

WORLD OUTLOOK

PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

Un service de presse ouvrier

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

NEW YORK OFFICE: World Outlook, P. O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station, New York, N.Y. 10010

Vol. 4, No. 15

May 13, 1966

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Reba Hansen, Business Manager,

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a labor press service

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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 \$7.50 or £2/15s. or 37.50 francs to: Reba Hansen, Business Manager, P. O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station, New York, N. Y. 10010.

NEW YORK WOMEN MARCH AGAINST WAR IN VIETNAM

By Evelyn Novack

The first Women's Rally and March in New York City to "end the war and bring our men home from Vietnam now" was held May 7, the day before Mother's Day. This project was sparked by the success of a Women's March on the local draft board initiated by the Berkeley California Vietnam Day Committee last February.

More than 500 New York women, supported by as many men, gathered under the forbidding walls of the U.S. Armory at Park Ave. and 33rd Street where a dozen militant women voiced their revulsion against Johnson's death-and-destruction policies in Vietnam. The speakers represented some sixty groups which organized the march.

The meeting was opened by Chairman Ethel Lobman of the Village View Committee to End the War in Vietnam, who said, "Despite our different views we are all united on a single issue today, Get Out of Vietnam Now!"

Barbara Deming, one of six U.S. pacifists expelled from Saigon this month, said the delegation had gone to assure the people there that the majority of Americans wanted an end to the war as much as the Vietnamese. "Only a small minority in Vietnam benefit from this war," she stated. "They are kept in power by the U.S. Without U.S. support they wouldn't last a day."

Betty Dellinger, wife of the editor of Liberation magazine and mother of five, declared: "The best thing I have done as a mother is to raise two sons who refuse to cooperate with this war."

Ruth Gage Colby, vice-president of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, emphasized the terrible danger of provoking a war with China which could escalate to a nuclear holocaust.

Dorothy Pitman of the Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam said that, as a black mother, she is one of those who have been engaged in a "war of survival in the U.S. for the past 400 years." The Negroes of New York don't want their men in Vietnam, she said. They would be needed for the coming "long hot summer" in Harlem.

Dixie Bayo, chairman of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence, expressed solidarity with the courageous women of Vietnam who have endured so many years of tortured existence.

Esther Newill of Women's Strike for Peace hit hard at the two-party system that has trapped so many Americans for so long. "We elected the Democrat Johnson on a peace program and he carried out the Republican Goldwater's war program. We are here today to stop turning our men into killers for either of these parties."

The speaking program was concluded by Caroline Jenness, secretary of the Organizing Committee to Bring the Troops Home, who said: "Our demonstration today will encourage women all over the country to join antiwar groups and project similar actions."

Telegrams of support from the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee and the Toronto Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam were read at the rally.

After the speeches the singing and chanting women marched across the shopping center of Manhattan to the Port Authority bus terminal where many soldiers and sailors, accompanied by their relatives, were debarking.

PHILIPPINE TRADE UNIONS CONDEMN U.S. ROLE IN VIETNAM

The eighth biennial convention of the National Association of Trade Unions in the Philippines, which ended April 18, passed a resolution, unanimously approved by the 300 delegates, condemning the war conducted by the United States in Vietnam.

The convention also adopted a resolution demanding an end to the Philippines-U.S. "special relations" and immediate abrogation of the unequal treaties between the two countries. One of the targets of the resolution was the pact granting the U.S. military bases in the Philippines.

"Real economic and political freedom for the Philippines is not possible so long as the inequitable arrangements exist," the resolution said.

CHE GUEVARA IN THE ANDES?

Paolo Senise, an Italian journalist, claimed in an article published in the weekly Le Ore, that he had succeeded in interviewing Ernesto "Che" Guevara in a hideout high in the Peruvian Andes. Senise became convinced that Guevara is in control of guerrilla warfare in Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia and Peru.

Contact was made with Guevara's followers at Huancayo. Eight days later he was taken to see Guevara. The trip took two days.

On May 6, Javier Campos Montoya, chief of Peru's national police, told the press that the interview was a fake. His proof was the testimony of Marcello Ongania, another Italian journalist, who accompanied Senise to the guerrilla region. Ongania said he spent almost three days in Senise's company and that he had no time to interview Guevara in any hideout.

WITCH-HUNT AGAINST "TROTSKYISM" IN MEXICO

Striking students at Mexico's big [70,000 enrollment] National Autonomous University [Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México] appeared to have won a resounding victory when the Governing Council [Junta de Gobierno] agreed to accept the resignations of the rector, Ignacio Chávez, the provisional rector, Roberto L. Mantilla Molina, and César Sepúlveda, the dean of the Law School.

The 7,000 students of the Law School had begun their strike forty-three days earlier, when the dean rejected demands for changes in study rules and other reforms. The students requested that he be dismissed. When the rector refused to comply, they demanded his resignation, too. On April 25, they stepped up their struggle by occupying buildings.

A delegation of students sought an interview with the rector April 26. They were received by his bodyguard and roughly handled, one of them receiving a fractured skull.

Thereupon the 7,000 law students took over the schools of Law, Economics, Political Science, Philosophy, Sciences, Medicine, Architecture, Commerce, Veterinary Medicine, Nursing and Obstetrics and other campus buildings, including the radio station. They seized buses and automobiles in preparation for the organization of demonstrations in the city and the sending of flying squadrons to other schools.

The government ringed the university with policemen and soldiers; but in face of groups of students armed with clubs and bicycle chains defending the university entrances, the armed forces did not breach the institution's autonomy.

Trapped in his office, Dr. Chávez signed a forced resignation. This was not recognized by the Junta de Gobierno but they accepted a resignation duly and regularly made out.

During the occupation of the various schools, the strike leaders issued warnings of possible provocations. Francisco Rivera, for instance, told the press April 27 that the defacement of a statue of former President Miguel Alemán during the night was "sabotage" committed by elements outside the university in order to smear the strike movement. The statue was painted red, blue, orange and yellow and the pedestal was blackened.

Dantón Guerrero Cisneros appealed for discipline among the students in order to avoid any kind of provocation that might be utilized by the government to send police onto the campus.

The warnings were well founded. Rumors began circulating throughout the country immediately after the students began occupying buildings April 25, that the police had arrested some "reds" who were said to be at the bottom of the strike.

El Mañana, a daily paper of Ciudad Reynosa in Tamaulipas, published an April 27 dispatch from Mexico stating that the Justice Department and the Secretary of the Presidency had sent "special agents" to various cities to "counteract" instructions sent out to their "cells" by the chiefs of a "subversive plan for agitation." The plotters, according to the dispatch, were allegedly "Trotskyist Communists." "Alien agitators" were among those involved and the government had indicated that it would "not tolerate our country being used as a springboard to alter the order in Latin America or anywhere else in the world."

After a conference with President Díaz Ordaz April 27, the Secretary of the Presidency, Luis Echeverría, granted an interview to the press. Among other things he was asked about the rumored arrests. The April 28 Mexico City daily Excelsior reported that he said the Department of Immigration had received information about the activities of three aliens and had launched an investigation. It had then turned its information over to the Secretary of the Presidency who in turn passed it on to the Justice Department which pursued the matter further.

The reporters thoughtfully did not ask Echeverría how it happened that the case broke precisely at the same time as the student strike reached its height. Instead they asked him what the "illegal activities" were that had been uncovered.

Echeverría said it was the production of "publications which they circulated about Mexican social and political problems, in various circles, among the workers as well as among the students."

The following exchange then occurred:

"Question: Haven't they discovered that they have links with foreign political groups or political factors?"

"Answer: They have confessed in the Department of Justice that they belong to the Fourth International, which is an international party of Trotskyist ideology. They boast about it. In reality, they are people without any precise ideological outlook; they are international adventurers who have come here to try to develop their plans in Mexico, where the Revolution has created circumstances much more positive than there are in other latitudes.

"Question: Isn't it possible that there are more ramifications?"

"Answer: It doesn't appear so. It was a small group in the bud and fortunately the Immigration inspectors noted they were engaged in illegal activities."

The next day, however -- the very same day the papers reported the acceptance of the formal resignations of the main targets of the student strike -- the press made it appear that in the very nick of time a plot had been exposed for a Communist take-over in Mexico.

The daily El Porvenir of Monterrey ran a screaming banner headline across the front page: "Communist Brains, Money and Hands in the Student Movement." The subhead said: "8 Arrested and Have Confessed"; "A Trotskyist Plot to Overthrow the Legal Order." The Mexico City Excelsior ran an equally sensational story, claiming that the eight who had been seized by the police were "Trying to Install a Red Regime Here."

The lurid stories were based on information issued to the press by the Department of Justice April 28. The three "aliens" who had been picked up were from Argentina. They were Oscar José Fernández Bruno and his wife Eduwiges Teresa Confronta de Fernández, and the journalist Adolfo Otilio Malvagni Gilly, who is well known in radical circles in many countries for his reportage on the Cuban Revolution and the Guatemalan guerrilla movement.

