

WORLD OUTLOOK

a labor press service

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January 26, 1968

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and Larisa Daniel Appeal*



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WHAT BRITAIN'S RETREAT FROM ASIA MEANS FOR WASHINGTON

The cutbacks in military expenditures announced by Prime Minister Harold Wilson in his January 16 speech to the House of Commons will, it is generally recognized, finish off Britain's traditional role as the principal imperialist policeman in Asia. After the budget retrenchments, which include closing the bases in Singapore and the Persian Gulf by 1971, the only British forces beyond the Mediterranean will be the garrisons in Hong Kong plus a few small and scattered colonial possessions.

This definitive withdrawal from east of Suez is the final act in a historic shift of world power, beginning with World War I, whereby the declining imperialist countries of Europe have had to cede supremacy in that area to the Yankee colossus. Since World War II, under the combined pressures of the colonial revolution and their own weaknesses, the French, Dutch and Portuguese have in turn pulled out, or been driven out, of the Asian continent. Meanwhile, the United States has sought to move in. Now Britain's impending departure concludes Europe's share in the military patrol of the Far East.

Wilson's decision has a logical consequence for Washington. The prize of Japan's defeat in World War II was the definitive conversion of the Pacific into an "American lake." Since then the State Department and the global strategists in the Pentagon have made far-flung arrangements to insure the dominance of U.S. military might all the way from the Indian subcontinent to Japan. The construction of a ring of costly army, naval and air bases, the CENTO and SEATO alliances, treaties with Japan, the Korean and Vietnam interventions are all parts of this pattern.

Washington is now called upon to fill the "vacuum" left by the accelerated British withdrawal; and there is no reason to suppose that it will not take whatever measures are required to reinforce its positions in the Indian Ocean and the Pacific. In addition, those bourgeois

governments in the East which rely upon U.S. military power for their protection and even survival will be urging American officials to step up its commitments.

Although Washington will be responsive to such requests, the enlargement of its role as the imperialist superpower from Suez to Japan creates certain difficulties. There are limits to the burdens even the richest and mightiest country can take on.

The United States is already feeling the pinch of its operations in Southeast Asia in various ways. In order to put 525,000 men into Vietnam, it has had to strain its available trained forces. The increased expenditures for the intervention there has so seriously unsettled its international accounts that President Johnson has just had to propose unpopular moves to ease the balance-of-payments problem.

Most important of all, the escalation of the war and the stubborn determination to hang on in Vietnam at all costs has generated an unprecedented and continually growing domestic opposition to the administration and its foreign policy which bodes ill for both the Democratic party and the capitalist rulers.

The expansion of its commitments in Asia flowing from Britain's cutbacks will therefore impose extra burdens on Washington which it cannot so easily afford. The risk of becoming overtaxed and overextended keeps growing.

This long-term impact of Britain's retrenchment on the imperialist titan gives greater relevance and urgency to the audacious strategy advised by Che Guevara in his last message. "The creation of a second or third Vietnam," which can serve to disperse, divide and weaken the striking power of the American military machine, can both facilitate victory for the freedom struggles of the colonial peoples and provoke further anti-imperialist repercussions inside the United States.

BOLIVIAN REGIMENT REBELS AGAINST BARRIENTOS

Agence France-Presse reports that a Bolivian regiment in the Andes rebelled January 15. Five soldiers, including the purported leader of the rebellion, were wounded in a pitched battle with troops described as loyal to the Bolivian dictator, General Barrientos.

Captain Humberto Monterrey is said to have ordered soldiers under his com-

mand to move against a regiment of loyal troops at Uyuni. However, according to the report, the progovernment commander was warned in time and succeeded in crushing the rebel unit.

The Bolivian government put the blame for the outbreak on Monterrey, whom it described as suffering from a "mental disorder."

EARTHA KITT TELLS OFF THE JOHNSONS

What Eartha Kitt, the singer and dancer, said to the Johnsons at a White House luncheon January 18, expressed the feelings of tens of millions of ordinary Americans. Quite deservedly, the popular artist is getting the biggest round of applause she has ever received.

To appreciate what she did, it is necessary to know something about Eartha Kitt and something about the setting in which she decided to speak her mind.

First about Eartha Kitt. In the notes written in 1956 for the jacket of her best-selling record, "That Bad Eartha," Duncan MacDougald Jr. said: "She started out life on a desperately poor sharecropper's farm in South Carolina and grew up in a miserable Harlem tenement house, helping to support herself and her aunt by working long hours as a seamstress in a uniform factory. In her early teens she discovered that she was endowed with an unusual talent for singing and dancing; and although, superficially, she seemed no different from the countless other poverty-stricken children in Harlem, she dreamed in the good old American tradition that she, Eartha Kitt, the unknown waif, would show them -- that some day she would be a dazzling entertainer and the toast of continents."

It really happened. Eartha Kitt did become a dazzling entertainer and the toast of continents. One of the reasons for her success was that she was not a mere "entertainer." She was intellectually alert, genuinely interested in the peoples of other lands. The languages at her command testify to this. "That Bad Eartha" includes selections in English, French, Spanish, Turkish and Swahili.

It is quite understandable why the White House would like to win over such a distinguished and popular artist, and why it was decided to include her name among the fifty invited from all over the country, "Women Doers," to be honored at a luncheon hosted by Lady Bird herself.

Now as to the setting. "There were 50 of us invited," reported Theo Wilson in the New York Daily News, "and, after being greeted by Lady Bird in the Green Room, a marine band beating out happy music behind us, and after cocktails and small talk with each other, we went into the yellow-and-white family room for luncheon.

"There were five tables, 10 women at each, set with bowls of spring flowers, gold, green and ivory dinnerware, golden spoons, forks and knives, golden ashtrays, golden mint plates....

"What we ate was served off great silver trays. Lady Bird must have figured she was feeding hard-working, energetic gals, because the food was plentiful and hearty: crabmeat bisque, breast of chicken White House, fresh asparagus, garden salad, white wine, peppermint candy ice cream with hot fudge sauce, cookies, mints and a demitasse."

A further detail is important to proper appreciation of the setting. The night before, Johnson had delivered his "State of the Union" message. "Heavily made up" for the cameramen, according to columnist Mary McGrory, wearing a "thick coat of Man-Tan," he had received the strongest applause from the cheering congressmen when he bore down on "crime in the streets" (meaning restlessness in the blighted "inner cities" of the Great Society). One of the reasons for the applause was their recognition of the political reasons for the ploy. Success in diverting attention from the war in Vietnam to the "enemy" at home during the 1968 election campaign would benefit both Democrats and Republicans, who prefer bipartisanship when it comes to sending the youth of America to die in an imperialist war in a distant land.

The theme of Lady Bird's luncheon the next day could not have coincided more happily with the key plank in Johnson's "State of the Union" speech if it had been deliberately planned that way. The theme was "What Citizens Can Do to Help Insure Safe Streets."

At the luncheon, Mrs. Johnson followed through on this theme with an ease and aplomb that would have done credit to the best-trained public relations expert on the White House payroll. She called on the women assembled in the room to fight crime in the streets as responsible citizens. With cameras clicking and reporters scribbling away in their notebooks, she said:

"We can take the lazy path by merely sounding the alarm and putting the extra bolts on our door. But I think more of us are tired of just being shocked and talking about it...There are things responsible citizens are doing in crime control, in prevention, in legislation."

Mrs. Johnson introduced the first speaker, Mrs. Margaret Moore, leader of a crusade of women against crime in Indiana. But Mrs. Moore had barely opened her mouth, when the scene was stolen from her by no one less than President Johnson himself. It was a surprise!

Mrs. Moore, the very epitome of

not to try to work for better things such as against crime in the streets, better education and better health for our people."

She was also reported as saying to Eartha Kitt: "I'm sorry, I cannot understand the things that you do. I have not lived with the background that you have. I cannot speak as passionately or as well as you. But I think we have made advances in these things and we will do more."

Afterwards, Eartha Kitt told reporters her impression of Mrs. Johnson.

