

a labor press service

# WORLD OUTLOOK

## PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

Un service de presse ouvrier

Vol. 3, No. 5

January 29, 1965

21, rue d'Aboukir - PARIS-2

### In this issue

	<u>Page</u>
Belgian Left-Wing Socialists Move Ahead.....	2
Strikes Testify to Restiveness of Belgian Workers.....	3
Appeal Date Set in Alexander Case	
-- by Susan Williams.....	4
Celebrate First Anniversary of Zanzibar Revolution.....	6
Mozambicans Call for Stepped Up Struggle in 1965.....	7
Colombian Guerrillas Put Up Strong Defense.....	7
Regroupment Process Continues in Chile.....	8
Biggest, Most Profitable Business in History.....	10
The Cancer in American Society	
-- by Evelyn Sell.....	12
Position of Bolivian Trotskyists on Barrientos	
Regime.....	15
Statement on Wandsworth Incidents.....	25

### NEXT WEEK

An intermission of one issue. Our next one will be dated February 12. And it will be No. 6 of Vol. 3, following the present issue in consecutive order. Thus your subscription will not be affected.

PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE - Hebdomadaire

Abonnement, 26 numéros : 37,50 F, à Pierre FRANK, 21, rue d'Aboukir, Paris (2<sup>e</sup>).

WORLD OUTLOOK specializes in weekly political analysis and interpretation of events for labor, socialist, colonial independence and Negro freedom publications. Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of WORLD OUTLOOK. Unsigned material expresses, insofar as editorial opinion may appear, the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism. To subscribe for 26 issues send dollars 7.50 or 2/15 s. or 37,50 francs to : Pierre Frank, 21, rue d'Aboukir, Paris 2<sup>e</sup>, France.

a labor press service

# WORLD OUTLOOK

## PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

Un service de presse ouvrier

Vol. 3, No. 5

January 29, 1965

21, rue d'Aboukir - PARIS-2

### In this issue

### Page

Belgian Left-Wing Socialists Move Ahead.....	2
Strikes Testify to Restiveness of Belgian Workers.....	3
Appeal Date Set in Alexander Case -- by Susan Williams.....	4
Celebrate First Anniversary of Zanzibar Revolution.....	6
Mozambicans Call for Stepped Up Struggle in 1965.....	7
Colombian Guerrillas Put Up Strong Defense.....	7
Regroupment Process Continues in Chile.....	8
Biggest, Most Profitable Business in History.....	10
The Cancer in American Society -- by Evelyn Sell.....	12
Position of Bolivian Trotskyists on Barrientos Regime.....	15
Statement on Wandsworth Incidents.....	25

### NEXT WEEK

An intermission of one issue. Our next one will be dated February 12. And it will be No. 6 of Vol. 3, following the present issue in consecutive order. Thus your subscription will not be affected.

PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE - Hebdomadaire

Abonnement, 26 numéros : 37,50 F, à Pierre FRANK, 21, rue d'Aboukir, Paris (2<sup>e</sup>).

WORLD OUTLOOK specializes in weekly political analysis and interpretation of events for labor, socialist, colonial independence and Negro freedom publications. Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of WORLD OUTLOOK. Unsigned material expresses, insofar as editorial opinion may appear, the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism. To subscribe for 26 issues send dollars 7.50 or 2/15 s. or 37,50 francs to : Pierre Frank, 21, rue d'Aboukir, Paris 2<sup>e</sup>, France.

BELGIAN LEFT-WING SOCIALISTS MOVE AHEAD

BRUSSELS -- In the weeks following the decision of the December 12-13 congress banning participation in the leadership of the Walloon Popular Movement or in the publication of the weekly La Gauche and Links, the crisis in the Belgian Socialist party went through several abrupt turns.

Some 600 left-socialist militants, meeting in Liège December 27, decided to lay the basis of a new party, provisionally named the "Parti Socialiste de Travailleurs" [Socialist Workers party]. This decision was made in reply to the motion railroaded through the congress by the right wing, suppressing the right to form tendencies inside the Socialist party.

The Liège decision was met with a most favorable response in plants and factories throughout Belgium, a fact that was reflected in the play given to the development in the daily press.

Startled and rather frightened by this response, the right-wing leadership of the Socialist party suddenly shifted tactics. They drew back from implementing the decisions of the December 12-13 congress and granted some minor concessions to the left wing.

Glinne and Hurez, two left-wing members of parliament, as well as a few figures connected with the Flemish weekly Links, buckled under the combination of pressure and blandishments and signed a declaration submitted to them by the right-wing leadership. The declaration, while formally recognizing the right of tendencies in the Socialist party, restricted the right so severely as to make the concession virtually meaningless.

Two other leaders of the left wing, Yerna, secretary of the Liège trade unions, and Mandel, editor of the weekly La Gauche, stood firm. Yerna demonstratively resigned from the Socialist party; while Mandel rejected the demand that he add his signature to the declaration. Massart, a left-wing member of parliament, joined in this firm position against the right-wing witch-hunters.

For a few days the public display of differences among leaders of the left wing inevitably caused some confusion. However, the situation was rapidly corrected when the leading bodies of both La Gauche and Links publicly reaffirmed their stands, stating that they would continue to refuse to sign any declaration whatsoever limiting the right to defend the platforms on which they stood. The decision of La Gauche was taken unanimously; Links by a two-thirds majority.

A new turn then occurred. Glinne indicated that he was re-considering the meaning of the declaration he had signed. This brought him under fresh heavy fire from the Socialist party leadership.

Without paying much attention to these inevitable waverings in the face of a basic decision of the greatest importance to the political future of the Belgian working class, the key left-wing leaders moved rapidly ahead to launch the new party. On January 18, in an even larger meeting than the previous one, the Liège local adopted a draft program and proposed statutes.

In the Charleroi region an enthusiastic meeting of some 400 workers called for implementation of the Liège December 27 resolution.

In Brussels, 200 activists, meeting on invitation, laid plans for a membership drive in anticipation of a founding conference projected for February 7.

An indication of the possibilities in Brussels as well as in the rest of Belgium was provided by the impressive success of a rally called to protest against the Belgian paratroop landings in the Congo at the end of November.

The meeting was sponsored by the Brussels Teachers union and the Gas and Electric Workers union on January 15. The main speaker was Pierre Le Grève, chairman of the Teachers union and one of the main initiators of the Parti Socialist de Travailleurs in Brussels. Despite the chauvinistic atmosphere which the Spaak government has sought to whip up in the predominantly petty-bourgeois Belgian capital, despite the strong opposition of all the political parties (only the Communist party gave lukewarm support to the rally), and despite a complete conspiracy of silence about the meeting in the daily press, more than 1,000 people jammed into the hall.

The place was so crowded that not even standing room was left and many could not get inside.

A grouping of profascist students announced a "counter demonstration" in which they planned to hail the colonialist aggression in the Congo. This turned out to be a complete fiasco. The "counter demonstrators" could not get a single one of their adherents inside the packed hall. They gave up in disgust and went home while the demonstrators against the imperialist role of the Belgian government registered their anger against the intervention in the Congo and their solidarity with the Congolese people.