The five Mexicans were Gildardo Islas Carranza, Ramón Vargas Salguero, Leocadio Francisco Zapata Muzquiz and Sergio Garcés Estrada, and Marta Elena Vargas Salguero.

The authorities claimed that the eight had "confessed" to the plot. Among the crimes charged by the government were the following:

They had set up an organization called the "Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Trotskista)" [Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist)] on the basis of ideas and principles inspired by Marxism-Leninism, the aims of which were:

(1) To organize a National Political Bureau, regional committees and cells called "vehicles."

(2) To hold meetings to win adherents.

(3) To investigate economic, social and political conflicts in order, after studying them, to try to utilize them for the political aims of the group.

(4) To create a situation by means of appropriate tactics propitious for their immediate and long-range aims. That is, to change the public order by means of "sedition, mobs or mutiny."

(5) To change the form of government in other ways than those provided by the constitution.

The tactics of the plotters included distributing a newspaper, Voz Obrera [Workers Voice] and passing out leaflets at factories and public meetings.

They also "confessed," according to the Department of Justice, that they sought to win the backing of other sectors in their initial struggles in accordance with a program of action in which they hid their final objective and also their own identity by using pseudonyms. Meetings were held secretly, even being disguised as picnics in the countryside.

In a raid on the home of José Fernández, which served as headquarters for the "plotters," the Justice Department claimed that files of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario had been found. These contained certified birth certificates to be used in getting documents enabling members to leave the country on "party missions"; "false credentials" so that members could enter the campus of the University of Mexico as students or professors; documents indicating they had a fraction in the railway workers union; a circular to members dated April 13, 1966, instructing them to participate in agitation on the campus and to carry out actions like protesting President Johnson's visit to Mexico, supporting the Vietnamese masses and any strikes at the university.

Besides this, documents were found "numbered 120, 121 and 122 with red ink," containing resolutions of the Political Bureau.

One of these stated that the "student movement must be united with the struggle for a change in the regime, because what is involved is not reforms in teaching, which is determined by the capitalist character of the regime, but advancing the struggle for a change in the regime...for establishment of a workers and peasants government, measures for infiltrating into the Trotskyist student body, not taking the question as simply involving the students but as part of the world and national struggle."

Documents were found indicating that a fraction in the Law School had organized a meeting some time ago.

Documents numbered with "red ink" were found concerning the security of all the cells.

Sheets were found dealing with agitation and methods of struggle around protests against the visit of President Johnson and there was one about the strike at the Law School at the University of Mexico.

The police discovered that the name of the leader of the group was "J. Posadas." They said they were looking for him but so far without success. The discovery indicated the level of the police work involved since the name of J. Posadas appears a number of times in every issue of the press of this group. In fact it is unusual to find the name of any other author there.

Perhaps the most spectacular discovery claimed by the police was a suitcase crammed with 310,000 pesos [one peso = \$.08]. The group had "unlimited" funds, said the police, coming from "somewhere in Europe." As much as 1,000,000 pesos had been spent by the small group recently in financing the student strike, plus other strikes in Mexico.

Not the least spectacular aspect of this discovery was the way the police promptly turned over the money as "evidence" without touching a single peso themselves.

There was a certain inconsistency, however, in the police effort to link up two of the plotters with the conspiracy. Despite the unlimited funds at their disposal emanating from "somewhere in Europe," Gildardo Islas Carranza and Marta Elena Vargas Salguero "confessed," according to the police, to having contributed 100 pesos a month toward meeting the expenses of the organization.

The police also said that the aliens had "false passports" but the details about this were not reported in the press.

The eight defendants were turned over to Judge Eduardo Ferrer MacGregor. This gave them the first opportunity to reply publicly to the charges that had been lodged against them.

All eight of them repudiated the "confessions" they had allegedly made to the police.

"They beat me and forced me to sign a confession," said the Argentine-born José Fernández.

He said he was a member of the "Partido Obrero Trotskista" of his own country and that its aim was to struggle for the cause of the workers and peasants. He had lived in Mexico since 1964 as a tourist, he declared, and he had attended meetings of the Mexican group. He stated that his party belonged to the "Fourth International," the aim of which is to establish a socialist regime.

He refused to answer any further questions directed at him until he could consult with counsel, a right that had been denied him so far.

His wife, Eduwiges Teresa Confronta de Fernández said that during the days they had been held by the police they had not been given any food. She said that she did not know anything about her husband's activities. She had been forced to sign a confession because the police told her that if she didn't both she and her husband would be deported.

Adolfo Gilly said that he was a journalist and that he had known José Fernández for some time but had never attended any meetings of the group in Mexico City.

He had been to Guatemala, he said, in connection with articles he had written about events in that country.

As a journalist, he continued, he defended socialist ideas, but aside from that he had done nothing. During his stay in Mexico he devoted himself to writing articles for workers newspapers in which he spoke about problems facing the peasants and workers.

The five Mexicans, according to Excelsior, said that they used pseudonyms to protect themselves personally and to avoid having their relatives called Communists.

Gildardo Islas said that the aims of his party were to struggle for the establishment of a workers and peasants government to improve the standard of living of the workers. "We are struggling for land for the peasants, for trade-union rights and for the expropriation of the North American industries." These were the problems which members of the group met to discuss.

As for the fabulous suitcase full of pesos, it was not mentioned in the account of the hearing that appeared in Excelsior. Apparently it slipped everyone's mind, including the judge's, to ask about it.

Since the alleged infractions of the law carry possible penalties of five years or more, the prisoners have been denied bail up to now. Judge Ferrer, however, is to hand down a decision as to the legal status of the defendants.

It is not at all clear that all eight are members of the party which the Mexican government suddenly decided to call a "plot" although it has led a public existence for some years in Mexico and is well known to students of radical groupings. Only two of the defendants, to judge from the account in Excelsior, appear to have said they actually held membership.

The "Posadas group" is strongest in Uruguay where it frequently buys radio time. It split from the Fourth International in 1962 and set up its own "Fourth International" on the basis of an ultra-left sectarian program. It began with few members and has been steadily losing even these since its split from the Fourth International.

Some confusion has arisen as to its precise identify, however, and it was attacked as "Trotskyist" by Fidel Castro last January 15 because of its connections with the Guatemalan guerrilla movement.

Whatever one may think of the views of the group, however, it is absolutely necessary to rally to its defense against a witch-hunting attack such as this one. The Mexican authorities obviously singled out the "Posadistas" as the weakest and most isolated of all the groups expressing solidarity with the striking students on the campus of the University of Mexico. If the police can get away with an attack on the unpopular, little-known and rather bizarre "Posadistas," they will feel free to pick off a stronger group. In any case, they hope with this effort to succeed in smearing the student demonstrations as inspired by a "red plot" in Mexico.

Protests should immediately be lodged with the Mexican government against this essay in the techniques made famous by the late Senator McCarthy.

THE COUNTERREVOLUTION IN INDONESIA TAKES OFF THE MASK

By Henri Vallin

From the time of the counterrevolutionary coup d'état October 1, 1965, up to March 11, 1966, when General Suharto won full power, the counterrevolution in Indonesia sought to keep wearing the mask of anti-imperialism and even anti-Americanism. It was a matter of deluding the peasant and urban masses who were unquestionably stunned by the anti-Communist repression and the lack of a clear line from the Indonesian Communist party [PKI] although their genuine feelings were absolutely unmistakable.

Since the heads of the Indonesian reaction now have full power in their hands, they no longer hesitate at dropping a mask that was becoming more and more of an impediment.

On April 4, the minister of foreign affairs, the renegade Adam Malik, declared in a press conference that relations with the United States ought to be improved. A spokesman of the State Department responded at once that the administration in Washington shared Malik's hope of bringing about a substantial improvement in relations between the two countries.

And to indicate that Wall Street means business in Indonesia, Washington decided to ignore the halting of all economic aid to Indonesia, which was decided on in 1965, and send a preliminary shipment of 50,000 tons of rice in order to combat the hunger that is endemic in certain regions of the archipelago.

Japan, collaborating with American imperialism while at the same time pursuing its own objective of trade expansion throughout Asia, decided to grant immediate aid to Indonesia amounting to \$2,500,000. And on April 18 the Japanese government sent a message to General Suharto, telling him that it was ready to grant "urgent long-term" aid to Indonesia.

For its part the counterrevolutionary regime in Djakarta made the necessary gestures to show Washington and Tokyo that it was worthy of confidence. It released American missionaries who had been arrested before October 1, 1965. It readmitted American journalists who had been expelled from the country. It released from prison a series of reactionary and pro-imperialist leaders, who met together in Djakarta on April 19 on the occasion of the funeral services for the rightist Social Democratic leader Sutan Sjarir. For the first time in many years, Mohamed Hatta, the head of the "historic" Indonesian rightists, spoke in public the same day to demand freedom for all the political prisoners arrested before October 1, 1965. The list includes the head of the reactionary Masjumi party and the leaders of the ultraright insurrections in Sumatra and Celebes.

