

WORLD OUTLOOK

PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

Un service de presse ouvrier

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| <u>In this issue</u> | <u>Page</u> |
|--|-------------|
| 100,000 Workers Demonstrate in Madrid | 137 |
| Fascist Shoots Down Young Communist in London | 139 |
| Mao's "Cultural Revolution" (Interview with Peng Shu-tse) | 140 |
| War Hawks in Washington Eye Conflict in China | 149 |
| Clergymen Demonstrate against Johnson's War | 149 |
| Hugo Blanco Case: | |
| Campaign in Argentina for Hugo Blanco | 150 |
| Chilean Chamber of Deputies Intervenes in Behalf of Hugo Blanco | 150 |
| Pro-Cuban Magazine in Chile Opens Campaign for Hugo Blanco | 150 |
| Labour MP's Appeal for Clemency in Blanco Case | 151 |
| Solidarity Rally for Hugo Blanco in London -- by Charles van Gelderen | 151 |
| "Newsletter" Reports Appeals for Blanco | 152 |
| André Gunder Frank Speaks for Hugo Blanco at Toronto Rally -- by Ross Dowson | 152 |
| Guatemalan Guerrilla Movement Continues to Grow | 153 |
| The New U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Hearings -- by George Novack | 154 |
| Socialist Party Suffers Setback in Japanese Elections | 155 |
| Cultural Revolution Remolds Music in China | 156 |
| Mao's Thought Proves Too Much for Night-Soil Collector | 157 |
| Chinese Transport Workers Overfulfill 1966 Plan | 157 |
| More about the Events in Shanghai | 158 |
| Price of Rice in Saigon Jumps Thirty Percent | 159 |
| War Crimes Team Give First Results of Inquiry in North Vietnam | 160 |
| Japanese War Crimes Team Reports Preliminary Findings | 161 |
| Sartre Invited to Speak at Antiwar Assembly in Toronto | 162 |
| From the Pickax to the Pen -- or, Progress of the "New Criticism" -- II | |
| -- by L. Couturier | 163 |
| Documents: | |
| Bertrand Russell on How to End the War in Vietnam | 167 |
| Students Find Session with Rusk Highly Enlightening | 168 |

100,000 WORKERS DEMONSTRATE IN MADRID

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a labor press service

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| 100,000 Workers Demonstrate in Madrid | 137 |
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| Hugo Blanco Case: | |
| Campaign in Argentina for Hugo Blanco | 150 |
| Chilean Chamber of Deputies Intervenes in Behalf of Hugo Blanco | 150 |
| Pro-Cuban Magazine in Chile Opens Campaign for Hugo Blanco | 150 |
| Labour MP's Appeal for Clemency in Blanco Case | 151 |
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| "Newsletter" Reports Appeals for Blanco | 152 |
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| Guatemalan Guerrilla Movement Continues to Grow | 153 |
| The New U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Hearings -- by George Novack | 154 |
| Socialist Party Suffers Setback in Japanese Elections | 155 |
| Cultural Revolution Remolds Music in China | 156 |
| Mao's Thought Proves Too Much for Night-Soil Collector | 157 |
| Chinese Transport Workers Overfulfill 1966 Plan | 157 |
| More about the Events in Shanghai | 158 |
| Price of Rice in Saigon Jumps Thirty Percent | 159 |
| War Crimes Team Give First Results of Inquiry in North Vietnam | 160 |
| Japanese War Crimes Team Reports Preliminary Findings | 161 |
| Sartre Invited to Speak at Antiwar Assembly in Toronto | 162 |
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| -- by L. Couturier | 163 |
| Documents: | |
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they were receiving was read. Sent by some Basque intellectuals, the message declared:

"The strike you are conducting is a symbol for all those who, like us, are struggling for the establishment of a worthy society. Strikes defend the interests of the country's democratic forces."

In Madrid on January 24 and 25 thousands of clandestine leaflets were distributed appealing to the workers to assemble on January 27 at five different points to demand trade-union freedom and higher wages.

The authorities responded by banning the demonstration and announcing that both leaders and participants would be arrested. The police claimed that the workers' slogans "emanated from countries behind the iron curtain."

On January 27 Madrid witnessed the largest demonstration of workers since the end of the civil war.

Almost all of the workers in the industrial suburbs, some 100,000, refused to utilize the buses assembled every day to transport them to and from work. Instead they marched in long columns toward the city. This action was designed as a protest against the refusal of the government to consult them in drafting new labor legislation.

Armed police and gendarmes blocked access to the city and two helicopters directed operations aimed at breaking up the demonstration. Nevertheless thousands of workers managed to make their way into the city where they converged at certain points, shouting, "Freedom! Freedom!"

Skirmishes between the police and demonstrators broke out and a large number of persons were beaten.

The students utilized the occasion to show their solidarity with the workers. They organized a demonstration on the university campus. This was dispersed by the police. A thousand students thereupon barricaded themselves in the law and philosophy schools where they held out for six hours. The police smashed down the doors to break up the demonstration and arrested 20 students. They were carted off to jail where 150 workers were also being held.

The workers continued to demonstrate on the following day, about 30,000 of them in 11 of the biggest plants staging a sitdown strike. They demanded the immediate release of those who had been arrested the previous day. The response of the police was to make still further arrests.

In an airplane plant, 1,200 workers refused to leave. Around 7,000 workers in an automobile plant took similar action. At 4 a.m. the following morning squads of police were brought in to drive them out. By January 30, about 500 workers had been arrested.

The agitation continued January 31, again involving students in various areas. In Madrid the dean of the law school resigned in protest against the brutality displayed by the police and it was believed that the authorities were considering closing down the university indefinitely in view of the turbulence among the students.

In various parts of Spain protest actions were reported. In Barcelona, for instance, students were said to be preparing to broaden protest actions in behalf of Antonio Badia Margarit, a professor of philosophy, arrested January 24.

In face of the heavy pressure from the workers and the students, the Madrid court of public order decided January 31 to release all those arrested in the disturbances in the massive demonstration of January 27.

Despite this concession, it was reported that tension remained high in Madrid, Valencia and Barcelona.

At the university in Madrid, closed for three days, hundreds of students demonstrated January 31, confronting the police assembled in the area with shouts of "Freedom! Freedom!" Anger among the students mounted still higher when it was learned that a student had allegedly committed suicide by hurling himself from the window of his sixth-floor apartment when police made a raid in search of "subversive" material.

In Valencia, 25 student delegates at a meeting preparing the first national congress of the Democratic Students were arrested. Their meeting had been banned.

In Barcelona January 31 the students decided on a 48-hour strike. Some 200 to 300

students began action immediately. They were attacked by police, who dispersed them and arrested five of the demonstrators.

On the following day, 15,000 students were on strike in Barcelona and the police were faced with the problem of trying to contain them. The governor of Barcelona issued an ultimatum saying that the government would no longer tolerate the threat to public order and would put down the demonstrators with "the maximum energy."

The Franco regime is meeting the new wave of unrest as it has every such movement -- with police clubs. It remains to be seen whether this will once again prove sufficient to put down the forces seeking to break out of the fascist straitjacket.

FASCIST SHOOTS DOWN YOUNG COMMUNIST IN LONDON

Tony Bloom, 23, a member of the Young Communist League, was shot in the stomach while standing on the pavement with a group of his comrades outside a pub in the St. Pancras area of London at closing time January 29.

The man charged with the attempted murder, Ronald Antoni Gaston Thielemans, 24, an electronics engineer, was part of a group which had given the Nazi salute some minutes before inside the public house.

Besides Thielemans, police arrested Arthur Roy Smith, 24, a laboratory technician, and Edward Michael Groves, 24, unemployed. Smith and Groves were charged with unlawful possession of arms. Smith is accused of having 492 rounds of ammunition, seven revolvers, four automatic pistols, three rifles, one rifle in three parts and one rifle action. Groves is accused of having 498 rounds of ammunition, three rifles, one revolver and one automatic pistol.

As reported by the London press, Tony Bloom was with a group of friends in "The Dolphin." It was there that they first encountered the fascists.

Robin Wolfenden, 21, an engineering student and friend of Tony Bloom, described the attack and the incidents leading up to it as follows, according to the January 30 Evening Standard:

"Four chaps and a girl came into the pub and we started arguing politics with them. At closing time, the blokes stood up and gave a Nazi salute.

"The argument went on outside the pub and I saw a gun being waved in the face of one of our crowd."

The two groups separated and the fascists got into their automobile and drove off.

"We stood around chatting on the pavement," Wolfenden continued. "The van came along the street and as it drew near us an arm came out of the window holding the gun. Four shots were fired. Tony -- standing only a foot away from me -- fell to the pavement.

"I don't know how they missed me. It was a miracle I wasn't hit."

Police later located the Morris station wagon and chased it. As they closed in, they were fired at. The police confiscated a Mauser automatic pistol when they made the arrests.

The January 31 Morning Star, the Communist daily, reported that Tony Bloom was recovering after a difficult operation to remove the bullet from his stomach. It had passed through his spleen. A few inches higher and it would have hit his heart.

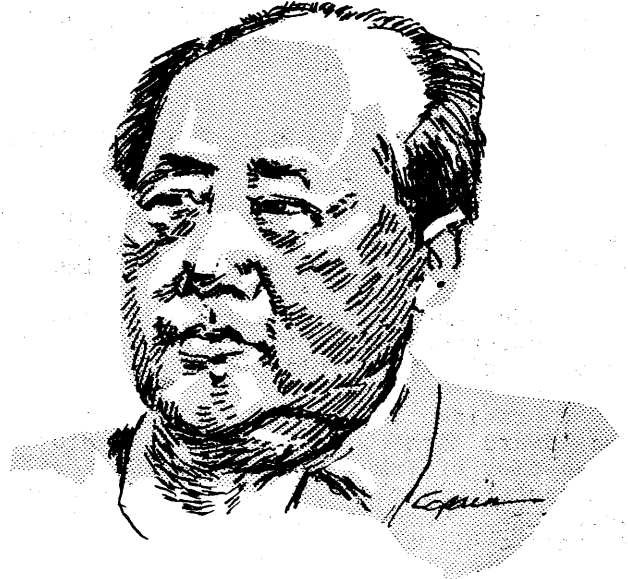
"A member of the Young Communist League for five years," said the Morning Star, "Tony works as a messenger at the Sun newspaper. He is Lambeth branch treasurer of the Y.C.L., a chapel official of his union (Sogat) and an active supporter of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament." His parents, John and Millie Bloom, have been members of the Communist party since the thirties.

Messages can be sent to Tony Bloom at Ward 13, University College Hospital, Gower Street, London, W.C.1.

Interview with Peng Shu-tse

MAO'S "CULTURAL REVOLUTION"

[The following is the text of an interview which Antonio Farien obtained with Peng Shu-tse January 20 on the latest developments in the "cultural revolution" in China. Peng Shu-tse was one of the founders of the Chinese Communist party and a leader in the 1925-27 revolution which ended in a tragic defeat at the hands of Chiang Kai-shek due to the disastrous policies which Stalin compelled the young party to follow. Upon drawing the lessons of the defeat, Peng Shu-tse and Chen Tu-hsiu, the father of Chinese communism, were astounded to discover that Leon Trotsky had anticipated what had happened. For spreading this information and their approval of Trotsky's analysis, they were expelled on charges of "Trotskyism." A little later the two leaders joined in founding the Chinese Trotskyist movement. During the thirties, they were arrested by Chiang Kai-shek's political police and imprisoned for many years. Many other Trotskyists were butchered by Chiang during this difficult period.]



MAO TSE-TUNG

[Upon the victory of the revolution in 1949 the Chinese Trotskyist movement sought to work with the Mao regime; but Mao's policy was to arrest and imprison anyone even suspected of "Trotskyism." Some of the Trotskyists arbitrarily arrested in 1952 are still in prison in China. Despite this they remain firm partisans of the Chinese Revolution to which they dedicated their lives as revolutionary-minded youths. They are for the unconditional defense of China against imperialism. At the same time -- and this is their real crime in the eyes of the regime -- they are protagonists of proletarian democracy in accordance with the program outlined in Lenin's work State and Revolution. Because of the antidemocratic practices of the regime, they have advocated that the Chinese masses undertake a revolutionary struggle to install proletarian forms of democratic rule such as soviets or councils.]

* * *

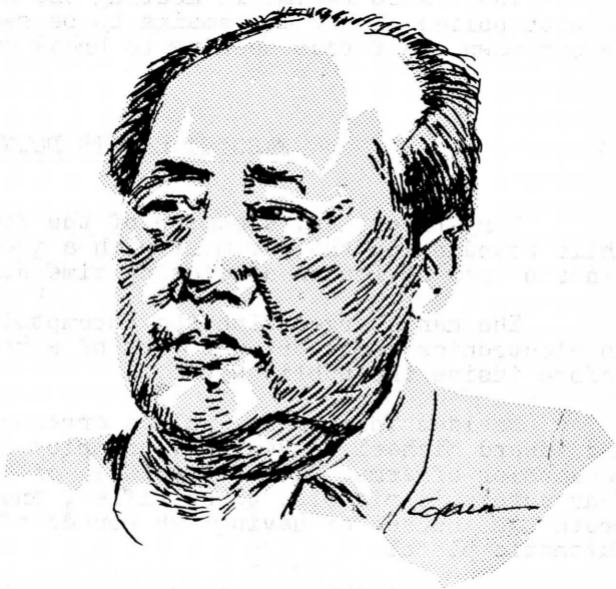
Question: Because of all the news accounts of the events in Peking and Shanghai, and especially in Nanking, during the last two weeks, there has been much speculation that China might be on the brink of a civil war. What do you think about this possibility?