#### STRIKES TESTIFY TO RESTIVENESS OF BELGIAN WORKERS

BRUSSELS -- Two small groups of workers recently paralyzed wide sectors of the Belgian economy. At the beginning of January, some 800 employees of the locks system in Antwerp halted practically all shipping in Europe's second biggest port. Hundreds of ships lay idle while many others had to be detoured to other ports.

One week later, some 5,500 workers in the oil refineries and

distribution system went out on strike. While key technicians were able to keep the largely automated refineries functioning, the gasoline [petrol] and oil delivery system choked off, making things difficult for power plants, many factories and a good deal of motor vehicle traffic.

In both strikes, groups of generally better paid workers were in action. The oil refinery workers are probably the highest paid sector of the working class in Belgium (their average monthly pay being around \$280 or £100). It should also be noted that they had already won a sliding scale of wages, automatically bringing them a wage boost of 2.5% each time the cost of living rises 2.5%.

The rise in the cost of living, indicated by the provisions of this sliding scale, says much about the reason for the restiveness of the Belgian workers but does not completely explain these particular strikes.

The fact is that for several years the government and the employers have sought to prevent the Belgian workers from gaining improvements in their standard of living to which they feel they are entitled in view of the improved economic conditions and nearly full employment. The government and the employers have imposed legal limitations on wage increases for the public sector and have sought to extend contracts to the advantage of the employers. This so-called "social programing" has become increasingly irritating to the workers and has touched off several rounds of action. The strikes with which 1965 opened are typical examples.

The government came down with a heavy hand on the strikers. The Antwerp harbor workers were requisitioned. The oil workers were threatened with similar action.

Since a coalition government is in power in which the Socialist party is one of the partners, this led to increased tension between the more militant sectors of the trade unions and the right-wing leadership of this social-democratic organization.

#### APPEAL DATE SET IN ALEXANDER CASE

By Susan Williams

The appeal of Dr. Neville Alexander and ten associates, now serving sentences ranging from five to ten years in South Africa's version of Nazi concentration camps, will be heard March 2. Their appeal from conviction on charges of "sabotage" (meaning political opposition to the apartheid system) was originally scheduled for last November but had to be postponed due to the fact that the lawyers for the defence were refused permission to go to Robben Island, where seven of the victims are held, to get the defendants' signa-

tures and to consult with them about the appeal.

The appeal is based on glaring irregularities in the trial such as prying into correspondence between the defendants and their counsel. Prison authorities illegally seized correspondence sent to defense counsel and when it was returned Dr. Alexander found an addition -- a page in the handwriting of a secret policeman. The prosecution did not deny that the page was from the desk of the cops. In fact it was brazenly admitted and shrugged off.

There is little information about the eleven defendants, since under the Nazi pattern followed by the South African government, prisoners are sealed off. It is known that Dr. Alexander, one of South Africa's outstanding intellectual figures, was brutally assaulted by warders with injury to an eardrum.

The assault occurred when Dr. Alexander objected to the degrading ritual which colored prisoners are forced to undergo each day when they return from the quarries or other hard-labor projects. This is the infamous "tausa dance." The white warders compel each prisoner to strip naked, clap his hands, jump in the air and expose his sexual organs.

Lionel Davies, Marcus Solomon and Leslie van der Heyden witnessed the assault on Dr. Alexander. For daring to state that they were witnesses, prison authorities placed them in solitary confinement.

Fikele Bam, another defendant, had the temerity last June 10 to ask for more food. The answer to this was a kick and a slap from a head warder. When Bam reported this to the authorities the next day, he was told that he was a Kaffir and should be thankful for the food the department of prisons was wasting on him. It should be added that as in the Nazi concentration camps the "waste" is not much in either quantity or quality.

A report leaked out from Robben Island that Don Davies had also been beaten by warders but it has not been possible to verify this.

Dr. Alexander is reported to have sought to get special permission from the Robben Island command to continue his studies during his ten-year incarceration. While at Tübingen on a scholarship he specialized on the German dramatist Gerhart Hauptmann. He would now like to continue this. It is not known what the response was or whether the request was forwarded to higher rungs of the herrenvolk regime for a decision.

In England there is increased interest in the case of Dr. Neville Alexander. A review of his book about Hauptmann in the December 31 Times Literary Supplement mentioned that he was in some kind of trouble with the South African authorities. This was fol-

lowed by a letter in the January 14 issue from C.L.R. James, the author of Black Jacobins, giving a few details about the case and the London address of the defense committee. [See World Outlook January 22.]

Two days after this letter was printed, the secretary of the British Alexander Defence Committee received a cheque for £100 from a London donor.

With the setting of the appeal date, the British Alexander Defence Committee plans to intensify its campaign for contributions to help meet legal costs. More than £1,000 is still needed.

Cheques should be made payable to "Defence and Aid (Alexander Appeal)" and sent to:

Connie Kirkby  
Secretary Alexander Defence Committee  
27 Thursley House  
Holmewood Gardens  
London, S.W.2, England

#### CELEBRATE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF ZANZIBAR REVOLUTION

In an article marking the first anniversary of the Zanzibar Revolution, the government newspaper Kweupe [Dawn] said that the revolution there "is a continuation of the revolutions in Africa, Asia and Latin America."

The Zanzibar Revolution has proved a source of inspiration to all African patriots fighting for the independence of their own countries, the article said. The Revolution has also encouraged those African, Asian and Latin-American countries already politically independent to go on fighting for economic independence.

The Zanzibar Revolution "has proved that it is quite impossible for workers and all oppressed people in any country to seize state power by peaceful means," the article continued. Events clearly showed that feudalists and colonialists will never surrender state power to the people unless the latter "make revolution and take up arms."

Besides this, the Zanzibar Revolution "has proved that the people are not only strong but also decide the outcome of the revolution." Although the old regime had well-trained men equipped with all kinds of modern weapons, it was defeated by a people who had only axes and stones.

### MOZAMBICANS CALL FOR STEPPED UP STRUGGLE IN 1965

Mozambican Revolution, organ of the Mozambique Liberation Front, reports that the Central Committee of the freedom-fighters' organization called on the Mozambican people in a New Year's message to step up their armed struggle in 1965 against the Portuguese colonialists supported by the U.S. and other western powers.

Since the beginning of the armed struggle in October, the Committee said, important results had been achieved. Dozens of Portuguese soldiers were killed, many others wounded and a large quantity of arms and ammunition captured.

The declaration said that the Portuguese colonialists were still able to maintain their domination in Mozambique and other colonies "only because of the military and economic aid that they receive from their NATO allies, particularly the United States."

### COLOMBIAN GUERRILLAS PUT UP STRONG DEFENSE

According to an article featured in the Peking People's Daily December 30, more than 16,000 troops of the Colombian government supported by U.S. planes have failed to wipe out the guerrillas in Marquetalia, a rugged mountainous area of some 5,000 square kilometers in Tolima province.

The government operation began on May 18 under direction of a U.S. military mission. Washington provided \$17,000,000 as well as up-to-date arms.

The article reports that U.S. aircraft made more than 300 raids over the area between May 18 and July 5, using napalm.

The guerrillas fought back courageously, even using a network of trenches, bunkers and traps in their defense. They proved skillful in setting ambushes. In August alone they killed or wounded 222 government troops. In mid October the guerrillas hit a helicopter, wounding three officers aboard, including Col. Hernando Correa C. who was in command of the operation against Marquetalia.