"I'm afraid she became a little flustered. She made a very nice little speech. The fact that Mrs. Johnson wants to put flowers along the driveways and

trees up and down the boulevards can make a very attractive city, but that is not going to do very much good when it comes to solving the problem of juvenile delinquency."

Elizabeth Carpenter, press secretary to Mrs. Johnson, referred to Eartha Kitt's remarks as "this outburst."

But Eartha Kitt herself said, "I see nothing wrong with the way I handled myself. I can only hope it will do some good."

Most Americans will agree that she handled herself very well and that what she said will do some good, although White House and Pentagon circles may think otherwise.

JOHNSON SPELLS OUT WHAT HE WANTS TO "NEGOTIATE" IN VIETNAM

Lyndon Johnson has proclaimed his readiness to meet with anyone, any time, anywhere to negotiate peace in Vietnam. The president's demagoguery was exposed January 16 on the eve of his annual "State of the Union" message.

Mai Van Bo, North Vietnam's chief representative in Europe announced in an interview in Paris that negotiations could begin after the U.S. declared an unconditional halt to the bombing of his country. Bo said initial meetings could set the agenda and determine the level of

further negotiations.

Johnson replied the next day before the television cameras in the halls of Congress. He backed hastily away from his former promises, hedging any bombing halt with a series of conditions designed to block negotiations.

He cynically declared that in the event of a U.S. bombing halt, "the other side must not take advantage of our restraint as they have in the past." What he is demanding, of course, is that the North Vietnamese desert and betray their countrymen fighting in the south against the U.S. invaders and their puppets. In short he demands abject surrender.

To make his rejection of any meeting with the Vietnamese even more unequivocal the president dropped his so-called San Antonio formula which had hinted that the U.S. would not demand any ransom in exchange for stopping the barbarous bombing of North Vietnam.

Johnson also demanded guarantees in advance that any talks would be "productive," although he carefully avoided spelling out what he meant by that word.

On January 18 the Vietnamese answered Johnson's sophistries through the North Vietnamese Consul General in Rangoon.

Le Tung Song declared that "If U.S.-North Vietnamese talks are to be productive it is necessary that the United States cease aggression against Vietnam. If the United States claims the talks must be productive, it is necessary further that the United States will guarantee withdrawal of United States troops from South Vietnam."







Coyain

BOSCH'S PARTY ASKS U.S. AMBASSADOR TO CLARIFY A POINT

Santo Domingo

The Partido Revolucionario Dominicano will give up peaceful means of struggle and employ violence if the government of the United States should confirm that it will intervene in the Dominican Republic "in behalf of a movement to change the present structures."

The PRD, which is the party of former President Juan Bosch, proposes to utilize "violent means against aggression," if an official declaration is made about any "new armed intervention."

This stand was taken January 3 by Dr. José Francisco Peña Gómez, general secretary of the PRD, a little after a PRD commission sent a letter to the U.S. ambassador, John Crimmins, asking him to issue a statement on a declaration made by President Joaquín Balaguer to the effect that the United States will not permit another Communist regime to be established in the Western Hemisphere.

In its letter to Crimmins, the PRD said that President Balaguer's declaration had caused it "deep worry."

The letter added that the head of the state had utilized terms "proper to you only as the chief representative of the government of the United States in our country."

It held that if President Balaguer took as an example of "this future move" the landing of April 28, 1965, "it is obvious that this means the government of the United States will continue to resort to armed intervention not only against Communist revolutions but also against democratic revolutions like the one of April 24."

"No other meaning," continued the document, "can be attributed to the statement that the United States will prevent Communists from acquiring preponderant influence in determining the destiny of the Dominican people, since it was on the basis of the pretext that the Communists had taken over the April revolution that the last armed intervention against our country was carried out."

The PRD held that the declarations of President Balaguer "involved a grave threat to the country and specifically

the existence of our political organization and any changes necessitated by the old economic and social structure of our nation that might be carried out in the future."

The PRD letter said that "in contrast to the president, we believe that the government of the United States must and ought not to intervene either militarily or economically in the Caribbean zone, no matter what the motives might be, unless the security of the United States itself has been placed in danger, in which case the government which your excellency represents would be acting in legitimate self-defense."

The letter said, "Deep worry was aroused in the ranks of the PRD because of certain statements in the latest speech made by Dr. Joaquín Balaguer, president of the Dominican Republic, at the inauguration of the 1967 industrial exposition in the Centro de los Héroes."

The meeting was attended by the businessmen of the country. In order to convince them to make new investments without any fear of future political contingencies, Dr. Balaguer, the letter declared, said the following: "These potential investors still believe in the possibility that the legitimate institutions of the Republic can be again subverted or that Communism might acquire preponderant influence in working out the destiny of the Dominican people."

"This fear has become obsolete since the lesson which the country received during the fratricidal war of 1965. To speak with the frankness which the circumstances demand and to call things by their right name instead of beating around the bush, it can be said that the United States, drawing the lesson of the tragedy of Cuba, will never permit the Dominican Republic or any other country in the Caribbean zone to install another regime similar to the one that has withdrawn the country of Martí from the community of Christian nations."

The PRD asked Crimmins to make a public statement on this and told him that the same request would be made of the Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Senate.

BRAZILIAN BISHOP APPROVES ARMED REVOLUTION

In a TV broadcast in São Paulo early in January, Jorge Marcos de Oliveira, the bishop of Santo Andre, said that armed revolution is permissible "when oppression

reigns and wages are held at a starvation level." The reactionary daily O Globo scored the bishop's stand as "worthy of a political agitator."

COMANDANTE MAXIMO VELANDO -- EVER PRESENT!

By Ricardo Gadea

[The following letter, dated December 5, 1967, was written by Ricardo Gadea in San Quintín prison, Lima, Peru, where he is being held on charges of having engaged in guerrilla war. Under new laws passed by the Peruvian legislature, Gadea, if found guilty, is subject to the death penalty. (See World Outlook, November 17, 1967, p. 926, for information on his case.) The letter, which was made public by the Comité de Defensa de los Derechos Humanos (Committee for Defense of Human Rights) in Lima, is of special interest as evidence of the high morale of the political prisoners being held in the dungeons of Peru.

[Ricardo Gadea entitled his letter, "Comandante Máximo Velando: Siempre Presente!" The translation is by World Outlook.]

* * *

In the first part of December 1965, in Satipo, Comandante Guerrillero Máximo Velando was assassinated. Thus came to an end a heroic, self-sacrificing and intense life, completely devoted to the cause of freeing our people.

His death, which has not been completely cleared up to this day, came after he had been savagely tortured by agents of the PIP and the SIM [the political police and the military intelligence]. According to trustworthy sources he was finally thrown out of a helicopter. Nevertheless, in a way analogous to the case of Fabricio Ojeda [in Venezuela], the Joint Command of the Armed Forces issued its own version, claiming that Velando had committed suicide.

But our people, who have suffered in the flesh the most brutal repressions, massacres of defenseless peasants alleged to be linked with guerrillas, imprisonment of the wives of guerrilla chiefs -- among others the wife of Comandante Velando -- the systematic physical elimination of wounded or captured fighters, understand only too well that the alleged "suicide" of our dear and exemplary comrade, is nothing else than a trick to cover up the crime.

The heroic struggle of Máximo Velando is an example of history lived and felt. Because after shaping himself for a long period in accordance with the scientific and professional disciplines, he returned to our country following years of study in Argentina; he took his post in economic struggles of the peasants in the central region and in the revolutionary trenches; finally entering completely into the armed struggle, he placed not only his mind and his political and organizational talents at the service of the popular aspirations, but also his great military abilities, his immense passion for Peruvian and Latin-American socialism, and his very blood.

Máximo Velando, together with Luis de la Puente, Guillermo Lobatón, Paul Escobar and many other fighters, understood completely the necessity to take up arms and to counterpose his own example against the dirty politics of the pseudo revolutionaries, their useless disquisitions, fear and cowardice, skepticism and temporizing.

And how right our heroes were! The example of the comrades who have fallen in combat is becoming more solid and potent every day, a new generation of revolutionary leaders and cadres formed in the heat of armed struggle is rising, and a new way of practicing revolutionary politics and of struggling for our definitive liberation is becoming ever clearer.