Answer: The struggle between the two main factions -- pro-Mao and anti-Mao -- has developed to a very critical stage in the last few weeks. Such things as the recent strikes by the workers in the cities of Peking, Shanghai, Kwangtung and many other places, especially the fierce clashes in Nanking, where it has been reported that more than fifty people were killed and several hundred were injured, demonstrate quite clearly the seriousness of the conflict between the two factions.

If this news is true, then it is certain that the struggle inside the party has become much more critical and is finding expression in the toiling masses outside the party. If such a situation continues, it is of course possible that it will lead to a civil war. However, in order to speak about the possibilities of a civil war, it is necessary to look at the evolution of Mao's so-called cultural revolution over the past several months.

Q: Could you outline some of the most important aspects of that evolution?

A: In order to explain the recent developments it is necessary to recall the previous interview I had with you last June. [See World Outlook August 12, 1966.] In that interview I explained the development of the present divisions in the party which began at the time of the failure of the "Great Leap Forward" program when many intellectuals, and even a few top party leaders openly expressed discontent and were critical of many domestic and foreign policies arbitrarily instituted by Mao; and they even went so far as to call into question Mao's leadership capacities. This, then, was the origin of the



MAO TSE-TUNG

factions as they are more or less presently constituted.

What seems to have precipitated the present crisis and heightened it, however, was the question of foreign policy -- the continuing isolation of China in general, and the defeat in Indonesia in particular.

Just after the Indonesian coup d'état there was a meeting of high officials of the party. At this meeting it was reported that Peng Chen said "everyone is equal before the truth" and that if Chairman Mao has made some mistakes, he should also be criticized. It seems that Mao suffered a setback at this meeting.

It was shortly after this that he left Peking for Shanghai -- the end of October or the beginning of November 1965 -- where he immediately began to secretly organize the "cultural revolution."

During the period when Mao was in Shanghai -- about six months -- he was out of public view, and it was at this time that the press began to speculate about his health. It seems that Mao chose Shanghai as his base of operations because he thought the party officials there were loyal to him.

Mao began by attacking many cultural leaders, especially writers, such as Wu Han and Teng To, who had written many unfavorable things about him and his programs in the past. The campaign increased in intensity until finally Peng Chen and the whole Party Municipal Committee of Peking were purged and the committee was reorganized. This was shortly followed by the purge of Lu Ting-yi and Chou Yang -- who were respectively heads of the Center of Propaganda Department of the party and Minister of Culture -- along with other high officials of the state and party in the cultural field.

Mao ordered all the universities and middle schools (high schools) closed, and many famous educators such as the presidents of Peking University, Wu Han University, Nanking University and others were purged.

Such large-scale actions and purges aroused many of the top leaders such as Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping, along with many regional leaderships, and caused new antagonisms among the different tendencies.

Mao carried out his actions and purges by relying on the army, led by Lin Piao. For example, Lin Piao sent troops at the end of April 1966 to occupy the offices of the Peking Municipal Committee in order to remove Peng Chen and the other leaders.

Under such conditions Liu Shao-chi and other leaders felt the situation to be very serious, and they began to unite against Mao's so-called cultural revolution.

Q: Are there any concrete facts which prove that some of the top leaders began to organize at this time against Mao and the "cultural revolution?"

A: Yes, there are. However, in order to be able to see it clearly, I must explain a little about the structure of the leadership in the party. The decision-making body of the CPC [Chinese Communist party] is the Central Political Bureau. In addition to this bureau there are six regional bureaus -- the North Bureau, the Central South Bureau, the East Bureau, the Northeast Bureau, the Northwest Bureau, and the Southwest Bureau. Each of these bureaus directs several provinces or administrative areas. Each is very powerful. They are in charge of the direction of the party, the local governments and the army in their region.

The leaders of two of these six bureaus, that is the first secretaries, such as Li Hsueh-feng of the North Bureau and Liu Lan-tao of the Northwest Bureau, have in the past collaborated very closely with Liu Shao-chi.

Li Ching-chuan, first secretary of the Southwest Bureau, and Sung Jen-chung, first secretary of the Northeast Bureau, are close to Teng Hsiao-ping.

The removal of Peng Chen from office by Mao, with the help of the army, caused these bureau leaders, along with Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping, to be worried that they might suffer a similar fate, and they began to unite their forces against Mao. The leaders of especially the Northwest and Southwest Bureaus took a passive attitude toward Mao's "cultural revolution," and at times even actively resisted it. For example, when Peng Chen was dismissed the beginning of last June, Mao organized a central "cultural revolutionary" group. Mao made his former private secretary, Chen Po-ta, the chairman of the group, and his wife, Chiang Ching, first vice-chairwoman.

This group sent representatives to the provinces in order to organize the "cul-

tural revolution." However, many groups were resisted by the provincial leaderships, especially in the four bureaus I mentioned earlier. This resistance was attacked in an editorial of the People's Daily (Jenmin Jih Pao), July 1, 1966.

The most important event, however, occurred in June-July 1966. During this time Mao left Peking for south China. In his absence, Liu Shao-chi, as first vice-chairman of the party, prepared to call an emergency meeting of the Central Committee in order to decide anew the policies of the "cultural revolution," to put pressure on Mao and possibly to remove him from the leadership of the party. At about the same time Peng Chen was sent to the Northwest and Southwest bureaus to talk with the leaders there about the current situation, and about the emergency meeting of the Central Committee.

Around the tenth of July Peng returned to Peking with the members of the Central Committee from these bureaus for the emergency meeting, the date of which had been set by the Central Political Bureau for July 21. Mao, who was still in south China, sent a message to the Central Political Bureau asking them to delay the emergency meeting in order that he might be able to attend. At the same time, Lin Piao surrounded Peking with many troops, and it was under this threat that Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping retreated by rescheduling the Central Committee meeting for the first of August.

Lin Piao's army remained just outside the city during the plenum meeting of the Central Committee, and it was at this time that the decisions "Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" were adopted. The plenum also took decisions to organize the "Red Guards" and to reorganize the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau. It was through this reorganization that Mao was able to gain firm control of the Standing Committee by selecting and placing on it three of his closest supporters. They were Tao Chu, Chen Po-ta and Kang Sheng.*

Mao, along with Lin Piao, also opened up a fierce attack on Liu Shao-chi, and they removed him from his post of vice-chairman. Lin Piao took over as first vice-chairman.

This plenum gave the "cultural revolution" a furious boost, and outlined as its objective "to struggle against and crush those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road."**

Q: Why didn't Mao organize the purge through the party and its youth group instead of organizing the Red Guards?

A: This is a very important question, and it should be given special attention and clearly explained. The CPC is very large. The membership of the party and its youth group, for example, is almost equal to the whole population of France. There are approximately 50 million altogether -- 20 million in the party, and 30 million in the youth group. If there really existed a procapitalist tendency in the party, as Mao claims, and if he had any confidence at all in the masses of the party, he would organize a democratic discussion inside the party which would, it seems, resolve the question very easily.

However, the reality is the opposite, that is, no procapitalist tendency exists. It is even unimaginable that the same leaders of the party who struggled so many years against capitalism are, after conquering power, now struggling for capitalism.

The fact is that those people whom Mao accuses of taking the procapitalist road are against Mao because they believe that many of his policies, arbitrarily taken on many foreign and domestic issues, have endangered the prospects of socialism.

Many cadres of the party, such as Teng To and Wu Han, whom I talked about in the last interview, are good examples and reflect the opinions of most of the rank and file in the party and youth. They feel that Mao has made some mistakes and that it is absolutely necessary to correct them in order that China might continue her development toward socialism.

If Mao organized any discussions in the party, he would place himself in great danger; and therefore he has tried to suppress all criticism. This is the reason Mao has utilized the army since the beginning of the "cultural revolution."

The decisions taken by the August plenum were only formalities. Mao was able to

* The Standing Committee carries on the day-to-day work of the party. Five members in all are reported to have been added at this time. The other two were Chen Yi and Li Fu-chun.

** Quoted from Peking Review No. 33, August 12, 1966, "Decision of the Central Committee of the CPC Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," p. 6.

obtain them because of his bureaucratic control of the top bodies. But in reality he has completely avoided the party, and has employed the Red Guards in order to carry out his purge, or as he calls it, the "cultural revolution."

Q: What has been the result of the actions of the Red Guards?

A: We must first understand who the Red Guards are. They are primarily youth. About 60% of them are lower middle-school students, that is, between the ages of 13 and 16. About 30% are high middle-school students between the ages of 16 and 20. Only about 10% of them are university students. Because the overwhelming majority of the Red Guards, especially the lower middle-school students, are so young, they have had no previous political experience, and do not possess any great understanding of politics.

For this reason it is very easy to understand why such elements can be organized behind the campaign to build the cult of Mao, leading to many outlandish and absurd actions, even to attacks upon local party headquarters and officials.

Most of the university students went along at first with the "cultural revolution," but as it developed, these students, because of their greater political understanding, began to become divided among themselves.

The first actions of the Red Guards were to destroy the "Four Olds" -- old ideas, old culture, old customs, and old habits -- and to establish the "Four News." This became a slogan: "Destroy the Four Olds and Establish the Four News."

They later continued with such actions as destroying Buddhist sculpture, making people remove western clothing and jewelry, and even invading people's homes and destroying any modern furniture, among other things, which they found.

They changed the names of almost everything in their path, such as streets, stores, buildings and even cemeteries. This and more was all done in the name of carrying the revolution forward against the feudalists, the bourgeoisie, the revisionists, and the imperialists. The People's Daily even commented in an editorial August 28, 1966, that the spiritual face of the country had been changed as a result of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

There were, nevertheless, some progressive slogans and demands raised by some elements of the Red Guards. One of them was the demand to eliminate the interest payments to the remaining capitalists and to confiscate all their properties. These progressive slogans, however, have not been carried out.

Since the beginning of September the actions of the Red Guards have changed their complexion. At a large meeting of the Red Guards in Peking on August 31, 1966, Lin Piao gave a speech, substituting for Mao, in which he emphatically told the Red Guards that the main aim of the "cultural revolution" was to isolate and purge those party officials who are taking the capitalist road. It was after this speech that the Red Guards began to attack many provincial leaders by name in wall posters.

It was in retaliation against these attacks that some of the provincial leaders began to organize the party functionaries and cadres and even some of the workers and peasants, and they proceeded to set up their own Red Guards. These were the organizations that Mao's Red Guards soon began to clash with.

The People's Daily has referred many times to these clashes. On September 12 it said, "Some responsible leaders in some locals have suppressed the mass movement under many and different pretexts, and they have agitated many of the workers and peasants against the revolutionary students." That is to say, they organized the masses against the Red Guards and the "cultural revolution."



LIN PIAO



LIN PIAO

Many of these conflicts ended with hundreds of casualties. For example, in Ching Tao there were more than 140 killed and injured. In Canton there were over 50, and in Lin Wu more than 300.



CHOU EN-LAI

Peng Chen and Lu Ting-yi, head of the central propaganda department, were arrested.

It seemed that Mao thought he had beaten the opposition. On December 26 a large victory celebration of the Red Guards was held in Peking, and newspapers like Red Flag (Hung Chi), proclaimed the victory of the "cultural revolution." At this celebration the self-criticisms of Liu and Teng were revealed for the first time. Nevertheless, we can see by the events from the first two weeks in January that the opposition was far from being broken.

Q: Since the beginning of the year the newspapers have reported very confusing accounts as to what has been happening in such places as Nanking and Shanghai. Can you clarify at all what has actually been taking place?

A: First of all, it must be noted, that the events in these cities mark a new stage in the development of the struggle. Before, everyone considered these cities to be under the strict control of Mao and Lin's forces. However, the events there have shown the existence of a very powerful resistance.

Shanghai and the surrounding area make up the most industrialized section of China, and Nanking is also an industrial city. It was the party in these cities that organized the opposition, and it has, of course, a very large base in the working class. By granting the workers more pay and more welfare benefits, it has organized the workers against many of the slogans of the "cultural revolution" like "Make the cultural revolution and maintain production."

This presents a big problem for Mao. The only means he has to suppress such a force is the army. However, it would be very dangerous for him at this time to actively use it. From this angle, then, Mao is very weak. His strategy in Shanghai has been to try and gain control of the workers' organizations by occupying offices of the trade unions and other workers' institutions. After the occupation of these offices, the leaderships of the organizations were reorganized and Mao placed his own followers in charge. Mao, as far as I know now, seems to have been successful in doing this in the dockers, railway,

On September 15, at the third large meeting of the Red Guards in Peking to be reviewed by Mao, Lin Piao made a speech in place of Mao. What he told the Red Guards, in effect, was that they must attack all those officials who are resisting Mao's thought, and that they must have no fear since the army was supporting them.

