Anglo American Corporation which began as an associated holding company in 1917. Both have their headquarters in Johannesburg, South Africa. Both are virtually controlled by a single man, Harry Oppenheimer.

Comprising 22 separate corporations including all its subsidiaries, the DeBeers monopoly spreads through 10 African countries of which South Africa, the Congo, Sierra Leone, Angola and South West Africa are the major diamond producers. Owning both the mines and the diamond selling organizations, DeBeers markets about 80 percent of the world's diamonds. In 1963 it realized a profit of close to \$80 million.

The Anglo-American Corporation is more diversified. In its *1964 Annual Report*, it lists 26 associated companies which may be broken down into five groups by the minerals involved:

- 1) The gold mines in South Africa, (and Rhodesia, although these are "under-developed");
- 2) The diamond mines in South Africa and South West Africa where Anglo American and DeBeers interests intersect;
- 3) The copper mines in Zambia (about 55 percent of Zambian copper);
- 4) The rare mineral corporations of a) lead and zinc in Zambia; b) pyrite in Rhodesia; c) vanadium in the Transvaal; and d) iron ore in Swaziland.
- 5) Coal interests in South Africa and Rhodesia.

A second sphere of control is that comprised by the Societe General de Belgique and Union Miniere du Haut Katanga, whose interests and responsibilities are well known to students of Congolese politics. It is no exaggeration to say that the puppet Congolese dictators are "their men in the Congo," that they are the murderers of Patrice Lumumba, and with the help of the U.S. military, the financiers of the bloody mercenary campaign which massacred the Congolese liberation fighters in Stanleyville last fall.

Linking these last primarily Franco-Belgian interests with the Anglo-American-DeBeers network is

Tanganyika Concessions Limited. This corporation holds about 25 percent of the shares of Union Miniere, its headquarters are in Salisbury, and it owns 90 percent of the Benguela Railway, the economic life-stream of Angola, which carries Katanga minerals to ports in Lobito, and joins the Congo to South West Africa. The Chairman of Tanganyika Concessions, Captain Charles Waterhouse, is, of course, a prominent figure in British politics.

Two other corporations should be mentioned at this point: Consolidated African Trust, which is the owner of 60 percent of the diamonds in Ghana, and lies outside the DeBeers network; and American Metal Climax — one of America's giant corporations, which is rapidly becoming a major holder of African minerals.

American Metal Climax owns 46 percent interest in Roan Selection Trust, the rival copper producer to Anglo American in Zambia. Its highly placed board of directors includes A. Chester Beatty of London, who is chairman of Consolidated African Selection Trust, linking it to the diamonds in Ghana; Arthur H. Dean, an influential American politician, once the U. S. delegate to the Geneva conference on disarmament; and Gabriel Hauge, the president of Manufacturers Hanover Trust, America's fourth largest bank.

Even this brief glance, which is by no means complete, illustrates the important points relative to financial interests in Rhodesia: First, the owners of Rhodesian minerals — which is only a small part of their empires — are also the owners of the mineral wealth of the other white-supremacist regimes in Southern Africa, that is, South Africa, and its colony South West Africa, the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, and the British protectorates; and they are the owners of the minerals in the newly independent nations, particularly important in this respect being the Congo and Zambia.

Second, these empires are highly centralized, allowing them to correlate their activities in all African countries with the utmost attention to their long-range interests not in any single country, but in Africa as a whole. And third, these empires are important and integral parts of the world-capitalist system, of immediate concern to Britain, America, France and Belgium more than to the Smiths, Verwoerds and Salazars.

To keep their empires intact, first of all, and to develop them under politically stable conditions — these are the imperialists' aims.

How to do this? Certainly *not* by imprisoning the most educated Africans, and reducing the rest to the level of social barbarism. In his 1965 *Chairman's Statement* to the board of the Anglo American Corporation, Oppenheimer stated:

"In Rhodesia, too, there has been a marked economic recovery and a good deal of new development has taken place. The Anglo American Corporation Group has followed up its investment in the large scale irrigation scheme [\$700 million] at Hippo Valley . . . The amalgamated company, Anglo American Corporation Rhodesia Limited now holds most of our investments in Rhodesia and is well placed to play an important part in the development of Rhodesia in the fields of mining, timber, citrus and

finance. Active prospecting work was continued . . . and two small mining prospects are at present being opened up and several others are being examined.

"Although the economic position in Rhodesia has improved considerably, it cannot be regarded as satisfactory because the inflow of capital from outside, which is so necessary to a country at Rhodesia's stage of development, is not taking place, and as a result, investment is lagging. This may be attributed very largely to the political uncertainty. . . ."

But this is not the case for all of Africa, and here we must take up a most important point passed over several paragraphs before. That is the *differences* between the African states marked out for future exploitation. A pertinent example is Zambia, formerly, Northern Rhodesia.

Zambia, the second wealthiest country in Africa, produces about 16 percent of the western world's copper and contains about 20 percent of the world's known copper reserves. Like the other countries in central and southern Africa, its population of a little less than 3 million, is predominantly black. Like the others, too, the vast majority are rural poor. Their estimated average per capita income is about \$25 a year.

What is crucial about Zambia, however, at the present moment of history, is that it has a black government within the framework of the world capitalist system. Even this limited freedom, of course, was not handed ready-made to the Zambian masses; it was won over years of struggle against the British colonial masters, and recently under the leadership of Zambia's president, Kenneth Kaunda.

When the Salisbury whites joined forces with Britain to mold the federation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, (1953-1963), whereby the white-supremacist structure could include the mineral wealth and black labor of Northern Rhodesia, it was men like Kaunda, under the slogan of "one man, one vote," who fought to break up the federation and who achieved Zambian independence in 1964.

But Kaunda is not a socialist, and never had any desire to move against the powerful British-American trusts. "We have no intention of 'taking over' the mines," Kaunda writes in "Some Personal Reflections," *Africa's Freedom*, 1964. "On the contrary, we want to encourage private enterprise and investment and only where the private sector cannot operate will the Government provide the structure of development."

The point was not missed in London. When Zambia became free, Britain helped the new government purchase the mineral royalties that had been owned by

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the British South Africa Company since 1888. But that is where they stopped. The copper companies, as shown above, remain in the hands of the Anglo American Corporation and Roan Selection Trust; and not only this, but *since* independence, these companies have realized all-time-high profits. Jan. 25, 1965, in a half-page advertisement in the *New York Times*, Anglo American boasted a \$1.4 billion investment program in Zambia.

This, by the way, is no accident. The war in Vietnam has produced a world-wide copper shortage, driving copper consumption up from 3.9 million tons in 1959 to 5.3 million tons in 1964.

It is therefore not a secret, and the reasons are obvious, that London would *prefer* Zambian-type governments to the systems of white-supremacy in Southern Africa. Finance capital knows no color-bar. But history cannot be neglected, and it is precisely at this point that Britain's reactionary policies of a colonial past catch up with her liberal dreams of a neo-colonial future.

In South Africa Britain has not allowed just several months or a year of white-supremacist rule, but decades; and the South African state is in delicate balance. It depends for labor on the equally repressive colonies of Angola and Mozambique, which Portugal has contracted to supply at the rate of about 150,000 black men a year.

Beneath the South African surface, is the mass-fabric of black revolutionary opposition. In Angola and Mozambique, black revolutionaries are fighting the NATO-armed Portuguese colonialists at this very moment; and just one year ago, U.S.-financed U.S.-armed, and U.S.-flown white mercenaries slaughtered thousands of Congolese revolutionaries. The continent is scarred with heroic revolutionary blood, and it is seething with mass revolutionary ferment.

London's problem in Rhodesia is not only to develop a sympathetic black leadership, but to do this without unlocking the door to a highly unsympathetic black revolution which would consume the entire network of their white mineral empire.

In its November 13 issue, the British financial weekly, *The Economist*, spelled this out in so many words: "Throughout, Britain should make clear its eventual aim for Rhodesia. This is to reach majority (that is, African) rule there. But it should be made quite plain that when Britain regains control over its colony's destiny it will not hand power over immediately; rather it will go for a slow version of the stage-by-stage advance that, in neighboring countries, has produced such conservative regimes as those of Dr. Kaunda and Dr. Banda. *Neither of their African regimes is a threat to the security of Mozambique or South Africa . . .*" (Emphasis added)

In this light, London conceived a scheme for Rhodesia which was different from Smith's to be sure, but could hardly be mistaken for supplanting white rule with black. What Britain's Prime Minister Wilson proposed was that Rhodesia revert to its 1961 constitution, the details of which were described in the "Supplement to British Record No. 19, Nov. 24, 1965," printed by the British Information Services:

According to the constitution, "the Legislative Assembly consists of 65 members of whom 50 are returned predominantly by 'A' roll voters and 15 predomi-

nantly by 'B' roll voters. The franchise under the 1961 Constitution is wider than previously. However, it depends broadly on the possession of certain economic and educational qualifications, the qualifications for the 'A' roll being higher than those for the 'B' roll. Europeans predominate on the 'A' roll, Africans on the 'B' roll.

"Registered voters on April 30, 1963 were as follows:

	'A' Roll	'B' Roll
Africans	2,251	10,214
Europeans	88,256	570
Asians	1,193	107
Coloreds	1,275	166
Totals	92,975	11,057"

In other words, the whites would remain in strict control. Commanding only 5 percent of the population, they would control 50 out of 65 seats in the legislature. Forty percent of the whites would be allowed to vote; less than one half of one percent of the blacks.

With a long-run view towards neocolonializing Rhodesia, Britain could see her way to allowing these concessions. Smith, however, could not. White supremacy cannot allow equal status even to one black out of four million. As in South Africa, Smith hopes to maintain his rule through bribery of the tribal chiefs, who would have complete authority over subjects — but no power whatsoever in parliament.

But Rhodesia's black nationalists would not accept Wilson's plan either. There are two African nationalist parties in Rhodesia: apparently the larger, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), led by Joshua Nkomo, was founded in 1961; the second, a 1963 split-off of the first, is led by Ndabaningi Sithole, and is called the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). Both leaders, and many of their followers, are presently confined to prison camps.