At the same time, the counterrevolutionaries in power in Djakarta indicated their determination to end the "confrontation"

with Greater Malaysia. Conferences to reestablish good trade relations with Singapore are already underway.

It was easy to forecast this entire development, just as it is easy to forecast that Washington and Tokyo will grant Djakarta considerably more economic aid than the first presents sent in recent weeks. Indonesia constitutes one of the key countries of Asia and the success won by imperialism in getting it to swing openly into its camp is well worth paying for.

In addition, it must be done quickly because the economic situation in Indonesia is becoming worse and worse. In a press conference which he held in Djakarta April 12, the vice-president of the Indonesian government, the good right arm of the Suharto-Nasution clique, Hamengku Buwono, the sultan of Djokjakarta, admitted that after prices jumped 500 percent in 1965, it could be expected that they would rise about 1,000 percent in 1966. Inflation is the basic cause for the constantly rising public expenditures -- during the first quarter of 1966 the state disbursed as much as during the whole year of 1965.

This raging inflation, as well as the fact that Indonesia owes the countries that trade with it \$2,400,000,000 which it cannot pay, no longer permits the country to import commodities on credit. Everything must be paid for in cash. Due to this, the country has had to severely limit imports of machines, spare parts and raw materials. This in turn has led to a serious drop in industrial production. With the help of speculation, basic necessities are becoming scarcer and scarcer. In March, the rice ration of eight kilos [one kilo = 2.2 lbs.] could not be met; only 1.5 kilos per person were distributed.

The counterrevolutionary leaders are counting exclusively on foreign aid to meet this tragic situation.

Meanwhile the two wings of the "official" Communist movement -- the Khrushchevists and the pro-Chinese -- continue to abstain from any serious analysis of the causes and the nature of the disaster which the movement just suffered in Indonesia. The Chinese press denounces "the rightist military regime" in power in Djakarta, but does not explain how it was able to gain power. As for the Khrushchevists, they seem to be preparing to form a new Indonesian Communist party, still further to the right, by denouncing the "adventurist" line of the old one under its leader D.N.Aidit.

ANYWAY, THAT'S WHAT THE MARINES SAID

According to 61-year-old Mrs. Oswald B. Lord, who just returned to the U.S. after a three-month State Department-sponsored tour in Asia, the G.I.'s haven't turned Saigon into a brothel. "They're not in town with the bar girls" while off duty, she said, but are doing good, helping orphanages, rehabilitation centers and young Vietnamese. "That the way they spend their days off."

IRANIAN STUDENTS STAGE PROTEST HUNGER STRIKE

Some forty Iranian students in Hamburg, West Germany, have been on a hunger strike since April 22 to protest the death sentences of three young Iranians -- Bodjnourdi, Khavari, and Hekmatjoo, the Iranian Students Association in the United States reported April 29.

As an expression of solidarity and protest, Iranian students in the U.S. demonstrated the same day in front of the United Nations.

The three young men were defendants, along with sixty others, in two military courts that handed down long prison terms besides the three death penalties.

"Since neither the indictment, nor the defense, nor the text of the courts' decisions have been published," said a press release issued by the Iranian Students Association in the United States, "the exact nature of the charges remains unknown. The government of Iran has claimed, however, that the prisoners had plotted against the security of the state. No evidence has been so far offered to the public to prove the charges. Rumors of torture of the prisoners as well as the fact that the trials were -- in direct violation of the Iranian constitution -- held secretly and in the absence of a jury, have cast considerable doubt on the justice of the sentences."

Worldwide protests against the irregular proceedings of the trials and the savage sentences have included telegrams sent to the Iranian government by the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, a large number of members of Parliament in Britain, deputies in Italy, the Amnesty International, International Union of Students and the International Student Conference.

The Confederation of Iranian Students and affiliated organizations in the United States and Europe have issued urgent appeals for protests against the violation of the constitutional and human rights of these young victims of political repression in Iran.

Demands for the immediate release of the political prisoners can be addressed to the Iranian Ambassador, 3005 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.

ISAAC DEUTSCHER PROTESTS POLITICAL TRIALS IN POLAND

[On April 24 Isaac Deutscher, the well-known writer on Soviet affairs and author of a biographical trilogy on Leon Trotsky, sent an "Open Letter to Wladyslaw Gomulka and the Central Committee of the Polish Workers Party" protesting the imprisonment of Communists critical of the regime. The letter was released to the press April 28 and received some publicity in London where Deutscher lives.]

[The following is the complete text of Isaac Deutscher's open letter.]

* * *

I am addressing this Letter to you in order to protest against the recent secret trials and convictions of Ludwik Hass, Karol Modzelewski, Kazimierz Badowski, Romuald Smiech, Kuron, and other members of your Party. According to all available reports, these men have been deprived of liberty solely because they have voiced views critical of your policy or certain aspects of it, and because they have expressed disappointment with the bureaucratic arbitrariness and corruption which they see rampant in their country. The charge against them is that they have circulated leaflets and a pamphlet containing "false information detrimental to the State and its supreme authorities" -- the Public Prosecutor, it seems, did not accuse them of any crime or offence graver than that.

If this is the accusation, then the persecution of these men is disgraceful and scandalous. Several questions must be asked: Why, in the first instance, have the Courts held their hearings in camera? Surely, no matter of State security was or could have been involved. All the defendants have been academic teachers and students, and what they have tried to do was to communicate their views to fellow students. Why have they not been given a fair and open trial? Why have your own newspapers not even summarized the indictments and the pleas of defence? Is it because the proceedings have been so absurd and shameful that you yourselves feel that you cannot justify or excuse them; and so you prefer to cover them with silence and oblivion? As far as I know, Prosecutor and judges have not impugned the defendants' motives or cast any serious doubt on their integrity. The accused men have proclaimed themselves to be, and have behaved like, devoted non-conformist Communists, profoundly convinced of the truth and validity of revolutionary Marxism.

I know that one of them Ludwik Hass was, even before the second World War, a member of the Communist, so-called Trotskyist, organization, of which I was one of the founders and mouthpiece. He then spent 17 years in Stalin's prisons, concentration camps, and places of deportation. Released in 1957, he returned to Poland so free from all bitterness and so strongly animated by his faith in a better Socialist future that he at once decided to join your Party; and he was accepted as member. No one asked him to renounce his past, and he did not deny his old "Trotskyist" views even for a moment -- on the contrary, he upheld them frankly and untiringly. This circumstance alone testifies to his courage and integrity. Do you, Wladyslaw Gomulka, really believe that you have, in your "apparatus" and administration, many people of comparable disinterestedness and idealism? Look around you, look at the crowds of time-servers that surround you, at all those opportunists without principle and honour who fawn on you as they fawned on Bierut, and as some of them fawned even on Rydz-Smigly and Pilsudski. On how many of these bureaucrats can your Government, and can Socialism, count in an hour of danger, as it can count on the people you have put in prison?

Recently still your Government claimed with a certain pride that there were no political prisoners in Poland since 1956. This claim, if true, was indeed something to be proud of in a country the jails of which had always, under all regimes, been full of political prisoners, especially of Communist prisoners. You have not, as far as I know, jailed and put in chains any of your all too numerous and virulent anti-Communist opponents; and you deserve credit for the moderation with which you treat them. But why do you deny such treatment to your critics on the Left? Hass, Modzelewski and their friends have been brought to the Courtrooms hand-cuffed and under heavy guards. Eye-witness accounts say that they raised their chained fists in the old Communist salute and sang the Internationale. This detail speaks eloquently about their political characters and loyalties. How many of your dignitaries, Wladyslaw Gomulka, would nowadays intone the Internationale of their own free will and choice?

I have been informed that before the trial, during the interrogation, the official who conducted it alleged that Hass and other defendants had worked in contact with me. I do not know whether the Prosecutor took up this charge in the Courtroom. In any case, the allegation is a complete falsehood. Let me say that if the defendants had tried to get in touch with me, I would have readily responded. But the fact is that I have had no contact whatsoever with any of them. I have not even seen a single one of their leaflets or pamphlets. I judge their behaviour solely from reports reaching me by word of mouth or through Western European newspapers.

I ought perhaps to explain that since the second World War I have not participated in Polish political life in any way; and that, not being a member of any political organization, Trotskyist or otherwise, I am speaking only for myself. I should add, however, that on a few very rare occasions I have broken my self-imposed political abstinence. I protested when you, Wladyslaw Gomulka, were imprisoned and slandered in the last years of the Stalin era. Knowing full well that I could not share all your views, I expressed solidarity with you. Similarly, I do not know whether I can fully approve the views and behaviour of Hass, Modzelewski and their comrades. But in their case as in yours I think I can recognize reactionary policy terror for what it is and tell slander from truth.