Of course the revolutionary process is inevitably prolonged and extremely difficult. We are still at the beginning of the Peruvian and Latin-American revolutionary war. But Comandante Velando and those like him, who led our people in the greatest revolutionary experience of the present century, opened a new stage in history -- the stage of the proletarian revolution. They opened a road and created a shining perspective. They launched a vanguard of irreversible historic capacity, and demonstrated, as in Yahuarina, that it is possible to overcome our enemies, if an unyielding decision has been made to fight to make our country free or to die in the attempt.

POLICE STAGE WITCH-HUNT RAID IN LIMA

In a raid on the Communist party newspaper Unidad, in Lima, January 9, 100 persons were arrested, including the party's general secretary. Police charged that the office was a guerrilla center

and announced the seizure of "huge amounts of propaganda" and materials for Molotov cocktails. The Peruvian Federation of Journalists energetically protested this act as a violation of freedom of the press.

APPEAL OF FRENCH INTELLECTUALS IN BEHALF OF HUGO BLANCO

[When the Supreme Council of Military Justice met in Lima last October and rejected the appeal of Hugo Blanco, the well-known Peruvian Trotskyist peasant leader, and confirmed the savage sentence of twenty-five years in El Frontón because of his revolutionary political views and activities, the French Committee for Solidarity with the Victims of Repression in Peru sent a letter to Belaúnde, the president of Peru, stating their views on the case.

[The following is a translation of this letter as published in the December issue of the committee's bulletin, Solidarité Pérou.]

* * *

Mr. President,

Upon learning of the decision of the Supreme Council of Military Justice, which just confirmed the sentence of the peasant union leader, Hugo Blanco, to twenty-five years in prison, the undersigned artists, writers, intellectuals, university members and trade unionists, wish to convey to you their deep feelings.

It may surprise you, Mr. President, that we hold the condemned Hugo Blanco in such esteem and that we are so deeply concerned about his fate. It is because we see in him one of the men who most highly honors Peru today. He dedicated his life to helping the landless peasants, who are seeking to free themselves from the centuries-old, quasifeudal oppression crushing them to this day. He sacrificed his freedom to enable them to gain the human dignity inevitably denied them by lack of culture, by misery, by hunger.

Through this combat, Hugo Blanco served the social and human ideals to which the undersigned are also attached.

It may surprise you, Mr. President, that, despite the legal forms which the judicial apparatus resorted to, we hold the very spirit of the trial to which your fellow citizen was submitted to be iniquitous. In short, we are convinced that the cause of democratic rights themselves is under assault in Peru. The most elementary right in any democracy -- the right of the peasants to attempt to change the intolerable conditions of their lives by organizing into their own unions -- has been gravely circumscribed.

This, in our opinion, is the real significance of the trial, the real meaning of this terrible sentence.

It may surprise you, Mr. President,

that we are worried over the fate that may still befall Hugo Blanco, although the death penalty demanded by the prosecution was rejected by the judges of the Supreme Council of Military Justice. But we have reason to fear that the twenty-five-year sentence imposed on the peasant union leader may well turn out to be only a deferred death sentence. How, in fact, can one conceive a man surviving for a quarter of a century under conditions of incarceration like those in the penitentiaries of Peru? We learned with angered amazement what the conditions are in particular on the prison island of Frontón where Hugo Blanco is held with the ordinary criminals. Dangers of all kinds face him and, up to now, his survival has been assured only thanks to the fraternal vigilance and devotion of other political prisoners. Everything is perilous for him. He has to be suspicious of the food served him and engage in laborious work to get the means to buy something safer. Last spring, a disciplinary incident, which strongly resembled a calculated provocation, could have cost him his life if it were not for his awareness of the situation and his coolness.

Finally, in view of the fact that political prisoners like the student Enrique Amaya Quintana have "disappeared" without leaving a trace after being arrested by the army and the police, it is understandable, we think you will agree, Mr. President, to feel grave alarm over Hugo Blanco's future.

That is why we call your attention to this with the greatest insistence.

At a time when your government appears to be seeking to win public esteem and sympathy in France, the signers of this letter feel it their duty to warn you of the immense damage it would deal to the credit of your government if any "accident" were to happen to Hugo Blanco, which would not fail to involve your personal responsibility in their eyes.

In addition, they cannot but help wishing that the Peruvian government, including you yourself, would open the way to alleviating and ameliorating his present conditions and reconsidering his future position.

We should like to believe, Mr. President, that you will understand our appeal against this flagrant violation of democratic concepts and that you will respond to our hopes.

Cordially,

Laurent Schwartz, professor at the

"POLITICA" SUSPENDS PUBLICATION

By Manolo Sarmiento

Mexico City

With a large banner saying "ULTIMO NUMERO!" [last number], the latest issue of the well-known magazine Política, which started in this city in May, 1960, announced that it was suspending publication.

Dated December 1-30, the December issue of the double number (181-182) was a typical example of what the magazine has been in the field of the press in Mexico -- a genuine oasis in a desert of corruption. It included articles and a speech by Che (part of the projected program of publishing his works).

The general editor, Manuel Marcué Pardifas, said in an editorial that financial difficulties had compelled the magazine to suspend its activities for a brief period. "Política has been obliged to become silent. A brief silence which will be put to use in continuing to study the economic, political, social and cultural realities of the country and also to seek an adequate financial solution that will permit its reappearance, in a different form and with different characteristics, but always in the service of the best causes of the Mexican people, of humanity, of all the peoples who are fighting to obtain access to better levels of living and of living together."

"Política," continued the editor, "is not stressing the sadness of its retreat. The fact that in Mexico, the parties and groups of the left cannot in reality maintain an independent publication, cannot succeed in combining their forces to maintain a newspaper or magazine of national circulation and significance, giving it not only a political and popular success, but the necessary economic firmness, is far from being a favorable index of the civic life of the Mexican people. On the contrary, it demonstrates that Mexico has not achieved the necessary political maturity, and what is worse: that the progressive forces assembled in parties or groups still live separated, frustrated by internal contradictions, reduced to impotence by lack of understanding and of effective, genuine revolutionary unity."

The same issue announces that a publishing house, "Editorial Política," has been founded and that it will publish the works of Che Guevara and then a book, Marxist Survey of the History of Mexico, and other books on the social and political problems of the country.

Política overcame many obstacles

during its seven years. Many times it was threatened by a government boycott (the government controls the supply of paper). Política was the only publication of national circulation to always defend the popular interests against imperialism and the national bourgeoisie. It was likewise the only source available to a big sector of the Mexican population for keeping up with the development of the Cuban revolution. It published most of the important speeches of Fidel Castro, and to a lesser degree, those of Che Guevara. As a source of information for the entire left, it will be difficult to replace it.

In the field of domestic politics, Política's line was more tortuous. It came into existence as part of the general renewal of political life in the continent thanks to the Cuban revolution; nevertheless it inherited many of the flaws of the traditional Latin-American left.

For example, its first issue expressed the hope that it would prove to be a magazine in which the entire left could collaborate. The desire to have Vicente Lombardo Toledano as one of its collaborators explains better than anything else its concept of "unity of the left" -- a kind of popular front, national democratic movement. It need only be added that Marcué Pardifas and Jorge Carrión, the first chief and associate editors, were important figures in Lombardo's Partido Popular [People's party] before breaking with Lombardo in 1958 over the latter's support to Adolfo López Mateos, at that time the presidential candidate of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional [Institutional Revolutionary party], the official government party.

They broke with Lombardo over his electoral policy, but they did not break with him in the same way over his concept of the revolution, of tactics and strategy of the workers and peasants movement. They continued to harbor illusions about an alliance with the "national bourgeoisie," although the disaster of the 1959 railway strike began to alert them to the dangers of this line. The traditional schemas of the left to which they had belonged began to disintegrate under the impact of the Cuban revolution. It was to their merit that they remained faithful to the Cuban revolution and sought to draw from it conclusions applicable to Mexico, although they did not succeed in this.