Whatever their differences (and these have not been accurately reported in the western press), what unites Rhodesia's African leaders is their refusal to step one inch in the direction of cooperating with any form of continued white rule. The National Democratic Party, which was ZAPU's predecessor, fought the 1961 constitution on the program that Africans should boycott the elections, to avoid giving the whites even a pretense that they favored eventual majority rule. That party was banished, leading to the formation of ZAPU; now ZAPU and ZANU are banished, but the African's position has not changed.

In January of this year, *New York Times* reporter Robert Conley visited Nkomo at the Gonakudzingwa detention camp; this is the most recent statement of his views that we have, at a time when there were already 1,936 Africans imprisoned according to the Rhodesian government itself.

"You must expect massive bloodshed," Nkomo told Conley Jan. 15, "because of what the Government does. The people are determined not to be ruled by a white minority again . . . No one ever sits down and plans violence," he continued, "they are pushing us into it. We just want to be free."

In February, Arthur Bottomley, and in October,

Harold Wilson, went out of their ways to speak to Sithole and Nkomo, undoubtedly attempting to persuade them to become the champions of Britain's plan. One needs little imagination to guess the fees London offered for such a service. The Africans refused while their followers demonstrated in the streets. "Before Mr. Wilson left Salisbury," the *Times* reported Nov. 30, "he said Rhodesia's blacks needed time and experience before they would be ready for responsibility."

Kaunda, of course, has taken the British, not the African side in the struggle, but he is in a precarious position. On Nov. 17, the *Wall Street Journal* reported Kaunda as having described Rhodesia's nationalists as "idiots." "The Rhodesian African leaders," he was reported to continue, "have betrayed the human race just as much as Smith has."

Kaunda's invitation in late November to the British to protect the Kariba Dam does not reflect serious fear on his part of sabotage by the Rhodesian whites. Smith has said more than once that he welcomes the intervention of British forces in Zambia. After all, what are Smith's trump-cards? They are not that Smith could refuse to allow the Zambian industries power, or the Zambian copper-mines access to railroads. On the contrary, these facilities in Rhodesia only mean that Anglo American and American Metal Climax will keep pumping funds into Rhodesia — no matter who is in power.

The British sanctions do not pose an immediate threat to Smith. Before UDI, Smith removed all the funds he needed for foreign exchange from London banks and put them in Zurich; the funds remaining in London are there to pay British companies Rhodesian debts, and these are not frozen. This year's tobacco crop was sold before UDI, and tobacco merchants have not been sitting idly by. Arrangements are being made with French, Dutch, and other traders to handle next year's crop. On the question of the oil-embargo, presently before a UN committee, *The Economist* stated definitively Nov. 20, "without physically checking tanker traffic at Beira, no oil embargo would work." South Africa, of course, is on Smith's side. Verwoerd stated:

"The Republic cannot participate in measures such as boycott movements. Its declared policy has always been, whenever boycotts have been directed against it, that boycotts are in principle wrong and that retaliation by the institution of a counter-boycott would not even be considered. The Republic can therefore not take part in any form of boycott . . .

"In conclusion, it is considered necessary to make it clear — also on behalf of South Africa — that with

respect to color policies, there is no similarity between the policy of separate development of the Government of the Republic [Apartheid] and the policy of partnership as applied in Rhodesia in terms of the Constitution granted by the British Government to Rhodesia in 1961." (*Information Service of South Africa, Business Report*, Vol. 5, no. 35, Nov. 19, 1965)

There can be little question but that the status quo is on Smith's side. Britain has not been able to find any "moderates" in the Rhodesian prison camps who might be groomed to follow the path of a Kaunda, and besides, this is a long-run process that once started, might not be containable at the "conservative" rate which British financiers would urge. There is the pertinent example of the Congo, where the first tastes of political democracy did not produce a Kaunda, but a Patrice Lumumba, and one should not give strong odds against the possibility that Britain might not allow even a Kaunda, so close to the borders of South Africa. (When the federation broke up in 1963, British troops were sent to Southern Rhodesia.)

Kaunda's invitation of troops to the Kariba Dam, therefore, can only be regarded as a smoke screen which gives Kaunda and Wilson a shortrun cover against those who, however sincerely, have demanded British troop intervention. But Britain's record is too clear on this point for there to be any doubt about how these troops might be used.

Black Africans have seen British troops in Africa, all right. They saw them rushed into Aden; they remember the concentration camps in Kenya; they know that the fateful American planes which dropped Belgian machine-gunners on the city of Stanleyville took off from British African possessions.

There can be no question which side British and American forces would take if it came to a showdown; and this is the crux of the problem for African revolutionaries. The Congolese lesson is important. Lumumba's followers were right: In order to remove the vice of colonialism once and for all from Africa, it would be necessary to take up arms against the aggressor, whether he came under the guise of the United Nations, or as white mercenaries with American arms and airplanes. But they were not ready; the Congolese Liberation Front did not have the organization and the program, and the unity of Africa behind it, that was necessary to rally the African masses against the imperialist overlords, and to sustain a battle to the finish.

It is this difficult question which the Rhodesian situation now poses to the vanguard of African revolution. Rhodesia, for them, as for western finance capital, cannot be divorced from the whole arena of exploitation in Southern Africa. To resist Smith now, it is evident, would mean to take on Anglo-American imperialism in a bloody battle to the finish over the question of who is to rule Africa in the end, black man or white?

Is black Africa ready? This is the weighty variable that is being thrashed out from Accra to Dar-es-Salaam, and from South Africa's Robben Island concentration camp to Gonakudzingwa; and it is there, not in London or Salisbury, that the decisive answers will be made.

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# DOCUMENTS OF THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

The following two articles have been reprinted from the first issue of the "Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter," the new bulletin of the Caucus to Constitute a National Organization of the Local Independent Anti-Vietnam War Committees for the Withdrawal of U. S. Troops Now. (The origins of this caucus are described in the articles.)

The three authors are the members of a committee which was elected by the caucus to set up the newsletter. Kipp Dawson is an undergraduate at San Francisco State College, and is a chairman of the San Francisco State Vietnam Day Committee. Jens Jensen is chairman of the Cambridge Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and Daniel Rosenshine, corresponding secretary of the caucus, is a member of the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Vietnam. All three were delegates of their respective committees to the Convention of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, in Washington, D. C., Nov. 25-28.

## WHY WE SAY BRING THE TROOPS HOME NOW

By Kipp Dawson

At meetings of the independent caucus during the Washington convention, we discussed why the caucus should be for the withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam now. It was clearly the consensus of the caucus, expressed through a vote of the overwhelming majority, that this should be our approach. A point clarified by the discussion was that our call for immediate withdrawal of troops was not a specific slogan, but rather a general stand which could be expressed in many different ways, and that members of the caucus will, of course, raise many other points during the course of their anti-Vietnam-war work. Some of the reasons for the general stand of immediate U. S. withdrawal from Vietnam discussed in this article were raised in caucus discussions, and others are the result of my own further thinking.

In the first place, immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops is what most of the independent committees are really fighting for. The fastest way to end the war is for the U. S. to get out. It is clear that the U. S. bears the responsibility for the war and for its continuation. If the U. S. pulls out, the mass bombing, napalming and murder of Vietnamese would stop, and the lives of American soldiers would be saved.

Most of the independent committees stand for the self-determination of Vietnam. The idea that the U. S. should get out of Vietnam is part and parcel of the idea of self-determination. On the other hand, the

"negotiations" approach adopted by the leaders of the SANE [National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy] march and some of the delegates at the National Coordinating Committee convention, implies that the U. S. has the right to negotiate the future of Vietnam. The U. S. does not have the right to negotiate what kind of government the Vietnamese people will have, or to negotiate an American "presence" in Vietnam, or to negotiate any of the affairs of the Vietnamese people. The Vietnamese people have the right to decide their own future without interference from the United States. The presence of U. S. troops, even if a cease-fire were arranged, would preclude real self-determination for the Vietnamese. The only just demand is that the U. S. get out of Vietnam now, and allow the Vietnamese people to decide their own future.

An editorial in the November issue of the pacifist magazine, *Liberation*, said, in part: "... the slogan 'negotiated peace' leaves us a bit wary. In negotiations each side is supposed to give a little, to compromise its position. Perhaps that's the way this war will end; perhaps the National Liberation Front will agree to something less than full self-determination and immediate withdrawal of American troops. If that is the case, we hold no quarrel with people who have fought and bled for a quarter of a century, against French, Japanese and now American intervention. In their circumstance an honorable compromise may be warranted. But for decent Americans to call for such a compromise in advance, is an immoral apologia for the criminal deeds of our administration. . . . The only decent thing the United States can do by way of atoning for its misdeeds is to stop shooting and get out! That's what we pacifists should be demanding — cease fire, withdrawal. . . . The term 'negotiated peace' implies that there is some justice on our side. But there is none; we have nothing whatsoever to be proud of in Vietnam. We should stop shooting. We should get out!"

Some who attack the program of withdrawal now, do so on the grounds that people won't understand the idea, or will think it to be too "radical." I think this is very wrong. The idea of bringing the troops home is simple, clear, direct and understandable. It is obviously the way to end the war, and stop the killing of our own soldiers. Soldiers who become opposed to the war or doubtful about it, are going to want to come home. A movement back here that is calling for the troops to come home is the most likely to evoke sympathy from the troops, and will not appear to be against them and what they want. Another editorial in *Liberation*, in the December issue, is titled: "Support the G. I.'s; Bring Them Home." This is a good idea for us to publicize, because when

we demand that the troops be brought home, we are the ones who are really on the troops side, not those who would have them stay in Vietnam to die in an unjust cause. The mothers, families and friends of soldiers in Vietnam will also respond to this demand, because they, too, want them brought home, and the sooner the better.

The program of withdrawal is the best way to link up with the ordinary American who becomes opposed to the war — and we can expect that as the war intensifies and casualties mount, more and more people will become opposed to Americans fighting and dying in Vietnam.

A final point is that the demand for withdrawal of U. S. troops puts the blame for the war where it really lies: with the U. S. government. It makes it clear that we are opposed to the government's war, that we don't accept Johnson's war at all and are opponents of it. Our caucus, which is organizing on the basis of withdrawal, is attempting to strengthen the most dynamic section of the antiwar movement which puts the most pressure on the administration to end the war, and to increase the effectiveness of the movement as a whole.