Another occasion on which I allowed myself to have a say on Polish political matters was in 1957, when I explained in a special essay "The Tragedy of Polish Communism between the World Wars." You may remember that your censors, Stalinists of the so-called Natolin group, confiscated the essay when Polityka tried to publish it; and that then you, Wladyslaw Gomulka, ordered the essay to be widely distributed among Party members. In those far-off days, just after the "Polish spring in October," you held that Polish Communists ought to know my account of the havoc that Stalin made of their Party, delivering nearly all its leaders to the firing squad. You knew that I had been one of those very few Communists who, in 1938, protested against that crime and against the disbandment and denigration of what had once been our common Party. Moscow "rehabilitated" the

Polish Party and its leaders only after 17 or 18 years; and then you, Wladyslaw Gomulka, apologized for having kept silent in 1938, although you had not believed the Stalinist slanders. I do not believe that you are right now in persecuting and imprisoning members of your own Party and your critics on the Left; and I cannot keep silent.

May I remind you of your own words spoken at the famous 8th Session of the Central Committee in October 1956? "The cult of the personality was not a matter just of Stalin's person," you stated then. "This was a system which had been transplanted from the USSR to nearly all Communist Parties....We have finished, or rather we are finishing with that system once and for all." (Your italics.)

But are you not to some extent reestablishing that system? Do you wish these trials to mark the tenth anniversary of your own rehabilitation and of that "spring in October," during which you raised so many hopes for the future?

In the name of those hopes and in the name of your own record, the record of a fighter and of a political prisoner under Pilsudski and Stalin, I appeal to you and to your colleagues of the Central Committee: Do not allow this miscarriage of justice to last! Dispel the secrecy that surrounds the cases of Hass, Modzelewski, and other comrades. If you think that they are guilty of grave offences, then publish the full report of the Court proceedings and let it speak for itself. In any case, I appeal to you to order an immediate and public revision of the trial. If you refuse these demands, you will stand condemned as epigones of Stalinism, guilty of stifling your own Party and compromising the future of Socialism.

SOVIET LITERARY CRITIC TRIED

Igor Galamchuk, a well-known Soviet literary critic, was given a suspended six-month sentence May 3 for refusing to testify last February against the two Soviet writers Andrei S. Sinyavsky and Yuli M. Daniel who were sentenced to seven and five years respectively on charges of "slandering" the Soviet Union in works of theirs smuggled and published abroad.

Galamchuk admitted in court that he had read some of the books by Sinyavsky that had been printed abroad but he courageously refused to say how he obtained the books and he denied that they had been given to him by his friend Sinyavsky.

It was said in Moscow that Galamchuk will be permitted to continue his work at the Gorky Institute of World Literature. This relatively lenient attitude as well as the suspension of sentence were undoubtedly decided upon by the Kosygin-Brezhnev regime in view of the storm of protest over the sentencing of Sinyavsky and Daniel for satirizing certain aspects of Soviet life.

"It was reliably reported," declared Raymond H. Anderson in a special dispatch from Moscow published in the May 4 New York Times, "that a professor who taught Mr. Sinyavsky at Moscow University had also refused to testify against his former student. The professor is said to be still on the university staff, but it is reported by students that his lectures have been canceled."

KUO MO-JO ROLLS IN THE MUD

The leading intellectual figure of the Mao regime, 74-year-old Kuo Mo-jo, made a speech April 14 that indicated how difficult it is for even an outstanding mind to grasp, retain and apply the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

"Although I am more than seventy," Kuo Mo-jo confessed to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, "I want to roll in the mud; I want to be smeared with oil and blood."

"For a number of decades," continued the most brilliant ornament of the Mao regime, "I have written poems, translations and articles. On the quantitative side, this represents more than a million characters; but, judged by present standards, my work is devoid of value and ought to be burned."

Probing into the cause of his errors, Kuo Mo-jo said: "It lies in the fact that I did not thoroughly grasp the thought of Mao Tse-tung and I displayed confusion concerning social classes."

The venerable Chinese scholar said that he had been closely following the discussion over the cases of the historians Wu Han and Shein Po-tsan and that he had studied the criticisms levelled against them in order to see how he might undertake his own self-reform.

"I am not speaking light-mindedly," he said. "It's a fact that I did not thoroughly grasp the thought of Mao Tse-tung and that I was not well reeducated. I want all the less to deny my responsibilities since I am still the chairman of the Federation of Literary and Art Workers."

Kuo Mo-jo accused himself of having paid only lip service to Marxism-Leninism. He said he was among those intellectuals who must thank the soldiers, workers and peasants and not vice versa. He cited as a model book, the novel written by an ordinary soldier, The Song of Ao Yang Hai.

In his windup, Kuo Mo-jo spoke about his "regret, sufferings and confusion." He mentioned the "tears coming to my eyes" and expressed the desire "if imperialism attacks us, of throwing some grenades myself."

It is not clear in what way Kuo Mo-jo deviated from the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Besides being chairman of the Federation

of Literary and Art Workers, he is president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and holds more than twenty other official positions. As chairman of the China Peace Committee, he has been a prominent participant in national celebrations in Peking. Since the seizure of power he has served as one of the leading spokesmen of the Mao regime in the fields of poetry, writing, history, archeology and science. In the two-year-old struggle for "correct thought" among the intellectuals, he has played an energetic role extolling the virtues of Mao's thought and demanding that others live up to it.

Going back further in his career, his possible deviations from the thought of Mao Tse-tung are no less difficult to locate. He was a participant in the 1925-27 Revolution that was suppressed in blood by Chiang Kai-shek. He spent ten years as an exile in Japan writing historical works. During the war against Japan from 1937 to 1945 he played a prominent role in the national liberation struggle.

There are two possible areas where he may be considered suspect. He translated two pieces of Western literature into Chinese -- War and Peace by Leo Tolstoy and Faust by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. And he wrote poems in 1950 and 1951 praising the traditional friendship between the Soviet Union and China. He was awarded the Stalin Peace Prize.

Perhaps Kuo Mo-jo has been assigned to play the role of Judas goat. If he sets the example in making a public confession, this may induce others to engage in self-immolation, thus providing both justification and fresh material for the current campaign against the intellectuals.

Recently the two-year-old campaign has been stepped up. On May 4, for instance, Jiefangjun Pao, the official army newspaper, said editorially:

"Activities of these antiparty, antisocialist elements are not an accidental phenomenon. They are responding to the great international anti-Chinese chorus of imperialists, modern revisionists and various reactionaries to revive the Chinese reactionary class, which has been struck down."

The newspaper accused certain unnamed intellectuals of being linked with "right-wing opportunists" inside the Communist party. The debate developing on the cultural front, the editorial declared, was not simply an academic dispute but a "struggle to the death" to eliminate bourgeois ideology.

Hung Chi, the ideological journal of the Central Committee of the Communist party of China, has warned the intellectuals to get rid of their "lordly attitude" and listen to the criticism of the masses. "Workers, peasants and soldiers who are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought have a most acute sense for distinguishing flowers from poisonous weeds."

Chou En-lai also bore down heavily against the intellectuals in a speech May 4.

"A socialist cultural revolution of great historic significance is being launched in our country," the premier said. "This is a fierce and protracted struggle as to who will win, the proletariat or bourgeoisie in the ideological field."

Chou En-lai called for the eradication of bourgeois ideology from all cultural fields. "This is a key question in the development in depth of the socialist revolution at the present stage, a question concerning the situation as a whole and a matter of the first magnitude affecting the destiny and future of our party and country."

The fierce campaign seemed to have other targets in mind besides the intellectuals. A veiled conflict appears to have risen in the Communist party leadership, not the first since the regime was established. There were evidences of strong internal differences in 1957 at the time of the "hundred flowers bloom" turn and again when the line of the "great leap forward" seemed headed for disaster.

At present there are a number of acute issues calling for thorough consideration and discussion by the entire revolutionary vanguard.

First of all, there is the crucial matter of defending the Vietnamese Revolution and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Mao's sectarian rejection of a united front to bring the maximum aid to the Vietnamese people has served as an open invitation to American imperialism to escalate the war. One of the consequences has been to greatly heighten the danger that China itself will suffer assault.

Secondly the revolutionary front in Southeast Asia suffered a major defeat with the collapse of the Indonesian Communist party and the subsequent slaughter of as many as 300,000 members of the Communist party. Mao Tse-tung bears special responsibility for this because of the way he covered up the opportunism of D.N.Aidit, the head of the Indonesian Communist party. Thorough analysis of this defeat is called for in order to rearm the entire revolutionary vanguard in Southeast Asia and elsewhere in the world.

Finally, in the Sino-Soviet dispute the isolation of the Chinese Communist party in the world Communist movement shows that something is decidedly wrong with Mao Tse-tung's tactics.

It may well be that two tendencies are to be noted in the Chinese Communist party, both of them equally alarming to Mao. One may be spreading the argument that it might be advisable to reach a modus vivendi agreement with Kosygin-Brezhnev even at the cost of concessions to "revisionism"; the other may be pressing for a revolutionary policy that is neither revisionist nor sectarian -- something that smacks of "Castroism" or even "Trotskyism."