Their alliance with Lombardo Toledano did not last beyond the first issue of the magazine, since this rank opportunist was highly vexed over an article by

Demetrio Vallejo, already in prison, accusing Lombardo of being a strikebreaker and of having joined with the government in a united front against the railway workers and their leaders (including Vallejo himself, the main leader of the strike).

Política listed Lombardo in its masthead from then on as a "collaborator" but in reality he never wrote for it. Little by little, the differences deepened and Política attacked the old Stalinist vigorously.

Política collaborated most closely with the Mexican Communist party, but without being dominated by it. While the leaders of the Cuban revolution ingenuously placed confidence in the Communist parties of Latin America, Política became more and more radical until, like the Castroist leadership on a continental scale, it began to run into conflicts with the Mexican Communist party.

Unlike the Castroist leadership, however, Política, that is, its editor Marcué Pardiñas, was not able to open up an independent road. Abandoned by many of his initial collaborators, who became frightened off by the radicalization of the magazine, but incapable of genuinely escaping the influence of the Mexican Communist party, Marcué Pardiñas floundered in deep water.

In 1967 the magazine underwent such zigzags that it was clear that it was in trouble. It lacked a clear, defined policy. When the conflict between the Castroist leadership and the most conservative machines of the Communist parties broke into the open, Política, that is, its editorial department, displayed a complete absence of orientation; or rather it showed that when a line is not developed consistently, at a decisive moment the old line, instead of being overcome, reasserts itself.

Manuel Marcué Pardiñas published the documents of the leaders of the Venezuelan Communist party against Douglas Bravo in such a way that it was obvious he agreed with them. When Fidel replied vehemently, it was feared in some circles that for the first time Política was not going to publish a speech by Fidel as important as this one. Política published

it. Marcué Pardiñas knows one thing and knows it well -- the Cuban revolution comes first. Despite everything, including his alliance with the Mexican Communist party, Política published the Cuban documents. Thus came the latest stage -- the pages of the magazine were opened to the different political tendencies in the country. But it was too late.

It now appears that Política's editor will try to bring out a twice-monthly along the lines of the fine Uruguayan weekly, Marcha. It is to be hoped that he will succeed.

Whatever happens, the final number of Política closed an important chapter in the history of the movement to renew Marxism in Mexico. Tendencies of an increasingly contradictory character led to a radicalization in the field of ideas among the vanguard without its being commented on the organizational level. The disappearance of Política faithfully reflects this situation: lack of funds, lack of organization among the independent left.

For the new generation, Política represents a bridge. Its columns made available the positions of Castroism, representing a positive achievement of the old left linked to Stalinism. This in itself was contradictory. The modernized old Stalinists were instrumental in diffusing ideas in complete contradiction to those they had advanced in their youth which they had not completely given up despite everything. If they transmitted new ideas, they were not the ones to put them into practice.

In essence the young generation understood this general lesson. Hence the great popularity of the magazine combined with a sharply critical attitude toward its line. This also explains why Marcué Pardiñas remained alone, abandoned not only by the most cowardly intellectuals but also by genuinely revolutionary journalists like Rico Galán, who were able to understand the meaning of the Cuban experience in time.

A whole epoch closed with the folding of Política, a whole way of conceiving and practicing politics. The new times require new men, new ideas...and new magazines.

BARRIENTOS SAYS OFFER TO EXCHANGE REGIS DEBRAY WAS "DISTORTED"

On returning to La Paz January 12, General Barrientos denied having made any offer to exchange Régis Debray for Hubert Matos, the counterrevolutionary held in Cuba. What he had said on this subject during his visit in Switzerland had been "distorted," he told the press, either

"intentionally or unconsciously."

The dictator's reversal came after Fidel Castro countered with an offer to Barrientos and the CIA to exchange 100 live counterrevolutionaries -- take your pick -- for the body of Che Guevara.

JOAN BAEZ READY TO GO TO JAIL AGAIN IN PROTEST AGAINST VIETNAM WAR

The same day that Eartha Kitt confronted Mrs. Johnson at the White House on the war in Vietnam, Joan Baez, the famous folksinger, was released from jail in San Francisco after serving thirty-one days for taking part in antiwar demonstrations in Oakland, California, December 19.

Miss Baez, who is an outspoken opponent of U.S. aggression in Vietnam, said of her experience in jail, "It's nothing for people like us. The most frustrating thing about it is that you can't stop people from murdering by the thousands on the outside."

The 26-year-old vocal artist was one of almost 300 arrested December 18 and 19 at the Oakland military induction center. The demonstrators blocked entrances to the building, which processes draftees from all of northern California. Arrested with Miss Baez were Kay Boyle, a well-known novelist, and Lawrence Ferlinghetti, the poet.

The willingness of well-known artists and writers to face jail for their antiwar views is symptomatic of the depth of the revulsion over the war among the mass of the American people. It is also a significant indication of the gulf that separates the capitalist rulers from the sentiment of the masses that the government does not hesitate to jail artists of the stature of Joan Baez.

In appearances in the United States and abroad in the last two years Miss Baez has condemned U.S. action in Vietnam. In a number of cases, notably in Germany and Japan, she has had problems with translators refusing to translate her antiwar comments. In Japan, after such an incident, the translator testified that he had been acting under the direction of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

In the early summer of 1966 Miss Baez sang at a gathering sponsored by the Confederation of Trade Unions in West Berlin. She spoke out sharply against the war there, but the translator became very silent at that point in the program.

In Japan Miss Baez taped a number of radio shows early in 1967. Her translator, Ichiro Takasaki, translated the singer's references to Hiroshima and Nagasaki as "the show would be televised."

Her famous antiwar song, "Saigon Bride," was reported to the audience as "a song about the Vietnam war."

When the scandal broke, Takasaki told the press that he had been pressured by a "Harold Cooper" from the CIA.



After being released from jail in California, Miss Baez told the press that she expected to be arrested and put behind bars again at some time in the future. When she took part in the December demonstration she had announced her intention to spend Christmas in jail as a symbolic protest against the war. "The only way to stop killing is to stop killing," she said.





Top left: In which she is smiling and looking down.

ON STOKELY CARMICHAEL'S ALMA MATER

We have been asked if World Outlook did not make a mistake in its translation of the French Communist party attack on Stokely Carmichael (see page 42 of last week's issue) with regard to the name of the school from which he graduated. The point has some importance, since the author of the attack, Thomas Buchanan, seeks to make out that Carmichael leans toward white intellectual circles and knows nothing of the risks and difficulties of organizing in the South.

The original French, as published in l'Humanité December 18, 1967, reads as follows: "Son expérience des conditions de la lutte dans les Etats du Sud a été limitée à l'organisation de quelques 'expéditions' qu'il entreprit -- au péril de sa vie -- durant son séjour à l'université de Harvard."

World Outlook translated this as follows: "His experience of the conditions in the struggle in the southern states has been limited to organizing a few 'expeditions' which he undertook -- at the risk of his life -- during his stay at Harvard."

As to the facts about Stokely Carmichael's background and education, his book, Black Power, written in collaboration with Charles V. Hamilton, carries the following biographical note:

"STOKELY CARMICHAEL was born in Trinidad and grew up there, in New York City, and in Washington, D.C. He attended the Bronx High School of Science and received a bachelor's degree from Howard University in 1964. While at Howard he was active in student government as well

as in the local civil rights organization, the Nonviolent Action Group. Mr. Carmichael has worked with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee almost since its inception in 1960. He has been arrested more than fifteen times while participating in demonstrations in Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Maryland, Virginia, and New York. Before his election as chairman of SNCC in May 1966, he helped organize the Lowndes County Freedom Organization in Alabama, and played a major role in the 1964 Mississippi Summer Project as director of civil rights activities in the Second Congressional District. Since the expiration of his term as SNCC chairman, Mr. Carmichael has been active in Black Power liberation activities in both North and South, with primary emphasis on ghetto organizing in Washington, D.C."

In referring to "expeditions" organized from the North, Buchanan may have had in mind the "pilgrimage" which James Meredith began June 5, 1966, only to be shot in the back from ambush the following day by a racist-minded white. Carmichael, as well as other prominent Afro-Americans, immediately took up the challenge and continued the pilgrimage. They gained national and international recognition for their courage as the progress of their march was reported daily in the mass communications media. It was on this march that Carmichael's advocacy of "Black Power," and the symbol of the Black Panther, became world famous.