## THE THANKSGIVING ANTI-WAR CONVENTION

By Dan Rosenshine and Jens Jensen

Over the Thanksgiving weekend, close to 1,500 people from a wide variety of organizations opposed to the war in Vietnam came together to talk shop in Washington, D. C., at the convention called by the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

The date was set for the next major national action against the war, another weekend of protest, to be held on March 25 and 26 around the theme, "End the War in Vietnam Now". These Days of Protest, like October 15 and 16, will have a combined educational and direct action character. They have the potential of being much larger than the demonstrations in October, drawing upon the additional tens of thousands, or more, who will be jolted into active opposition between now and then by the continued escalation of the war. The convention also decided to support anti-Vietnam-war demonstrations called by the Southern Regional Committee to End the War in Vietnam to be held throughout the South on February 12.

This was the first gathering of its kind for the new antiwar movement and there was naturally a wide range of viewpoints represented and expressed. Probably the viewpoint that generated the most dis-

cussion and controversy was that held by those of us who formed the Caucus to Constitute a National Organization of the Local Independent Anti-Vietnam-War Committees for the Withdrawal of U. S. Troops Now. Over 170 delegates and members from 52 Committees to End the War in Vietnam met in this caucus and discussed the idea of building a national organization to demand the immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam.

As two delegates from independent committees who played an active role in the convention and in establishing the Caucus, we would like to set down at some length our understanding of the issues of the convention.

The first is: why did a sizeable number of delegates from independent anti-war committees establish a caucus and this newsletter to represent their point of view — the point of view which demands the immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam and holds that they key vehicles for building the anti-war movement have been and will continue to be the independent local organizations known as Committees to End the War in Vietnam and Vietnam Day Committees?

Second: Does the independent caucus constitute a "split" from the convention or the movement?

Third: we would like to assess from the point of view of the caucus the problems of coordinating the different sectors of the anti-war movement and how, in our opinion, this can best be done.

Last, how is the caucus organized and what kinds of activity are we going to be carrying out?

### 1. What are independent anti-war committees and why are they important?

Properly speaking, the anti-war movement consists of every trend or organization that has taken a forthright position against the war and acted upon it. This includes organizations such as SANE [National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy], CNVA [Committee for Nonviolent Action], civil rights groups like SNCC [Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee], MFDP [Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party], community projects and organizations, SDS [Students for a Democratic Society], DuBois Clubs, YSA [Young Socialist Alliance], the May 2nd Movement and other left political groups, all of which existed before the escalation of the war.

The Committees to End the War in Vietnam and Vietnam Day Committees, however, are a new development that was born out of the SDS March on Washington and the Berkeley Vietnam Day last spring. They have rapidly become the most dynamic sector of the anti-war movement.

Although each local Committee to End the War in Vietnam has its own unique characteristics, there are certain common features that all of them have. They have established a policy of non-exclusion whereby anybody who is opposed to the war in Vietnam can join regardless of other political views or affiliations. This sharply separates them from some of the organizations leading the peace movement a few years ago like the Student Peace Union, Turn Toward

(Continued on Page 29)

# Notes on

# Socialism and Man

By Che Guevara

*This article was translated by Gerald Paul from the July 1 issue of the Mexican radical bi-weekly, *Politica*. It was written by Che Guevara during his trip through Africa in the form of a letter to Carlos Quijano of the Uruguayan independent radical weekly *Marcha*.*

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*Though belatedly, I am completing these notes in the course of my trip through Africa, hoping in this way to keep my promise. I would like to do so by dealing with the theme set forth in the above title. I think it may be of interest to Uruguayan readers.*

A common argument from the mouths of capitalist spokesmen, in the ideological struggle against socialism, is that socialism, or the period of building socialism into which we have entered, is characterized by the subordination of the individual to the state. I will not try to refute this argument solely on theoretical grounds, but I will try to establish the facts as they exist in Cuba and then add comments of a general nature. Let me begin by sketching the history of our revolutionary struggle before and after the taking of power:

As is well known, the exact date on which the revolutionary struggle began — which would culminate January 1st, 1959 — was the 26th of July, 1953. A group of men commanded by Fidel Castro attacked the Moncada barracks in Oriente Province on the morning of that day. The attack was a failure; the failure became a disaster; and the survivors ended up in prison, beginning the revolutionary struggle again after they were freed by an amnesty.

In this stage, in which there was only the germ of socialism, man was the basic factor. We put our trust in him — individual, specific, with a first and

last name — and the triumph or failure of the mission entrusted to him depended on his capacity for action.

Then came the stage of guerrilla struggle. It developed in two distinct elements, the people, the still sleeping mass which it was necessary to mobilize; and its vanguard, the guerrillas, the motor force of the movement, the generator of revolutionary consciousness and militant enthusiasm. It was this vanguard, this catalyzing agent, which created the subjective conditions necessary for victory.

Here again, in the course of the process of proletarianizing our thinking, in this revolution which took place in our habits and our minds, the individual was the basic factor. Every one of the fighters of the Sierra Maestra who reached an upper rank in the revolutionary forces has a record of outstanding deeds to his credit. They attained their rank on this basis. It was the first heroic period and in it they contended for the heaviest responsibilities, for the greatest dangers, with no other satisfaction than fulfilling a duty.

In our work of revolutionary education we frequently return to this instructive theme. In the attitude of our fighters could be glimpsed the man of the future.

On other occasions in our history the act of total dedication to the revolutionary cause was repeated. During the October crisis and in the days of Hurricane Flora we saw exceptional deeds of valor and sacrifice performed by an entire people. Finding the formula to perpetuate this heroic attitude in daily life is, from the ideological standpoint, one of our fundamental tasks.

In January 1959 the Revolutionary Government was established with the participation of various

members of the treacherous bourgeoisie. The existence of the Rebel Army as the basic factor of force constituted the guarantee of power.

Serious contradictions developed subsequently. In the first instance, in February 1959, these were resolved when Fidel Castro assumed leadership of the government with the post of Prime Minister. This stage culminated in July of the same year with the resignation under mass pressure of President Urrutia.

There now appeared in the history of the Cuban Revolution a force with well-defined characteristics which would systematically reappear — the mass.

This many faceted agency is not, as is claimed, the sum of units of the self-same type, behaving like a tame flock of sheep, and reduced, moreover, to that type by the system imposed from above. It is true that it follows its leaders, basically Fidel Castro, without hesitation; but the degree to which he won this trust corresponds precisely to the degree that he interpreted the people's desires and aspirations correctly, and to the degree that he made a sincere effort to fulfill the promises he made.

The mass participated in the agrarian reform and in the difficult task of the administration of state enterprises; it went through the heroic experience of Playa Giron; it was hardened in the battles against various bands of bandits armed by the CIA; it lived through one of the most important decisions of modern times during the October crisis; and today it continues to work for the building of socialism.

Viewed superficially, it might appear that those who speak of the subordination of the individual to the state are right. The mass carries out with matchless enthusiasm and discipline the tasks set by the government, whether economic in character, cultural, defensive, athletic, or whatever.

The initiative generally comes from Fidel or from the Revolutionary High Command, and is explained to the people who adopt it as theirs. In some cases the party and government utilize a local experience which may be of general value to the people, and follow the same procedure.

Nevertheless, the state sometimes makes mistakes. When one of these mistakes occurs, a decline in collective enthusiasm is reflected by a resulting quantitative decrease of the contribution of each individual, each of the elements forming the whole of the masses. Work is so paralyzed that insignificant quantities are produced. It is time to make a correction. That is what happened in March 1962 as a result of the sectarian policy imposed on the party by Anibal Escalante.

Clearly this mechanism is not adequate for insuring a succession of judicious measures. A more structured connection with the masses is needed and we must improve it in the course of the next years. But as far as initiatives originating in the upper strata of the government are concerned, we are presently utilizing the almost intuitive method of sounding out general reactions to the great problems we confront.

In this Fidel is a master, whose own special way of fusing himself with the people can be appreciated only by seeing him in action. At the great public mass meetings one can observe something like a counterpoint between two musical melodies whose

vibrations provoke still newer notes. Fidel and the mass begin to vibrate together in a dialogue of growing intensity until they reach the climax in an abrupt conclusion culminating in our cry of struggle and victory.

The difficult thing for someone not living the experience of the revolution to understand is this close dialectical unity between the individual and the mass, in which the mass, as an aggregate of individuals, is interconnected with its leaders.

Some phenomena of this kind can be seen under capitalism, when politicians capable of mobilizing popular opinion appear, but these phenomena are not really genuine social movements. (If they were, it would not be entirely correct to call them capitalist.) These movements only live as long as the persons who inspire them, or until the harshness of capitalist society puts an end to the popular illusions which made them possible.

Under capitalism man is controlled by a pitiless code of laws which are usually beyond his comprehension. The alienated human individual is tied to society in its aggregate by an invisible umbilical cord — the law of value. It is operative in all aspects of his life, shaping its course and destiny.

The laws of capitalism, invisible and blind to the majority, act upon the individual without his thinking about it. He sees only the vastness of a seemingly infinite horizon before him. That is how it is painted by capitalist propagandists who purport to draw a lesson from the example of Rockefeller — whether or not it is true — about the possibilities of success.

The amount of poverty and suffering required for the emergence of a Rockefeller, and the amount of depravity that the accumulation of a fortune of such magnitude entails, are left out of the picture and it is not always possible to make the people in general see this.

*(A discussion of how the workers in the imperialist countries are losing the spirit of working-class internationalism due to a certain degree of complicity in the exploitation of the dependent countries, and how this weakens the combativity of the masses in the imperialist countries, would be appropriate here; but that is a theme which goes beyond the aim of these notes.)*

## The Individual Defined

In any case the road to success is pictured as one beset with perils but one which, it would seem, an individual with the proper qualities can overcome to attain the goal. The reward is seen in the distance; the way is lonely. Further it is a route for wolves; one can succeed only at the cost of failure to others.

I would now like to try to define the individual, the actor in this strange and moving drama of the building of socialism, in his dual existence as a unique being and as a member of society.

I think it makes the most sense to recognize his quality of incompleteness, of being an unfinished product. The sermons of the past have been transposed to the present in the individual consciousness and a continual labor is necessary to eradicate them.

The process is two-sided: On the one side, society acts through direct and indirect education; on the other, the individual subjects himself to a process of conscious self-education.