It was after this speech that the Red Guards began to be much bolder and even unrestrained. In the wall posters in Peking, leading party members were named and accused of taking the capitalist road. The first secretaries of the Southwest, Northwest and North bureaus, Li Ching-chuan, Liu Lan-tao, and Li Hsueh-feng -- who had also become first secretary of the Peking party in place of Peng Chen -- are only three examples.

Simultaneously, officials of the state began to come under attack. Chen Yi, foreign minister, Li Hsien-nien, minister of finance, and especially Po I-po, minister of industry and communications, are only a few examples. Finally Liu Shao-chi, president of China, and Teng Hsiao-ping, secretary of the party, also came under attack.

In the latter part of October a special, very important meeting was held. This meeting lasted for 17 days. It was during this meeting that Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping were forced to make their self-criticisms after being severely attacked by many of the participants. It was just after this meeting that



CHOU EN-LAI

and bus workers trade unions, and it is this that his faction refers to when speaking about the victories it has made in the working class in Shanghai.

In Nanking the situation was a little different. The party in this city was able to control the police and army as well as to organize the workers. It appears that Mao has been unable to make any headway whatsoever there, and the whole city, therefore, remains under the control of the opposition.

Q: Then it seems very important, if one is to consider the possibilities of a civil war, to examine the strength of both factions in the party and in the army.

A: Yes, especially the army. At this point we can very briefly draw a balance sheet as far as the party is concerned. As I stated earlier, the leaders in the Northwest, Southwest and East bureaus can be considered to stand pretty firmly in the camp of the opposition. The leaders of the North Bureau in general seem to be in support of the opposition. However, there are some leaders who support Mao.

The Central South Bureau has been considered a stronghold of Mao and Lin, although now we have to consider the situation in light of the recent attacks against Tao Chu, the new chief of the party's central propaganda department, because before assuming his new post he had been the first secretary of the Central South Bureau for many years, and he is still very influential there. The new first secretary of the bureau, Wang Jim Chung, has also been attacked, which demonstrates that Mao and Lin are not completely in control.

As far as the East Bureau is concerned, the events in Nanking and Shanghai demonstrate that Mao and Lin have even less control than in the Central South Bureau. It is possible to say, then, that a large majority of the party either supports or sympathizes with the opposition.

It is more difficult to judge the relationship of both factions to the army. Nevertheless, if we take into consideration some historical aspects of the army, it makes the situation much easier to judge.

The original Liberation Army was divided into several parts. After victory, and Chiang Kai-shek's flight to Taiwan, the different sections of the army were led into a number of different regions by their commanders. The army led by Lin Piao went from the Northeast to the region now controlled by the Central South Bureau. The army led by Peng Teh-huai went to the region now under the Northwest Bureau. Liu Po-ching led his army to the area under the Southwest Bureau.

When Lin Piao left the Northeast, he left behind the native guerrilla army. It is now under the control of the Northeast Bureau. Chen Yi's army occupied the whole area under the control of the East Bureau. In the Northern Bureau the army was constructed by combining many regional armies under the direct leadership of the North Bureau. As I said earlier, the leadership in each bureau controls that particular army, and therefore, we can say generally that the influence in the army of both factions is similar to their relationship in the party. Of course, it is possible that certain local army leaders are in disagreement with the bureau leaderships.

There are, however, some other factors we have to take into consideration concerning the army. There are figures such as Peng Teh-huai, minister of defense from December 1954 to September 1959, Lo Jui-ching, the chief of staff from 1959, and especially Chu Teh, the historical leader of the whole army, and Ho Lung, who is also a historical leader of the army, all of whom wield tremendous influence in the army. All of these figures have been attacked -- Chu Teh and Lo Lung only recently -- by the Mao-Lin Piao faction which indicates that these leaders have differences with it.

From this we can judge that the position of Mao in the army as a whole is not too favorable. It is precisely because of his weakness that he has attempted to reorganize the army by introducing into it the "Cultural Revolution Committee." This committee sent representatives to the different armies for two main reasons. One was to find out what strength the opposition had in the army and on what parts of the army Mao himself could depend. The other was to try and win certain elements in the army to its side, by such methods as bribing certain leaders with promises of promoting them to high posts.

In my opinion, this cannot change the situation very much in Mao's favor. Of course, the delegates are met and dealt with very diplomatically, and they show their enthusiastic agreement with the 16-point program adopted by the Central Committee on August 8, 1966. Yet in reality it seems most of them are waiting, if not preparing, for a showdown with Mao in the future.

There is one other force which is also of importance, and this is the security

forces, both public and secret. This organization was formed right after the CPC took power through Lo Jui-ching with the assistance of many specialists from the GPU of the USSR. When he resigned from that post in 1959 in order to become chief of staff, Hsieh Fu-chih -- who had worked under the leadership of Teng Hsiao-ping for almost 20 years -- took over his post as head of the ministry of public and secret security. Both of these men have been attacked by the Red Guards, and Lo Jui-ching has even been arrested by the Mao-Lin faction because, as it seems, the police force as a whole, or at least the greater part, are under the influence of the opposition. Recently it seems that Hsieh Fu-chih, under tremendous pressure, especially that of Lin Piao's army surrounding Peking, made a compromise with the Mao-Lin Piao faction, and this explains the statement of Mao's wife, Chiang Ching, that the Red Guards should no longer attack him.

I must also say a few words about Chou En-lai, who represents somewhat of a third major tendency between the two opposing factions. This tendency is very weak as it has no mass base and is not itself actually struggling for power. The strength it does have comes from its control of the government ministries. To understand the position of this group, it is necessary to describe its leader, Chou En-lai. Politically, he is very weak and has continually, throughout his career, leaned towards the stronger groups when there has been a struggle in the party. Yet, organizationally, he is very capable, and he is valued by the whole party for his abilities in this field. At the present time with Liu Piao's army surrounding Peking and his ministries, he has made a compromise with Mao and is trying to play more or less the role of a compromiser. If the opposition should begin to show its power, however, there is no doubt that he would change his position accordingly.

What the future holds, then, still depends on many factors, domestic and foreign. However, we can make an overall judgment now that Mao's forces are in a minority and that Mao and Lin Piao will not -- unless they take an adventuristic course, or are forced to -- launch a civil war at this time.

Q: If Mao is in a minority, as you explain, how has it been possible for him to seemingly control the party and carry on with the "cultural revolution"? For example, how was he able to get the party to adopt the 16-point program of August 8, 1966?

A: First of all we must not underestimate Mao's influence in the party and in all of China. The CPC conquered power under his leadership as chairman of the party. Therefore, in the eyes of the masses he is the great symbol of the victory of the revolution. There is no doubt that even now he still commands respect among a portion of the masses.

However, with the failure of the "Great Leap Forward," his influence was weakened, and the many obvious mistakes in his policies since then, such as his positions on literature and art, education, on the Vietnamese war, and especially on the Indonesian CP, have further tarnished his reputation in the party and among the masses.

Most of Mao's so-called victories have taken place in Peking, such as the adoption of the 16-point program you mentioned by the Central Committee. These "victories" have been almost completely dependent upon one factor -- the army of Lin Piao. It is with the army and the threat of the army that Mao removed Peng Chen, secured the adoption of the 16-point program, forced self-criticisms from leaders such as Liu Shao-chi, forced Hsieh Fu-chih to compromise, etc.

Q: Mao accuses his opponents of being capitalist restorationists, revisionist, etc. Yet no one seems to know for sure what the program of Mao's opposition is and who this opposition represents. Can you clarify the nature of the opposition?

A: The CPC is something like its sister party in the USSR. There is no democratic discussion inside the party; all decisions are handed down from above and must be carried out and obeyed by the cadres and the rank and file. Even in the top bodies such as the Central Committee and the Political Bureau there is generally little discussion. Only on very critical questions such as the "Great Leap Forward," the People's Communes, and the defeat in Indonesia, has any real discussion taken place inside the top bodies. The oppositions which have developed and attempted to criticize Mao and his programs have in the past been expelled. I have already spoken about Peng Chen, for example, and in the first interview, about Peng Teh-huai.

Under these conditions it is very difficult to learn what the specific program of the opposition in the party is. However, we can get an idea of the opposition's general attitudes from the documents published by the CPC itself criticizing the opposition, as well as from the writings for which many intellectuals in the party have been attacked. I will point out what seem to be the main points of disagreement with Mao's faction.

(1) They considered Mao's economic programs like the "Great Leap Forward" -- espe-

cially the formation of the People's Communes -- to be adventuristic.

(2) In literature and art they have felt that Mao's ideas are too strict, and that they put a straitjacket on any creative writing, etc.

(3) Almost all educators, professors, teachers, and university students opposed Mao's policies in the educational field because of their interference with freedom of study, and they felt it was a waste of time for them to be sent into the countryside or into the factories. They felt that Mao's policies on the whole had disrupted the educational system.

(4) The position of the opposition on international questions is much more difficult to determine because there is much less material. It is probably safe to assume that there is general agreement with Lo Jui-ching on the question of how to defend China in case of a possible attack from the U.S. Lo Jui-ching does not seem to have been in disagreement about politics being in command in the army. Rather, it was his position that one must recognize the importance of today's type of warfare, especially the role of nuclear weapons. Therefore, he felt that the break with the Soviet Union on the state level had endangered China's capacity to defend herself militarily against a probable imperialist attack.

(5) Finally on one point they make themselves very clear. There is general disgust with Mao's omniscience and they demand more discussion in the party on important questions.

These five points give us a general picture of the ideas and opinions of the opposition. It is impossible, of course, for us to give a comprehensive explanation of their program, and I doubt that they have one that is systematic and formal. But we can say that these make up the most important disagreements with Mao to be found among the various members of the opposition.

To understand fully the differences between the two groups, I should say something about some particular points in Mao's own program. Since the stated objectives of Mao's formal program do not correspond to the development of the "cultural revolution" itself, it is more enlightening to examine the way in which Mao has actually implemented the "cultural revolution." I have already described at some length what Mao is doing when I discussed the struggle and its evolution. Briefly, Mao is trying to carry out a purge in the most undemocratic way, and in fact a coup d'état. He has tried to make himself a living god and to make his very word law.

It seems that in the recent events another very important disagreement has arisen between the two factions. The opposition, in order to win over and organize the workers, has granted many concessions in some localities, and has taken measures to raise their standard of living. Mao, with the "cultural revolution," has continually and strongly opposed such measures.

Q: Does the opposition, then, represent a democratic force, and what do you think about the idea which seems to be the most widely accepted, that is, that the main opposition to Mao is Khrushchevist?

A: The opposition is not homogeneous but is composed of many tendencies. We are able to distinguish three main currents. The first is found among the top leaders like



LIU SHAO-CHI



LIU SHAO-CHI

Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping, and many leaders of the bureaus. This tendency in general represents a bureaucratic group inside the party which is in control of a considerable sector of the party's apparatus. The political traditions of this group organizationally and politically are those of Stalinism.

The second current can be referred to as a "liberalizing" tendency, and is made up of second rank or middle cadres in the party, of which Teng To and Wu Han are good examples.

The third current is much more difficult to define because there doesn't seem to be any single leader, or any well-known cadres for that matter who represent it. But we can say almost with certainty that this group represents, if not a revolutionary, then a quasi-revolutionary tendency, and is made up primarily of rank-and-file party members.

The third current would, of course, represent a sector of the masses and express most vividly the feelings of the population as a whole. The middle layers of the party have much more contact in their work with the rank and file, and would therefore be more likely to reflect the attitudes of the masses.

It is with sectors of the middle layers that the top leaders have the most contact in their day-to-day party work. For example, Teng To was directly under Peng Chen, who was one of the top leaders. It would have been impossible for Teng To to carry on the work that he did without at least the tolerance, if not the approval, of Peng Chen. It was Liu Shao-chi's close personal relationship with Peng Chen that probably thrust him into the leadership of the present opposition faction.

In the very top leadership, Mao tolerated no disagreement, and every opposition was expelled. However, because of the past experience of the top leaders in working with the masses, and their connection with the middle layers, some of them reflect in some measure the movement of the masses. While the middle layers represent the tendency in the party for reform, it is probably safe to assume that the need for reform is also recognized by top leaders who are, nonetheless, more conservative, and who still wish to maintain a tight control over the party.

The question of Khrushchevism is very important. We must first understand what is meant by Khrushchevism, and especially what Mao means by Khrushchevism.

There are two different aspects of Khrushchevism: one is political revisionism, which is reactionary; and the other is de-Stalinization, which is progressive.

Mao does not distinguish between these two aspects. He lumps them together under the label of revisionism. Both are reactionary from his point of view, and he has said that Khrushchev's policies have restored capitalism in the USSR.

We must understand, then, that anyone agreeing with any aspect of Khrushchevism is, according to Mao, a revisionist, and wants, or is attempting, to restore capitalism. From what I have said earlier, you can see that the opposition desires in its own way similar reforms as those carried out under Khrushchevism during de-Stalinization, and of course these reforms are directed at Mao.

In Mao's opinion, then -- if he actually believes his own propaganda -- such reform measures will lead to a capitalist restoration.

As far as the politically revisionist side of Khrushchevism is concerned, we must recognize that in practice Mao's own policies have not proved to be substantially different, as the events in Indonesia so well demonstrate. It seems that Mao's main objection to the revisionism of Khrushchev has been de-Stalinization. There is no evidence that I know of that the opposition is in any way in disagreement with the official policy of exposing the political revisionism of Khrushchev. Therefore, at least on the question of de-Stalinization, the stand of the opposition, is the more progressive. In general, the opposition shades from currents that are really Maoist to tendencies that are quite revolutionary.