A reasoned discussion in the Chinese Communist party is, however, virtually excluded. The formation of tendencies and factions is banned. The party has not even held a congress since 1958, although not a few events have occurred in this world since then worthy of discussion by revolutionary Marxists. Even the Communist

party of the Soviet Union, which still adheres to the antidemocratic pattern laid down by Stalin, at least puts on a pretense of holding congresses as the recently held twenty-third congress testifies.

In the absence of provisions for a democratic internal life, explosive political pressures build up. This is very likely happening in the Chinese Communist party.

Mao's answer to that is to follow Stalin's thought in such matters and begin looking for and even creating scapegoats.

MAX BORN OPPOSES PROPOSED ANTI-LABOR LAW IN GERMANY

Frankfurt

Max Born, the Nobel Prize-winning German physicist who became a naturalized British citizen, has appealed to the German unions to vigorously oppose a proposed law in West Germany that could be used to destroy the labor movement and wipe out democratic rights. Up to now the German unions under their Social-Democratic leadership have offered only token resistance.

The emergency laws for which the German government is seeking passage would permit the complete militarization of civilians even in peacetime. In addition to an army of 500,000, the biggest in Western Europe, and 20,000 frontier guards, a "civil protection corps" of 200,000 men and a "civil protection service" of 180,000 would be set up. Besides this, under the law, 1,000,000 people would be trained in "self-protection wards" and 30,000,000 -- virtually the entire adult population -- would be given "self-protection training."

In a bid for trade-union backing for these militaristic measures, Minister of the Interior Paul Lücke promised that the right to strike would be left intact. But at the same time he declared in a letter to trade-union leaders that about 8,000,000 out of a total labor force of 22,000,000 would be given a "soldier-like" status, which, of course, bars them from striking.

The law would reinforce other laws and administrative measures directed against freedom of the press, the right to assembly, and other democratic rights. These have already been drawn up in preparation for "emergency" use but have not been submitted to parliament.

All these laws, plus some already on the books, are designed to be put into effect in "times of tension" -- which does not necessarily mean solely in case of war.

Max Born wrote to Otto Brenner, the head of the German metal-workers union IG Metall, concerning the threat posed by the projected legislation.

"What brings me to write you," he said. "are the emergency laws, which I believe are the worst, most dangerous and pernicious measures in the history of the German Federal Republic. I think it is inadmissible to favor these laws which are to be enacted or to observe them, especially everything related to direct war preparations like air protection, food storage, measures against the danger of fire, and so forth. To a physicist the least bit familiar with atomic energy, all of this is nonsense.

"Politically it can hardly have any other purpose except to insure curbing the bulk of the people in order to prepare for a military dictatorship and war. If some physicists hold a different opinion, this can only be explained by the fact that in matters related to patriotism their scientific judgment has been overcome by tradition....

"In domestic politics, the emergency laws are measures designed to destroy democracy, which is still weak and insecure in Germany. The aim is to set up an authoritarian government. The measures are directed against the beginnings of civilian responsibility.

"I am 83 years old, have a heart condition and am too old to do anything...Experience during my long life has shown me that my political judgment is not bad...This will be seen in my correspondence with Einstein which is to be published after my death. Today I see in the emergency legislation a preliminary stage to the final catastrophe for Germany -- and probably of all humanity because all peoples are comrades in fate; some more guilty, others less. I beg you to do everything to stop this legislation and if possible reverse it."

Otto Brenner replied that he would do everything he could in the present situation to block passage of the legislation.

The question will come up at the congress of the German Federation of Trade Unions (6,500,000 members) to be held May 9-14 in Berlin. George Leber, the boss of the building workers union and a Social Democratic member of parliament, has already opened an attack against the majority that has condemned all the proposed emergency legislation. A sharp discussion is expected.

In the Social Democratic party, the uneasiness of the trade unions has begun to be registered. In the preparatory discussion for the June congress, some organizations have not only condemned the emergency bills but are demanding that the laws already passed be contested as unconstitutional.

REWARDED FOR FINDING LOST ARTICLE

Although no reward was offered to the finder of that H-bomb lost in Spain last January, the U.S. Navy decided it ought to act generously in the matter, considering all the circumstances. On May 6 it pinned a distinguished service medal on the chest of the lucky Rear Adm. William S. Guest who headed the search party.

A CZECHOSLOVAK BOUQUET FOR DE GAULLE

A good example of what "peaceful coexistence" really means to the bureaucrats heading the workers states in Eastern Europe is provided by an article in a recent issue of the Czechoslovak journal Kulturny Zivot, an organ of the Slovak writers.

The article blasts the radical movement in France for being critical of General de Gaulle.

"Times have changed and the hopes of the left will remain vain," declares Kulturny Zivot. "De Gaulle will stay and it even seems that he decided to continue in power a few more years if only to teach the left to think in a reasonable way."

The magazine contends that the progressive press in France cannot criticize the general "when he is ready to go to Moscow, when he kicks out the American army staffs from France...when he supports the underdeveloped 'third world,' when he recognizes people's China, when he seeks peace in Vietnam, when he prepares to 'communalize' building lands to prevent speculation."

The magazine hails the "realistic views, the intelligence and the energy" of the head of imperialist France.

"Before beginning their speculations and their intrigues," continues this sycophantic article, "the parties of the left should really observe that the Gaullists have a leader, who is succeeding in proving that he stands above all the political calculations, statistics, conventions, percentages, combinations and machinations."

The article ends by saying that the "only chance" for the left "is to elaborate policies of higher quality and perspectives of broader sweep than those of General de Gaulle and likewise to reach agreement in order to carry them out."

In most cases the policy of "peaceful coexistence" -- meaning class collaboration -- requires at least some criticism of the demagogy of a bourgeois politician like de Gaulle. Otherwise, it is difficult to sell the line of "peaceful coexistence" to radical-minded workers who want to build their own party in opposition to the capitalist class and its political leaders.

Kulturny Zivot is not faced with this problem like the French Communist or Social Democratic parties. Hence it is able to express with rare lyricism a policy that has led to disaster after disaster for the cause of socialism as in the fresh case of Indonesia.

COST OF LIVING HITS NEW HIGH IN JAPAN

The Japanese government reported April 28 that prices of consumer goods rose 7.4% during the fiscal year of 1965. This was the highest since the 8% jump in 1963. The main article affected was rice.

JOHNSON OFFERS EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES BAITED HOOK

President Johnson's proposal May 3 to liberalize trade with Eastern Europe should be a reminder that the imperialist rulers in Washington apply their foreign policy not only with bellicoseness and bluntness but can promote it with tactical finesse in certain areas.

The president will request Congress to pass legislation giving him discretionary authority to extend most-favored-nation benefits to the Communist bloc, drastically reducing the tariffs on their exports to the United States. At present only Yugoslavia and Poland have that status. Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Rumania would be eligible to join them.

The ending of discriminatory tariff barriers would be a first step in removing existing blocks to trade relations between the United States and these Communist countries. It could be followed by elimination of the legal obstacles to extension of normal commercial credits and revision of U.S. strategic controls on exports.

This move aims to draw the workers states of Eastern Europe closer to the American orbit. Johnson is indicating to them that the Vietnamese war need not be an insuperable block to improved economic and diplomatic relations with Washington. He is also holding out the prospect of similar favorable treatment to Moscow if the Soviet leaders are looking for a payoff for their restraint in opposing U.S. armed intervention in Southeast Asia.

The Fiat Automobile Company announced on the same day that it had signed an agreement to build a factory in the Soviet Union with a daily capacity of 2,000 vehicles at a total investment exceeding \$500,000,000. This is viewed as the beginning of a more general accord on technical and scientific collaboration in the automotive field.

This huge slice of economic and technical assistance has the blessing of Italy's partners in NATO. The project is also likely to have indirect U.S. help in the form of some machine tools for the plant. According to the May 5 New York Times, the State Department and Department of Commerce gave assurances to the Fiat officials that there would be no difficulty over export licences for such equipment.

This represents a major change in the export policy of Washington toward the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Hitherto the United States has not permitted the sale of machine tools to such countries.

The administration does not expect Congress to act on the measure at this session. These minor concessions are being held out as bait in the hope of making the Soviet bloc governments, pledged to the pursuit of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, somewhat

more compliant with Washington's wishes and to discourage them from serious resistance to its aggressions against China and the colonial revolutions. The proposed benefits can be revoked at any time by the president.

AUSTRIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS GO INTO OPPOSITION

Vienna

Twenty-one years of coalition between the OVP [Oesterreichische Volkspartei -- Austrian People's party] and the Social Democrats have come to an end; after suffering a defeat in the March 6 elections, the Austrian Social Democracy was pushed into an opposition role by the reactionary wing of the OVP.