But if this was what Buchanan had in mind, he was doubly in error, for Meredith was attending Columbia University at the time, not Harvard.

DAK TO -- "A FAMOUS VICTORY"

While the battle of Dak To raged, the U.S. capitalist press, TV and radio whooped it up as a "famous victory." Within a few weeks, the U.S. generals ordered a withdrawal from the positions taken at such heavy cost and no more was said. Perhaps the best comments were those made by Britain's poet laureate, Robert Southey (1774-1843), and by a contemporary writer in a British magazine:

"And every body praised the Duke,
Who this great fight did win."
"But what good came of it at last?"
Quoth little Peterkin.
"Why, that I cannot tell," said he;
"But 'twas a famous victory."
-- Robert Southey

"The battle of Dak To, which ended on Thanksgiving Day after nearly four weeks, was easily the most insane campaign of the war. The US commanders set up an unreinforced base there as a 'magnet' to draw an enemy attack, but when it came 10,000 American troops had to be poured into the area. The heavily populated coastal regions were left unguarded and the Vietcong could harvest their rice fields in peace. The Americans lost 200 killed and 1,000 or more wounded in a battle to defend a base that was of no strategic value. The Vietcong guerrillas showed that they could tie down the major US combat force at any time and at any place." -- Andrew Kopkind in the December 1, 1967, New Statesman.

THE RECENT ATTEMPTED COUP IN ALGERIA

By Livio Maitan

While some of its particular elements as well as the specific plans of its promoters are difficult to interpret, the aborted attempt to overthrow Boumedienne a few weeks ago [December 14, 1967] enables us to pinpoint the situation in Algeria five and one-half years after independence and two and one-half years after the coup d'état of June 19, 1965.

It was, in fact, a consequence of the revolution falling into a declining curve. The Algerian revolution carried on long years of intrepid armed struggle against imperialism. In the initial phases after independence it acquired not only an anti-imperialist but also an anticapitalist dynamics, and some of its revolutionary achievements justly aroused the interest and enthusiasm of revolutionists throughout the entire world. The descending curve began in the final period of the Ben Bella regime, roughly toward the end of 1963. Then, under many-sided and often conflicting pressures, the Ben Bella leadership began to drag its feet and to accept debilitating compromises, to delay decisions vital to the future of the revolution (most importantly the agrarian reform), and to retreat before bureaucratic tendencies; it began gradually to lose the great prestige which it had won during the great mass mobilizations.

Despite certain covering statements of its leaders and the illusions incautiously harbored by some, the coup d'état of June 19 represented a substantial turn to the right, and its consequences were progressively to come to light. As the Trotskyist movement stressed in its resolution on Africa at the December 1965 World Congress of the Fourth International, the coup's most negative aspect, in the last analysis, lay in the profound effect it inevitably had in demobilizing the masses. As a result of this, the basic force disappeared which might have reversed the negative tendencies already taking form in the final phase of the Ben Bella regime.

Clearly the political and social forces which opposed each other prior to June 19 remained unchanged and thus the same basic conflicts continued to develop. This was reflected for example in the fact that Boumedienne had to partially reassume the mediating role played by Ben Bella, especially after a certain point; and it was reflected also in the fact that certain premises of the postindependence regime have not been challenged, despite the resurgence of the most reactionary and retrograde forces. But these confrontations and clashes unfolded in a

notably altered framework in which the correlation of forces was different and distinctly more unfavorable to the worker and peasant masses and the more advanced political groups.

It would, of course, be wrong to interpret the course followed by Algeria under Boumedienne as a continual descent into the same type of neocolonialism which prevails in the majority of the African countries or as a straight-line development in the direction of unadulterated conservatism. In several instances, Boumedienne has taken measures which -- although within innocuous limits -- have hit imperialist interests (the nationalization of the mines, the state monopoly of insurance, the state monopoly in financial transactions with foreign countries, nationalizations of the distribution networks of the oil monopolies, etc.); he has also promoted the development of a vigorous campaign in favor of democratic or revolutionary-democratic reforms (community government reform, agrarian reform), which it is promised will really be put into practice in the future.

Similarly, on the occasion of the Mideast conflict, Algeria assumed, especially in certain weeks, a vanguard position in the Arab lineup, stressing the anti-imperialist character of the battle under way. But these measures and positions -- which enabled some apologists to refurbish rhetorical variations on the theme of a "socialist" Algeria and to compose eulogies to Boumedienne -- proved often ephemeral and purely or predominantly propagandistic in character. And, in any case, when they were put into practice it was done in an economic, social and political context that shaped their real nature or substantially limited their importance.

What has been the dynamics of the development of Algerian economic and social structures in recent years? This is the essential point to be determined. The state sector has clearly gained new positions and is today certainly much more extensive than in the initial period after independence. This has occurred, however, both at the expense of the imperialist holdings (yet under conditions generally satisfactory to the interested parties, since their right to compensation has been recognized) and the self-managed industrial sector. This sector has been progressively reabsorbed through the formula of national enterprises, which in reality deprive the workers in the factories concerned of the voice which they previously had, at least on

paper, in running these plants. No measures have been taken against Algerian national commercial or industrial capital: it has been the continual object of lavish official praise and encouragement.

It should be added, moreover, that the industrial sectors remain fundamentally under the control of foreign capital and that Algeria has not in fact loosened the oppressive ties which bind it to French capitalism. And in the countryside the endlessly trumpeted agrarian reform still remains distant (even if put into practice, the project which Boumedienne outlined at one time would have only a limited import and, in view of what was reportedly under consideration would probably be more effective in promoting the development of national private capital than in solving the problems of the peasants). Although self-management has not been virtually annulled in agriculture as it has in industry, it has been watered down, distorted and restricted. The trade-union press in particular has continually exposed this.

Taking into consideration also the fact that, despite the official proclamations and some partial achievements, industrial development is still essentially far off, the social consequences of this state of affairs may be easily surmised. For the great mass of Algerians made up of peasants of the traditional sectors, independence and the revolution have been practically meaningless -- poverty, under-employment and unemployment persist. Unemployment, which also strikes the cities, remains the most tragic evil. In this respect it need only be recalled that a few months ago even an official spokesman had to admit that in the total potential work force only "one person in four is more or less employed." As for the workers, their wages are at the starvation level, while their so-called social rights exist only on paper and often not even there. As against this, the big and middle landholders maintain their privileged position; the commercial bourgeoisie prospers and a privileged bureaucratic layer ensconced in the economic and political apparatus of the regime is crystallizing.

From the political point of view, it is in fact the latter stratum that has gradually won ground, consolidating its positions more and more under Boumedienne -- together with the military, it is now playing a primary role. Behind the most phoney ideological pretences, it has assumed the primary role in the struggle to erode the democratic conquests of the masses, to emasculate self-management, to narrowly restrict the activity and potential of the trade unions and to prevent the development of a real vanguard party. (The FLN [Front de Libération National -- National Liberation Front -- the official party in the Algerian one-party state]

remains nonexistent as a real organization: it functions solely in a bureaucratic-administrative framework, without any autonomy with respect to the real power groups.) The bureaucracy has not hesitated, moreover, on various occasions to carry out antilabor and antiunion repressions in the national enterprises and has resorted to the most classical types of intimidation and even retaliatory firings.

It is obvious that in such a situation, in view of the revolutionary origins of the regime, tensions and conflicts must continually arise in these groups and the ruling apparatus. An indication of this is the simple fact that ruptures, sometimes clamorous and sometimes silent but in every case expressions of a continually deepening malaise, have ensued among those who organized or endorsed the June 19 coup.

It is well known that, impelled by the vitality of sections of the working class which have frequently engaged in struggles for various demands and in strikes, the unions have played a relatively important role. Forces openly critical of the existing state of affairs (though cautious in respect to Boumedienne) have found expression -- legal or semi-legal -- through the unions. In the government itself there have been frequent clashes as well as in the party. It has been no secret to anyone, moreover, that already shortly after June 19 profound divergences existed within the officer corps, which organized the coup and which now constitutes a privileged element in Algerian society.