A detachment of government troops found the area so little to their liking that after a period of rest and recuperation at a base camp they refused to return.

On July 20, guerrilla headquarters issued a statement calling for the broadest possible united front, the overthrow of the government and formation of a democratic government of national liberation. In their program for agrarian reform they called for confiscation of all the big estates and land held by U.S. imperialism, demanding



that it be distributed free to the peasants.

Six guerrilla movements of the "southern group" held a meeting September 15-20. They adopted a resolution stating that the conflict in Marquetalia had opened a new stage in the revolutionary struggle in Colombia. The declaration stressed the need to conduct an all-round guerrilla war and appealed to all armed groups in the country to join hands in this "patriotic struggle of our people against U.S. imperialism."

### REGROUPMENT PROCESS CONTINUES IN CHILE

The shake-up in left-wing political alignments in Chile has been reflected in several recent incidents that have received considerable publicity in the Chilean press.

In Valparaiso two separate meetings were held on the same day in celebration of the anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. One, sponsored by the Movimiento de Solidaridad con la Revolución Cubana, featured as main speakers the well-known Communist poet Pablo Neruda and the regional secretary of the Socialist party Sergio Salinas. It was held in the Teatro Imperio.

The other meeting, held in the Teatro Lux, featured Jaime Barros, the Communist member of parliament who recently resigned from the Communist party in protest over its class-collaborationist policies. [See World Outlook January 8.]

This meeting was sponsored by a committee composed of Alonso Zumaeta, Daniel Quiroz, Nelson Salinas, Antonio Tavolari, Manuel Contreras, Marcos Portnoy, Luis Vega, and the socialist candidate for parliament Isabel Cárdenas.

The resignation of Jaime Barros and the well-known Communist intellectual Marcos Portnoy as well as José Vega, a former Valparaiso city councilman, was a heavy blow to the Chilean Communist party. The reaction of the party officialdom has been in the traditional Stalinist groove. A campaign of denigration was opened in El Siglo, the official newspaper of the Chilean Communist party.

In the January 10 issue, for instance, a report was published that "20 thugs, directed by Marcos Portnoy and Luis Vega -- recently expelled from the Communist party because of their antiparty activities -- yesterday morning cowardly attacked 8 members of the Communist Youth" who were distributing literature.

The Stalinist sheet claimed that the police stood by "without intervening" and that two of the youth had to be taken to the hospital, one of them "badly injured."

Responsibility for the alleged attack was foisted on the Communist leaders who recently resigned, in the following deft way: "The whole operation was directed from an automobile by Portnoy and Vega who, together with the expelled Dr. Jaime Barros, have dedicated themselves to intense anti-Communist action through the 'Espan-taco' [Spartacus] group."

Meanwhile, in the Socialist party, a parallel process has provided tidbits for the gossipmongers. The Socialist Youth, who recently launched a struggle against the class-collaborationist policies of the right-wing Social Democratic leadership [see World Outlook January 8] were given a taste of the bureaucratic whip.

In Santiago, leaders of the Regional Committee of the Socialist Youth scheduled a meeting for January 9 in the party headquarters in San Martin street. On their agenda was preparation for the Special Congress of the Socialist party which they have demanded "to finish with the bureaucracy" and to elect a new, democratic leadership dedicated to the program of revolutionary socialism.

When they arrived, however, they were met by Raúl Ampuero, a Socialist party senator, and a number of his associates. According to the press, this group refused to permit the youth to enter the headquarters, and beat them up.

"Eduardo Diaz, regional secretary of the Young Socialists, and Jecar Neghme, member of the Central Committee and leader of the National Health Service union, were beaten," according to an account in one of the daily papers next day. Then -- again according to the same account -- the Socialist party leaders "Ampuero, Garay and Jaime Ahumada called the Radio Patrol of the Carabineros, saying that 'Christian Democratic gangs were trying to assault the party headquarters.'"

An enterprising photographer of El Mercurio, Santiago's main daily, got a picture of Raúl Ampuero and two armed carabineros barring one of the leaders of the Socialist Youth from entering the headquarters.

The Young Socialists thereupon went to the headquarters of the Supply Workers union in Arturo Prat street where they held their meeting. They decided to set up a committee together with adult members of the Socialist party to organize a Special Congress of the party in February.

In an attempt to nullify the bad publicity resulting from their bureaucratic actions, the right-wing Socialist party leaders sent a statement to the press, denouncing the "factional, splitting work carried out by agents provocateurs who infiltrated the party organization." The statement affirmed that these "agents provocateurs" were "Christian Democrats." It ended up by announcing the expulsion of the following individuals: "René Orellana, Victor...

Barberis, María Elena Peralta and Eduardo Díaz or Omar Letelier."

The article in the capitalist press ended dryly: "As can be seen, those expelled are not the same ones who 'tried to enter violently.'"

In an interview with El Mercurio, Youth leaders Patricio Figueroa, Enrique Barrios Arratia and Mario Iñiguez Raddatz said that they were in opposition to the "bureaucratic, reformist, electoralist leadership of the party."

They said that their movement to bring the party back to its revolutionary program had been fully supported by seventeen sections of Santiago province at a plenum held last month. The ranks of the Youth "demonstrated their complete repudiation of the present adult and youth central committees."

At the Special Congress, they said, their objective would be the election of a "genuinely revolutionary leadership that would faithfully represent the sentiments of most party members, replacing a leadership which for years has utilized our party for personal and electoralist ends. . . ."

#### BIGGEST, MOST PROFITABLE BUSINESS IN HISTORY

In an article, "The Cold War and World Poverty," published in the November issue of Africa and the World, Bertrand Russell offers the following explanation of why every world crisis brings a boom to the stock market:

\* \* \*

Property owned by the United States Defence Department was valued almost ten years ago at 160 billion dollars. This makes the US Defence Department the world's largest organisation.

The Pentagon owns millions of acres of land, including 32 million acres in the United States and nearly 3 million acres in foreign countries.

The Pentagon building is so large that the Capitol, which seats the United States Government, could be swallowed in any one of the five main segments of the Pentagon.

The 1962 budget involved 53 billion dollars for arms, exclusive of the military space programme.

Thus, by 1962, 63 cents out of every dollar were spent on appropriations for arms and space expenditure.

A further six cents was spent on veteran services and 80 per cent of interest payments were for military debts.

Seventy-seven cents out of every 100 are spent on past wars, the Cold War and preparations for future war.

The billions of dollars thus funnelled into the pockets of the military in the United States provide the Pentagon with economic power affecting every aspect of American life and, therefore, of the lives of mankind.

Military assets in the United States are three times as great as the combined assets of United States Steel, American Telephone and Telegraph, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, General Motors and Standard Oil of New Jersey.

The employees of the Defence Department are triple the number of all those of these great corporations.

This immense world concentration of power and wealth is closely connected to large industry in the United States.

The billions of dollars in contracts are awarded by the Pentagon and fulfilled by large industry.

In 1960, 21 billion dollars were spent for the procurement of military goods. Ten corporations received seven-and-a-half billion dollars, three corporations received one billion dollars each and two others 900 million dollars.

This means that these immensely powerful corporations must cultivate military personnel in the United States.

The result is that 1,400 retired officers above the rank of Major are employed by the top corporations which divide the 21 billion dollars.