Nevertheless, at a special congress, the leadership attempted a final maneuver that would leave open the possibility, despite everything, of continuing to participate in a coalition government. Although most of the rank-and-file spokesmen came out against participation in the government, the congress ended up by adopting a resolution 499 to 2 stating that the Austrian Socialist party was ready to join in a coalition with the OVP, but on three conditions: a guarantee must be given that the government would be maintained at least eighteen months; the jurisdiction of the ministries offered to the Socialists must remain as it was before March 6, which would mean that the OVP would not have exclusive power over the administration and the army and that the Socialists would retain the upper hand in the nationalized sector; the budget must assure sufficient funds and be allotted without discrimination among all the departments (meaning that the nationalized sector must not be strangled by lack of funds).

The People's party refused to accept these proposals. The Socialist party leadership thereupon decided by a vote of 30 to 10, with 10 abstentions, to go into opposition. Kreisky, the former minister of foreign affairs, favored unconditional participation; Pittermann, the chairman of the party, adopted a hesitant position; Hindels and all the trade-union representatives were for going into opposition.

The establishment of a pure People's party regime was accompanied by a big "purge" of the central administration of the state and nationalized enterprises in order to oust the Social Democrats from the top posts.

At the same time the bourgeoisie opened up an offensive against the nationalized sector as a whole, beginning the return of the nationalized enterprises to private ownership.

The reformist leaders want to limit their "struggle" against this reactionary offensive merely to parliament. But this will not fail to sharpen differences within the Social Democracy.

HUMANISTS, PLEASE NOTE

Horst Faas, Associated Press's Pulitzer Prize-winning photographer, who is credited with having taken some of the most sickening and heart-rending pictures of the slaughter in Vietnam, was quoted in an article in the March issue of Popular Photography as expressing the following philosophy about his "bread and butter" occupation of photographing wars:

"War, like anything else one photographs, is human and war is more human than anything else. A good war photo shows human beings in a situation that is described as war.

"I think the best war photos I have taken have always been made when a battle was actually taking place -- when people were confused and scared and courageous and stupid and showed all these things. When you look at people right at the very moment of truth, everything is quite human. You take a picture at this moment with all the mistakes in it, with everything that might be confusing to the reader and that's the right combat photo."

"PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE"

We have occasionally received inquiries about the French title Perspective Mondiale in our masthead. Does this signify that we have a French-language edition? If so, how much does it cost to subscribe?

In reply, we explained that World Outlook began on a shoestring, plus the hope that it would prove to be self-sustaining (a hope that up to this point has proved to be justified), and the idea that if it filled a real need, it could be expanded. Due to its small staff, however, it had to be limited to the English language and the Perspective Mondiale stood as an intention and also to facilitate registration with the French postal authorities.

We are now very happy to report that besides the expansion indicated by our opening a New York office, a French-language edition is now in circulation. "Volume I, numéro 1" was issued "Le 25 avril 1966." It is to be issued for the time being every two weeks. The first number contains 21 pages.

In general Perspective Mondiale will run selected articles from World Outlook either in a French translation or in the French original.

For 25 issues, the cost of a subscription is \$4 and you can obtain it by sending a check or international money order to Pierre Frank, 21 rue d'Aboukir, Paris 2.

Please specify that you want the French-language edition.

THE KIND OF AID THAT ATTRACTS INTEREST

The U.S. government is making a loan of \$5,500,000 to the government of British Guiana to construct a road from the former U.S. air base at Atkinson field to the bauxite-mining town of McKenzie, the April 23 issue of the British Guiana Information Bulletin reports.

The greater part of this financial aid (\$4,500,000) is to be spent in goods, equipment and supplies purchased in the U.S. Only \$1,000,000 will be used for supplies purchased in British Guiana and for wages to Guyanese workers and technicians.

The primary aim of the aid project is to help out the Demerara Bauxite Company, a subsidiary of the Aluminum Co. of Canada which is connected with the Aluminum Company of America [ALCOA].

The loan must, of course, be paid back. And with interest naturally. The British Guiana Mirror, commenting on Washington's generosity, noted that for the \$1,000,000 to be spent domestically, the colony will have to shell out \$2,750,000 in the form of interest charges to Uncle Sam before the loan as a whole is paid off.

NO ASHES, PLEASE, ON THE WHITE HOUSE FLOOR!

Lyndon B. Johnson is undoubtedly one of the most well-balanced presidents it has been the good fortune of the United States to have. His concern about tidying up the Vietnamese countryside by reducing the foliage, crops, thatched huts, villages and towns to ashes is balanced by his concern to keep ashes off the rugs of the White House.

The tidy streak in the makeup of one of America's great presidents, if not the greatest, has rated as top human interest in some of America's major publications.

The April 6 Time Magazine, for instance, described in detail how Felix Belair of the New York Times was caught in flagrante delicto by the president in his "anti-ash campaign." Time Mag told how the "offending ash rained onto the green carpet" from the correspondent's cigarette in the presence of the Commander in Chief, and how, "mortified, Mr. Belair quickly followed it down, kneeling to scoop it up with his notebook."

The May 12 Times Talk, the house organ put out by the New York Times in the interests of "greater rapport" and company-minded thinking among its 5,500 employees, asked Mr. Belair for his version of this historic bit of memorabilia involving the greatest of American presidents.

The following is the full text of Mr. Belair's account of what happened:

* * *

Walking across the lobby to the White House press room my mind was a millrace of bon mots and retorts formidables. The least I might have said was, "It wouldn't have happened if you'd stayed next door where you belong," or "If you had to plunk down next to one of the working press you could at least avoid bumping him in the process." But all I could do at the time was to mumble a four-letter expletive unfit for publication in a family journal.

Actually, I didn't know the Great Man had entered the room. White House "regulars" had somehow created the impression that his approach would be heralded by a blast from the heavenly trumpets. Although aware that something heavy had hit the deck a couple of chairs away I was too busy keeping up with my notes on Secretary Orville Freeman's spiel about food for India to realize that I was actually in The Presence until I heard that familiar drawl. It sounded like this:

"Limmy git yall a ashtray. Ah kaint have yall dirtyin' up mah flow."

So I knew then that I had violated the latest addition to the list of cardinal sins as handed down by L.B.J. The ash from my cigaret had already hit the carpet. He couldn't know that I had moved the ash try in the row behind to a position at my elbow. So there was nothing to do but try to scrape up the ashes in the wad of papers I was using for notes.

They say the President seemed pleased at this, but whether this was because I tried to retrieve the ash or because he thought I was on one knee -- I wouldn't know. I was really only squatting. But one of the "regulars" among the newsmen seemed to think otherwise. He stopped me in the press room to say: "You overdid it in there a little, didn't you! We don't really genuflect for the guy -- much as he might like the idea."

I thought no more about the incident until somebody showed me a copy of Time Magazine and a short piece about it. So I couldn't resist writing my first letter to an editor in 36 years as a reporter.

To Henry Robinson Luce wrote I in part:

"The offending ash could not have rained onto the green carpet because the carpet is a brilliant red.

"Belair was not mortified, as Time reported. No one mortifies so easily who was for five years your Washington Bureau chief."

CUBA'S POSITION AT CPSU CONGRESS

[In previous issues of World Outlook we have referred to the speech made by Dr. Armando Hart Dávalos at the twenty-third congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union in behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Cuba. The April 3 English edition of the Havana Granma provided an official translation. We have reproduced this below, correcting only obvious typographical errors.

[We call special attention to the key points made by Dr. Hart at the Moscow gathering:

[(1) The Tricontinental Conference stressed the right of a people to make a revolution and to oppose imperialist violence with revolutionary violence. Dr. Hart did not say a word about "peaceful coexistence." The point is of interest because of the ultraleft view that the conference was a "betrayal" to the "peaceful coexistence" line of class collaboration. Adolfo Gilly, reflecting the views of the Latin-American group headed by Juan Posadas, held, for instance, that it was "a conference without glory and without program." Michael Banda, a leader of the British Socialist Labour League, declared that the "main purpose" of the conference was "to provide a safety-valve for middle-class charlatans like Cheddi Jagan and upper-class demagogues like Allende to blow off steam against imperialism, neocolonialism and what-have-you."

[(2) It is crucially important, Dr. Hart declared, to provide material aid to the National Liberation Front and to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on such scale as to inflict a decisive defeat on American imperialism. The head of the Cuban delegation at the twenty-third congress clearly recognized that this is the key situation in the world right now.

[(3) Action in helping Vietnam should be coordinated. "No one has the right to withhold that cooperation." The reference here is to the sectarian refusal of the Mao leadership to engage in a united front with their political opponents in Moscow on a governmental level in collecting and speeding material aid to the Vietnamese.

[(4) Besides this, "it is also necessary that the revolution be pushed forward in all regions and under the most diverse conditions." This appeal for a genuinely revolutionary policy on an international scale did not strike an echoing chord among most of the delegates at a congress of the CPSU; but it helped publicize the fact that the Cuban leadership holds positions differing from those of both Moscow and Peking.