The new society being formed has to compete fiercely with the past. The latter makes itself felt in the consciousness in which the residue of an education systematically oriented towards isolating the individual still weighs heavily, and also through the very character of the transitional period in which the market relationships of the past still persist. The commodity is the economic cell of capitalist society; so long as it exists its effects will make themselves felt in the organization of production and, consequently, in consciousness.

Marx outlined the period of transition as a period which results from the explosive transformation of the capitalist system of a country destroyed by its own contradictions. However in historical reality we have seen that some countries, which were weak limbs of the tree of imperialism, were torn off first — a phenomenon foreseen by Lenin.

In these countries capitalism had developed to a degree sufficient to make its effects felt by the people in one way or another; but, having exhausted all its possibilities, it was not its internal contradictions which caused these systems to explode. The struggle for liberation from a foreign oppressor, the misery caused by external events like war whose consequences make the privileged classes bear down more heavily on the oppressed, liberation movements aimed at the overthrow of neo-colonial regimes — these are the usual factors in this kind of explosion. Conscious action does the rest.

In these countries a complete education for social labor has not yet taken place and wealth is far from being within the reach of the masses, simply through the process of appropriation. Underdevelopment on the one hand, and the inevitable flight of capital on the other, make a rapid transition impossible without sacrifices. There remains a long way to go in constructing the economic base, and the temptation to follow the beaten track of material interest as the moving lever of accelerated development is very great.

There is the danger that the forest won't be seen for the trees. Following the will-o'-the-wisp method of achieving socialism with the help of the dull instruments which link us to capitalism (the commodity as the economic cell, profitability, individual material interest as a lever, etc.) can lead into a blind alley.

Further, you get there after having traveled a long distance in which there were many crossroads and it is hard to figure out just where it was that you took the wrong turn. The economic foundation which has been formed has already done its work of undermining the development of consciousness. To build communism, you must build new men, as well as the new economic base.

Hence it is very important to choose correctly the instrument for mobilizing the masses. Basically, this instrument must be moral in character, without neglecting, however, a correct utilization of the material stimulus — especially of a social character.

As I have already said, in moments of great peril it is easy to muster a powerful response to moral

stimuli; but for them to retain their effect requires the development of a consciousness in which there is a new priority of values. Society as a whole must be converted into a gigantic school.

In rough outline this phenomenon is similar to the process by which capitalist consciousness was formed in its initial epoch. Capitalism uses force but it also educates the people to its system. Direct propaganda is carried out by those entrusted with explaining the inevitability of class society, either through some theory of divine origin or through a mechanical theory of natural selection.

This lulls the masses since they see themselves as being oppressed by an evil against which it is impossible to struggle. Immediately following comes hope of improvement — and in this, capitalism differed from the preceding caste systems which offered no possibilities for advancement.

For some people, the ideology of the caste system will remain in effect: The reward for the obedient after death is to be transported to some fabulous other world where in accordance with the old belief good people are rewarded. For other people there is this innovation: The division of society is predestined, but through work, initiative, etc., individuals can rise out of the class to which they belong.

These two ideologies and the myth of the self-made man have to be profoundly hypocritical: They consist in self-interested demonstrations that the lie of permanent class divisions is a truth.

In our case direct education acquires a much greater importance. The explanation is convincing because it is true; no subterfuge is needed. It is carried on by the state's educational apparatus as a function of general, technical and ideological culture through such agencies as the Ministry of Education and the party's informational apparatus.

Education takes hold of the masses and the new attitude tends to become a habit; the masses continue to absorb it and to influence those who have not yet educated themselves. This is the indirect form of educating the masses, as powerful as the other.

## **Shaping of the New Man**

But the process is a conscious one; the individual continually feels the impact of the new social power and perceives that he does not entirely measure up to its standards. Under the pressure of indirect education, he tries to adjust himself to a norm which he feels is just and which his own lack of development had prevented him from reaching theretofore. He educates himself.

In this period of the building of socialism we can see the new man being born. His image is not yet completely finished — it never could be — since the process goes forward hand in hand with the development of new economic forms.

Leaving out of consideration those whose lack of education makes them take the solitary road toward satisfying their own personal ambitions, there are those, even within this new panorama of a unified march forward, who have a tendency to remain isolated from the masses accompanying them. But what is important is that everyday men are continuing to acquire more consciousness of the need for

their incorporation into society and, at the same time, of their importance as the movers of society.

They no longer travel completely alone over trackless routes toward distant desires. They follow their vanguard, consisting of the party, the advanced workers, the advanced men who walk in unity with the masses and in close communion with them. The vanguard has its eyes fixed on the future and its rewards, but this is not seen as something personal. The reward is the new society in which men will have attained new features: the society of communist man.

The road is long and full of difficulties. At times we wander from the path and must turn back; at other times we go too fast and separate ourselves from the masses; on occasions we go too slow and feel the hot breath of those treading on our heels. In our zeal as revolutionists we try to move ahead as fast as possible, clearing the way, but knowing we must draw our sustenance from the mass and that it can advance more rapidly only if we inspire it by our example.

The fact that there remains a division into two main groups (excluding, of course, that minority not participating for one reason or another in the building of socialism), despite the importance given to moral stimuli, indicates the relative lack of development of social consciousness.

The vanguard group is ideologically more advanced than the mass; the latter understands the new values, but not sufficiently. While among the former there has been a qualitative change which enables them to make sacrifices to carry out their function as an advance guard, the latter go only half way and must be subjected to stimuli and pressures of a certain intensity. That is the dictatorship of the proletariat operating not only on the defeated class but also on individuals of the victorious class.

All of this means that for total success a series of mechanisms, of revolutionary institutions, is needed. Fitted into the pattern of the multitudes marching towards the future is the concept of a harmonious aggregate of channels, steps, restraints, and smoothly working mechanisms which would facilitate that advance by ensuring the efficient selection of those destined to march in the vanguard which, itself, bestows rewards on those who fulfill their duties, and punishments on those who attempt to obstruct the development of the new society.

This institutionalization of the revolution has not yet been achieved. We are looking for something which will permit a perfect identification between the government and the community in its entirety, something appropriate to the special conditions of the building of socialism, while avoiding to the maximum degree a mere transplanting of the commonplaces of bourgeois democracy — like legislative chambers — into the society in formation.

Some experiments aimed at the gradual development of institutionalized forms of the revolution have been made, but without undue haste. The greatest obstacle has been our fear lest any appearance of formality might separate us from the masses and from the individual, might make us lose sight of the ultimate and most important revolutionary aspira-

tion, which is to see man liberated from his alienation.

Despite the lack of institutions, which must be corrected gradually, the masses are now making history as a conscious aggregate of individuals fighting for the same cause. Man under socialism, despite his apparent standardization, is more complete; despite the lack of perfect machinery for it, his opportunities for expressing himself and making himself felt in the social organism are infinitely greater.

## Development of Consciousness

It is still necessary to strengthen his conscious participation, individual and collective, in all the mechanisms of management and production, and to link it to the idea of the need for technical and ideological education so that he sees how closely interdependent these processes are and how their advancement is parallel. In this way he will reach total consciousness of his social function, which is equivalent to his full realization as a human being, once the chains of alienation are broken.

This will be translated concretely into the regaining of his true nature through liberated labor and the expression of his proper human condition through culture and art.

In order for him to develop in the first of the above categories labor must acquire a new status. Man dominated by commodity relationships will cease to exist and a system will be created which establishes a quota for the fulfillment of his social duty. The means of production belong to society and the machine will merely be the trench where duty is fulfilled.

Man will begin to see himself mirrored in his work and to realize his full stature as a human being through the object created, through the work accomplished. Work will no longer entail surrendering a part of his being in the form of labor-power sold, which no longer belongs to him, but will represent an emanation of himself, which would reflect his contribution to the common life, the fulfillment of his social duty.

We are doing everything possible to give labor this new status of social duty and to link it, on the one side, with the development of a technology which will create the conditions for greater freedom, and, on the other side, with voluntary work, based on a Marxist appreciation of the fact that man truly reaches a full human condition when he produces without being driven by the physical need to sell his labor as a commodity.

Of course there are other factors involved even when labor is voluntary: Man has not transformed all the coercive factors around him into conditioned reflexes of a social character and he still produces under the pressures of his society. (Fidel calls this moral compulsion.)

Man still needs to undergo a complete spiritual rebirth in his attitude towards his work, freed from the direct pressure of his social environment though linked to it by his new habits. That will be communism.

The change in consciousness will not take place automatically, just as it doesn't take place automati-

cally in the economy. The alterations are slow and are not harmonious; there are periods of acceleration, pauses and even retrogressions.

Furthermore, we must take into account, as I pointed out before, that we are not dealing with a period of pure transition as Marx envisaged it in his *Critique of the Gotha Program* but rather with a new phase unforeseen by him: an initial period of the transition to communism or the construction of socialism. It is taking place in the midst of violent class struggles and with elements of capitalism within it which obscure a complete understanding of its essence.

If we add to this the scholasticism which has hindered the development of Marxist philosophy and impeded the systematic development of the theory of the transition period, we must agree that we are still in diapers and that it is necessary to devote ourselves to investigating all the principal characteristics of this period before elaborating an economic and political theory of greater scope.

The resulting theory will, no doubt, put great stress on the two pillars of the construction of socialism: the education of the new man and the development of technology. There is much for us to do in regard to both but delay is least excusable in regard to the concepts of technology, since here it is not a question of going forward blindly but of following over a long stretch of road already opened up by the world's more advanced countries. This is why Fidel pounds away with such insistence on the need for the technological training of our people and especially of its vanguard.

In the field of ideas not involving productive activities it is easier to distinguish the division between material and spiritual necessity. For a long time man has been trying to free himself from alienation through culture and art. While he dies every day during the eight or more hours that he sells his labor, he comes to life afterwards in his spiritual activities.

But this remedy bears the germs of the same sickness; it is as a solitary individual that he seeks communion with his environment. He defends his oppressed individuality through the artistic medium and reacts to esthetic ideas as a unique being whose aspiration is to remain untarnished.