This list includes 261 generals or officers of flag rank.

The company with the largest contracts, General Dynamics, has on its payroll 187 retired officers, 27 generals and admirals and a former Secretary of the Army.

IT IS CLEAR THAT AMERICAN POLICY AND THE ARMS RACE SERVE A VAST POWER COMPLEX INTERCONNECTED AND INTERESTED IN THE PERPETUATION OF THE ARMS RACE FOR ITS OWN SAKE.

This concentration of power spreads throughout the economy of the United States.

Sub-contracts awarded by war contractors involve every city of any size. The jobs at stake involve millions of people. Nearly

four million people work for the Defence Department alone.

Their payroll is 12 billion dollars, or twice that of the automobile industry of the United States.

A further four million people are employed directly in arms industries.

This means that over eight million Americans depend for their jobs on the military establishment.

In certain areas of the United States the percentage is far higher. Missile production accounts for 82 per cent of all manufacturing jobs in San Diego, California, 72 per cent in Wichita, Kansas, and 53 per cent in Seattle, Washington.

Defence contracts alone account for 30 per cent of all manufacturing employment in Kansas, Washington, New Mexico, California and Connecticut. Arms industries spend five billion dollars annually in California alone. In Los Angeles, over half the jobs depend directly or indirectly on arms expenditure.

IN THE UNITED STATES AS A WHOLE, NEARLY 50 PER CENT OF ALL ECONOMIC ACTIVITY HINGES UPON MILITARY SPENDING.

The economic investment in the arms race, in the Cold War, in the perpetuation of exploitation and in retaining the relationship which now exists between impoverished countries and wealthy ones is overwhelming.

Every food store, every petrol [gasoline] station, requires the perpetuation of war production. The meaning of this is that the United States cannot afford peace unless it is prepared for the most profound transformation of its society.

### THE CANCER IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

By Evelyn Sell

Federal marshals have arrested eighteen men indicted by the federal grand jury which heard testimony on the murder of three young civil-rights workers in Mississippi last summer. Three local law-enforcement officials were included in the group: Sheriff Lawrence Rainey, Deputy Sheriff Cecil Price and city policeman Richard Willis. Both Price and Willis were indicted by a federal grand jury last year for beating Negro prisoners in jail.

The eighteen men were indicted under an 1870 law charging conspiracy to violently deny a person his civil rights. The law

provides a maximum sentence of ten years and a fine of \$10,000. Because murder is not a federal offense unless committed on federal property, the grand jury could not indict the men for murder. The county grand jury could return murder indictments, however, and the government is expected to present evidence before the county grand jury when it reconvenes in February.

The arrests took place both in Philadelphia, site of the slayings, and nearby Meridian. The Congress of Racial Equality [CORE] has announced that a community center will be built in Meridian as a memorial to the three slain civil-rights workers. Jackie Robinson, the first Negro baseball player in the major teams, and Ralph Samuels, board chairman of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, are serving as chairmen of a special fund-raising committee to secure \$250,000 for the memorial; \$22,000 has already been raised. The building will contain classroom space, a recreation room, an auditorium and a library. Negro contractors in Mississippi will be asked to do the construction work.

Architect's plans call for a ten-foot-high wall around the building "to withstand possible bomb or gunfire attack." The father of one of the young victims commented on the protective wall. Nathan Schwerner said, "I for one have the opinion that protection from bombings, hoodlums, the Klan and the power structure of Mississippi will not be afforded by stone walls.

"Protection will only be afforded to the extent that the American people and the American government do something about this cancer on our society."

This cancer has grown worse in many respects despite the horrified reactions to the triple murder, despite the grand pronouncements of President Johnson about a "Great Society," despite the highly publicized Civil Rights Law, despite the token arrests of a few racists and the token appointments of a few Negroes.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee [SNCC] reported that in a seven-month period there were over twenty bombing or arson attacks against Negroes and civil-rights workers in one Mississippi town alone. SNCC listed seven attacks on Negro churches, thirteen attempts to burn or bomb private homes, a bombing of the SNCC Freedom House and the bombing of three Negro businesses -- all in McComb, Mississippi, from May through November 1964.

Nine white men were arrested in connection with the bombings. They pleaded guilty and were sentenced to five years in jail. Judge W.H. Watkins placed them on probation. The judge explained that these men "come from good families" and were "unduly provoked" by civil-rights activity in the area.

Mrs. Aylene Quin, whose McComb home was bombed recently, tells of the terror-filled lives of the children in that town. Her little

daughter received a permanent ear injury as a result of the blast. Her small son Anthony has a scar on his forehead. Every time he touches the scar, he cries. He's afraid to go from room to room but prefers to stay in one spot. The children have torn a tiny hole in a windowshade and they peer out at the street through the opening.

These bombings and burnings have stirred up sympathetic responses. Thirty white students and teachers from Oberlin College in Ohio traveled 800 miles to spend their Christmas vacation in Mississippi. They helped rebuild a Negro church in Ripley which had been bombed and burned after a Freedom Democratic party civil-rights rally. This was only one of forty churches destroyed in the state during recent months.

The student carpenters complained to the local sheriff that they were being harassed by white men throwing firecrackers at them and by shots from a passing car. Sheriff Wayne Mauney dismissed the problem by saying the Christmas firecrackers hurt no one and no shots were fired. When one of the "Carpenters for Christmas" broke some traffic laws while trying to escape from racists, he was speedily arrested and fined \$57. The student should have considered himself fortunate, however. The three murdered civil-rights workers had been arrested for an alleged traffic violation, had been kept in jail while the lynch mob formed and had then been transported from jail to the murder scene by the local law officer in a sheriff's car.

At a meeting held to thank the "Carpenters for Christmas," Mrs. Annie Devine referred to the murdered trio. The Negro leader from Canton, Ohio, pointed out that American Peace Corps members have worked in areas around the world without being hurt but "a few kids could not come down to Mississippi to help the underprivileged and underdeveloped without getting hurt."

Since American students are in greater danger in Mississippi than they are in Peace Corps missions to Africa, it ill behooves the American ambassador to the United Nations to accuse the African nations of pushing Africa into a "primitive state of anarchy." Adlai Stevenson responded hypocritically and threateningly to the eighteen African states which had bitterly complained to the United Nations Security Council about the U.S.-Belgian paratroop attack in the Congo. Stevenson urged the Security Council to establish an inspection and investigation group that would go to the Congo and report back to the Council. He could have better called for an investigation in his own backyard.

Already branded a bald-faced liar by the world in 1961 for his repeated assurances that there was no American participation in the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, Stevenson reached new heights of hypocrisy in his attacks against the African nations and his defense of U.S.-Belgian imperialism. "I need no credentials as a spokesman

for racial equality and social justice in this country," Stevenson stated in the United Nations, "and the Government of this country needs none in the world. . . We have no apologies to make to any state appearing before this council. We are proud of our part in saving human lives imperiled by the civil war in the Congo."

Here, Mr. Ambassador Stevenson! Are you proud of Mississippi? Have you no apologies for the victims of the Democratic sheriffs, judges and public officials in Mississippi? What about the "primitive state of anarchy" in Mississippi?