Q: What, in your opinion, will be the final outcome of the struggle?

A: Taking into consideration the relationship of forces on each side as I have already outlined, it is clear that the odds are against Mao, especially if the organization and mobilization of the peasants and workers, which we have seen in the recent events, continues.

If Mao should nevertheless be victorious, I think a sweeping purge comparable to the one in the Soviet Union during the 1930's, if not larger, could occur, and the de-

fenses of the Chinese Revolution would be placed in grave danger. However, if the opposition should win, the most likely result would be a few concessions of a liberalizing nature as well as a shift away from the ultraleft sectarian positions taken by Mao. For example, it is possible they would set up some kind of united front with the other workers states against U.S. imperialism.

There is another important prospect if the opposition should win. If the masses have entered into motion, it will not be so easy for the bureaucracy to stop them or to contain them within the prescribed limits. In that case, a real massive struggle for workers democracy could open up.

WAR HAWKS IN WASHINGTON EYE CONFLICT IN CHINA

The internal strife in China is being watched by the State Department and Pentagon with close attention. While the official attitude is to say as little as possible and, when pressed, to stick close to the facts so as to give the impression of lack of interest and "objectivity," the real attitude of the war hawks is quite different.

This was intimated by C.L. Sulzberger in his February 3 column in The New York Times. "China's potential role as a superpower may be postponed if not eliminated," he declares. Evidently the buzzards in the imperialist centers are calculating on the possible disintegration of the People's Republic of China and the chance that they may be able to move in for an easy kill.

"Certainly it is evident that the world is now on the threshold of vitally important developments," he continues. "Such a storm has been let loose in China that, if it cannot be settled soon, the entire country may dissolve into anarchy with various warlords running different areas.

"Therefore, as China totters at the edge of its own pit, other nations, and above all the United States, must contemplate the strategy of history. Possibly now is the time for major new policy decisions, because the moment of opportunity may pass. For example, should the forces of Liu and the party hierarchs achieve a decisive victory one of their steps might be to reaffirm the shattered Sino-Soviet alliance."

Clearly, Sulzberger, and those whose thinking he is voicing, are considering how to drive still deeper the wedge between China and the Soviet Union which has proved so advantageous to imperialism. In addition they are considering whether the moment is not propitious to strike militarily at China.

In face of this danger it becomes all the more imperative for all those who oppose the war in Vietnam, who understand that further escalation of the war can touch off a nuclear holocaust, to redouble their efforts.

Above all, pressure should be mounted on the Soviet government to come out with an unequivocal declaration that no matter what its differences with Peking it will consider an attack on China the equivalent of an attack on the Soviet Union.

This would be a propitious opening for renewing the offers of a united front between Moscow and Peking in aiding the Vietnamese revolution and clearly showing to the Washington war hawks what risks they run by continuing on their course of escalating American involvement on the mainland of Asia.

CLERGYMEN DEMONSTRATE AGAINST JOHNSON'S WAR

The deepening dissatisfaction in the United States with Johnson's war in Vietnam was graphically indicated by a demonstration mounted by 2,000 clergymen from 45 states in front of the White House January 31.

In their three-day mobilization, the clergymen demanded that Johnson stop the bombing of north Vietnam and slow down the ground war. They held that this would make it possible to engage in "negotiations." These should include the National Liberation Front, they maintained.

The clergymen scored Johnson in a public statement that deplored "the discrepancy between what we are told by our Government and what we discover is actually taking place." The statement also supported young men who decide "that they cannot condone the war by their personal involvement."

CAMPAIGN IN ARGENTINA FOR HUGO BLANCO

The campaign in behalf of Hugo Blanco is being renewed on an extended scale in Argentina, according to the January 30 issue of the Buenos Aires weekly La Verdad. Hugo Blanco, the Peruvian peasant leader was given a 25-year sentence in the notorious El Frontón prison and then threatened with death when he appealed the savage sentence. At present he has gained a temporary respite. This, however, is uncertain and the judges of the Supreme Council of Military Justice in Lima could decide at any time to place him before a firing squad.

In Argentina a Provisional Commission for the Freedom of Hugo Blanco [Comisión Provisoria por la Libertad de Hugo Blanco] reports a preliminary list of well-known figures and organizations backing an appeal to the Peruvian authorities not to execute Hugo Blanco. The list is as follows:

Alejandro Gomez, Luis Franco, Abraham Abdulajah, Doctor Manuel Sadovsky, Doctor Silvio Frondizi, Manuel Torreiro, John William Cooke, Leandro Fote, Córdoba Iturburu, Alberto Hidalgo, Rolando García, Alvaro Yunque, José Alonso, Edmundo E. Eichelbaum, María Rosa Oliver, Alba Mujica, Lautaro Murúa.

Asociación Obrera Textil, Comisión Directiva de SOEME [Sindicato de Obreros y Empleados del Ministerio de Educación], Agrupación El Activista de la Carne (Berisso), Sindicato de la Publicidad (Federación Nacional), ATE (La Plata), various student organizations in Buenos Aires and elsewhere, the "62 Organizaciones de Pié," Nuestra Palabra (organ of the Argentine Communist party).

CHILEAN CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES INTERVENES IN BEHALF OF HUGO BLANCO

Santiago, Chile

The Chilean Chamber of Deputies passed a resolution submitted by a Socialist representative, Fermín Fierro, asking Chile's Ministry of Foreign Affairs to undertake steps in behalf of commuting a death sentence against Hugo Blanco in the event such a sentence is handed down by Peru's Supreme Council of Military Justice.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, through the Chilean embassy in Lima, proceeded in accordance with the resolution and on January 13 reported the results of its action to the Chamber of Deputies.

According to the January 16 Ultima Hora, the ministry's report said: "Chile's embassy in Lima sent the results and these indicate that up to the moment the Supreme Council of Military Justice of Peru, which has under advisement the appeal of the prosecution, has not handed down a verdict."

The report admitted that following the verdict of the Permanent Council, which condemned Hugo Blanco to 25 years in prison, the army prosecuting attorney appealed for a death sentence.

"Once the verdict is handed down, the Ministry of Foreign Relations added, steps will be taken in accordance with the interest shown by Deputy Fermín Fierro," Ultima Hora declared.

PRO-CUBAN MAGAZINE IN CHILE OPENS CAMPAIGN FOR HUGO BLANCO

Santiago, Chile

The Magazine Punto Final opened a campaign for national solidarity with Hugo Blanco in its issue for the first half of January (No. 20). An openly pro-Cuban review, Punto Final is widely read in left circles in Chile in view of its lack of sectarianism and its breaking the monopoly on news of interest to the left formerly held by the Communist party. Thus it publishes news about the most militant sectors such as the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria, without demanding that they express agreement with the Communist party as has occurred with other reviews and dailies of a pseudoleftist character.

The editors report: "Punto Final has received letters from readers from Lima and Tacna appealing for solidarity from students, trade-union and political organizations in

Chile." The magazine carries an extensive account of the heroic struggle led by the Peruvian peasant leader as well as a letter recently written by Hugo Blanco.

LABOUR MP'S APPEAL FOR CLEMENCY IN BLANCO CASE

London

The following cable was sent to the Ministerio de Guerra, Departamento Legal, 241, Avenida de Arequipa, Lima, Peru: "Request clemency Hugo Blanco."

The cable was signed by the following Members of Parliament: Syd Bidwell, Stan Newens, William Molloy, John Lee, Gwilym Roberts, John Ryan and Gerry Fitt (Irish Republican Labour).

SOLIDARITY RALLY FOR HUGO BLANCO IN LONDON

By Charles van Gelderen

London

A well-attended meeting at the Caxton Hall January 26 launched a campaign in Britain to save Hugo Blanco.

Syd Bidwell, a Labour Member of Parliament for Southall, was the principal speaker. He expressed complete solidarity with Hugo Blanco's struggle to organise the oppressed peasants of Peru, protested at the savage sentence passed on him by a military court and added his voice to the world-wide demand for an amnesty.

Bill Molloy, M.P. for Ealing North, who had also agreed to speak at the meeting, was unable to do so because of a last-minute constituency engagement. He sent a message of support through Syd Bidwell.

Frida Laski, widow of the late Harold Laski, gave a moving account of the servile conditions under which the peasants of Peru live and work. She said that their status is little better than that of chattel slaves and she urged that all should be done to save Hugo Blanco and to give support to the movement he led.

Messages were received from Ernie Roberts, assistant general secretary of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. He conveyed his "personal opposition to the attempted legal assassination of Hugo Blanco." He called on the British trade-union movement to "voice its opposition to this attempt to kill a man for his opinions."

Bill Jones of the Transport and General Workers Union also expressed his regret that a previous engagement prevented him from being present. "I have no hesitation," he wrote, "in supporting all your efforts on behalf of Blanco and wish them every success as they deserve to be."

Speakers from the International Socialist Group and the Irish Workers' League also addressed the meeting and expressed their solidarity with the campaign.

Kenneth Jordaan, Executive member of the Pan-African Congress of South Africa, drew a parallel between the situation in Peru and South Africa where the peasants are likewise fighting for the most elementary human rights. He pointed out that 85 members of his organisation had already been executed for political activities since 1945 and that nine are now under sentence of death in Cape Town.

It was agreed to send a protest to the Peruvian embassy in the name of the meeting.

Since an appeal on behalf of Hugo Blanco appeared in the Tribune a few weeks ago, numerous letters of protest from individuals and organisations have been sent to the embassy. None of them have been acknowledged.

The Movement for Colonial Freedom, whose speaker was also unable to appear at the last moment, sent a message which read, in part, as follows: "The MCF because of its particular interest and participation in the struggle of peoples oppressed and exploited by Colonial and neo-Colonial powers, is naturally also concerned for the struggle against the oppression of the under-privileged by the privileged within any particular state. It can only have the highest possible regard for the courage and leadership of Hugo

Blanco and for his steadfast efforts to lift his people out of the poverty and humiliation of their present conditions in spite of the brutal injustice of the forces opposing him.... We therefore hope that among all those voices which are raised against this terrible penalty the voice of the Movement for Colonial Freedom will be heard loud and clear demanding that [the prison sentence] shall be immediately revoked and that the struggle of Hugo Blanco for democracy and human liberty in his country shall be recognized for what it is."

"NEWSLETTER" REPORTS APPEALS FOR BLANCO

Under the heading, "Free Blanco!," the January 28 Newsletter, weekly organ of the Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League, reported the following:

"Tottenham Amalgamated Engineering Union No. 7 branch has called on the Peruvian government to release the peasant leader Hugo Blanco who is imprisoned and under threat of a death sentence by a military court deliberating on his appeal against a previous jail sentence. A similar resolution was passed by the Regional Conference of the Middlesex Young Socialists last Sunday."

ANDRE GUNDER FRANK SPEAKS FOR HUGO BLANCO AT TORONTO RALLY

By Ross Dowson

Toronto

One of the worst blizzards in years kept the attendance down to 85 or 90 persons but failed to cool the spirit of the meeting called in solidarity with the imperilled Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco here on January 27. The rally was sponsored by a group of leading figures in Toronto university circles, including Professor C.B. Macpherson and the militant business agent of the Toronto Labourers' Union, Gerry Gallagher. It follows up a widening demand from intellectuals and unionists in this country that Blanco and his comrades be granted amnesty.

No sooner had the meeting been adjourned than a telegram, which had been delayed, arrived expressing solidarity with its purposes. It read: "We support all your efforts to save Hugo Blanco. He must not die." It was signed by Neil Reimer, the Alberta leader of Canada's labor party, the New Democratic party, and a score of faculty members of the University of Alberta, including C. Brant, head of the anthropology department; A. Mardiros, head of the philosophy department; and C. Bay, head of the political science department. Just a few days earlier some 35 members of the faculty of Toronto's York University signed an amnesty appeal.

The featured speaker at the Toronto solidarity meeting with Blanco and his imprisoned comrades was Professor André Gunder Frank, author of Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America, and a world renowned authority on Latin America, presently visiting professor in economics and history, Sir George Williams University, Montreal.

Ken Golby, Spanish department, York University, and a member of Amnesty International, chaired the meeting and introduced the supplementary speakers: Professor Ken Walker, University of Toronto; Ross Dowson, editor of Workers Vanguard; and Joe Meslin, Ontario Regional Director of the United Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers Union.

Professor Frank opened his contribution with the comment, "Tierra o Muerte! -- land or death -- the slogan of Hugo Blanco; Patria o Muerte! -- fatherland or death -- the slogan of Fidel Castro; and, I should add the end: Venceremos! -- we shall win -- express the same aspirations and the same reality. Essentially their reason for being is created by the same cause -- the growth and development and continued existence of the capitalist system, the imperialist system, of which we here in Canada are as much a part as the peasants led by Blanco or the peasants led by Fidel.

"Already, by the time of the Spanish conquest, the peasants of Cuzco had been incorporated into the development of then, commercial capital, later, industrial capitalism, and today, monopoly capitalism. Their fate and their liberation tomorrow will be the necessary consequences of the development of this imperialist system."