All that he is doing, however, is attempting to escape. The law of value is not simply a naked reflection of productive relations: The monopoly capitalists — even while employing purely empirical methods — weave around art a complicated web which converts it into a willing tool. The superstructure of society ordains the type of art in which the artist has to be educated. Rebels are subdued by its machinery and only rare talents may create their own work. The rest become shameless hacks or are crushed.

A school of artistic "freedom" is created, but its values also have limits, even if they are imperceptible until we come into conflict with them — that is to say, until the real problem of man and his alienation arises. Meaningless anguish and vulgar amusement thus become convenient safety valves for human anxiety. The idea of using art as a weapon of protest is combatted.

If one plays by the rules, he gets all the honors:

such honors as a monkey might get for performing pirouettes. The condition that has been imposed is that one cannot try to escape from the invisible cage.

When the revolution took power there was an exodus of those who had been completely house-broken; the rest — whether they were revolutionaries or not — saw a new road open to them. Artistic inquiry experienced a new impulse. The paths, however, had already been more or less laid out and the escapist concept hid itself behind the word "freedom." This attitude was often found even among the revolutionaries themselves, reflecting the bourgeois idealism still in their consciousness.

## Effect of "Socialist Realism"

In those countries which had gone through a similar process, they tried to combat such tendencies by an exaggerated dogmatism. General culture was virtually tabooed and it was declared that the acme of cultural aspiration was the formally exact representation of nature. This was later transformed into a mechanical representation of the social reality they wanted to show: the ideal society almost without conflicts or contradictions which they sought to create.

Socialism is young and has made errors. Many times revolutionaries lack the knowledge and intellectual courage needed to meet the task of developing the new man with methods different from the conventional ones — and the conventional methods suffer from the influences of the society which created them.

*(Again we raise the theme of the relationship between form and content.)*

Disorientation is widespread, and the problems of material construction preoccupy us. There are no artists of great authority who, at the same time, have great revolutionary authority. The men of the party must take this task to hand and seek attainment of the main goal, the education of the people.

But then they sought simplification. They sought an art that would be understood by everyone — the kind of "art" *functionaries* understand. True artistic values were disregarded and the problem of general culture was reduced to taking some things from the socialist present and some from the dead past (since dead, not dangerous). Thus Socialist Realism arose upon the foundations of the art of the last century.

But the realistic art of the 19th Century is also a class art, more purely capitalist perhaps than this decadent art of the 20th Century which reveals the anguish of alienated man. In the field of culture capitalism has given all that it had to give and nothing of it remains but the offensive stench of a decaying corpse, today's decadence in art.

Why then should we try to find the only valid prescription for art in the frozen forms of Socialist Realism? We cannot counterpose the concept of Socialist Realism to that of freedom, because the latter does not yet exist and will not exist until the complete development of the new society. Let us not attempt, from the pontifical throne of realism-at-any-cost, to condemn all the art forms which have evolved since the first half of the 19th Century for we would then fall into the Proudhonian mistake of returning to the past, of putting a straitjacket on the artistic ex-

pression of the man who is being born and is in the process of making himself.

What is needed is the development of an ideological-cultural mechanism which permits both free inquiry and the uprooting of the weeds which multiply so easily in the fertile soil of state subsidies.

In our country we don't find the error of mechanical realism but rather its opposite, and that is so because the need for the creation of a new man has not been understood, a new man who would represent neither the ideas of the 19th Century nor those of our own decadent and morbid century.

What we must create is the man of the 21st Century, although this is still a subjective and not a realized aspiration. It is precisely this man of the next century who is one of the fundamental objectives of our work and, to the extent that we achieve concrete successes on a theoretical plane — or vice versa — to the extent we draw theoretical conclusions of a broad character on the basis of our concrete research, we shall have made an important contribution to Marxism-Leninism, to the cause of humanity.

Reaction against the man of the 19th Century has brought us a relapse into the decadence of the 20th Century; it is not a fatal error, but we must overcome it, lest we open a breach for revisionism.

The great multitudes continue to develop; the new ideas continue to attain their proper force within society; the material possibilities for the full development of all members of society make the task much more fruitful. The present is a time for struggle; the future is ours.

To sum up, the fault of our artists and intellectuals lies in their original sin: They are not truly revolutionary. We can try to graft the elm tree so that it will bear pears, but at the same time we must plant pear trees. New generations will come who will be free of the original sin. The probabilities that great artists will appear will be greater to the degree that the field of culture and the possibilities for expression are broadened.

Our task is to prevent the present generation, torn asunder by its conflicts, from becoming perverted and from perverting new generations. We must not bring into being either docile servants of official thought, or scholarship students who live at the expense of the state — practicing "freedom." Already there are revolutionaries coming who will sing the song of the new man in the true voice of the people. This is a process which takes time.

In our society the youth and the party play an important role.

The former is especially important because it is the malleable clay from which the new man can be shaped without any of the old faults. The youth is treated in accordance with our aspirations. Its education steadily grows more full and we are not forgetting about its integration into the labor force from the beginning. Our scholarship students do physical work during their vacations or along with their studying. Work is a reward in some cases, a means of education in others, but it is never a punishment. A new generation is being born.

The party is a vanguard organization. The best workers are proposed by their fellow workers for

admission into it. It is a minority but it has great authority because of the quality of its cadres. Our aspiration is that the party will become a mass party, but only when the masses have reached the level of the vanguard, that is, when they are educated for communism.

Our work constantly aims at this education. The party is the living example; its cadres should be teachers of hard work and sacrifice. They should lead the masses by their deeds to the completion of the revolutionary task which involves years of hard struggle against the difficulties of construction, class enemies, the sicknesses of the past, imperialism . . .

Now I would like to explain the role played by personality, by man as the individual leader of the masses which make history. This has been our experience; it is not a prescription.

Fidel gave the revolution its impulse in the first years, and also its leadership. He always strengthened it, but there is a good group who are developing in the same way as the outstanding leader and there is a great mass which follows its leaders because it has faith in them, and it has faith in them because they have been able to interpret its desires.

This is not a matter of how many pounds of meat one might be able to eat, nor of how many times a year someone can go to the beach, nor how many ornaments from abroad you might be able to buy with present salaries. What is really involved is that the individual feels more complete, with much more internal richness and much more responsibility.

The individual in our country knows that the illustrious epoch in which it was determined that he live is one of sacrifice; he is familiar with sacrifice. The first came to know it in the Sierra Maestra and wherever else they fought; afterwards all of Cuba came to know it. Cuba is the vanguard of the Americas and must make sacrifices because it occupies the post of the advanced guard, because it shows the road to full freedom to the masses of Latin America.

Within the country, the leadership has to carry out its vanguard role, and it must be said with all sincerity that, in a real revolution to which one gives himself entirely and from which he expects no material remuneration, the task of the revolutionary vanguard is at one and the same time glorious and agonizing.

At the risk of seeming ridiculous, let me say that the true revolutionary is guided by a great feeling of love. It is impossible to think of a genuine revolutionary lacking this quality. Perhaps it is one of the great dramas of the leader that he must combine a passionate spirit with a cold intelligence and make painful decisions without contracting a muscle. Our vanguard revolutionaries must idealize this love of the people, the most sacred cause, and make it one and indivisible. They cannot descend to the level of the ordinary man's daily expenditure of sentimentality even though little.

The leaders of the revolution have children just beginning to talk who are not learning to call their fathers by name; wives from whom they have to be

*(Continued on Page 26)*

# Buffalo Hunters

## Red and White

By George Novack

The hostility between Indian and white which is the theme of so many Westerns on the movie and TV screens is commonly attributed to a racial antipathy between peoples of a different color. But the conflict between redskins and palefaces was more than skin deep. It arose from the clash of two unassimilable ways of life based upon incompatible modes of production and forms of ownership. The genocidal war of the white men against the Indians was socio-economic in character; it was an offensive of bourgeois private property and production for profit against tribal collectivism and production for use. It was an essential part of the historical process by which the forces of capitalism wiped out the pre-capitalist formations in the United States.

The Great Plains was one of the last battlegrounds in the four hundred year contest between Indians and whites for possession of the North American continent. Two books recently published in the west shed considerable light on this climactic episode. One is *The Assiniboines*,\* edited by Michael S. Kennedy and the other is *The Buffalo Harvest*\*\* by Frank H. Mayer and Charles B. Roth.

The Assiniboine Indians once had their home, as the song goes, "where the buffalo roams." They have been described as "one of the largest, boldest, handsomest, most able buffalo hunting, gregarious, picturesque, peripatetic and most individualistic and iron-willed of all the northern Great Plains Indian tribes."

Before the coming of the white man they inhabited an immense wilderness region extending from Hudson Bay westward across the Canadian provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta down through Minnesota, North Dakota and Montana where their descendants are now crowded into two reservations.

They roved between the Blackfeet to the west and the Sioux to their east.

The Assiniboines did not engage in agriculture or stockraising. They depended upon hunting for their livelihood. They mostly hunted one animal. The buffalo was their great provider. From this shaggy beast they obtained the basic necessities of their existence: meat, clothing, skins for their teepees, strings for their bows and many other useful things. Although they snared and slayed other game and gathered berries and nuts in season, their entire lives revolved around the buffalo.

Their principal weapon was the bow and arrow which was supplemented by stone clubs. They had only one tamed animal, the dog, which was used for transportation in dragging their teepees, equipment and feeble members. They had only one chemical force, fire. These nomads traveled on foot over their hunting grounds following the wanderings of the buffalo.

Congregated into small bands dispersed over a wide territory, they came together in the spring for their sun-dance festival and buffalo surrounds. They had an extremely narrow, self-contained economy, carrying on little trade, mostly barter with neighboring tribes, and did not even use salt. In 1823 they were estimated to number about 28,000.

The four fundamental features of their simple savage state can be formulated as follows: 1. Their *forces of production* consisted of the members of their tiny social groups, the buffalo herds, the bow and arrow, and fire. 2. Their *relations of production* were collective based upon an elementary division of labor between male and female, young and old. The male hunters could go out alone where meat was plentiful. But in times of scarcity they were obliged by custom and necessity to hunt together. The entire tribe participated in the great drives where the buffaloes were directed into traps. The Assiniboines did not know any class divisions. They had not even yet developed any full-time specialists either in craftsmanship or magic. Chiefs and medicine men were elected and worked like everyone else. Their relations were democratic, fraternal, equalitarian.