All of this was behind the latest crisis, which was quite probably initiated by forces that noted the crystallization of a situation increasingly different from what they had looked forward to in the first days after independence, a situation in which those who based their claims on the old struggles wielded less and less weight. Rivalries of various sorts, difficult to specify on the basis of available information, doubtless played a part in the action of Zbiri and his collaborators, who imagined that they could repeat against Boumedienne an action which they had carried out against Ben Bella with a much larger bloc.

It is symptomatic that this crisis unfolded amid general indifference and was resolved in the last analysis on the basis of the correlation of forces which developed in the army, thus confirmed as the real prop of the existing regime. The unions sought to take refuge in an evasive position but were compelled to condemn the ill-fated attempt. Despite all that I have stressed, their potential for maneuver was and is limited both by their persistent bureaucratization and

THE CASE OF VYACHESLAV CHORNOVIL

By Dick Fidler

New evidence of the persecution of prosocialist critics of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union has come to light in a couple of articles just published in the January 6 and 8 issues of the Toronto Telegram.

The copyrighted articles are based on an eighty-page petition and a book smuggled out of the USSR. The author of both is a young Ukrainian, Vyacheslav Chornovil. The manuscript of the book has been termed by a leading North American "Sovietologist," Prof. B.R. Bociurkiw of the University of Alberta's Department of Political Science, "a remarkable document ... of the stature of the Sinyavsky-Daniel trial transcript."

Two months ago, on November 15, the 29-year-old Chornovil was sentenced to three years in a labor camp, at a secret trial in Lvov in the western Ukraine, near the Polish border. He was convicted under the all-inclusive Article 62 of the Soviet Criminal Code, which provides for imprisonment for anywhere up to seven years for "anti-Soviet activities." In Chornovil's case, these "activities" consisted, among other things, of circulating an eighty-page document of charges against the "illegalities" being perpetrated by the courts, the KGB [secret police], and other authorities.

It all began in 1965, in the days of the Sinyavsky-Daniel affair. According to the Telegram's Peter Worthington, who was in Moscow at the time, their arrests and trial "were part of a wide 'purge' at the time." Among other victims were twenty Ukrainian writers, artists, teachers and scientists.

Worthington and the Telegram tell us little as to their specific views, except the following: "None of them are anti-Soviet so much as they are pro-Ukrainian. They base their defence on the dictums of V.I. Lenin and the pronouncements of Karl Marx. They are in no way agents of Imperialism, CIA informers, or enemies of the Soviet state. Mostly they don't attack Communism -- even Chornovil makes a point of emphasizing his belief in the teachings of Lenin."

They were tried -- six months after their arrest -- under the infamous Article 62. The trials were secret. They were found guilty of "anti-Soviet activity" and sentenced to terms of up to six years.

Vyacheslav Chornovil, a secretary of the Komsomol [Communist Youth League], was assigned to cover the trials in Lvov

for Kiev television. So shocked was he at how "socialist legality" was distorted, however, that when he was called upon to give evidence he refused on the grounds that a closed trial was illegal. He was subsequently charged under Article 172 (refusal to give evidence) but when he protested that it was illegal to charge someone for refusing to partake in an illegal trial, he was charged once again under Article 62 (anti-Soviet activities). He was sentenced to three years.

In his Telegram articles, Worthington cites extensively from Chornovil's manuscript and petition, more than enough to show that the young Ukrainian critic is completely pro-Soviet and anticapitalist. In his petition, Chornovil "meticulously details his complaints and gives reasons for his behaviour.

"Not to disclose my own attitude towards that which is taking place would mean to become a taciturn participant in the wanton disregard of Socialist Legality," he writes...

"He feels that the closed trials were held to 'intimidate' the general public and notes: 'After spending six or seven months in the hands of the KGB they will tell all...and will be given in due count five or six "rightful" years of hard labor.'

"He notes wryly: 'Prosecution for telling anecdotes...will be of assistance in a radical solution to the housing crisis in larger cities. In its devout application, Article 62 of the Criminal Code makes it possible to raise the population of camps to Stalin's levels, or even to exceed them.'

"The prevailing attitude of the Soviet hierarchy, says Chornovil, is that 'All oppositional tendencies and acts within our country are considered to be exclusively the results of the influence of bourgeois propaganda and intelligence services. If by a wave of a magic wand the bourgeois world would suddenly cease to exist, prosperity would rule supreme. The fate of village folk without passports [required for domestic travel], who are condemned to life on a collective farm, would suddenly be eternal happiness.'

"He continues: 'For five years I studied faithfully Marxism-Leninism at the university -- just recently I passed my Master's examination in Marxist-Leninist philosophy. Then, all of a sudden and quite by accident I lay my hands

on a Ukrainism book published abroad and I'm accused of being a bourgeois nationalist...or I read a leaflet from Peking and I become a follower of Mao Tse-tung ...or I listen to a speech by the Pope on the radio and I become a Jesuit...

"Without doubt Marxism-Leninism is stronger than bourgeois ideology. Yet in our country the reading of a book published in the West makes one subject to prosecution....."

Chornovil points to the fact that one can purchase Soviet books and newspapers in Western countries, and asks, ironically, "Is it possible that non-Marxists have absorbed the Marxist-Leninist thesis better than our leaders ...that to disallow the spreading of ideas means to increase their strength and attractiveness?"

Worthington continues his summary of Chornovil's account:

"Chornovil quotes the Constitution which stresses the inviolability of a citizen's home, his right to privacy and to receive mail unopened by anyone. He quotes Article 130 of the Criminal Code which states that : 'Illegal searches, illegal evictions or other acts which violate the citizen's dwellings by a state official are punishable by imprisonment.'

"Then he tells of medical student M. Plakhotniuk finding his room bugged... of another discovering KGB recording devices in his attic...of 'informers' being planted in communal apartments...of an electronically equipped 'birthday present' being given to bedridden writer Yevhen Kontsevich...of secret searches, secret arrests, secret trials -- all of which Chornovil says are contrary to the Criminal Code as well as to the Soviet Constitution.

"In short," Worthington continues, "he does not object so much to the arrest and trial of the 20 cases he documents and on whose behalf he is petitioning the highest authorities, as he does to the manner in which it was all conducted, in violation of the law."

Chornovil explains how "confessions" are occasionally extracted from the innocent victims of these frameup procedures.

"He notes: 'It is not necessary to slam doors on fingers, to stick needles under fingernails, or to beat faces in order to persuade a person to regard his deeds as terrible crimes or to force him to confess everything.

"All that is needed is to lock a man in a stone shack with bars...to keep

him in solitary for six months...to constantly hammer into him feelings of guilt ...to morally terrorize, threaten and promise...and usually the required testimony will be squeezed out by the time of the trial.'

"He quotes one of his 20 'criminals,' medical student Yaroslav Havrych, then 29, as apologizing to a woman whom he had born witness against: 'In 105 days one can be taught to lie.'

"For allegedly spreading anti-Soviet propaganda Havrych got five years, subsequently reduced to three years which he is now serving.

"Chornovil tells of indignities KGB officers inflict on women 'offenders' by blackmail, obscenities, stripping and insulting them. Says Chornovil: 'If a prisoner's fate is decided by the KGB, why do we need the comedy of trials at all -- not to mention closed trials?'

"If such extreme measures as illegally long pre-trial custody followed by closed trials are necessary for accused 'intellectuals' Chornovil asks: 'What qualifications should then be given to subversion, murderers, embezzlers of state property? Is it possible that we are going back to Stalin's times when murderers were called 'socially congenial' while writers and artists were considered 'people's enemies'?

"The whole purpose seems to be to break the prisoner's will and to force him to say memorized words at the trial."

Chornovil describes what happened when he declared that he would not give evidence at a closed trial because he "did not wish to participate in a flagrant violation of Socialist Legality."

"The prosecutor jumped up and called me an enemy who has no right to speak of Socialist Legality. Soldiers were ordered to remove me from the court and did it so quickly that I was unable to ask the prosecutor why I, who was protesting against the revival of the wantonness of Cult-of-Personality fame, the closed tribunal, am branded an enemy while he, who in his capacity as the regional public prosecutor was sanctioning this gross violation of the letter and spirit of the law claims to be a friend of the Soviet system..."