Professor Frank, in placing the struggle led by Hugo Blanco in the wider context of Latin-American and international politics, made the case with facts and figures that the liberatory struggle in Latin America, such as that led by Blanco, are integrally con-

nected with the anticapitalist struggles of the workers in North America. He showed that the struggle against the latifundists (big landowners) who are part and parcel of the national bourgeoisie, who in turn play no independent role but are junior partners of American imperialism, can only be anti-imperialist and socialist.

He contrasted the strategy of the Communist parties, which he said could only by the wildest stretch of the imagination be called revolutionary, with the guerrilla foco strategy of the Fidelistas and the policy of Hugo Blanco and Julião in Brazil.

He warned of the Vietnamization, the wiping out with the most complete forces of destruction, of the outbursts of popular struggle by American imperialism and expressed the opinion that solidarity such as was being expressed tonight with Blanco will have to be repeated, enlarged, and deepened in the future.

He ended: "The more we can attack this system here, the more we will be helping the peasants led by Hugo Blanco, the more we will be helping Hugo Blanco, if he survives, or those who will necessarily follow him and who will in his words gain Tierra o Muerte, or in the words of Fidel, Patria o Muerte, and who will win -- Venceremos!"

Professor Walker gave a short résumé of certain sociological surveys of student bodies in Latin-American universities and concluded that Blanco, who left his studies on agronomy and went into the labor movement and finally amongst the peasants, whose language he knew and amongst whom he lived and worked at great risk, displayed unique and singular heroism. He closed by quoting an article by R. Debray to the effect that "Hugo Blanco did more in a few years' work by forming unions of 'arrendires' in the Valle de la Convención than all the left-wing parties together in the last thirty years."

Trade-unionist Meslin expressed regret that the union movement in North America had not yet firmly identified itself with the cause of Blanco and his comrades as their struggle was in the best tradition of the union movement. He compared Blanco's intransigence with the principled stand taken by Paddy Neale and his four comrades who were thrust into a British Columbia jail for their resolute struggle against injunctions. We here in Canada are going to be required to stand up and be counted and that is why we should stand behind Hugo Blanco now, he said.

The chairman in his closing remarks informed the audience that the Toronto Branch of Amnesty International has protested to the president of Peru and the Peruvian ambassador in Ottawa that in their opinion Blanco's "arrest and imprisonment are in conflict with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to which we believe Peru to be a signatory. We therefore urgently request that you use your authority to see that clemency and justice are meted out in this case."

Bob MacArthy, leading initiator of the protest, announced that the \$130 collection, after deduction of expenses, would be forwarded to Blanco's lawyers to aid in the defence.

GUATEMALAN GUERRILLA MOVEMENT CONTINUES TO GROW

In an account written in Guatemala, which was published in the January 27 Los Angeles Times, Georgie Anne Geyer reports, after visiting the guerrilla forces headed by César Montes, that they "are extremely well organized and clever. I was constantly amazed at how the entire effort worked like a well-oiled machine."

The guerrilla movement is "thriving," she says. "It seems to have substantial peasant support and if the government cannot make swift and substantial social reforms, this will grow even more." The movement includes various political colorations. "But the dedicated Marxist elements are by far the strongest, particularly now with Montes as commander-in-chief. The Marxists can be expected to assume total power if their 'revolution' is successful."

Miss Geyer notes that "The guerrillas now are in regular contact with other guerrilla groups, as in Venezuela and Colombia. Contacts between them, which include exchange of ideas and methods, are facilitated by the Tricontinental organization, which has offices in Havana and is Cuban Premier Fidel Castro's means of encouraging revolution in Latin America."

Referring to the forces headed by Yon Sosa, Miss Geyer reports: "For the first time it can be said with certainty that a gradual merger of the Rebel Armed Forces or FAR, the largest Guatemalan guerrilla group, and the smaller 13th of November group, is under way. This will strengthen both."

THE NEW U.S. SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE HEARINGS

By George Novack

The hearings of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which opened January 30, have not commanded as much attention as the spectacular sessions of this important body last year primarily because the confrontation with Johnson's line in Southeast Asia has not been so sharp and forthright.

Under the broad topic of "the responsibilities of the United States as a great power," the new hearings are intended to promote three immediate objectives. The committee chairman, Senator Fulbright, and his cothinkers want to build a counterweight of public opinion to check the hawks in the Pentagon and Congress who are pressuring the president to expand military and air operations in Vietnam. The Democrats on the committee seek to mobilize support for two administration measures to improve East-West relations. Third, the partisans of a détente are trying to dispose of some of the anti-Soviet mythology implanted throughout the postwar period in order to give Washington greater freedom of diplomatic maneuver to take advantage of the changes within the Communist world.

In his introductory remarks, Fulbright stated "that there can be little argument that the prestige and authority of the United Nations have dwindled, that old alliances have lost much of their influence and meaning, and that the United States increasingly has become the sole judge of the necessity and merit of its own actions."

In view of the fact that "the United States Government currently is trying to promote both better relations with the Communist regimes of Eastern Europe and an over-all détente with the Soviet Union," he questioned the further usefulness of such well-worn propaganda weapons of the Cold War as "the Communist conspiracy, the free world, indirect aggression, and so forth."

The first witness, George F. Kennan, former ambassador to the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, further developed these points. He asserted that "The unity of the Communist bloc is a matter of the past; and it will not be restored. This Humpty Dumpty will not and cannot be reassembled."

He pointed out that the spectrum of Communist outlooks and behavior now range from "elements" like the Chinese Communist regime which "present from our standpoint as ugly and menacing a phenomenon as did Lenin's Russia at the height of its world revolutionary enthusiasm" to Yugoslavia or the Italian Communist party which operate "on the basis of concepts which present no greater problems from our standpoint than those that govern the behavior of many regimes or parties that do not call themselves Communist at all." He took special care to emphasize that the present outlooks in the Russian Communist party "are greatly different from those that prevailed in earlier decades."

He urged the necessity of active intervention to make the most of "the encouraging elements in the situation." He argued that "We have it in our power, by the manner in which we frame our policies, to encourage or to discourage" the more peacefully inclined Communist forces. "International Communism is thus not just entirely what we find it to be. It is in part what we make of it."

To exploit these "real and hopeful possibilities," Kennan called on Congress to support the treaty for resumption of consular relations with the Soviet Union and to approve the trade bill which would give the president authority to lower tariffs for Communist nations of Eastern Europe.

Kennan's proposals for a more flexible attitude toward the Soviet bloc should carry weight in high circles because twenty years ago he blueprinted the "containment" policy against the Soviet Union.

In a challenge to the present views of the administration, the second witness, E.O. Reischauer, former ambassador to Japan, told the committee that the United States exaggerates the military and political menace posed by Communist China. Even taking into account Peking's recent acquisition of nuclear weapons, he estimated that China would be no rival for the United States or the Soviet Union for twenty years or longer.

"The events of recent months have helped show how backward and troubled the country really is," Reischauer observed. During his testimony he referred to the analogy used by C.L. Sulzberger, diplomatic correspondent of the New York Times, in demonstrating the collapse of Peking's diplomacy in Southeast Asia. Indonesia, the anvil on which Mao's strategy was based, he wrote on January 29, has been "whisked away and now

the hammer itself, China, is starting to disintegrate."

Neither of the prestigious witnesses advocated that the United States pull out of Vietnam, even though they thought it was a mistake to be there in the first place. Both recommended a cessation of bombing north Vietnam and the scaling down of military operations in the south. Reischauer suggested that Washington consider "simmering down" the war by setting up a massive border blockade at the 17th parallel, which divides north and south Vietnam, extending into Laos.

Kennan declared that the Soviet leaders would like to see the conflict in Vietnam terminated. But he expressed doubt that the Kremlin could or would exercise its influence along that line so long as it would lay itself open to charges of "collaborating" with the United States. So long as the war continues and the United States sends combat troops, he said, the Soviet Union can be expected to give "maximum support" in terms of arms to the Communist side, while trying not to get directly involved.

The more bellicose members of the Foreign Relations Committee made much of the contradiction in the position of the administration which is bent on waging all-out war against the Vietnamese while seeking to bring about closer relations with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Johnson will probably have to pay a price for his inability to resolve these conflicting aspects of his foreign policy.

Both of the East-West bills are meeting strong resistance in Congress, especially from conservative Republicans. FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover has been conspicuously opposing the consular treaty. On February 1 Senator Mike Mansfield, the Democratic majority leader, appealed to his colleagues not to let "the tragedy of Vietnam" prevent "rational consideration" of the two conciliatory measures. But Congress does not look very favorably upon the trade bill and it may not be passed in this session.

SOCIALIST PARTY SUFFERS SETBACK IN JAPANESE ELECTIONS

The main feature in the elections in Japan January 29 was the setback suffered by the Socialist party. The ruling Liberal-Democratic party won 277 seats in the chamber of 486 members, one less than it had before. The Socialist party won 140 seats, a loss of four. The Democratic Socialist party won 30 seats, a gain of 7. The Communist party won 5, a gain of one; and the Komeito (Clean Government party) elected 25 candidates out of the 32 it ran in its first electoral bid.

Percentage-wise in the popular vote, the Liberal-Democrats slipped from 54.67% in the November 1963 elections to 49.09%. The Socialists went down slightly from 29.03% to 28.05%; while the Communists gained a bit, going from 4.01% to 4.76%.

The Communist party got 2,100,000 votes as compared with 2,400,000 for the Komeito candidates.

The Liberal-Democratic party went into the elections under a heavy cloud due to sensational exposures of widespread corruption among its leaders. The Socialist party, however, failed to gain from this. Two reasons have been advanced for the incapacity of the party to take advantage of the situation: (1) Some of its own leaders were involved in corrupt deals; (2) the party is a strong protagonist of normalizing relations with the People's Republic of China; but the present factional strife in Peking has created a very bad impression among Japanese voters.

Thus the main gainer in the election was the Komeito. This is a reactionary formation, the political arm of the Sokka Gakkai Buddhist sect. Its electoral theme was "against both big business and the left-wing labor unions," a stance reminiscent of the fascist formations in Europe.

If a certain shift to the right occurred in the Japanese electorate, as a preliminary analysis would seem to indicate, one of the reasons is the series of defeats to the revolutionary movement that have occurred in the past several years, the main one being in Indonesia in 1965. While these defeats may not have been directly reflected in the consciousness of the Japanese voters, there was no great new victory on the international scene to inspire and encourage them and help propel them in the direction of revolutionary socialism.

The fact remains that Japanese capitalism is incapable of opening up any broad perspective for the Japanese people. It has become closely tied to the American war machine and its adventurous escalation in Vietnam. The prognosis for Japan thus remains one of continued dissatisfaction and unrest among the masses and uneasiness over what the conflict in Vietnam may lead to.

CULTURAL REVOLUTION REMOLDS MUSIC IN CHINA

On December 31 all the newspapers in Peking took their entire front pages to reproduce the facsimile of the script of a poem composed in 1963 by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. A poem by Mao Tse-tung is, of course, always newsworthy in China although in this in-

stance it took the papers two years to get around to giving it front-page prominence. Evidently it was to make up for this procrastination that all of them featured it on the same day and devoted their entire front pages to it.

领导我们事业的核心力量

LING DAO WO MEN SHI YE DE HE XIN LI LIANG

领导我们事业的核心力量是
ling dao wo men shi ye de he xin li liang shi

中国共产党。指导我们
zhong guo gong chan dang zhu dao wo men

思想的理论基础是马克思
si xiang de li lun ji chu shi ma ke si

列宁主义。共产党万岁！毛主席万岁！
lie ning zhu yi gong chan dang wan sui mao zhu xi wan sui

共产党万岁！毛主席万岁！万岁！万岁！万万岁！
gong chan dang wan sui mao zhu xi wan sui wan sui wan sui wan wan sui

The poem is unusual in several respects. Besides being in Mao's own handwriting, it is a polemical reply to Kuo Mo-jo, one of China's leading literary lights. In addition, Mao set the poem to music, using the melody of Man Chiang Hung. The reply thus has something of the impact of the singing telegram that gained wide appreciation in the United States some years ago.

This fine example set by Chairman Mao seems to have caught on. The January 2 Peking Review reports that "A new revolutionary song movement is in full swing throughout the country. More and more people are singing scores of new songs made up of texts from Chairman Mao's quotations set to music. The new songs, composed by revolutionary musicians during the current great cultural revolution, are being sung by the masses

English translation of the quotation:

The force at the core leading our cause forward is the Chinese Communist Party.
The theoretical basis guiding our thinking is Marxism-Leninism.

with rousing revolutionary fervour."

As explained by the Peking Review the masses are heeding Lin Piao's advice that to really master Mao Tse-tung's thought, "it is necessary to study many of Chairman Mao's basic concepts over and over again, and it is best to memorize some of his important passages and study and apply them repeatedly." Thus a new cultural need arose in China; or, as the Peking Review puts it:

"Hence the public demand for Chairman Mao's instructions to be set to music so that they can be sung everyday and at any time, the better to imprint them in one's mind more deeply and express them in action."

To meet the "revolutionary mass demand," continues the Peking Review, "revolutionary composers already before National Day last year, began to set quotations from Chairman Mao to music."

Here is one of Mao's tuneful lyrics cited by Peking Review: "All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful."