#### POSITION OF BOLIVIAN TROTSKYISTS ON BARRIENTOS REGIME

[The following statement was issued by the Bolivian Trotskyists under the title "The Military Junta Usurps the Victory of the People in Order to Save Imperialist Domination." The subheadings appear in the original. The translation is by World Outlook.]

\* \* \*

#### (1) The Struggle of the Masses Brought About the Downfall of Paz Estenssoro

The Partido Obrero Revolucionario [Revolutionary Workers party] declares that the rise of General Barrientos and the Armed Forces to power constituted a preventive coup d'état supported by North American imperialism and aimed at containing and canalizing the most important revolutionary, democratic movement of the proletariat, the democratic petty bourgeoisie of the cities and important sectors of the peasantry.

This means that the fundamental cause of the military coup d'état and the downfall of Paz Estenssoro was the rising development of a revolutionary process, with growing mobilization of the masses, initiated in the recent period by the teachers' strike, followed by the militant actions of the students, and capped by the action of the miners, and important layers of factory workers and peasants near the mining centers.

This mobilization of the masses against the Paz Estenssoro government, scarcely two months after the beginning of his third term as president, had the effect of shaking the foundations of the capitalist regime and placing in grave danger the control of the state by the bourgeoisie and imperialism. The workers and students, through militant action, even succeeded in undermining the morale of the soldiers as was seen in the battle of Sora Sora, where after some bloody encounters with the miners of Siglo Veinte and Catavi, they fled in disorder, abandoning their arms, wounded, and some prisoners they had taken.



The firmness and decisiveness of the mine proletariat, mobilized on a national scale, placed the ruling class up against two facts: the irrepressible extension of the struggle of the masses and the disintegration of the morale of the soldiers. It was clear that the repressive forces of the carabineros, mercenaries and army were incapable of containing the masses. The military chiefs, fearful of being dragged down in the imminent defeat of the Paz Estenssoro government and foreseeing how extensive its downfall would be in face of the sweeping mobilization of the masses, decided with common accord and the intervention of the North American embassy, to hand the power to a Military Junta.

In this way, the events of November 3 and 4, which resulted in a new government as an immediate consequence, had a contradictory content and significance. On the one hand the masses triumphed by defeating their main enemy, the oppressive bureaucratic regime of Paz Estenssoro. But on the other hand the masses were cheated with the appearance of the Military Junta, which took over the Government Palace, usurping the victory of the people.

## (2) The Class Nature of the Military Junta

The military coup d'état was not directed against Paz Estenssoro, but against the mobilization of the people and the workers. Paz Estenssoro left with everything arranged; he named his successors and charged them with continuing, under new forms, the counterrevolutionary course of his government.

The Military Junta is, thus, a reactionary attempt to smash the perspective opened in Bolivia by the struggle of the masses. The declarations of the military ministers leave no room for doubt about this. This is still truer of their practical measures such as the so-called "Operation Disarming," which will be followed by "Operation De-nationalization," "Operation Restoration of the Land" against the peasants, and "Operation Military Penal Code" against the armed pickets of the mines. From this it follows that the Military Junta is the continuator of the previous regime, but with the accent on its rightist course and with the co-operation of the old oligarchs and the Falangist leadership.

In general, the Military Junta, the expression of the preventive coup d'état, has succeeded in several areas -- momentarily containing the masses, saving the apparatus set up by the MNR [Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario], and guaranteeing the continuation of the capitalist regime.

The workers and their vanguard are duty bound to unmask the Military Junta and denounce all its measures; discussions must be opened among the union ranks and workers on the danger which the new government represents for the social, economic and political conquests of the masses. None of the workers must forget for a single moment that the Military Junta is the continuation of the

Paz Estenssoro regime, allied today with the former aristocratic "rosca" of the ex-landlords and ex-mine owners.

(3) How the Military Snatched the Victory Away from the Masses

For the revolutionary vanguard and the workers, however, it is not sufficient to know that a mass struggle defeated the Paz Estenssoro government and that the Military Junta has a reactionary nature. It is indispensable in addition to determine and to understand the causes that made possible the rise of the military to power in face of a militant and revolutionary mobilization of important sectors of the masses. Why, under such conditions, was the Paz Estenssoro government brought down by the right and not by the left? The answer to this is the key to fixing responsibilities and assimilating experiences of use in the coming struggles.

These causes, which the revolutionary vanguard must think over deeply, are summarized by the POR [Partido Obrero Revolucionario] as follows:

(a) The absence of a leadership to centralize the struggles, mobilizations and energies of the masses, to direct them toward precise objectives in a unified way going beyond a mere confrontation with the Paz Estenssoro government and which would correctly pose the problem of power. Lacking such a center, the teachers, miners, students and workers in general fought valiantly but without a general staff to plan and orient the actions so as to knit them together. In the absence of the strategic objective of taking power, all the various sectors moved singly in the attack on Paz Estenssoro and his government without a clear idea of what would follow his downfall. Thus the characteristic feature of all the mobilizations was spontaneity. They were fed by the initiative arising from below, derived from the enormous force and dynamism of the masses. The trade-union leaders, educated by the MNR in the politics of holding back and compromising, were dislodged and bowled over. The political parties of the left, with the sole exception of the POR, demonstrated their incapacity to rise to the level of the events, displaying their limitations in understanding the masses, expressing their sentiments and placing themselves at their head. Instead, they acted as obstacles and diversionary factors, occupied as they were with discussing old problems already solved by history.

(b) The role of brake played by the workers' leadership, which prevented the massive mobilization of the proletariat in the plants. Only the most politically enlightened sectors, under the guidance of the POR, like the workers at Said, overcame this brake and joined valiantly and actively in the street battles. This fact and the self-liquidation of the COB [Central Obrera Boliviana] as a national leadership of the masses, determined that in La Paz the practical axis of the mobilizations tilted toward the university students and not toward the proletariat. The university students

with their Falangist outlook, forced Paz Estenssoro to flee; they formed an alliance with the military, playing the role of police to contain the workers. The national and departmental trade-union leadership must be called to account by the ranks. Of course, no other conduct could be expected from leaders educated in bourgeois concepts, who have always compromised, with one foot in the opposition and the other in the MNR. To free the immense energy of the workers a different leadership is required.

(c) Passivity of the bulk of the peasantry. The big peasant force remained at the margin of the struggles. The fighters in the cities could not even pose going to the peasantry and only the miners were able to mobilize nearby areas. The government, likewise, could not mobilize the bulk of the peasantry on its side, only isolated groups quite close to the bureaucracy of the MNR, as in Sucre and Cochabamba. The power of the peasantry in a semicolonial country is decisive in tipping the political balance and this was forgotten by the trade-union leaders of the labor movement. In the next round this torrential force can be united to the revolutionary perspective if this lesson is grasped and advantage is taken of the rightist course of the Military Junta which is encouraging the former latifundistas [big land holders] to set out to reconquer their land.

(d) Finally one more factor must be added, consisting in the conservative force of the army which was not put to the test in the encounters with the masses. Moving rapidly after what was revealed at Sora Sora, the high command based itself on this force, giving the appearance of turning against Paz Estenssoro, thus controlling the cities, preventing new mobilizations of the masses. The role of the university students, who allied themselves with the military for the moment, coupled with the lack of a centralized leadership, as we have indicated, left the principal cities of the country in the hands of the military.