3. Their *mode of production* was food-collecting centered around the tribal hunting pattern. 4. Their *mode of appropriation and distribution* was as communal and equitable as the rest of their economy. Enough was killed for everyone to live and feast on. The hunter-producers worked for the community. Thus, after a buffalo herd was trapped and killed, "the riders were the first to be called in and told to select their buffaloes. They always chose the fat ones and marked their ownership with staffs laid on the dead animals. The people then butchered, and the meat was distributed among them according to their needs. Sometimes an entire buffalo was allotted to a family. All tongues and hearts were piled inside the ceremonial lodge. These were later given out to the ones who came and asked for them. Choice parts of the buffalo were laid aside and given to the master and his helpers."

The entire culture of the Assiniboines from their war-raids and family relations to their games and magical dance-festivals was built upon the way they

\* University of Oklahoma Press, \$5.00.

\*\* Sage Books, Denver, \$3.50 cloth, \$1.35 paper.



obtained the basic material means of their existence through joint buffalo hunting. This collective way of life and organization of labor maintained itself until the influences and forces of white civilization and class society broke it up.

The white trappers, traders and soldiers with whom the Assiniboines first came into contact introduced whiskey and smallpox which decimated them. They also brought in new forces of production. Horses replaced dogs for transportation. Having never known horses, the Indians called them "big dogs" and worshipped them. Firearms replaced bows and arrows in hunting and warfare.

These improved powers of production and destruction expanded their area of operations and altered their external associations. "The introduction of horses and firearms gave the same stimulus to warfare that it gave to buffalo hunting. The horse materially widened the field of conflict. Enemies two or three hundred miles away, who previously could be reached on foot only after many days of hard traveling, were now within measurable distance for a raid. In addition, firearms were more accurate and deadly than arrows which could not penetrate a shield.

"The Assiniboines, at this juncture, became deeply infected with war fever and divided their energies between the exciting buffalo hunt and frequent raids and counter-raids against their enemies." The war-parties aimed to get not only scalps, credits, honor and homage but horses which had become the main source and sign of wealth. War passions were further stimulated by their connections with the white man's civilization. By trading skins and meat for weapons, axes, alcohol, arrow-heads and other articles the formerly self-subsistent Indians became prey to the vices of a greedy commercial society.

Although their relations with a money economy produced some differentiations of wealth among them, the economic changes were not deep-going enough to overthrow their ancient social ties. The communal customs were corroded and endangered but not given up. Even after the Assiniboines were compelled to settle down in one place, they held their land in common and title reverted to the tribe after the death of its holder.

## Gift of Western Civilization

*The Buffalo Harvest* depicts the other side of the situation. It tells how the symbiosis between the Plains Indians and the buffalo was obliterated in a single decade. It likewise explains why and by whom this was done. The book contains the reminiscences of Frank Mayer, the last of the big buffalo hunters, who died in Colorado in 1954 at the age of 104.

Frank Mayer was an entirely different kind of hunter than the Plains Indian. He killed buffalo, not for the needs of the community, but for profit. He was a small business man, a private enterpriser.

He was one of many Western men, mostly veterans of the Civil War, who wanted to make a fast dollar on the frontier. "Buffalo running as a business got started around 1870; I got into it in 1872, when the rampage was at its height," he recalls. "The whole Western country went buffalo-wild. It was like a gold

rush or a uranium rush. Men left jobs, businesses, wives and children, and future prospects to get into buffalo running. They sold whatever they had and put the money into outfits, wagons, camp equipment, rifles and ammunition. I needn't talk. I did it myself. And why not? There were uncounted millions of beasts — hundreds of millions, we forced ourselves to believe. Their hides were worth \$2 to \$3 each, which was a lot of money in 1872. And all we had to do was take these hides from their wearers. It was a harvest, we were the harvesters."

Mayer organized a crew and learned how to slaughter the buffalo most efficiently by wounding the leader and then picking off the milling herd one by one until it was wiped out. "It was sheer murder."

Marketing was no problem. "Buyers at every frontier offered cash for hides, which were in demand in 'the States' for a wide variety of purposes — blankets, sleigh and buggy robes, coats, heavy leather, and God knows what else. I sold mine wherever I happened to be, in Dodge, Denver, Laramie City. Because of the care I gave my hides, I always commanded premium prices. During my years on the range, I had no trouble, because buyers trusted me and I them.

"During the latter years of buffalo running there was a market for meat as well as hides, and often buyers would take the whole animal with hide left on. Buyers would pay up to four cents a pound for meat, but the price was usually two-and-a-half cents. Buffalo tongues were in demand toward the tail end of the business also. Smoked and packed in large barrels they brought up to 25 cents apiece. I remember I sold one lot for fifty cents; an agent for the Carlton Club of London bought them. He paid me \$500 for 1,000 tongues."

Mayer says he did better than other runners because he divided "share and share alike with my men, whereas some runners took half, and divided the other half among the men. I would deduct expenses, and then we split the rest equally among ourselves, into four parts, or five, or however many there were in the crew. So we never had any trouble with strikes or absenteeism." In his small organization of five men, capitalist relations had not yet displaced cooperative sharing.

He did not gain much from all that work. He netted only \$3,124 in his best year on the ranges. "When I finally sold out and quit, I had less than \$5,000 on deposit to show for nine years of hard work and sweat . . . I was among the highest rewarded five men on the range."

The killers for profit were as wasteful of this wild life as the lumbering companies were of the woodlands. "We shot only cows. Their fur was softer; their skins were thinner; they were more in demand. If we killed a bull or two and we killed more than one or two just for the devil of it, we didn't bother to skin him; just left him lay for the wolves and coyotes to come along and do the job for us. Later on, we were glad to kill bulls, calves, anything.

"We were wasteful of hides, too . . . In 1872, for instance, every hide that reached market represented three or four buffalo killed." Later the hunters became

more efficient but by then the buffalo was gone.

The buffalo harvest lasted for only seven years from 1871 to 1878. Five to six million beasts were marketed during that period.

What was the U. S. Government doing while this slaughter was proceeding? As the executive arm of the advancing bourgeois society, its agents were aiding and abetting it. The army officers in charge of the frontier posts gave free ammunition to the runners. And one afternoon a high ranking officer told Mayer why.

"Mayer, there's no two ways about it. Either the buffalo or the Indian must go. Only when the Indian becomes absolutely dependent on us for his every need, will we be able to handle him. He's too independent with the buffalo. But if we kill the buffalo we conquer the Indian. It seems a more humane thing to kill the buffalo than the Indian so the buffalo must go," he concluded.

When the buffalo went, civilization moved in fast. "Buffalo grass was plowed under, and wheat, and oats, and barley, and corn and sod houses, and school houses and grange halls began appearing where once buffalo roamed at will."

What was Mayer's retrospective judgment on the buffalo harvest? "The slaughter was perhaps a shameless, needless thing. But it was also an inevitable thing, an historical necessity.

"What I mean by that is this: The buffalo served his mission, fulfilled his destiny in the history of the Indian, by furnishing him everything he needed — food, clothing, a home, traditions, even a theology. But the buffalo didn't fit in so well with the white man's encroaching civilization — he didn't fit at all, in fact. He could not be controlled or domesticated. He couldn't be corralled behind wire fences. He was a misfit. So he had to go."

The old hunter was not wrong in viewing himself as a minor agent of historical necessity or the buffalo as a sacrificial victim to social progress. All the elements of Indian tribalism were doomed to destruction or distortion because they hindered the expansion of private ownership. They were neither fitted nor permitted to survive under the domination of the profit system.

The forerunners of the capitalist way of life were not squeamish about the methods they used to annihilate their opponents and clear the ground for the advancement of their interests. After crushing the Southern slaveholders, their emissaries in the West completed the job of driving the redmen from the Great Plains, eliminating the herds on which they depended, and penning them into squalid reservations.

Just as primitive peoples often sacrificed a human being or an animal when erecting a dwelling or a temple, so the ascending bourgeois society of the nineteenth century slaughtered the Indians and buffaloes to build up the foundations of its structure. This buried event of a century ago is not simply a reminder of the brutal realities of the capitalist past. It can also serve as an omen of its future.

Little though the monied masters of this country suspect it, they are being rendered as anachronistic as the wild buffalo by the subsequent developments

of world history and our national economy. The Indians will have revenge. The profiteers descended from their conquerors will in turn encounter a more powerful and progressive social force, the workers, who will take from them, not the means of personal sustenance but the privileges of exploitation.

## ...Guevara

*(Continued from Page 23)*

separated as part of the general sacrifice of their lives to bring the revolution to its fulfillment; the circle of their friends is strictly limited to the number of fellow revolutionists. There is no life outside of the revolution.

In these circumstances one must have a great deal of humanity and a strong sense of justice and truth in order not to fall into extreme dogmatism and cold scholasticism, into an isolation from the masses. We must strive every day so that this love of living humanity will be transformed into actual deeds, into acts that serve as examples, as a moving force.

The revolutionary, the ideological motor force of the revolution, is consumed by his uninterrupted activity, which can have no other end than death until the building of socialism on a world scale has been accomplished. If his revolutionary zeal is blunted when the most urgent tasks are being accomplished on a local scale and if he forgets his proletarian internationalism, the revolution which he leads will cease to be an inspiring force and he will sink into a comfortable lethargy which imperialism, our irreconcilable enemy, will utilize well. Proletarian internationalism is a duty, but it is also a revolutionary necessity. So we educate our people.

Of course there are dangers in the present situation, and not only that of dogmatism, not only that of weakening the ties with the masses in the midst of the great task. There is also the danger of weaknesses. If a man thinks that dedicating his entire life to the revolution means that he cannot allow his mind to be disturbed by the fact that his son lacks certain things, or that his children's shoes are worn out, or that his family lacks some necessity, then he is entering into rationalizations which open his mind to infection by the seeds of future corruption.

In our case we have maintained that our children should have or should lack those things that the children of the average man have or lack, and that our families should understand this and strive for it. The revolution is made through man, but man must forge his revolutionary spirit day by day.

Thus we march on. At the head of the immense column — we are neither afraid nor ashamed to say it — is Fidel. After him come the best cadres of the party, and immediately behind them, so close that we feel its tremendous force, comes the people in its entirety, a solid mass of individualities moving toward a common goal, individuals who have attained consciousness of what must be done, men who fight to escape from the realm of necessity and to enter that of freedom.