Is this new wave of music, inspired by the singability of Mao's quotations, merely a passing fad? This would hardly seem to be the case in view of the rich resources still to be tapped in the four volumes of Mao's Collected Works. As the Peking Review concludes:

"The emergence of these new songs shows clearly that in energetically propagating Mao Tse-tung's thought and serving proletarian politics and the workers, peasants and

soldiers, our art and literature will be warmly acclaimed by the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, and have the most brilliant prospects. The scores of new songs with text from Chairman Mao's quotations are just a beginning. It can be confidently expected that the wave of mass enthusiasm in studying and applying Chairman Mao's works in a creative way and the efforts of revolutionary musicians will carry these songs far and wide throughout China in ever greater numbers.

MAO'S THOUGHT PROVES TOO MUCH FOR NIGHT-SOIL COLLECTOR

Shi Chuan-hsiang, the "all-China night-soil collector" [see World Outlook October 7, 1966, January 13 and January 27, 1967], appears to have finally ended up as an object lesson in the "cultural revolution" in which he had been pictured in the press in China as a loyal student of Mao's thought and an exemplary teacher of the Red Guards.

As previously reported, he was driven through the streets in a truck, a dunce's cap on his head and a placard hanging from his neck, reading: "Worked insufficiently. Supported Liu Shao-chi. Shook Liu Shao-chi's hand when the latter made him an elite night-soil collector and a deputy in the National Assembly."

In a January 23 dispatch, Agence France Presse reported additional details concerning the fate of Shi Chuang-hsiang. After being paraded through the streets, he was brought before a meeting of 100,000 persons in Peking.

There, according to the Peking Journal, he was accused of having in his possession a photograph showing him in the company of Liu Shao-chi, the president of the republic. He was likewise accused of having supported the gang of "XXX" and "XXX." The "X's" used by the Peking Journal are known to initiated readers as referring to Liu Shao-chi and to the party's General Secretary Teng Hsiao-ping.

Finally, the famous night-soil collector was confronted with the fact that on two occasions in 1965, his wife went to have dinner at the home of the former vice-mayor of Peking, now disgraced, where the main course consisted of raviolis.

Just how these crimes advanced Shi Chuan-hsiang from being a mere model night-soil collector to the status of a budding capitalist was not explained.

CHINESE TRANSPORT WORKERS OVERFULFILL 1966 PLAN

In one area at least, China's economic plan for 1966 was overfulfilled. According to a January 6 Hsinhua dispatch from Peking, "in response to the great call of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party's Central Committee for grasping the revolution and stimulating production, the transport workers overfulfilled the 1966 state plan for freight transportation."

Apparently the success was due to extraordinary efforts in the latter part of the year, the Red Guard movement making the decisive difference.

"From August 18, 1966, when Chairman Mao first received Red Guards up to the end of the year," reports Hsinhua, "the railway system carried a total of more than 50 million Red Guards and other revolutionary students and teachers, eleven million of whom came to see their beloved and respected leader.

"Peking's bus and trolley bus system, reinforced by 6,000 drivers, conductors and mechanics and 1,500 buses from 13 provinces and municipalities, has handled some 350 million passengers....

"The task of transporting the Red Guards came first. Nearly two thirds of the railway department's passenger cars were given over to them. At least 60 trains a day came through Peking railway station alone. Thirty-six ships have been carrying revolutionary students and teachers up and down the coast and the Yangtze River. 1,000 special buses have been bringing young revolutionary fighters to the three former revolutionary centres of Yen-an, Shaoshan and the Ching-kang Mountains."

To further facilitate the spontaneous upsurge of the Red Guard movement, Mao had the schools in their age bracket shut down. And besides seeing to it that the tens of millions of Red Guards traveled at government expense, Mao assured them three free meals

a day. With this help from the regime, all records appear to have been broken by the transport workers as they went way over the plan that had been projected for 1966.

MORE ABOUT THE EVENTS IN SHANGHAI

The January 23 issue of Hsinhua's "Selected News Items" carries the full text of the "Urgent Notice" published in the Shanghai Wen Hui Pao and Chieh Fang Daily January 9 after the two newspapers had been taken over and reorganized by the pro-Mao "revolutionary rebel" forces. The "Urgent Notice" was part of the propaganda barrage opened up to allay unrest among the workers of Shanghai and bring their demonstrations to an end after several weeks of strikes and other actions. The "Urgent Notice" is of unusual importance because of the support it received from the Maoist forces in Peking and because of the line it projects.

The first paragraph indicates the issues as they flared up in Shanghai and as they may still be posed despite the subsidence of workers demonstrations. "At present," declares the "Urgent Notice," "when the great proletarian cultural revolution in Shanghai is entering the moment of decisive battle between the two lines, when the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, which stubbornly clings to the bourgeois reactionary line, is being defeated, the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road are once again hatching new schemes. In collusion with the capitalist forces in society they are using the question of economic benefits to divert the general orientation of the struggle and to incite one group of people against another, causing breakdowns in factory production and railway and road traffic. They have even incited dockers to stop work, causing difficulties in running the port and damaging the international prestige of China. They are wasting the state's money and property, arbitrarily increasing wages and material benefits, and granting all kinds of allowances without limit, stirring people up to take over public buildings by force. These are the latest forms under which the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee is persistently carrying out the bourgeois reactionary line."

To be noted in this is that the workers sought immediate improvements in their standard of living, that they went so far as to engage in strikes and other actions to obtain them, evidently in the belief that they were being urged to do this under the "great proletarian cultural revolution." Likewise to be noted is the fact that such demands, and actions to enforce them, constitute a "bourgeois reactionary line" in the eyes of Mao and those who agree with him. (The Chieh Fang Daily said in an accompanying editorial: "Economism and material incentives are outright reactionary revisionist wares.")

The "Urgent Notice" states that in "resorting to such base and sinister tricks," the "handful...taking the capitalist road" aim at setting themselves "against Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee" and also aim at using "the question of economic benefits to divert the general orientation of the struggle in an attempt to lead the serious political struggle onto the bad road of economic struggle..."

The "shifting of the line of struggle" from Mao's political objectives to economic objectives of particular concern to the workers and peasants particularly exercised the authors of the "Urgent Notice." To "retrieve the grave situation," they proposed ten measures.

Several of them are of special interest. Point No. 2, for instance, asks the "revolutionary rebel groups" in Shanghai to "appeal to all revolutionary rebels throughout the country to take prompt action to persuade and mobilise those workers, functionaries, staff members of enterprises and apprentices from Shanghai who are exchanging revolutionary experience in other parts of the country to return to Shanghai immediately, so that the great cultural revolution in their own units can proceed effectively and the 1967 production plans can be overfulfilled."

Again two items are to be noted: (1) So many persons responded to what they thought was the line of the "cultural revolution" to travel about the country "exchanging revolutionary experience" as to seriously affect production. (2) Mao puts the workers in a category completely different from that of the Red Guards. The workers are to stay in their plants, producing without benefit of any economic incentives, while the Red Guards are sent about the country like political shock troops, their transportation and food guaranteed by the government.

Point No. 3 goes even further along this line declaring "null and void" all certificates issued to workers "to leave and exchange revolutionary experience in other

parts of the country" and holding those who issued them "responsible for the repayment (by instalments if necessary) of the big sums of money to cover exchanges of experience (excluding fares)..."

Point No. 4 freezes all the "circulating funds of all offices, organisations and enterprises..." This evidently aims at blocking any opposing groups from utilizing their funds to advance their factional objectives and also to further tighten controls over the workers so as to better tie them to their jobs.

Point No. 5 reads: "To avoid shifting the general orientation of the struggle, matters related to the readjustment of wages, back payment of wages and material benefits, shall in principle be dealt with at a later stage of the movement. (Special cases shall be handled otherwise after asking the central authorities for instructions.)"

Obviously the Maoists, at the time the "Urgent Notice" was written, felt under heavy pressure to make some kind of concessions to the workers. They hoped, evidently, that a vague promise to do something in the future would prove sufficient.

The relation between the students and the workers and peasants is touched on in point No. 6: "In order to stir up dissatisfaction among the workers against the students, to sabotage the integration of the students with the workers and to practice 'peaceful evolution' among the students, some persons in authority have gone to the length of paying the students higher wages for labour. This is a revisionist practice pure and simple, and should be stopped as from the day this notice is published."

One of the most interesting is point No. 7: "All public buildings and the houses confiscated from capitalists are the property of the whole people, and shall be handled in a unified way by the state at a later stage of the movement. No one is allowed to seize public buildings by force. After investigation, any offender shall be punished by the Public Security Bureau. Those who incite citizens to seize public buildings shall be dealt with by law in accordance with the gravity of the offence. Those who have moved into houses seized by force must move back to their original lodgings within one week."

As yet, objective accounts of what happened in Shanghai are not available. It would seem legitimate to deduce from point No. 7, however, that one of the problems felt acutely by the broad masses is a shortage of lodgings, or extremely bad lodgings. It would also seem that the lodgings of the capitalists in Shanghai are a tempting target. (Of the 300,000 capitalists protected by the Mao regime in China, a large number are located in Shanghai.) Putting things together, it seems very likely that at the end of December and beginning of January, the Shanghai workers, taking Mao's propaganda about attacking the capitalists at face value, took over some of the sumptuous dwellings of their exploiters and prepared to settle accounts with them. But this was "shifting of the line of struggle." Hence the order in the "Urgent Notice" giving the squatters one week to "move back into their original lodgings."

In short, against the revolutionary action of the Shanghai workers, Mao came to the rescue of the capitalists who still remain in Shanghai.

PRICE OF RICE IN SAIGON JUMPS THIRTY PERCENT

Before the Americans decided to export "freedom and democracy" to the mainland of Asia, Vietnam was one of the rice bowls of the world. Today rice has to be imported all the way from the United States. Stocks are now so low that speculation and hoarding have become rampant. As a consequence, the price of rice in Saigon jumped 30% in a single month.

Specialists blamed "a combination of circumstances for the increase," according to a January 31 dispatch from Saigon to The New York Times. These include a delay in shipments from the United States, a 3% annual population increase, "an exodus from rice-growing regions to the cities and the abandonment of land because of the war..."

Besides this, Ky's government has failed "to offer rice farmers attractive prices" and this has led them to hold their rice in storage "in the hope of getting more money."

The plain truth, of course, is that even if the American forces have been providing the rice paddies with more fertilizer in the form of human flesh and blood, the napalming of the rice farmers and the spraying of their fields with toxic chemicals is scarcely conducive to improving the rice harvest. It does, however, mean a bonanza for the big rice growers in the U.S.

WAR CRIMES TEAM GIVE FIRST RESULTS OF INQUIRY IN NORTH VIETNAM

[The Rangoon office of the Vietnam News Agency released the following dispatch datelined Hanoi January 15.]

* * *

"The U.S. imperialists are waging an aggressive war against Vietnam with means and methods strictly banned by international law. These acts are undeniable proofs of the war crimes committed by the United States in Vietnam."

Leon Matarosso, French barrister at the Paris court, chairman of the Law Committee of the Bertrand Russell International Tribunal and head of the first investigation team of the tribunal, said this at a press conference held in Hanoi by the team on January 12.

The team has left North Vietnam after a fortnight visit and investigating U.S. war crimes against the North Vietnamese people.

Leon Matarosso went on: Since our arrival in North Vietnam on December 30, 1966, we have visited dozens of localities and contacted scores of witnesses. We have read many documents and examined many material evidences. Now we can conclude with certainty that the U.S. has conducted large scale and systematic air raids on purely civilian targets in North Vietnam. We can assert that large numbers of hospitals, schools, residential quarters, churches, pagodas and temples, dykes and dams have been bombed. These places bear a marked civilian character and can in no way be mistaken for military targets. Through investigation, we have clearly seen that the U.S. has used weapons strictly banned by international law. These weapons are solely intended to massacre the civilian population such as "lazy dog" bombs, napalm and phosphorous bombs.

Leon Matarosso pointed out that "by waging a war of aggression against Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists have sabotaged the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam which serve as the legal basis of the Vietnam problem."

He concluded: "Before arriving here we imagined that the Vietnamese would run out of strength in face of the force of steel of the U.S. But contrary to our anticipation, we have found before us the Vietnamese people as optimistic, courageous and confident as ever. The Vietnamese people, mostly peasants, have risen up arms in hand and fought valiantly and staunchly against one of the biggest industrial powers of the world. We can demonstrate that they have fought with their absolute confidence in their final victory. And they themselves have inspired such a confidence in us."

Speaking next, John Gerassi, American journalist and writer, director of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation in the U.S.A., listed undeniable proofs of U.S. air raids on the civilian population in Hanoi, Haiphong, Thai Binh, Thanh Hoa and Vinh Phuc. These raids, he said, were exclusively aimed at killing people and shaking the Vietnamese people's fighting spirit. But it has also been proven that the fiercer the U.S. air raids, the firmer the Vietnamese people's determination to fight them. Never in history has there been a nation which is so closely united and so firmly determined to fight to the end against the enemy as the Vietnamese people.

Probably what symbolizes the fight we have seen in Vietnam is the fact that modern aircraft of a country with the most advanced science and technique in the world have been shot down by Vietnamese peasants.