These causes which explain the rise of the military to power, permitting the right and not the left to resolve the struggle against Paz Estenssoro was not predetermined, of course; it should and could have been modified. The POR worked energetically to fill in the breaches and weak points of the process. If, despite its efforts, the workers could not advance further, this was due to the compromising, defeatist tendencies that still exist in the trade-union and political leadership of the workers' movement.

#### (4) Responsibility of the Political Parties

Responsibility for the Military Junta's usurpation of the victory of the masses falls, in the final analysis, on the political parties. Similarly, the rightist course adopted by the military, and its alliance with the old rosca, are nothing more than consequences of the way the parties in the opposition conducted themselves. Only the POR can be excepted. The POR struggled tenaciously to open a road different from that of the Military Junta in face of the

myopia of the other so-called left political formations.

It should be noted that in the problem of responsibility we refer to the so-called left, since the parties of the extreme right played the role they should have undertaken. The perspective of the FSB [Falange Socialista Boliviana], the PRA [Partido Revolucionario Autentico], the Christian Democrats, liberals and Hertzogist republicans was always that the military dictatorship should restore the old feudal-bourgeois privileges and smash what they called worker-peasant barbarism. The last-hour dissidents of the MNR like Siles Suazo and the Bloque de Defensa joined this camp. From the guerrillas in the periphery of the Falange to the paid formations of the MNR and the heads of the army the decision was to get the military into power. We cannot blame those who act according to their ideology and the conservative and reactionary interests they serve.

The responsibility must be fixed among those who call themselves leftists, representatives of the working class, of the peasantry and poor sectors of the middle class, who contributed to the triumph of the military and who are consequently to blame for the present reactionary measures of the Junta.

The workers must blame and hold responsible in the victory of the military the PRIN [Partido Revolucionario de Izquierda Nacionalista], the PCB [Partido Comunista Boliviano], and the trade-union leaderships of the COB and the national confederations. These parties prevented in practice the formation of a powerful front of the left, and tied up the trade-union leaderships in activities that were guided completely by the right. The main leaders of the PRIN and the PCB preferred to constitute the tail of the rightist front rather than join with the Trotskyists in forming the head of a great front of the workers and the people.

The POR fought stubbornly for constitution of a Left Front, arguing with the workers' leaders, exerting pressure among the ranks of the PRIN and the PCB. After great efforts, the POR succeeded in getting the idea of this front accepted, documents were written, plans were made for armed action to defeat Paz Estenssoro, but the top leadership of these parties prevented this from becoming concretized. The POR called for discussion on the question of power after the downfall of Paz Estenssoro and, warning about the danger of a new July 21, demanded the unification of the whole revolutionary and workers' left. The top leadership of the PRIN did not oppose a single proposal, but paralyzed any action in this direction while it continued its pacts and deals with the right. The trade-union leaders belonging to the PRIN, more sensitive to the feelings of the ranks, better oriented, approved the proposals of the POR, but could not loosen the grip of the leadership.

The leaderships of the PRIN and the PCB remained prisoner to their democratic-bourgeois political concepts. They are not Marxist revolutionaries. They cannot see beyond their own noses. They

saw only the struggle against Paz Estenssoro, and to fight him they allied themselves with the ultrarightists, granting them even a leadership role, but they were incapable of working out a strategy to follow up the defeat of Paz Estenssoro.

In this way the downfall of Paz Estenssoro was brought about by the heroic action of the workers, while these so-called left parties stood empty-handed and empty-headed, not knowing what to do; and, in face of the Military Junta, they again remained in the wake of the right.

The revolutionary masses, without the Left Front which these parties blocked, were cheated out of their victory over Paz Estenssoro. The Military Junta was established on their heroism and bravery.

#### (5) The Stability of the Junta and the Role of the Military

The POR had long maintained that the army would be the card played by imperialism. This was the way it turned out. With the MNR and its chieftain Paz Estenssoro worn out, isolated, their prestige gone, imperialism needed a replacement to control the country. The bourgeois parties, in constant crises and torn by contradictions, could offer imperialism no guarantees. Thus the army, ideologically armed and prepared, became the key piece which the North American embassy put into play.

Nevertheless, the Military Junta is far from having solved the problems facing imperialism and the capitalist regime in maintaining their rule in Bolivia. Its stability is limited and precarious. In Bolivia no government can become stabilized unless it meets the aspirations and needs of the masses and at the same time promotes economic development. Paz Estenssoro and the MNR fell precisely because they were unable to do this. The Military Junta is even less able to solve these problems, since its alliance with the old rosca narrows the margin for maneuver.

The illusions created by the Junta are already beginning to vanish. Those who hoped that General Barrientos might be a new Busch or Villarroel are due for bitter disillusionment. In their time, Busch's measures, compelling the former mining companies to give up one hundred per cent of their profits, and those of Villarroel, who organized the peasants and ended feudal servitude by the decrees of May 5, 1945, were highly progressive. In the present period, the bourgeois revolution ended in the failure of the MNR; there are now no measures of this kind to be carried out. After the bankruptcy of the bourgeois program, only socialist tasks remain. General Barrientos cannot undertake this type of revolution, tied as he is to imperialism and prisoner as he is to the most ultrarightist forces. The socialist revolution is the heritage of the proletariat, allied with the peasantry and the poor middle class, and its vanguard the POR.

The Military Junta cannot find any way to meet the needs of the masses today, nor can it open a road for the profound transformations required to do so tomorrow. Thus its stay in power will prove to be quite transitory and no more than a prelude to the great struggles that will decide the fate of Bolivia.

The military power will be all the more transitory inasmuch as the Bolivian army has no solidity like the Argentine or Brazilian armies, for example. Already in its short time as a government, the army has suffered the impact of the social question. The apparent monolithism has already cracked. Different and opposing factions are forming. The army will divide into wings, those who want to maintain Barrientos for a long time and others who want to get rid of him.

As in the case of Paz Estenssoro, the masses will soon cast him out. The moves toward disarming the masses, toward taking back the land, rejecting wage increases, etc., etc., are rapidly dissipating some of the hopes with which the Junta was greeted. This process will accelerate the decomposition in the army ranks.

The present period is consequently one of lull, a momentary truce, in which the two camps, imperialism and its lackeys on the one hand, and the working class and the nation-wide majority on the other are preparing their arms for the next combat.

#### (6) The Bourgeois Alternatives to the Situation

In face of the instability of the Military Junta and the decomposition of the army, the parties of the ultraright, the center right and the so-called reformists are rushing to pose their alternatives and perspectives. It is necessary to unmask them before the masses. All of them are adding up their hopes in terms of elections of the traditional kind and are pressing the Junta to set them early.

We see the parties putting on a servile show with regard to the Military Junta. Grouped in the Comité Revolucionario del Pueblo [People's Revolutionary Committee] they are seeking to curry favor with the military and to offer their services to the various wings.