This great throng becomes organized; its clarity of program corresponds to its consciousness of the necessity of organization. It is no longer a dispersed force divisible into thousands of fragments thrown into space like splinters from a hand grenade, trying by any means to achieve some protection against an uncertain future, in desperate struggle with their fellows.

We know that sacrifices lie before us and that we must pay a price for the heroic act of being a vanguard nation. We leaders know that we must pay a price for the right to say that we are at the head of a people which is at the head of the Americas. Each and every one of us must pay his exact quota of sacrifice, conscious that he will get his reward in the satisfaction of fulfilling a duty, conscious that he will advance with all toward the image of the new man dimly visible on the horizon.

Let me attempt some conclusions:

We socialists are freer because we are more complete; we are more complete because we are freer.

The skeleton of our complete freedom is already formed. The flesh and the clothing are lacking. We will create them.

Our freedom and its daily maintenance are paid for in blood and sacrifice.

Our sacrifice is conscious: an installment payment on the freedom that we are building.

The road is long and in part unknown. We understand our limitations. We will create the man of the 21st Century — we, ourselves.

We will forge ourselves in daily action, creating a new man with a new technology.

Individual personality plays a role in mobilizing and leading the masses insofar as it embodies the highest virtues and aspirations of the people and does not wander from the path.

It is the vanguard group which clears the way, the best among the good, the party.

The basic clay of our work is the youth. We place our hope in them and prepare them to take the banner from our hands.

*If this inarticulate letter clarifies anything it has accomplished the objective which motivated it. I close with our greeting, which is as much of a ritual as a handshake or an "Ave Maria Purissima," — FATHERLAND OR DEATH!*

## ...Vietnam

*(Continued from Page 9)*

No combination of capitalist powers can now successfully challenge the U.S., even if they were capable of uniting and could be lured into resisting American inducements for a common front against the colonial revolution and against the workers states.

Effective opposition to the drive of American imperialism for world domination cannot be expected from any capitalist power. Effective opposition, that is, an opposition that has a genuine perspective of winning and also inherent means of bringing into being a new world order that can genuinely guaran-

tee enduring peace, can come from only two sources, the colonial freedom movement, which follows the logic of the permanent revolution, and the proletarian revolution in the industrially advanced countries, which can establish a planned economy on a much higher basis than now exists anywhere.

One of the most encouraging developments in this respect has been the signs that an antiwar movement is now in gestation in the United States itself. In conjunction with the rise of black radicalism, this offers promise of a great new development in America; but since consideration of all this will constitute the major work of this convention, I will only refer to the heartening effect which the first signs of an antiwar movement in the United States has had in other countries.

For the first time in some two decades, that is, since the great movement among the American troops to get back home and since the postwar strike wave that demonstrated how solidly established the industrial unions had become, the United States begins to show aspects that offer encouragement and inspiration to radicals in other lands.

The "teach-in" is a good example. The sudden appearance of the "teach-in" served to show a rather disbelieving world that after all America does have other sides than just McCarthyism and the rattling of nuclear weapons at other countries. The clearest evidence of this impact has been the effort to introduce the "teach-in" as a technique in other countries.

A "teach-in" was tried out in Britain on an experimental basis, for instance. Perhaps it met with only moderate success, but at least it was a tribute to the inspirational effect of signs of political resistance in the U.S. to Johnson's escalation of the war in Vietnam.

A couple of weeks ago, a "teach-in" was tried out in Japan. It seems to have come somewhat closer to the original on which it was patterned. The "teach-in" in Japan was organized as a 24-hour televised confrontation in which representatives of virtually all the political parties participated, plus government spokesmen. It began at 10:30 in the evening, I believe. By four a.m. it had become so controversial that the television management panicked and cut the program off the air.

The inspiring effect abroad of political opposition inside the United States to imperialist aggression in places like Vietnam and the Dominican Republic should be kept constantly in mind by all Americans who are alive to the opinions of other peoples and who believe that this world could be made into a much better place to live in.

The world has become very small. The reciprocal influence of freedom movements, of demonstrations, of manifestations of resistance to imperialism, of strikes and new techniques of struggle is much more immediate than even a few years ago. And actions that appear small can become greatly magnified when they are disseminated by television or radio in regions where the level of tension in the class struggle is on the rise.

The international scene must appear strangely paradoxical as viewed from the vantage point of the rulers of American capitalism. On the one hand they

wield power of a kind never before held by the most absolute of tyrants. They hold the means to completely destroy the major achievements of centuries of civilization. They can even destroy the human race itself. And yet they find it extremely difficult to impose their will on the smallest of countries if the people there have decided that the situation has become completely impossible and they do not intend to tolerate it any longer.

Thus the United States appears encircled by what geologists might call a ring of fire — smoldering volcanoes in every direction. And no one can really foretell where the next eruption will occur or how soon. Who would have dared to say even ten years ago that the socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere was about to commence and that the opening scene would be on a small island in the Caribbean? Or that there would be an armed uprising in the Dominican Republic immediately after Johnson committed American military power to expanding a war in Vietnam? Sharp social strife has become endemic and no area can really be called stable any more.

The attitude which this engenders in American ruling circles is indicated by the report that appeared in the August 31 *Le Monde* on the crisis in Greece. The Tsirimokos cabinet had just been toppled and the deputies who had done the job were celebrating.

"At the reception," writes *Le Monde's* correspondent, "a distinguished, silver-haired American approached one of the officials in a worried way and cautiously asked him in a low voice: 'So did the Communists take power last night?'"

The basic motor power creating this world-wide instability is American imperialism itself. With one hand it seeks to maintain and bolster the most reactionary regimes. With the other hand it undermines them by depressing the relative level of national income, by lowering the standard of living of the people, by irritating them with boastful displays of the American Way of Life and by driving them into revolutionary channels because it closes all other ways of breaking out of the centuries-old pattern of stagnation and poverty and ignorance and hunger and shame.

As a result, the revolutionary process appears more and more irrepressible. Not only has there been a general rise since the great turn that began with the Chinese Revolution after the decades of defeats, but something completely new has appeared: This is the remarkable recuperative power now being displayed by many peoples in the face of setbacks that at one time would have signaled long decades of demoralization and quiescence.

This was one of the notable features of the Algerian freedom struggle. Time after time, French imperialism appeared to have achieved a crushing victory. It never lasted. The revolutionary-minded masses shortly resumed their struggle. Even the staggering cost of one million casualties did not suffice to halt their advance.

Similar recuperative power has been displayed by the Vietnamese. It is visible in Indonesia. It has been shown in the Congo and Angola. It is now an outstanding characteristic of the revolutionary struggle in Latin America. It is sufficient to point to such places as Bolivia, Peru, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecua-

dor and Guatemala. The same phenomenon is visible in Argentina and Chile.

Of course a defeat of such scope as the one suffered in Brazil last year inevitably had a depressing effect. This was where Johnson scored his first major counterrevolutionary triumph, thanks primarily to the policy of peaceful coexistence in the class struggle practiced by both the pro-Moscow and the pro-Peking Communist parties. But even in Brazil where a most reactionary regime is trying to stabilize itself through ruthless use of terror, it is quite doubtful that the lid can long be held down on such potentially explosive areas as the northeast, where Francisco Juliao began the work of organizing the peasantry.

Europe is not immune to the revolutionary ferment despite the stabilization of capitalism achieved through the transfusions of American dollars and the prosperity that has been the rule there for a number of years.

The current crisis in Greece has already placed a big question mark over the monarchy installed there through the use of British bayonets and American dollars after World War II.

The repeated rumblings in Spain, now among the miners and other sectors of the working class and now among the students, serve notice that the Spanish bourgeoisie may well break their necks as they try to shift from the worn-out regime of Franco to something more in keeping with present needs.

The victory of the British Labour Party showed that the working class there has not been won away from socialism. This faith of the British workers, which has endured the most bitter disappointments in leadership, will surely find its reflection eventually in the appearance of men and women capable of building the kind of party needed to break the grip of the capitalists and to establish the planned economy of socialism which Britain so desperately needs if the country is not to stifle and regress.

The pace of political events in Europe may well be speeded in the coming period by economic developments. Italy and France have been feeling the pinch of recession. The beginnings of a similar downturn have now appeared in England.

In today's world, no working class anywhere will display much patience or Christian forbearance with widespread layoffs that are due purely to the anarchic workings of the capitalist system. The workers in England, in France and Italy will not be the last in line to prove this point.

Finally, in considering the international upheavals engendered by the advance of American imperialism, I should like to call attention to the ever-increasing speed of events.

On the eve of World War II, I well recall Trotsky telling us in Coyoacan that when he was young it was necessary to wait many years to see theoretical positions tested by events. "Now," he said, "you can count on them being tested in a very short period."

He was referring to the various positions taken in the 1939-40 struggle with the faction headed by Burnham, Shachtman and Abern. Events did test the positions taken in that historic struggle quite rapidly. But what would Trotsky say if he could see the speed of events today!

Whether they are good events or bad events, one thing is certain, there is no long waiting nowadays for abrupt turns, sudden shifts, astonishing reversals, elemental outbursts, and great new actions. The analysis of new developments in the class struggle is soon tested. We are really living in a world in upheaval.

The pattern of world politics has become so complex that it is not possible for any single person, no matter how gifted, to follow them adequately in detail. Even a national party with a broad, competent team of leaders would find it quite difficult, in my opinion. As never before in history, to stay abreast of events, an international movement with connections in all countries is required.

That's just for the collection of accurate facts, which, as Trotsky taught us, is the first requirement of a revolutionary socialist party, like any fighting formation. To *intervene* in events as revolutionary socialists, out to overturn the entire capitalist system and replace it with something superior, an international movement is a basic necessity. For Trotskyists this has always been the ABC of party building. The correctness of this stand has never had such abundant confirmation as today. It can be put down as an axiom — Trotskyism cannot be built in one country. To believe that it can be done is nothing but a stupid aberration.

This has been well understood in the American Trotskyist movement since its foundation. The Socialist Workers Party has always taken the keenest interest in the world movement. It was one of the founding parties of the Fourth International and has displayed fraternal concern for its development that not even the worst witch-hunting has been able to stifle. \* The maintenance of this international outlook is one of the strongest proofs of the health and vitality of the Socialist Workers Party.