[(5) The "patriotic actions of the Vietnamese people and the intensification of their right for liberation have brought about an antiwar protest movement within the U.S. itself." This recognition of the interrelationship between the colonial revolution and

revolutionary struggle in the imperialist centers should be particularly well received by revolutionary socialists in the United States.

[(6) A genuine revolution in areas like Latin America leads rapidly to socialism. The struggle for national liberation is an "inseparable part of the struggle for socialism." Citing the example of Cuba, Hart emphasizes that "the question of the power of the working class and the triumph of the socialist revolution depends in great part upon subjective factors, on the vanguard's decisiveness, on the will to win or die." This goes directly counter to the Stalinist line of kowtowing to bourgeois leaders of the "bourgeois-democratic revolution" out of fear of "isolation" from the masses.

[Dr. Hart's speech was given a cold reception by the assemblage of bureaucrats. (See World Outlook April 15.) The Moscow correspondent of Le Drapeau Rouge, the official publication of the pro-Moscow Belgian Communist party, reported that the delegates maintained such an icy reserve that "it was necessary for Brezhnev himself to give the signal several times for applause" so as not to give the Cuban representative the feeling of being isolated.

[As for the reaction of the Mao leadership, they appear to have decided to remain silent.]

[The subheadings in the text below appear in the original.]

In the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba we send fraternal and revolutionary greetings to the XXIII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and we wish the Congress every success in the execution of its great tasks.

For our delegation, it is a happy experience to attend this Congress. It offers us the opportunity to know at first hand the triumphs achieved by the Soviet people in their victorious march toward Communism, and to declare to the representatives of this people that the Cuban workers and farmers deeply acknowledge all that has been done by the Soviet Union to help our Revolution.

When the Russian Bolsheviks guided by the brilliant and audacious action of Lenin took power in the name of the workers and peasants, the reactionary classes and imperialism confronted that great event with all their force. Nevertheless, contrary to what the reactionaries wished, the October Revolution and Leninism triumphed in Russia and attained a universal historical significance.

The Soviet people, by liquidating the capitalist, semi-feudal and colonial system of czarism, by defeating the reactionary classes of Europe and imperialism, and by advancing along the road to socialism, opened a new epoch in universal history and won far-reaching victories for the cause of workers all over the world.

The construction of socialism in the Soviet Union and its splendid victories over fascism, constitute historic events of universal transcendence. All of humanity will be eternally grateful to the Soviet workers and farmers under the direction of their Communist Party for having carried out such extraordinary feats.

These victories opened, as a consequence, new and fuller possibilities and have brought nearer the day of the collapse of the colonial, neo-colonial and imperialist systems.

At present the revolutionary torrent of the three continents which suffer colonial, neo-colonial and imperialist exploitation flows forward impetuously.

The Tricontinental Conference: a line of combat and revolutionary strategy

The revolutionary parties and organizations of Asia, Africa and Latin America which met in the Tricontinental Conference held in Havana understood this situation completely and proclaimed a line of combat and a revolutionary strategy.

The Conference reflected a new reality in the revolutionary movement, a reality which is qualitatively different from that of the post-war period. Ideas, tactics and methods arisen from the conditions of 20 years ago have become obsolete.

We of the communist and workers parties must analyze the experience of the Conference as an indication of what is happening in the world today.

The Conference was the most representative international assembly of the anti-imperialist forces and attained the amplest and most combative unity of the peoples which has been reached up to the present. This is a noteworthy fact which deserves to be studied! The Conference adopted resolutions of far-reaching importance for the revolutionary movement.

The following were adopted with the support of every delegation: "the right of the people to make revolution," to "oppose imperialist violence with revolutionary violence," to "support armed insurrection as a tactic of struggle," and "the right and the duty of progressive governments to support those people who are fighting for their liberation." These declarations were substantiated by actions. The Organization of Solidarity with Asia, Africa and Latin America, came into being as well as the Committee for Aid to the National Liberation movements and the Committee for Aid to the People of Viet Nam and, as a result of the Conference, the Latin-American delegations agreed to constitute the Latin-American Organization of Solidarity. The Tricontinental Conference evaluated the importance of the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the struggles of the working class and the progressive sector in the capitalist countries and of the role of the socialist camp. A universal criterion of revolution triumphed in the Conference.

The liberation movement will accelerate the revolutionary efforts of the working class and the progressive elements of the capitalist nations. In the same manner, the struggles of the working-class in the capitalist countries will aid the national liberation fight in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

There is a recent example that can serve to illustrate to us the importance of uniting revolutionary activities in the different regions of the world: the patriotic actions of the Vietnamese people and the intensification of their right for liberation, have brought about an antiwar protest movement within the U.S. itself. This demonstrates very clearly how the revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America can be related to the just struggles of the people of the United States. The need exists, as an urgent demand of this historic moment, to seek, through combined action on crucial problems, a common strategy for all these forces in the struggle against imperialism.

In the coordination of united action at key points against imperialism, no one can have the least doubt that in Southeast Asia a decisive battle is being waged for the socialist camp and for the anti-imperialist cause in general. In the near future we shall see similar situations in other parts of the world. That is why what is happening in Southeast Asia is not just a problem of that area but a problem for the revolutionary movement in Latin America and for the revolutionary cause in the entire world.

In the Southeast Asian situation, what is most urgent and pressing is, of course, to offer decisive aid to the patriotic fight being waged by the National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam and to the heroic resistance of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

We can defeat imperialism in Viet Nam

The government of the Soviet Union is lending important material and political aid to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. This represents important support for the struggle of the Vietnamese people. This is an example, as the leaders of this people have pointed out, of proletarian internationalism. No one has the right to withhold that cooperation. The problem now is to study how we can defeat imperialism in Viet Nam. The analysis of that concrete situation and the adoption of all necessary measures to resolve it, could be a most important contribution -- possibly the most important possible at this time -- to the cause of Marxism-Leninism.

Within the present situation of the Vietnamese war, the appropriate tactics at this moment would be to employ military force expressly for the purpose of paralyzing the bombardments of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. That is, to put the Yankee planes which bomb the territory of that country out of combat. To defeat imperialism in Viet Nam, it is of transcendental importance that the criminal aggression which the bombardment of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam represents be liquidated by whatever means, and at all necessary risk.

It is indispensable to make definite efforts and to offer decisive aid in order to convert the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam into "a cemetery of Yankee planes." It is indispensable to "sever the hands of imperialism in Viet Nam." It is necessary, if the circumstances so require, to be prepared to fight in Viet Nam in defense of the integrity and life of this fellow socialist country. The struggle in Viet Nam involves an essential question of principle for the entire Communist movement and especially for the socialist camp.

To this effect, the coordination of practical on-the-spot efforts should be considered, as well as the convenience of the socialist countries and the international communist movement publicly, unanimously and firmly supporting the adoption of such measures.

This is a point on which the unity of the international communist movement may well hinge. Should there be any who do not understand the need of coordinating efforts in this direction, they will be left totally isolated.

The adoption of these measures would not only be helpful to the Vietnamese people. It would also bring about a wide climate of public opinion that would have universal support. The application of these measures, explaining publicly the reason for them, and obtaining mass action in support of them, will be an extremely important contribution to the strengthening of the revolutionary movement throughout the world, contributing at the same time to the political and moral weakening of imperialism.

The bombing, with impunity, of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is unacceptable to the people of the world. It is an intolerable fact, repugnant to all humanity. Therefore, the condemnation of the bombings and the criminal acts of the imperialists in Viet Nam, by all means available, constitutes a right and a duty for progressive and socialist governments.

This right is understood perfectly by all humanity as the legitimate defense of the attacked in the face of the attacker. Even some of the capitalist governments will not find it easy to officially deny that it is a question of an attacked country defending itself. From no point of view can attack on another country be admitted or recognized as a right. Such a measure will increase the prestige of the socialist camp in the eyes of the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America; it will accelerate the fight of the working class and the European progressive sectors against the policy of war and aggression of the monopolies and the imperialists. Even within the U.S. its influence will be felt, as the intensification of the movement there against the war in Viet Nam shows, and will put the war-mongers in open and flagrant contradiction with the interests of the people of the U.S.

Unity of action concerning Viet Nam

That is to say, it is a measure destined not only to protect the rights of a country, but also to strengthen the prestige of the

international communist movement as a whole and the unity of anti-imperialist forces in all the world. And not only of anti-imperialist forces, but of the antiwar forces as well. This is proven in unmistakable terms, when one takes into account the growth of the antiwar movement in the United States, which has sprung from the heroic actions and the war of liberation in Viet Nam. It was for all of these reasons that, in his speech of March 13, 1966, comrade Fidel Castro called for united action against imperialism in Viet Nam, urging all the forces in the socialist camp to put aside their theoretical discussion in order to aid a people that is fighting heroically for its liberation and against imperialist intervention. In that speech, Comrade Fidel Castro said: "...And our position is just one: we are in favor of giving Viet Nam all necessary aid! We are in favor of that aid being given in men and arms! We are in favor of running all necessary risks for Viet Nam!"