There has been a verbal and journalistic renaissance of old parties emptied and buried by history. The sectors of the MNR are desperately trying to unite. But politically they advance absolutely nothing that is new. The old parties want to turn the wheel of history backward; and, as ex-President Urriolagoitia puts it, "regain their lands and properties." The wings of the MNR -- the PRA, Siles, PRIN, to which the PIR [Partido Izquierdista Revolucionario] must be added -- are again playing with the thesis of the national, bourgeois-democratic revolution; that is, a repetition of the politics, program and plans of the MNR. These groups want to begin all over again. For them nothing happened in the twelve years of MNR government. The PRIN and the PIR did not learn anything des-

pite the fact that events completely flattened their theories. To blame for the rise of the military, they are now rushing to legalize handing over the power to the old oligarchical aristocracy through elections. You can't teach an old dog new tricks.

Thus all these tendencies have a common denominator -- submission to imperialism and fear of the masses and revolutionary roads. Not a single one poses a radical transformation of the basic economic structures of the country or a radical solution of the problems of national independence. In the best of cases, as with the PRIN and the PIR, they appear as the prolongation of the plans and policies of Paz Estenssoro under the shadow of imperialism.

All these alternatives, advocating different roads, only point to defeat for the workers, to increasing the colonial condition of Bolivia, to undoing all the social conquests, and to perpetuating Bolivian backwardness. These perspectives have already been tested and have proved their worthlessness; that is why they have been rejected by the masses.

#### (7) The Situation in the Workers' Movement

The Bolivian workers know that the downfall of Paz Estenssoro was their triumph. The usurpation of this victory by the Military Junta has not lessened this feeling of triumph and the consciousness of their strength.

If at first, in some sectors, hope was aroused in the new government, this quickly disappeared, giving way to lack of confidence and a critical attitude. By no means has the combative spirit of the workers been dampened. Everybody reacted quickly to the Junta, placing before it the petitions which the previous government had refused to hear. Then when the effort to disarm the masses made things clear, flat opposition appeared. The mine proletariat was the first to come out with the slogan, "Down with the Military Boot!" This was the cry with which they greeted Barrientos at Catavi and Siglo XX. The proletariat in the plants followed the same line, although more slowly.

The situation with the peasantry, initially confused, is becoming defined as opposition to the Junta, particularly under the stimulation of the activities of the old rosca and former latifundistas who have launched a campaign to regain the land from the peasants.

The urban petty bourgeoisie, which is at present savoring the pleasures of liberty and wide democracy, since the repressive instruments of the previous government were destroyed, is the layer that to a certain extent retains illusions in the Junta. But budding conflicts are already evident; the teachers are again mobilizing behind the petitions rejected by Paz Estenssoro. In addition, the massive lay-offs of public employees adds still another factor

to perturb the middle class.

Consequently, the working class as well as the peasantry, spurred by their problems, are moving toward crystallization of an alliance. The revolutionary vanguard must lift this developing tendency to the political level and concretize it in a genuine workers-peasants front that could immediately win over the dissatisfied petty bourgeoisie.

The looming struggles and the tasks imposed from now on require the immediate ouster of all the defeatist elements from the trade-union leadership -- those linked with the MNR and the bourgeois tendencies. What is needed today is a trade-union leadership with a proletarian, socialist outlook. Halfway measures and petty-bourgeois deals must be ended. It is necessary to turn to the revolutionary, proletarian school of sacrifice and unyielding struggle against the class enemy. The trade-union leadership must stand in the camp of the revolution and not in the camp of reaction. The polarization of forces, the disintegration and crisis of the ruling regime no longer permits any half tones. This is what the revolutionary Marxists must work for, in order to bring forward a genuine trade-union leadership up to the level of the tasks.

(8) The Revolutionary Alternative and the Partido Obrero Revolucionario

The situation in the movement of the workers, peasants and middle class, rapidly evolving toward a confrontation with the Military Junta, greatly lessens the possibility for imperialism and the Bolivian ruling class to cut short the Bolivian revolutionary process initiated during Paz Estenssoro's regime. It is certain, as we have said, that the Military Junta was the product of a preventive coup d'état aimed at containing the advance of the masses. But it is also true that this objective cannot be achieved as projected since the masses have not been mentally disarmed. After momentary confusion, they are now tending to continue their march. To the masses, the workers, peasants and pauperized sectors of the people, it is evident that the Military Junta is not the government they seek; it does not correspond to their aspirations nor satisfy their needs.

It is on the basis of this situation among the masses that the POR raises high the banner of struggle for a popular workers' power.

Against the false alternative offered by the center-right and reformist leaderships of choosing between a Paz Estenssoro-type dictatorship and bourgeois democracy, the POR states that the only road, or the concrete real road to get out of the chaos, the misery and the colonial condition is to struggle for socialism. The alternative is to continue under imperialist domination, supporting terror and hunger, or to construct a new society of liberty



and progress.

It is necessary to repeat -- for those suffering from illusions -- that with the downfall of Paz Estenssoro not only was a party, the MNR, broken, but a whole concept and program, there no longer being any possibility of advancing within the bourgeois-democratic framework. As against the utopias and the illusions of the petty bourgeoisie, the only thing that is effective, real and concrete is a workers and peasants government as a form of government representing the broad masses of the country.

This road, the only one that leads to national and social liberation, requires strengthening the Partido Obrero Revolucionario, the only party that has not faltered in its line, which for years has advanced a correct orientation for the masses. Because of this, the workers who have tried the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties and have been cheated and betrayed, have a post of struggle awaiting for them in the ranks of the POR. By strengthening the POR, the workers will assure their own victory and the defeat of imperialism and the national exploiters.

The struggle for workers' power and socialism is occurring on a world scale. In Bolivia the stage of the national, bourgeois-democratic revolution came to an end with the MNR, as it did previously in Argentina with the downfall of Perón. The defeat of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leaderships does not mean a setback for the masses but only a struggle to place proletarian-socialist currents again in leadership of the mass movement.

#### (9) Immediate Tasks of the Revolutionary Vanguard

In preparing the next struggles on the revolutionary road that has been indicated, the Marxist vanguard, the POR, proposes the following immediate tasks:

(1) No worker or peasant must give up his arms. On the contrary, the trade unions must centralize the armaments by organizing a Proletarian Army, and must provide education and training in military tactics. No armed worker must stay outside of the Workers' Army! This is the best way to defend your arms.

(2) The workers must oust from their organizations the remnants of the MNR bureaucrats who are now trying to hide under the mantle of Barrientism. New leaderships must come forward expressing the militancy of the cadres who participated in the struggle against the capitalist dictatorship of Paz Estenssoro.

(3) Armed and open defense of the land conquered by the peasants. Reorganization of the Peasant Regiments in order to guarantee the land, to oppose land taxes in the countryside and the abuses of the old landholders.

(4) The people of Bolivia as a whole, while jealously defending the democratic liberties gained at the cost of their blood, must demand and widen the main liberty of the Bolivians: THEIR LIBERTY AS A NATION. Along this road it is necessary to struggle to repudiate all the colonial pacts signed by previous governments with the U.S. and the big imperialist companies. It is necessary to struggle for the nationalization of the still remaining Yankee monopolies, for repudiating the treaty of Rio de Janeiro and the bilateral pacts. It is necessary to oppose Bolivia's participation in military maneuvers with the butcher armies of Latin America as well as to demand the re-establishment of relations with workers and peasants Cuba and with Czechoslovakia.

(5) Struggle for a general increase in wages with joint mobilization of all the workers.