When the twenty accused were convicted and sentenced, Chornovil relates, two women poets among the carefully chosen witnesses in the packed courtroom threw flowers to the prisoners. They were immediately seized and interrogated. In the streets outside the courtroom, demonstrators throwing more flowers and shout-

ing encouragement, "bravo...glory," were finally dispersed with fire hoses.

Perhaps the most impressive indication of the difficulties under which Soviet oppositionists labor, is contained in a follow-up story by Worthington in the Telegram which describes the case of Svyatoslave Karavansky. Karavansky's experiences are outlined by Chornovil, but part of Worthington's information also comes from one John Kolasky, a Toronto member of the Communist party of Canada.

Apparently, Karavansky, while still in his early twenties in Odessa during the war, joined an underground organization dedicated to Ukrainian nationalism. In 1944, he was sentenced to twenty-five years. The Telegram story continues:

"Today Karavansky explains that he was 'driven' to his 'mistake' of joining the organization by the 'ugliness... the repugnant personality cult of Stalin... that demoralizing influence upon the hearts and souls of those Soviet citizens who recognized it as inhibiting development.'

"He feels that the official discrediting of Stalin's policies vindicates his earlier 'errors.'

"After serving 16 years and five months, Karavansky was released in 1960 when the maximum prison sentence in the USSR was reduced from 25 to 15 years.

"He returned to Odessa where he married, went to university and worked as a poet-translator. During his time in the camps he had compiled a massive dictionary of Ukrainian rhymes which Soviet scholars praised as an 'astonishing achievement' which normally would have required the collective effort of a university.

"Karavansky says the KGB advised him not to talk of the past, and for five years in Odessa he wrote, worked and made up for the years that had been stolen from his life.

"In February, 1965, he made his mistake. He sent a detailed documented petition to the State Prosecutor complaining that the minister of education for the Ukraine was condoning and encouraging discrimination against Ukrainian students in violation of the principles of Lenin, and of the Soviet constitution and of Soviet law."

When a copy of this petition was

found in the possession of Kolasky, a member of the Canadian Communist party, who was studying at the Higher Party School of the Central Committee in Kiev, Karavansky was accused (the Telegram says) of being "eager for the rotten lure of unscrupulous foreigners." Kolasky, a member of the CP for thirty years, who says he was collecting material on how the Soviets were trying to destroy the Ukrainian culture and replace it with Russian, says that "in essence Karavansky's observations are true." Kolasky says that the KGB held him two weeks for questioning, and confiscated all his papers.

In November, 1965, Karavansky was seized and, without trial or explanation, thrown into a labor camp to serve the remaining eight years and seven months of his 25-year sentence. Since then, Karavansky, still unbroken, has been fighting back in the only way open to him -- by petitions to higher authorities, such as the Supreme Court and the Union of Journalists.

In his petitions, he also appeals against injustices which have been committed against others. In a petition to the People's Court of Odessa which Worthington cites, Karavansky urges "that the dictums of Leninism and socialist legality be followed, and that Stalinism not be repeated or resurrected."

That the treatment suffered by these opponents of the privileged layers runs counter to all the fine-sounding phrases about "building Communism," is eloquently stated by Vyacheslav Chornovil himself:

"The highest material saturation without free thought and free will does not constitute Communism. Rather it constitutes a great prison in which the food ration for prisoners has simply been increased...

"It has been declared that in our country today, Communism is becoming a reality; that today's generation of Soviet people will live in Communism... Perhaps our generation will live during declared Communism, the same as we are presently living in a declared sovereign republic, have declared freedoms and a declared Socialist law.

"But more than once history has refuted the principle that the ends justify the means. The most equitable society cannot be built by means of terror, by the suppression of civic impulses in people... Improper methods only distort the end..."

WIDE SYMPATHY IN SOVIET UNION FOR TRIAL VICTIMS

By George Saunders

One of the most significant aspects of the case involving Aleksandr Ginzburg, Yuri Galanskov, Aleksei Dobrovolsky and Vera Lashkova is the substantial support the defendants received from other Soviet citizens. Here is one more instance of the shattering of the Stalinist monolith, this time from within.

Two petitions on behalf of Ginzburg and the others were addressed to Soviet judicial authorities and Izvestia in the months preceding the trial. The first was sent in October by more than 100 intellectuals, asking assurances that the trial be public. The second was issued in early December by forty-four persons. It stressed the illegality of holding the accused longer than ten months.

A third appeal, on the eve of the trial, was sent to the court where the case would be tried, with copies to Brezhnev, Kosygin, and Podgorny. Signed by thirty-one personalities, including young novelist Vasily Aksyonov, poetess Bella Akhmadullina, and Lenin Prize winning mathematician Igor Shafarevich, the appeal urged full press coverage and impartial selection of witnesses.

The third appeal argued that compilation of material on the Sinyavsky-Daniel case should not be grounds for prosecution. It added that the trial could not "contribute to an improvement of the atmosphere of a society that not long ago was witness to mass rehabilitations of people who were condemned on false charges."

In a perhaps related development there was also news, on the eve of the trial, of a petition signed by some 180 Moscow intellectuals, including novelist Veniamin Kaverin. This petition urged the Supreme Soviet, the highest legal body, to enforce the constitutional guarantee of freedom of the press by abolishing press censorship.

During the trial itself there was a significant turnout of sympathizers of the defendants each day at the courtroom, although few could gain admittance. Several attempted to act as witnesses for the defense, in spite of extreme pressures against them for doing so.

Prominent among sympathizers were historian Pavel Yakir, son of the General Yakir who was shot along with Tukhachevsky and others in Stalin's 1937 purge of the Red Army high command. Also prominent was ex-Major General Pyotr Grigorenko, former professor of cybernetics at the Frunze Military Academy.

Grigorenko had reportedly been removed from his post in 1961 because of a dispute with then Premier Khrushchev. In 1964 he had been stripped of his commission and put in a mental institution, a frequently used method of reprisal against dissident elements. Released in 1966, he is said to have allied himself with oppositional writers. One report was that his difficulties began when he sent Khrushchev a letter protesting discrimination against Jews in the Soviet army.

Most prominent in support of the defendants, of course, were Mrs. Larisa Daniel, wife of the imprisoned writer Yuli Daniel, and Pavel Litvinov, grandson of Stalin's foreign minister in the thirties, Maxim Litvinov. Litvinov came to prominence only a few weeks before this trial, in connection with another, earlier attempt to support Ginzburg, Galanskov, and the others.

A surprising document hit the world press in late December. It was an open letter by Litvinov addressed to four Soviet papers and to the main daily papers of the French and Italian Communist parties. (None of those papers printed the letter or indicated any knowledge of it, to the discredit especially of the French and Italian Communist leaderships.)

Litvinov's letter related to the Sinyavsky-Daniel and Ginzburg-Galanskov cases, but it was more directly linked with a third trial of literary dissidents, one held last August and involving particularly a youth named Vladimir Bukovsky. A look at the background of the Bukovsky case is necessary.

The arrest of Galanskov and the others on January 19, 1967, was met with an immediate demonstration of support. Some fifty persons gathered three days later in downtown Moscow and unfurled banners calling for repeal of Article 70. This was the law under which Sinyavsky and Daniel had been convicted and by which Galanskov and the others were clearly threatened.

In standing up for Galanskov and the others, Bukovsky himself became a victim. He and two others, Vadim Delone and Yevgeny Kushchev, were arrested for participating in the demonstration. They too were held without trial for many months. At last, late in August 1967, they were tried.

Bukovsky, who assumed responsibility for having organized the demon-

from his teaching job in the physics department of the Institute of Precision Chemical Technology. The alleged ground for the dismissal was "breach of work discipline." The dismissal reportedly became effective January 3. Whether the Kosygin-Brezhnev regime will exact further reprisals remains to be seen. To be fired from a job in the Soviet Union is a serious matter since control over hiring and firing is in the hands of the government which in turn expresses the will of the privileged ruling caste.