In Thuy Dan (Thai Binh province) we have met peasants going to their fields with guns slung across their shoulders. I asked them with astonishment: "Why don't you have fortifications or gun supports? How can you fire at them?" A peasant replied: "When the planes come we will use our own backs as gun supports." Such a people will never knuckle under.

After giving a number of proofs of the use by the U.S. of toxic chemicals and poison gas, Jean Pierre Vigier, French physicist and professor of Paris University, pointed out that these weapons were no use against "concrete and steel" blocks as claimed by the U.S. Instead these weapons which are strictly prohibited by international law are only intended to kill human lives.

Jean Pierre Vigier introduced to the pressmen two male witnesses: Hoang Tuan Hung, 46, in Quang Ngai province (South Vietnam), victim of phosphorous bombs dropped by the U.S. on May 10, 1965; and Hoang Van Hap, 26, a peasant of Van Kieu national minority in Vinh Linh area (North Vietnam), victim of U.S. napalm bombs on February 22, 1965.

The journalists could see many scars on their bodies which evoked the painful images of the victims of the U.S. atomic bombing of Hiroshima in 1945 -- victims whom Vigier had seen with his own eyes.

He pointed out: "In the history of mankind there are peoples who shoulder the burdens for the whole world. At present, the Vietnamese people are shouldering that heavy task. Of course, all peoples have the right to decide their own destinies. But the struggle of the Vietnamese people has also close relations with the struggles of other peoples. All freedom-loving people who are watching the Vietnamese people's struggle have seen that the struggle is sure to win."

Another member of the investigating team, Setsure Tsurushima, Japanese professor of economy at Osaka University and assistant secretary general of the International Tribunal, also gave many evidences and listed concrete figures on the U.S. air raids on dykes and irrigation works, rural markets and cooperatives with the aim of sabotaging North Vietnam's agricultural economy. He warmly praised the achievements of North Vietnam's agriculture, particularly in raising paddy output per hectare in a year to five tons in many localities.

Setsure Tsurushima added: "The U.S. bombing of dykes and irrigation works could not prevent the agricultural development in North Vietnam. It is clear that U.S. bombs and bullets have failed to shake the fighting will of the Vietnamese farmers. Meanwhile, South Vietnam which was known as a granary of Indochina and was a former rice exporter now has to import rice due to the U.S. occupation."

JAPANESE WAR CRIMES TEAM REPORTS PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

[The Rangoon office of the Vietnam News Agency released the following dispatch datelined Hanoi January 16.]

* * *

The mission of the Japan Committee for Investigation of U.S. war crimes in Vietnam made public a communiqué at a press conference here this afternoon.

The communiqué, read by Lawyer Yutaka Ishijima, deputy head of the mission, runs in full as follows:

(1) This delegation for investigation sent to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by the Japanese Committee for Investigation of U.S. war crimes in Vietnam, is returning today to Japan, after a 25-day inquiry (from December 21, 1966, to January 16, 1967).

(2) During this period of time, we carried out on the spot investigations in many cities, in the countryside, in the coastal fishing villages of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. We also heard many witnesses introduced by the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation and cooperated and exchanged views with the first Commission of the International Tribunal to try the war criminals initiated by Lord Bertrand Russell.

Though conclusions from our investigations must be drawn on our return after analysis and discussions by the Japanese Committee which comprises specialists, the evidence we have gathered or eyewitnessed clearly demonstrated that crimes of aggression and crimes against peace and mankind have been deliberately and inhumanly perpetrated by the United States in both North and South Vietnam.

(A) Trampling underfoot the 1954 Geneva Agreements, the United States has been using violence on a large scale to wage aggression and systematically wreck the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the right to self-determination of the Vietnamese people, with a view to imposing neocolonialist domination on the whole of Vietnam.

(B) To carry out this war of aggression, the United States has been using military bases such as Okinawa in Japan and in other Asian countries, pressing U.S. satellites like South Korea, Thailand, the Philippines, etc., to dispatch troops in an attempt to internationalize the war and expand aggression to Laos, Cambodia and threaten the People's Republic of China, thereby undermining not only peace in Vietnam but also seriously endangering peace in Asia and the world.

(C) To attain its aims of aggression, the United States has been using the most savage means of mass extermination on a scale hitherto unknown in the history of mankind and of war (such as napalm, fragmentation bombs, phosphorous bombs, toxic gases, etc.).

and making an extensive use of new weapons of mass annihilation all over Vietnam.

As regards the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the United States has been relentlessly escalating the war by conducting air bombings, air strafings, and shellings from its warships; it has been systematically and most savagely attacking civilian targets, peaceful economic establishments and populous areas of villages, towns and cities and destroying even schools, hospitals, churches, pagodas, temples, markets, etc., killing or wounding many civilians, including women and children. It has even been attacking many populous districts inside Hanoi, capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, including the embassies of the People's Republic of China and the Socialist Republic of Rumania, causing considerable losses in life and property in the suburbs of, and inside Hanoi.

In South Vietnam, together with U.S., satellite and puppet troops and under the guise of "extermination of Viet Cong," U.S. troops have stopped at no barbarous and brutal methods to achieve their aggressive purpose, have been flouting man's right to live, persecuting and torturing masses of patriots, herding people into concentration camps disguised as "strategic hamlets," putting into practice the "three all" (kill all, burn all and destroy all) policy, massacring civilians, including old people, children and women, striking at the very means of existence of the South Vietnamese people.

(3) All the above crimes constitute illegal criminal acts of aggression purposely organized and planned. They brazenly violate the Geneva Agreements, international law and customs and are grave and unpardonable war crimes against peace and humanity.

When after our investigation, back in our country, we shall try our best to give a clear and true picture of the criminal acts of the United States in Vietnam to the Japanese people and the peoples all over the world, in order to rally all democratic forces among the people in Japan and in the world and push ahead the movement to denounce and condemn U.S. war crimes.

We shall supply the "Japanese Committee for Investigation of U.S. war crimes in Vietnam" with all documents and evidence gathered and shall give full cooperation to the International War Crimes Tribunal initiated by Lord Bertrand Russell which will sit in this spring and contribute to its success.

(4) During our stay in Vietnam, we were received by President Ho Chi Minh and Prime Minister Pham Van Dong and were given close cooperation by the D.R.V. Commission for Investigation of U.S. war crimes in Vietnam headed by Dr. Pham Ngoc Thach. In addition, we enjoyed the friendly cooperation of the Permanent Representation of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation headed by Mr. Nguyen Van Tien. With the militant friendship between the peoples of Japan and Vietnam, with the cooperation of the D.R.V. Commission for Investigation and the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation Commission for the denunciation of U.S. war crimes in Vietnam, we will do our best to carry out a more comprehensive and detailed investigation of U.S. imperialist war crimes.

(5) Through our talks held with Vietnamese civilians in various localities of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam which we visited and with witnesses produced by the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation whom we met in Hanoi, we are deeply moved and fully realize the undaunted, courageous, and heroic spirit of the whole Vietnamese people in their successful struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation.

We also realize that in spite of difficulties, the whole Vietnamese people are in a position to carry out production and are fighting with full optimism and firm confidence in the final victory, which fact has strengthened our confidence in the final victory of the Vietnamese people.

Upon the strength of these preliminary conclusions we are determined to convey to the Japanese people and the peoples of the world all facts which we have witnessed, all evidence we have collected in order to bring to light U.S. crimes of aggression, crimes against peace and mankind with a view to contributing to checking U.S. aggression and crimes.

SARTRE INVITED TO SPEAK AT ANTIWAR ASSEMBLY IN TORONTO

The University of Toronto Committee to End the War in Vietnam has announced a nationwide mobilization March 4-5. Among the activities, an assembly has been scheduled in Toronto March 4. It is expected that opponents of the war will come from Eastern Canada and the United States to discuss plans and to protest the war. Jean-Paul Sartre, executive-secretary of the War Crimes Tribunal, has been invited to speak.

FROM THE PICKAX TO THE PEN -- or, PROGRESS OF THE "NEW CRITICISM"

By L. Couturier

II.

[Continued from last issue.]

In the first part of this article, we brought up certain typically Stalinist methods which Mr. Hincker used in his article "Lenin and Trotsky," published in the Nouvelle Critique of April 1966. We showed how he completely falsified Trotsky's positions on the peasantry and demonstrated a total misappreciation of the facts regarding the Brest-Litovsk period.

Let us now analyze the following statement:

"In 1920, Trotsky [proposed] the abandonment of war communism, at a moment when it was still necessary, and [criticized] the N.E.P. as soon as it was adopted."

And further on:

"The N.E.P. was therefore indispensable. Trotsky was critical of it; he accused its technical bodies of sinking into academism and the party of forgetting the revolutionary education of the masses."

Offhand it is hard to visualize the head of the Red Army as an opponent of "war communism" at a moment when it was still necessary!

"War communism" describes the functioning of the Soviet economy between 1919 and 1921. Everything had to be subordinated to the military struggle against the Whites. Given the extreme scarcity of food and raw materials, the deplorable level of industrial production and the paralysis of transportation, the Bolsheviks could react in only one way -- by transforming Russia into a besieged fortress and placing the entire economy under the control of the workers state. At a feverish tempo, industry was nationalized, private trade banned, worker commandos fell upon the countryside to requisition supplies for the urban centers, and wages were in part paid in kind.

It can be said that if "war communism" had not been instituted, the Soviet power would not have lasted beyond 1920.

But by the end of 1919, the peasant was no longer working save to feed his family and chose to slaughter his livestock rather than surrender it to the commandos; the starved worker began to look back to the countryside which, as was often the case, he had left only a short time previously, and an exodus to the village set in; finally, the black market was wreaking its havoc.

The main problem was to get the peasant to agree to feed the cities. In order to make him work more and better, two alternative methods were possible:

-- Authorize him to sell his output (after payment of a tax) and thus interest him in expanding it to a maximum.

-- Or subject him to increased coercion by compelling him to work and then requisitioning the fruits of his labor (with all the political consequences that this implied).

After having spent the winter of 1919-1920 in the Urals directing work on the economy, Trotsky came back with the conviction that "war communism" had exhausted its potential and had to be terminated, and that individual incentive had to be reintroduced into production. During February 1920, he presented a document to the Central Committee calling for the replacement of compulsory food controls by a tax on food grains and the legalization of commercial transactions: "The food resources are threatened with exhaustion, a contingency that no amount of improvement in the methods of requisition can prevent."*

Lenin fought against this proposal and it was rejected by the Central Committee 11 votes against 4.

* Trotsky, My Life, p. 464.

One year later, on March 15, 1921, while the battle was raging in Kronstadt -- where mutineers of peasant origin were in rebellion against the soviets -- the Tenth Congress of the Bolshevik party adopted the NEP (New Economic Policy) with virtually no debate. It authorized the peasantry and city bourgeoisie to engage in trade and restored some measure of a market economy.

It took the Bolshevik party a year to catch up with Trotsky's idea. Hincker therefore demonstrates a considerable amount of "brass" when he says that Trotsky was critical of the NEP from its inception. Moreover, it was Trotsky who was the reporter on the NEP to the Third and Fourth congresses of the Communist International in 1921 and 1922.

But in connection with the NEP a debate broke out in which Lenin and Trotsky were in disagreement. This could not escape the trained eye of our ragpicker, who conscientiously mixes up problems, adds some bile and serves up the whole concoction with an enormous, but convenient lie:

"The entire year of 1922 was marked by opposition between Lenin and Trotsky in the Political Bureau, attenuated only when the two found themselves together in applying the brakes against a too liberal application of the N.E.P., which had been extended to the point of a relaxation of the monopoly of foreign trade. Immediately afterwards, Lenin completely lost the use of his faculties."

We are going to show that at the end of the year 1922, Lenin acknowledged that it was Trotsky who was right on most of their points of disagreement, and that before he "completely lost the use of his faculties," Lenin had time enough to dictate certain letters, in the publication of which Nouvelle Critique did not exactly scoop us.

Shortly before the end of "war communism," on February 22, 1921, the Soviet government decided to set up a planning commission (Gosplan).

In effect, the Gosplan remained on paper and the energy of the Bolsheviks, after the NEP was promulgated, was directed more toward reviving the market economy than to planning production. From the beginning, Trotsky reacted against this failure insisting that the return to private trade required strengthening planning and state control of the market. On May 3, 1921, he wrote Lenin:

"Unfortunately, our work continues to be carried out planlessly and without any understanding of the need for a plan. The State Planning Commission represents a more or less planned negation of the necessity to work out a practical and business-like economic plan for the immediate future."*

No one supported Trotsky in the Politbureau. Lenin considered it premature to hope to plan an economy which was in ruins and contained more than 20,000,000 small dispersed enterprises. However, toward the end of 1922, his intransigence began to weaken. During November 1922, while he was convalescing in the country, and while Trotsky, too, was away from Moscow, the Central Committee unanimously adopted a resolution striking a serious blow against the monopoly of foreign trade.

On December 13, Lenin wrote Trotsky:

"I urgently request that you undertake, at the next session [of the Central Committee], to defend our common position on the imperative need to safeguard and strengthen the monopoly of foreign trade."

Trotsky accepted, but again pointed out that the anarchistic forces of the market economy had to be subjected to greater control by the central power, and he called for vesting extensive powers in the Gosplan.