(6) To centralize all these tasks and overcome the lack of a centralized leadership of the masses, which was the main element explaining the rise to power of the Military Junta, the Partido Obrero Revolucionario calls on the revolutionary workers parties of the left, on the workers, peasants and student organizations, to form a united workers' and people's front in order to offer the country a revolutionary socialist alternative against the various bourgeois and reformist positions.

La Paz, November 1964.

For the Executive Committee of the POR: Hugo González Moscoso (general secretary), Eulogio Sánchez, Gabriel Guzmán I., Alex Alcón, F. Mirabal, W. Aldana, Elfo Vásquez, David Espada, V. Silva, Felipe Vásquez.

#### STATEMENT ON WANDSWORTH INCIDENTS

[The following statement was issued January 20 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

\* \* \*

We have been asked to express an opinion on differences which have appeared in the left wing of the British Labour Party over the expulsion from the Wandsworth constituency on December 7 of three followers of Keep Left, a youth paper that has been proscribed by the right-wing leadership of the party because of its criticisms of their conservative views. The left-wing tendencies as a whole are united in their opposition to this ban, are united in their defense of freedom of expression for all working-class and socialist tendencies within the Labour Party, and are also united in their opposition to the expulsion of anyone from the Labour Party because of political opinions or a critical attitude toward the

right-wing faction. The differences, which have also found reflection among the Trotskyists, concern the specific case of Wandsworth where S. Mani, a leader in that constituency as well as being editor of the Militant, a newly launched left-wing publication, became involved in the expulsion of the three.

Comrade Mani does not deny involvement; he, in fact, states that he made the motion for expulsion. In our opinion it was a grave error on his part to have had anything to do with these expulsions. This is not his view, however; and in a public statement which he has issued on the Wandsworth incidents, he seeks to justify his action. This does not help matters, as we see it; it only compounds the original error.

Our interest in this situation, however, is not limited to this mistake. In fact we think it would be a gross injustice to single out S. Mani, to heap the responsibility on him and thus seek to convert him into a scapegoat. More is involved than his personal role. From the evidence we have been able to gather, it is quite clear that he did not create the general situation in the Wandsworth constituency nor initiate the immediate events that precipitated the expulsions.

The Wandsworth constituency has been the scene of factionalism in the past several years that has at times risen to a bitter level. The atmosphere in the recent period has been quite charged. Primary responsibility for this lies with the right wing and its efforts to throttle independent thought in the Labour Party but this does not alter the fact of the existence of a tense atmosphere. It was in such circumstances that those associated with Keep Left brought some thirty people (as they describe it) to one of the meetings, claiming that they were all candidates for membership.

Meetings of this constituency are not exactly mass affairs. When the thirty arrived, certain questions could not help but be asked. How did they happen to come to the meeting on the same night and in a group? How did they happen to come to Wandsworth? Did they all live in the immediate area? If Keep Left has such remarkable recruiting powers why were not batches of thirties showing up at other constituencies as applicants? Why the selection of Wandsworth? Had they been recruited to the Keep Left tendency and indoctrinated before being brought down in a body as applicants for Labour Party membership? Who organized all this? Was it done in consultation with the leadership of the constituency? In consultation with other left-wing tendencies who would most certainly be affected by the move?

We, of course, are not opposed to recruiting to the Labour Party nor to a democratic struggle of tendencies within it -- quite the contrary. In the circumstances, however, the tactical move -- which could easily be pictured as a crude maneuver to "capture" Wandsworth -- could scarcely fail to facilitate the dirty game of

anyone interested in provoking a situation in which the police could be called in and hysteria whipped up for expulsions. This appears to be what happened.

Thus the most important question in this situation is the policy that could play into the hands of the right wing in this way and also open the way for excited reactions and serious mistakes among other left-wing tendencies who were not consulted either in setting this policy or in applying it.

We have as yet been unable to determine individual responsibility in authorship of the policy. We do not know what individual was in charge of the thirty people who were brought to the meeting as candidates for membership. Nor do we know who was charged with seeing to it that they conducted themselves in an exemplary, disciplined way. (Certain accusations would indicate that their manner of introducing themselves struck some of those present as going beyond boisterousness.) The least that can be said about the maneuver is that it was scarcely designed to give any politically conscious person the impression that it was within the rules of normal procedure in the Labour Party.

In our opinion, the decision to engage in this tactic was not unconnected with the following statements in the September 26, 1964, Newsletter, the weekly journal of the Socialist Labour League and an ardent defender of the Keep Left tendency:

"At the moment it is imperative that the National Committee majority continue their offensive on the policy decided at their Brighton conference and prepare immediately to continue with the Young Socialists as an organisation on a national scale, should it be closed down by the right wing. [Emphasis in original.]"

"Those who say that it is not possible to build a Young Socialists movement unless it is tied to the Labour Party talk nonsense. The success of the youth paper, 'Keep Left', that has now been proscribed for over two years, shows that the main drive must be towards young people coming into politics for the first time.

"Only centrists maintain that these young people must of necessity get their experience in and around the Labour Party. Youth are a thousand times nearer to the revolutionary movement today than they are to the right-wing leadership of the Labour Party. . . .

". . . If the Young Socialists do not fight now, then they will be cut to pieces as they were in 1955.

"If they fight, in all probability they will be closed down but with their organisation intact advocating a clear socialist policy, they will be able to organise their forces and train hundreds of new leaders for re-entry into the Labour Party in prepara-

tion for the coming crisis."

The policy clearly implied in this statement is ultraleft; it projects splitting from the Labour Party and preparing for "re-entry" at a later time when, it is hoped, conditions will be more propitious. The initiative taken by the Keep Left followers at Wandsworth appears as a local tactical application of this nationwide ultraleft policy.

In this situation it was Comrade Mani's duty to find an independent way of expressing his opposition to such an ultraleft policy and (if it was the fact) to any excesses accompanying its tactical application. Instead, he permitted himself to become identified with a right-wing position. At whatever level it occurs, on a national scale or in a minor situation like the one at Wandsworth, this is a most serious error. Whatever the provocation, or seeming provocation may be, revolutionary Marxists cannot permit themselves to become identified with a politically alien tendency, whether of the center or right, even in situations where such tendencies are able to seize on glaring deficiencies, errors or worse. Revolutionary Marxists do not bloc with the right; they find ways to indicate an independent position even in the most difficult situations. This is a principle.

What then is to be said of the more important question involved in the Wandsworth incidents -- the policy directed at dividing young people from "experience in and around the Labour Party"? We hold that it is this policy that should be of main concern to all tendencies in the left wing of the Labour Party, for its practical consequence is to give up any effective struggle against the right wing and to leave the field to them under the delusion that the Labour Party can somehow be by-passed in the struggle to build a revolutionary-socialist movement in Great Britain. Variations of this ultraleft course have been tried more than once in the past, each time to the injury of the revolutionary-socialist movement. The end consequence has been political isolation if not disintegration.

We hope that those "in and around" Keep Left will reconsider this policy. Despite the difficulties caused by the witch-hunting inspired and fostered by the right wing, the only correct policy is to remain with the bulk of the British workers in the Labour Party. And, we would add, a by-product of this correct policy, applied with due consideration for the relationship of forces, would be greatly improved relations with other left-wing tendencies and greatly lessened possibilities for such unfortunate incidents and errors as occurred at Wandsworth.