[Reproduced below is the text of the denunciation of the trial issued by Pavel M. Litvinov and Larisa Daniel. The translation is the one distributed by Reuter.]

* * *

To World Public Opinion:

The judicial trial of Galanskov, Ginzburg, Dobrovolsky and Lashkova, which is taking place at present in the Moscow City Court, is being carried out in violation of the most important principles of Soviet law. The judge and the prosecutor, with the participation of a special kind of audience, have turned the trial into a wild mockery of three of the accused -- Galanskov, Ginzburg and Lashkova -- and of the witnesses -- unthinkable in the 20th century.

The case took on the character of the well-known "witch trials" on its second day, when Galanskov and Ginzburg -- despite a year of preliminary incarceration, in spite of pressure from the court -- refused to accept the groundless accusations made against them by Dobrovolsky and sought to prove their own innocence. Evidence by witnesses in favor of Galanskov and Ginzburg infuriated the court even more.

The judge and the prosecutor throughout the trial have been helping Dobrovolsky to introduce false evidence against Galanskov and Ginzburg. The defense lawyers are constantly forbidden to ask questions, and the witnesses are not being allowed to give evidence that unmasks the provocative role of Dobrovolsky in this case.

Judge Mironov has not once stopped the prosecutor. But he is allowing people who represent the defense to say only that which fits in with the program already prepared by the K.G.B. investigation. Whenever any participant in the trial departs from the rehearsed spectacle, the judge cries, "Your question is out of order," "This has no relation to the case," "I will not allow you to speak." These exclamations have been directed at the accused (apart from Dobrovolsky), to their lawyers and to the witnesses.

The witnesses leave the court after their examination, or rather they are pushed out of the court, in a depressed state almost in hysterics.

Witness Yelena Basilova was not allowed to make a statement to the court -- she wanted to record how the K.G.B. had prosecuted her mentally sick husband, whose evidence given during the investigation when he was in a certifiable state, plays an important role in the prosecution case. Basilova was driven out of the court while the judge shouted and the audience howled, drowning her words.

P. Grigorenko submitted a request asking that he be examined as a witness because he could explain the origin of the money found on Dobrovolsky, Galanskov gave him this money. Grigorenko's request was turned down on the pretext that he is allegedly mentally ill. This is not true.

Witnesses Aida Topeshkina was not allowed to make a statement to the court in which she wanted to give facts showing the falsity of Dobrovolsky's evidence. Topeshkina, an expectant mother, was physically ejected from the courtroom, while the audience howled at her.

The "commandant of the court," K.G.B. Colonel Tsirkunencko, did not allow witness L. Katz back into the court after a recess, and told her, "If you had given other evidence, you could have stayed."

None of the witnesses have been allowed to stay in the court after giving evidence, although they are obliged to stay under Soviet law. Appeals by the witnesses on the basis of Article 283 of the Code of Criminal Procedure went unheeded, and the judge said sharply to witness V. Vinogradova, "You can just leave the court under Article 283."

The courtroom is filled with specially-selected people -- officials of the K.G.B. and volunteer militia -- who give the appearance of an open public trial. These people make a noise, laugh, and insult the accused and the witnesses. Judge Mironov had made no attempt to prevent these violations of order. Not one of the blatant offenders has been ejected from the hall.

In this tense atmosphere, there can be no pretense that the trial is objective, that there is any justice or legality about it. The sentence was decided from the very start.

We appeal to world public opinion, and in the first place to the Soviet public opinion. We appeal to everyone in whom conscience is alive and who have sufficient courage:

Demand public condemnation of this shameful trial and the punishment of those

guilty of perpetrating it!

Demand the release of the accused from arrest!

Demand a new trial with the observance of all legal norms and with the presence of international observers!

Citizens of our country! This trial is a stain on the honor of our state and on the conscience of every one of us. You yourselves elected this court and these judges -- demand that they be deprived of the posts which they have abused. Today it is not only the fate of the three accused which is in danger -- their trial is no better than the celebrated trials of the nineteen-thirties, which involved us in so much shame and so

much blood that we have still not recovered from them.

We pass this appeal to the Western progressive press, and ask for it to be published and broadcast by radio as soon as possible. We are not sending this request to Soviet newspapers because that is hopeless.

Larisa Bogoraz-Daniel
Moscow, V-261,
Leninsky Prospekt 85,
Flat 3.

Pavel Litvinov
Moscow, K-1, Ulitsa Aleksei
Tolstoy 8,
Flat 78.

SUPPORT THE APPEAL OF PAVEL LITVINOV AND LARISA DANIEL!

[The following statement was issued by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the World Party of the Socialist Revolution, founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938.]

* * *

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International hails the appeal to world public opinion issued by Pavel Litvinov and Larisa Bogoraz-Daniel in connection with the Ginzburg trial in Moscow and asks revolutionary socialists and communists throughout the world to respond to the request in the appeal; namely, to reproduce it as widely as possible in order to help the Soviet Union to definitively rid itself of the Stalinist crew.

The Ginzburg trial, following on the trial of Daniel and Sinyavsky, has shown that if there is no longer such terror as raged in the thirties and forties, bureaucratic despotism has never been done away with and Soviet democracy still does not exist, despite a certain number of measures of mere liberalization.

But the appeal of Pavel Litvinov and Larisa Bogoraz-Daniel shows that the resistance to the despotism is growing. The defendants no longer "confess," witnesses resist judges of the Vishinsky stripe, most intellectuals are asking the Soviet authorities to stop persisting in scandalous practices, a minority has finally issued an appeal without fearing to place at stake the freedom of the signers.

Soviet society must be helped in getting rid of a bureaucratic power, which from the time of Stalin to his successors of today has defiled the cause of socialism. From their cowardice in defending Vietnam against U.S. imperialism to their virulent attitude toward nonconformist young intellectuals, runs a common thread -- the effort to maintain the status quo. This holds on the international scale with the United States and on a domestic scale in the Soviet Union; they seek to maintain the status quo in favor of bureaucratic privileges against the interests of the masses both in the Soviet Union and elsewhere in the world.

Soviet society today is no longer threatened by the danger of a capitalist restoration. The actual threat is the one to the progress of socialism represented by the leadership of the Soviet Union.

All those who aspire to achieve a democratic socialist society, all the workers, all the peoples whose economic status is of a colonial type, all the intellectuals worthy of the name, will respond to the appeal of Pavel Litvinov and Larisa Bogoraz-Daniel.

Down with "Moscow trials" -- those of today as well as those of the thirties!

Long live Soviet democracy, the best means of reinforcing the conquests of October and of assuring the progress of the USSR toward socialism in intimate association with the world socialist revolution.

SASKATCHEWAN LABORITES DEMAND END TO CANADA'S COMPLICITY IN VIETNAM WAR

Toronto

The largest single component of Canada's labor party, the Saskatchewan section of the New Democratic party, is demanding the complete withdrawal of U.S. troops and an immediate end to Ottawa's complicity in the war.

The Saskatchewan section has 33,500 members. The 535 delegates, who passed the motion at their annual convention in December, directed the federal leadership to advance this peace policy. Up to now they have been scandalously silent on Vietnam.

The resolution reads as follows:

"And whereas the presence of 500,000 American soldiers in South Vietnam constitutes the major obstacle to the Vietnamese attaining these rights,

"And whereas the Canadian government supports and aids this totally unjust American intervention with diplo-

matic, moral and material support,

"And whereas the danger of thermo-nuclear war grows imminent;

"Therefore be it resolved that the New Democratic Party demand an immediate end to Canadian complicity in the Vietnam war, an immediate cessation of sales of war material to the U.S. and, more important, that the Canadian government speak out clearly to disassociate itself from American policy in Vietnam.

"And be it further resolved that the New Democratic Party call for immediate and unconditional cessation of bombing and use of napalm and white phosphorous, followed by complete withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam and a settlement based upon the principle of self-determination for all the Vietnamese people.

"And be it further resolved that we direct our National Executive and our federal M.P.'s to actively advance this policy."

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Reba Hansen, Business Manager,

P. O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station.

New York, N.Y. 10010



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