Shortly afterwards, the Central Committee just as unanimously reversed its decision, and on December 21, 1922, Lenin wrote:

"Comrade Trotsky, it seems that we have managed to capture the position without a single shot, by a mere maneuver. I suggest that we do not stop but press the attack."**

This incident led Lenin to a fundamental review of the debate he had conducted with Trotsky over the Gosplan, and several days later, on December 27, he wrote a letter

* See Deutscher, The Prophet Unarmed, p. 42.

**My Life, p. 481.

to the Politbureau, which has now been published in volume 36 of his complete works (Editions sociales, p. 611): "Allocation of legislative powers to the Gosplan."

"I believe this idea was advanced a long time ago by Comrade Trotsky. I took a position against it because I felt it would create a fundamental conflict in our system of legislative institutions. But after careful examination, I see that the idea is basically correct... I think it is necessary at this time to start enlarging the authority of the State Planning Commission... In this connection, you can, and I think should, accede to Comrade Trotsky's wishes..."

This text of Lenin's was not published by the Politbureau and it was necessary to wait until the Twentieth Congress for it to be incorporated in his complete works (but not into the theoretical baggage of Mr. Hincker). It is true that so far as the editor of the "Review of Militant Marxism" is concerned, Lenin "completely lost the use of his faculties" after his intervention on the issue of the monopoly of foreign trade, that is to say, in mid-December, 1922. We must therefore assume that it was a Lenin deprived of intellectual faculties who drafted the letter of December 27. We might add, however, that the same volume 36 places two other letters in close association with the one we have quoted, letters written on December 30 and 31, which vehemently criticized the chauvinistic and Great Russian policy of Stalin, Dzerzinski and Ordjonikidze on Georgia. Lenin's observations, it seems to us, testify to great mastery of the processes of thought.

Each paragraph in the libel by the Nouvelle Critique is studded with lies or with consciously falsified interpretations of Trotsky's position. We have given several examples of this and could point out a score of others.

We have seen the methods Mr. Hincker uses to falsify a whole set of Trotsky's positions -- on the role of the peasantry, Brest-Litovsk, the NEP, planning. We will now finish with this new neo-Stalinist version of a criticism of Trotskyism by examining Hincker's truthfulness and knowledge of his subject as he tackles the question of permanent revolution.

"This was the time [after 1923] when the debate on permanent revolution really broke out, together with its corollary, the debate on socialism in a single country.... Trotsky believed that the final victory of the proletarian revolution would only be assured after it had purged itself of its compromises with the bourgeois and peasant revolutions, and subsequently, became victorious all over the world. As a result, every pause, the NEP, the assertion that socialism could be victorious in a single country, appeared to him as counterrevolutionary crimes."

The lies drip from the very first line. There was no reason for "debate" on the permanent revolution to "really break out" in 1923. It so happens that nobody was thinking about it. Furthermore, there had been no real criticism of the theses on permanent revolution by a Bolshevik leader since 1906. The Balance and Prospects, in which Trotsky first developed his idea, was seized and confiscated by the police in 1906, as soon as it appeared. The work was not available to readers until 1919, when it appeared in a Soviet edition.

The idea that in countries with a belated bourgeois development, only a dictatorship of the proletariat is capable of carrying out the bourgeois democratic revolution, brilliantly met the test of practice in the Russian and Chinese revolutions. While Lenin was alive, no Communist would have dreamed of expressing any doubt about it.

The second thesis of the permanent revolution, which postulates that with the seizure of power by the proletariat, the bourgeois revolution is inevitably transformed into a socialist one, was also verified in Russia (and we may add, in China and Cuba).

As for the third thesis, which asserts that the socialist revolution cannot be completed within a national framework, it was part of every Bolshevik's baggage, and also Stalin's up to December 1924, at which time the leading bureaucratic faction was searching for a theoretical cover in its work of destroying the party. In the autumn of 1924, the newspapers and periodicals were flooded with articles and exercises, without any apparent rhyme or reason, all dedicated to presenting a garbled version of the permanent revolution. They raked up old forgotten texts and out-dated polemics, then crowned the lot by introducing the hitherto unknown thesis on the possibility of building socialism in a single country.

To convince oneself of this, all that is necessary is to compare two texts by Stalin, one written before and the other after the anti-Trotskyist campaign began.

In April, 1924, in Foundations of Leninism, Stalin was still unaware that nine

months later he would give birth to a profoundly "antipermanent" but also anti-Leninist theory. Please read, Mr. Hincker:

"But overthrowing the power of the bourgeoisie and establishing the power of the proletariat in a single country does not guarantee the complete victory of Socialism.... That would require victory for the revolution in at least several countries. It is therefore the essential task of the victorious revolution in one country to develop and support the revolution in others.... Lenin has tersely expressed this thought by saying that the task of the victorious revolution consists in doing the 'utmost attainable in one country for the development, support and stirring up of the revolution in all countries."*

In December 1924, Stalin made the turn that would permit him a year later to brag about socialism in a single country. In The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists, he drew a fine distinction between the final victory of socialism (secure from foreign intervention), in which assistance from the workers in other countries is involved, and the possibility of actually building a complete socialist society in Russia alone.

Finally, during January 1926, in Problems of Leninism, he repudiated his formulation of April 1924, declaring that it had become "obviously inadequate, and therefore inexact." Quoting from his own speech of May 1925, he writes:

"We can build socialism, and we will build it, together with the peasantry, under the leadership of the working class...."

History has also had its say. Despite the failure of the revolution to break out in Europe, imperialism was unable to overthrow the Soviet regime, but because of this failure, Soviet society experienced a monstrous bureaucratic deformation, which makes it impossible to consider it a socialist society.

We will cut our comments short at this point. It is somewhat repugnant to catch the editor of a magazine, which calls itself "militant Marxist," red-handed in wholesale falsifications, some thirteen years after the death of the greatest of all historical forgers.

Hincker evidently wrote on order. He can probably write anything on any subject so long as someone supplies him with a few general ideas and some second-hand quotations. But the combination of ignorance and lack of talent is occasionally of real interest to alerted readers, in the sense that it blissfully blurts out things that the more informed leaders only dare to say by innuendo.

In the May 1966 issue, Hincker tells us flatly that in France, during 1936, it was necessary to establish a different state in order to breach the "wall of money," but this state would have been unacceptable to the petty-bourgeois masses and Leon Blum wisely resisted the temptation. In 1966, however, this is no longer a problem because "the state of the monopolies is no longer solely a means of exercising economic power, which can be abandoned when the time comes for another means; it is, in an important and perhaps fundamental aspect, a system of economic gears which a new manipulator -- a democratic government -- can put to immediate use."

Waldeck Rochet never put it so crudely -- there stands the machinery of state in complete readiness, and the bourgeoisie haven't worn it out in utilizing it for their own ends... A theoretician has long been awaited who would demolish the Marxist theory of the state, and now he has arrived. It is easy to understand why he cannot stand "Trotsky's very great theoretical weakness."

Let us, however, be grateful to him for stating that "Trotsky is a revolutionary figure, belonging to the period of physical battles, a spellbinder in front of a crowd..."

For decades it seemed he was a counterrevolutionary figure, whose skull was smashed by the pickax of a Stalinist agent. Hincker's pen is less effective; its mediocrity succeeds only in enhancing the power of the ideas which it so laboriously tries to combat.

[End.]

* Stalin, Foundations of Leninism, p. 43.

BERTRAND RUSSELL ON HOW TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

[The Kyodo News Service recently asked Bertrand Russell for his views on a number of points relating to the war in Vietnam and how to end it. The questions, together with Bertrand Russell's answers, were as follows:]

* * *

Q: The way to solution of the Vietnam war.

A: The solution to the war in Vietnam lies in the determination with which peoples throughout the world oppose American policy. American imperialism has demonstrated that it is determined to impose great suffering on the Vietnamese. The U.S. is in occupation of Vietnam. The only possible solution is the withdrawal of American forces. Any other solution would be a mockery of 25 years of sacrifice and arduous struggle for national independence on the part of the Vietnamese people. Opposition to the unjust American aggression throughout the world will strengthen the American people's determination that the war should terminate.

The Vietnamese people will not yield to American bombardment or elaborate use of experimental weapons. As the number of American casualties increases, so will the opposition to the war in the United States. The war in Vietnam will end when the American resistance to it makes it impossible for it to continue.

The International War Crimes Tribunal, through its exhaustive investigation of the full nature of the American war, will serve to arouse opinion and, in this way, contribute towards the world resistance to the American war, which resistance points to the only possible solution -- an end to the American attempt to dominate Vietnam. The investigation of the Tribunal will ignore no fact and the data it accepts as evidence will be independently verifiable. Our strong convictions are combined with our determination that the investigation should be thorough.

Q: What are the prerequisite elements for peace in Vietnam?

A: The prerequisite elements for peace in Vietnam are that the Vietnamese people should be allowed to settle their own affairs without foreign interference. Only an American withdrawal from Vietnam will permit peace. In 1954, negotiations led to international agreements. The American occupation violates these agreements. It is impossible to ask for negotiations about the violation of the agreements reached through the earlier negotiations. To do this would be to ratify the earlier violation. This is why those who value peace must demand the withdrawal of the United States as the basic prerequisite.

Q: What do you think all the people of the world should do to bring about the restoration of peace in Vietnam?

A: The people of the world can best bring about the restoration of peace in Vietnam by supporting the just struggle of the Vietnamese people for their national liberation and autonomy. In specific terms, support for the International War Crimes Tribunal will enable us to document, beyond dispute, the truth about Vietnam. This international investigation, in which the Japanese National Committee will play a vital role, is the most important concrete activity for people throughout the world with a view to ending the war in Vietnam.

Q: What do you expect from the East and West blocs for world peace?

A: I cannot equate the East and West blocs. It is perfectly clear, on the basis of evidence, that American imperialism is playing an aggressive role throughout the world. Wherever people are exploited or hungry and seek to change their social system and to make social advance, the United States uses military force to suppress the people's aspirations. For these reasons also, I consider the communist and socialist countries to be representing the legitimate aspirations of the world's peoples when they oppose American imperialism. When they fail to oppose American imperialism, socialist countries diminish the prospects of world peace by encouraging the continuation of such exploitation and aggression as I have mentioned.

Q: The people of Japan would be immensely encouraged if your Lordship could kindly give a brief message to them through the Kyodo News Service.

A: I send to the people of Japan an appeal. Your government is cooperating with the United States. President Johnson stated when he was in the House of Representatives:

"Unless the United States possesses unchallengeable air power, we shall be hostage to every yellow dwarf with a pocket knife."

This was in 1948. In October, 1966, President Johnson said at Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam:

"Tack that coon skin to the wall."

By "coon skin," he was referring to the people of Vietnam. The war in Vietnam is a racist war, waged against an Asian people with experimental chemicals and poison gas. The people of Japan must recognize a grave threat to themselves, a threat which is contemptuous of their human dignity. I appeal to the people of Japan: oppose this vicious racist war. Do not allow the Japanese government to support racism. Do not permit your authorities to betray your own interests by subordinating themselves to the United States as it bombards the people of Vietnam with four million pounds of bombs every day. Help our International War Crimes Tribunal with your personal and material backing. Struggle together with us to expose the truth about the war in Vietnam, so that such atrocious acts will not be repeated in Asia.

STUDENTS FIND SESSION WITH RUSK HIGHLY ENLIGHTENING

A group of 38 student leaders and campus editors from various parts of the United States received an opportunity to examine the workings of the mind of Secretary of State Dean Rusk for almost two hours behind closed doors January 31. They came away much enlightened if also considerably disturbed by the experience.

The students were a cross-section of some 200 young men and women who had issued a public statement voicing doubt and uneasiness about U.S. policy in Vietnam. It was hoped that the exposure to Rusk's brain would help wash away their questions.

"Actually the reverse result occurred," reports James A. Wechsler in his column in the February 2 New York Post. "Those who previously had been most critical of the U.S. position found their hostility fortified; more important, many who had been mildly skeptical emerged as vigorous dissenters. All of them agreed they had found Rusk's responses so unsatisfactory and disturbing that they were engaged last night in drafting a letter to President Johnson asking for a personal audience at the White House."

Gregory Craig, student government chairman at Harvard, said, "We really came out quite disturbed and even frightened. We had the feeling that our government is not willing to accept any settlement except one completely favorable to us."

Rick Weidman of Colgate, who comes from a conservative Republican home, said, "I was pretty appalled. I have tended to be moderate on this issue, and I've really hoped we were pursuing a peace that could be negotiated. But I left with the feeling that we are looking to a solution through guns and bullets, not reason and words."

Jim Graham, who was an active Goldwaterite in 1964 and the sponsor of a student petition at Michigan State University favoring U.S. policy in Vietnam, "was certainly eager to be convinced -- but he came out fuming."

Howard Kaibel, campus president at the University of Minnesota, "was so dismayed by the Rusk rendition that he solicited and obtained a meeting with Vice President Humphrey." Another student reported the results of that interview: "Kaibel told me he felt a little worse after that."

It is to be hoped that these students, who evidently find it extremely difficult to give up the illusions that have been instilled in them, will succeed in getting an audience with President Johnson.

That great brain will surely be able to pick up where Rusk and Humphrey left off and bring their work to a dramatic conclusion. It should provide a model illustration of one of the causes impelling American youth into increasing opposition to the war in Vietnam.