Of course, this is not the only thing that we should and can do. It is merely the most immediate and urgent thing in order to coordinate international efforts at this moment.

Besides unity of action in the most vital problems, it is also necessary that the revolution be pushed forward in all regions and under the most diverse conditions.

For the socialist countries, accelerating the Revolution means working arduously toward the construction of the material and technical base for the new society, and toward forging the new man, free of the ideological residues of class society.

For the capitalist countries, to accelerate the revolution entails struggle against the warmongers and their system of exploitation, denunciation of the enemies of the peoples and mobilization of the great masses against the exploiters. For the non-liberated countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, to accelerate the revolution means pushing forward the most decisive struggle against their domestic reactionary classes allied to Yankee imperialism, and against imperialism itself. To push forward the most decisive struggle -- taking into account the present conditions of the greater part of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America -- means to confront aggression and violence by exploiters and imperialists with resolute, combative, daring and violent action on the part of the revolutionary vanguard and the masses. Conformism and passivity before the violence of the oppressors who attempt to perpetuate their regime of exploitation and bloodshed against the peoples by a constantly increasing resort to the use and abuse of force, can never be a revolutionary policy. The imperialists and the exploiting classes in many countries of Latin America endeavour to maintain their domination by resorting to the most repugnant and criminal use of force.

The military intervention in Santo Domingo reveals the ferocity and aggressiveness with which the imperialists attempt to oppose the will of the Latin American peoples and makes evident the need to confront imperialism with the revolutionary violence of the

masses. Santo Domingo clearly demonstrated that, for the peoples of Latin America, the struggle for liberation is a dramatic encounter. Similar situations are developing in other areas of the underdeveloped world. One need only consider the Yankee-Belgian intervention in the Congo and the bloody hoax played upon the Negro majority of South Rhodesia's population, as well as the reactionary offensive carried out by imperialism in Africa, directed toward liquidating all progressive and independent governments. In Indonesia, we have just witnessed one of the bloodiest massacres of communists of present times.

These facts are eloquently pointing out to the vanguard of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America the road to revolution.

Upsurge in the revolutionary movement throughout Latin America

In Latin America, imperialism has proclaimed that it will not permit another revolution. The peoples of the continent have accepted the challenge and are preparing for the encounter. Decisive years await us. The Latin-American picture shows an upsurge in the revolutionary movement throughout the continent. Our country has become an example for Latin America. And our people will never renounce being an example.

Seven years ago the Cuban Revolution defeated a fierce and bloody military tyranny at the service of exploiters and the foreign financial oligarchies.

The Revolution undertook an agrarian reform which profoundly affected the interests of that oligarchy and imperialism. Imperialism owned the greater part of our land, the greater part of our industry and the country's principal sources of wealth. The government of the U.S. took drastic economic measures against the Revolution; it threatened military action and, finally, attacked us. The Cuban people made up their minds to fight to victory or die. They defeated the internal counterrevolution and crushed Yankee imperialism at Playa Girón, the first military defeat of imperialism in America.

The Cuban Revolution moved impetuously forward. Important victories were achieved in economy, education, health and public services. These victories have been attained despite the criminal economic blockade by imperialism. The strengthening of our armed forces' combat capacity has reached notable heights.

The experience of the Cuban revolution

Yankee imperialism, the aggressor of peoples, intruder upon countries, was unable to prevent Cuba's triumphal march towards socialism and communism. It could not stop Cuba from becoming a revolutionary example for Latin America. It could not stop the flags of socialism from waving practically within sight of the imperialist coastline.

What does all this prove? It proves that there is no force capable of stopping the peoples in their struggle toward socialism

and communism.

How was this made possible? It was made possible by the people's unity and decision to fight; by the daring, courage and firm determination of the people's vanguard and by the Soviet Union's fraternal aid, as well as the aid from the socialist camp in general. We particularly wish to acknowledge the aid given us by the Soviet Union in the defense of our country. The experience of the Cuban Revolution demonstrates perhaps better than any other fact -- the correlation of forces in the world of today, and how important the support of the working classes of other countries is, in the fight for liberation of any people.

True revolution leads to socialism

Cuba is the unequivocal proof that true Revolution -- under present conditions in Latin America -- leads rapidly to socialism. Cuba is palpable proof that the struggle for national liberation in our continent is an inseparable part of the struggle for socialism. Cuba has made it clear that in the Latin American continent, the question of the power of the working class and the triumph of the socialist revolution depends in great part upon subjective factors, on the vanguard's decisiveness, on the will to win or die.

The road opened by the October Revolution, the road to socialism, is the one our people have followed. And they are ready to follow it until the invincible banners of the revolutionary proletariat wave over every country. Whatever the efforts, the sacrifices and the risks, the Cuban people with its Communist Party at the vanguard, will fight, using every means within reach and with all of its strength, for the revolution, for socialism and for communism.

Our fight is not only for Cuba, but for all the workers and exploited peoples of the world. Our frontiers are moral frontiers. Our limits are class limits.

Our friends are those who defend the peoples. Our enemies are those who attack workers, peasants and the exploited masses. This is our policy! These are our principles! These are the policy and principles of proletarian internationalism!

LONG LIVE THE XXIII CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION!

LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTION IN ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA!

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION!

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM!

HELP FREE THE IRANIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS!

[The United Secretariat of the Fourth International, world party of the socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938, issued the following press release April 15.]

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The Fourth International appeals to workers throughout the world to express themselves against the brutal repressive measures employed by the dictatorship of the shah of Iran, who was returned to power in 1953 with the help of the CIA.

Military courts hand down heavy sentences against anyone suspected of being in political opposition. At the end of 1965 two students were condemned to death on charges of complicity in an attempt to assassinate the shah although there were no proofs whatsoever. Due to worldwide protests, the sentence was not carried out, but the students were given life imprisonment.

In March of this year, four victims were sentenced on charges of "high treason" and attempted organization of a party in opposition to the constitutional monarchy. The victims were Professor Khalil Maleki and three members of the Central Committee of the League of Iranian Socialists, Reza Shaian, a government employee, Ali Djan Shansi, a building trades worker, and Hossein Sarshar, a bank employee.

The aged Professor Maleki, who is in very poor health, was condemned to three years in prison for an act committed thirty-two years ago and for which he was sentenced in 1934 to seven years at hard labor. Shaian and Shansi were given eighteen months in prison; Sarshar, twelve months.

Even more recently, a military court sentenced 54 young Iranians. One of them, Mohammad Bodjnourdi, was given the death penalty; seven were sentenced for life at hard labor; and the 46 others were given sentences ranging from six months to ten years in prison at hard labor. [Of the 55 defendants, only one was released.]

All the trials have been held behind virtually closed doors and in violation of the most elementary rights of the defense. Frequently the defendants have been submitted to torture by the Savak, the political police of the dictatorship. Attorneys and journalists from abroad have not been admitted to observe the sessions of the court.

It is necessary to bring this repression to an end. It is necessary to win the release of the victims of Tehran's military courts!

The Fourth International appeals to all workers organizations to participate in the numerous protest actions that have already

been started, and to extend them, as well as placing demands before Iranian embassies and the Ministry of Justice in Tehran to free all the Iranian political prisoners.

JOHNSON'S MOON DOCTRINE

The proposal made by Johnson May 7 for a United Nations treaty on the moon and "other celestial bodies" ought to fire the imagination of all those who have been agonizing over recent events in this vale of blood, toil, tears and sweat.

The president of the United States put it exactly right when he said, "The moon and other celestial bodies should be free for exploration and use by all countries. No country should be permitted to advance a claim of sovereignty."

If only that principle could be applied on this earth and in our time! And especially in Vietnam where Johnson is even now violating the sovereignty of the Vietnamese people in the most brutal and unconscionable way.

It was likewise most laudable of Johnson to say, "There should be freedom of scientific investigation, and all countries should cooperate in scientific activities relating to celestial bodies."

Couldn't we make a beginning on this right here on earth? Say by doing away with all secrets in the exploration and development of nuclear energy? Why not open the files of the Atomic Energy Commission for the benefit of all mankind!

Again, Johnson deserves the highest praise for asserting, "No country should be permitted to station weapons of mass destruction on a celestial body. Weapons tests and military maneuvers should be forbidden."

It is mankind's misfortune that Johnson does not rate our own planet as a celestial body. Declaiming a principle like that while escalating a war that can convert the earth into a radioactive desert, the president sounds like the preacher offering pie in the sky.

Of course Johnson may not really be thinking of what a beautiful world could be constructed in the heavens. He may simply be calculating that the Soviet astronauts will get there before the Americans. In which case, the U.S. is for an "Open Door" policy as in China at the turn of the century when the other powers arrived first with their carving knives.

But if U.S. astronauts were to win the race to land on the moon, then we might hear a different tune, perhaps an updated version of the hallowed Monroe Doctrine: "Hands off! It's our pie!"