As you are well aware, the Socialist Workers Party was strongly in favor of the moves to end the ten-year-old split in the world Trotskyist movement that culminated in the Reunification Congress of the Fourth International in 1963.

The reunification of the world Trotskyist movement was an essential step in the construction of the international party that is absolutely essential for eventual victory in the struggle for world socialism and the achievement of enduring peace.

It strengthened the capacity of all our international forces to face the challenge raised by Johnson's escalation of the war in Vietnam and the increasing danger of a nuclear conflict.

It turned out to be a correct move for the Socialist Workers Party to back that reunification and to take a firm stand against the cynics and the wisecracks and the windbags and the whiners and the complainers and rabid factionalists who were capable of nothing but sneering at this essential step.

And in doing our duty in helping out in the reunification of the world Trotskyist movement as best we could, I am sure that the Socialist Workers Party

\* *Because of the Voorhis Act, the Socialist Workers Party cannot and does not have formal affiliations with the Fourth International, although it is in solidarity with its programs and policies.*

will be among the first to reap the benefit of a strengthened International.

The Fourth International, the World Party of Socialist Revolution, as Trotsky named it, is an absolute necessity for us as we roll up our sleeves and move ahead to the task immediately at hand — to make one little but good revolution in our own country.

## ...Documents

*(Continued from Page 17)*

Peace and SANE. They are able to remain non-exclusive because they are organized around the *single issue* of ending the war in Vietnam. This differentiates them from organizations with broad programs for social change like SDS, the DuBois Clubs, YSA, May 2nd, and the various local multi-issue groups.

This means that the tens of thousands of participants in the movement who haven't come to definite conclusions on how or whether society should be changed, can work together with radicals who do have such conclusions. It also means that the committees do not choose between the conflicting programs of the radicals, and narrow themselves to one viewpoint on all questions other than Vietnam. The committees are non-exclusive to both the radicals and other opponents of the war (and it is this latter group which is growing the fastest).

The Committees to End the War in Vietnam are important because their non-exclusiveness and breadth along with their forceful opposition to the Vietnam war means that they can organize large numbers of people in strong opposition to the war.

### 2. The charge of "split."

The meetings and decisions of the independent caucus in no sense constituted a "split" from the convention. This charge was made several times during the convention in a manner that could only cloud the issues, heighten tensions and shut off meaningful discussion.

As the convention began, it was apparent that there was a broad spectrum of peace forces there. Almost half of the voting delegates were *not* from independent committees. Due to the broad character of the convention, it could not speak for the independent committees, nor could it adopt an approach toward ending the war. This became clear when two separate votes during the convention rejected the NCC's coming out for immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops. When it was proposed by the Southern delegates that the NCC march on the SANE demonstration with

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slogans for withdrawal, there was general agreement that the NCC was a coordinating committee of many different kinds of organizations, and could not adopt a stand on how to end the war. The National Action Workshop proposed that the March 25-26 demonstrations be under the theme of "Bring the Troops Home Now". Several delegates from multi-issue organizations expressed their opposition to the theme, and it was defeated. So it was clear that the NCC is a coordinating body, which includes the independent committees and those for withdrawal, but is not limited to them. The independent caucus supported the NCC as a coordinating body, as a service to all the participating groups.

We who formed the caucus did so not to set up a parallel coordinating committee, which we are not, but because we felt that the independent committees for immediate withdrawal should have their own national organization. Our caucus has been organized to publicize this idea.

### 3. Coordination.

It was apparent at the convention that it is not an easy job to coordinate the diverse range of organizations and individuals who are opposing the war in Vietnam, especially when there are sharp differences between some of them. Nevertheless, it is an important and necessary job.

We look at this problem from two levels. First is the problem of coordination among the many national and local organizations who are opposed to the war. This demands a structure where every national group has a voice and vote. Such a coordinating center can act as a service center for the participating groups and as an initiator of common actions against the war.

The proposals on the structure of the NCC submitted by the caucus to the NCC convention and those submitted by a majority of the steering committee of the NCC are carried in this issue of the *Newsletter*.

While the two proposals are similar, there are some significant differences. First, the caucus wanted the policy of non-exclusion to be explicitly stated in the resolution on structure. The steering committee proposal which was adopted had no such provision.

Second, the caucus felt that the national organizations should not only have voice on the NCC but should also have a vote. The steering committee proposal gave only voice but no vote to national organizations. It was the feeling of the caucus that if national organizations are to be encouraged to participate in helping to plan national actions, etc., they should have a vote in making decisions.

On the other hand, the caucus opposed the section in the steering committee proposal that allows local chapters of national organizations a vote if they are the sole anti-war group in their area. The clause is ambiguous enough to leave the door open to any national political organization defining "local area" to suit its needs and seating many more than one voting representative on the NCC. Furthermore, it discourages rather than encourages chapters of national organizations to help form new Committees to End the War in Vietnam.

The independent caucus proposals would have made the NCC more democratic and representative as a coordinating body.

There is also the Independent Committees' problem of coordination among the Committees to End the War in Vietnam and VDCs that support immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam. These groups, especially as they become more numerous, should have a national organization of their own. Besides the obvious advantages of having a national center that heightens the solidarity and effectiveness of the supporters of withdrawal, a national organization would give the local committees that support withdrawal a voice in organizing national actions in advance.

### 4. What is the independent caucus?

The Caucus is an association of individuals, members of CEWV or VDC, who have the outlook of building a national organization of independent committees with the program of immediate withdrawal. The caucus elected Kipp Dawson, Danny Rosenshine and Jens Jensen as a committee to put out a regular *Newsletter*. It was further decided that caucus members in each area should select a person to be on a temporary National Steering Committee of the group. The caucus sees its chief activity in the coming months to be: a) support and help build the March 25-26 Days of Protest; b) continue to build the anti-war-committees and organize new committees where none now exist; c) convince as many people as possible that the way to end the war is to Bring the Troops Home Now; d) recruit supporters of immediate withdrawal to the caucus, and e) build the *Newsletter*. Have your committee order a bundle.

## ...Letters

(Continued from Page 2)

with your "tendency" should rest assured that this is emphatically not so.

Yours sincerely,

Brian Pearce  
October 20, 1965

### Reply:

It seems apparent that the fit of pique which moved Brian Pearce to dispatch his letter before even extending the courtesy of a request for an explanation is prompted by two major considerations:

1. To make it known publicly (for the first time to our knowledge) that he had severed his organizational connection with the Socialist Labour League some four years ago, and

2. That the appearance in the *ISR* of his translation of the Trotsky material might mislead our readers into concluding that he was in sympathy with our "tendency" in the international Trotskyist movement.

As for the first, we are happy to make known the fact of Pearce's departure from the SLL which, up to now, has been a well kept secret by his "friend" Slaughter and Co. in the leadership of the SLL. We trust that this does not mean that Pearce is thinking of turning against the Trotskyist movement as have

other prominent figures who could not stomach the internal regime or sectarian policies of the infantile leftists of the SLL.

As for the second, we have no hesitation in correcting any misapprehension on the part of any of our readers, that the appearance of the Pearce translation be in anyway interpreted as indicating any sympathy with our tendency in the international movement. In publishing the translation from the material made available to us we were motivated solely by our desire to provide our readers with a hitherto unpublished English translation of an important historical document.

As for our alleged lack of "scrupulosity" in neglecting to append the date of translation, the simple fact is that there was no date on the manuscript. As for the introduction to the translation we are at a loss to understand how there could be any ambiguity on that score. The introduction was preceded by an 18 point bold face subhead clearly establishing that it had been written by the editors and we take full responsibility for its content.

Pearce's allusion to "fantasy and sensation-mongering" in the introduction, based on the tendentious contention that Trotsky had in mind only the published articles of Lenin, seems to us to be one-sided and pedantic. The material now available, as well as the relations at the time between Lenin and Trotsky, confirm that all of Lenin's "notes" on the dangers of bureaucratism and the role of the Stalin faction were known, certainly to Trotsky as well as to other members of the Bolshevik Central Committee. The "alleged allusions" in Trotsky's speech to which Pearce takes exception in our editorial comment appear to us to be unmistakable in the light of the now known facts.

In conclusion, it is unfortunate that superficial, technical or factional considerations should arise in connection with the publication of something by Trotsky, not hitherto available to the English-speaking public. On our part, we consider the important thing is to make such material available; and in this connection the ISR intends to continue to do what it can to provide such material no matter what the name of the translator or his political affiliations.

**Tom Kerry**  
Editor

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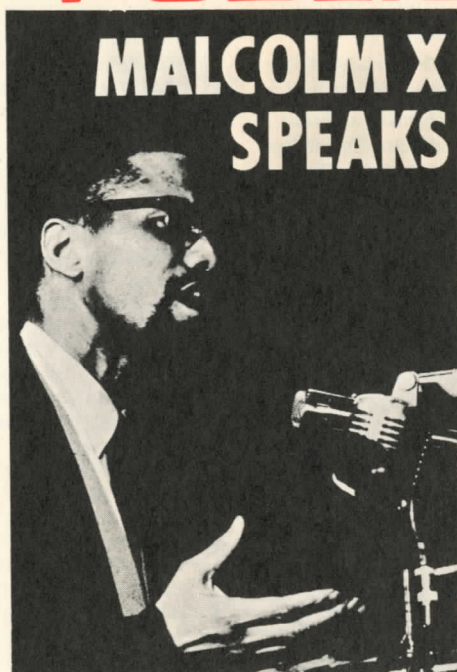
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## FROM THE BOOK

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"I'm not going to sit at your table and watch you eat, with nothing on my plate, and call myself a diner. Sitting at the table doesn't make you a diner, unless you eat some of what's on that plate. Being here in America doesn't make you an American. Being born here in America doesn't make you an American. . . . No, I'm not an American. I'm one of the 22 million black people who are the victims of Americanism. One of the 22 million black people who are the victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy. So, I'm not standing here speaking to you as an American, or a patriot, or a flag-saluter, or a flag-waver – no, not I. I'm speaking as a victim of this American system. And I see America through the eyes of the victim. I don't see any American dream; I see an American nightmare." – April 3, 1964 (Chapter III).

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