

# WORLD OUTLOOK

## PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

*Un service de presse ouvrier*

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

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Vol. 5, No. 7

February 17, 1967

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### MAO LABELS THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT "FASCIST"

By Joseph Hansen

The besieging of the Soviet embassy in Peking and the counterdemonstrations at the Chinese embassy in Moscow, along with the sharp exchange of protests between the two governments, have pushed Sino-Soviet relations to the breaking point. These incidents are all the more appalling since they occur at a time when maximum unity of the Communist countries and all the anti-imperialist forces is demanded to repel the aggression of the U.S. military machine in Southeast Asia.

Who is to blame for these disruptive deeds and how to explain their outbreak? To find the answer it is necessary to go back to the first incident which occurred on January 25. It was reported at length by Hsinhua News Agency in a Moscow dispatch.

According to Hsinhua, "69 Chinese students returning from Europe were savagely beaten up by Soviet police and troops as they were laying wreaths at the Lenin mausoleum." Hsinhua characterized this as a "premeditated fascist atrocity."

"In accordance with the teachings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people," continued Hsinhua, "the Chinese students cherish profound revolutionary feelings towards Lenin, the great leader and teacher of proletarian revolution, Stalin, the great Marxist-Leninist, and the great Soviet people. They decided to lay wreaths at the tombs of Lenin and Stalin before they left Moscow. On one of the wreaths was written 'To V.I.Lenin, great leader and teacher of proletarian revolution,' and on the other 'To J.V.Stalin, great Marxist-Leninist.'"

The students informed the Soviet authorities of their intentions and drove to the Red Square.

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*a labor press service*

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WORLD OUTLOOK specializes in weekly political analysis and interpretation of events for labor, socialist, colonial independence and Negro freedom publications. Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of WORLD OUTLOOK. Unsigned material expresses, insofar as editorial opinion may appear, the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism. To subscribe for 26 issues send \$7.50 or £2/15s. or 37.50 francs to: Reba Hansen, Business Manager, P. O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station, New York, N. Y. 10010.

"They were led into the Red Square by a major of the Soviet armed forces and several police. Behind the backs of the Chinese students, several hundred troops, police guards and plainclothesmen had gathered. The students walked towards the Lenin mausoleum in perfect order and after laying the wreaths at its entrance took off their hats to observe a moment's silence. Then one of the students who was preparing to lead the rest in reading quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung was forcibly carried away by two Soviet policemen. The students refused to be cowed by the show of force and read in unison a quotation of Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people: 'The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of man's will. However much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, sooner or later revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph.'

"They continued to read another passage which says: 'Stalin is the true friend of the cause of liberation of the Chinese people. No attempt to sow dissension, no lies and calumnies, can affect the Chinese people's whole-hearted love and respect for Stalin and our genuine friendship for the Soviet Union.'

"As they were reading the quotations, a Soviet major had started to thwart them, pushing and pulling the Chinese women students. Unruffled the students carried on. Then, when they began to sing the 'Internationale,' the Soviet major beckoned to the large number of armed police and plainclothesmen who had already taken up positions behind the Chinese students. At the given signal, they rushed forward, and having broken up the assembly of Chinese students, the Chinese embassy staff and the Hsinhua correspondent accompanying them, surrounded them individually. They then started to jostle and beat up the Chinese with their fists or weapons concealed in their palms. Blood gushed from the wounds inflicted on the heads and faces of many students as well as the Chinese embassy staff and Hsinhua correspondent.

"However, the students who were locked hand in hand continued singing the 'Internationale' until they finished it. Some students were pushed to the ground and trampled by Soviet troops, police and plainclothesmen who tore their clothes, broke their spectacles and robbed them of their garments and other belongings. Many women students were struck down on the ground. Initial estimates show that more than thirty persons were injured, of whom about ten sustained injuries from which blood was gushing out and another four were in a serious state. Four persons passed out as a result of the severe beating. Huang Chien-tung, a student, who was kicked and injured in his ribs, found difficulty in breathing and his life is in danger."

The students were not the only target of the Soviet forces. "The Chinese embassy staff and the Hsinhua correspondent who accompanied the students were all badly beaten up. Some sustained facial injuries, while others sustained leg injuries which caused blood to flow."

According to Hsinhua, ordinary citizens in Moscow favored the students. "After the bloody incident began, many Soviet people rushed to the Red Square. Some shouted, 'Don't beat, you must not beat them up!' Some warmly waved to the Chinese students as an expression of sympathy and support. Tears rolled down the cheeks of some of the older people."

The graphic account continues: "At this juncture, the unarmed Chinese students, locked hand in hand, shouted: 'Long live the great Lenin!', 'Long live Leninism!', 'Long live Stalin!', 'Long live the great leader Chairman Mao!', 'Down with modern revisionism!' They recited aloud the quotation from Chairman Mao Tse-tung, 'Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory.' A Soviet police guard tried to trample underfoot a copy of the 'Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung' which was seized from the hands of the students. One of them rushed to pick it up from the ground at the risk of his life. He thought at the moment: 'I must defend the precious book of Chairman Mao at the risk of my life. I must not allow it to be soiled by the Soviet troops and police.'

"The Chinese students were beaten up by the Soviet troops and police for no less than half an hour under the command of a lieutenant-colonel and a major at the Red Square in Moscow. As a result, they failed even to have a glance at the remains of Lenin. What is more detestable is that the Soviet plainclothesmen went so far as to stamp on and destroy the wreath placed before Lenin. The wreath for Stalin was lost before it was laid at his tomb."

The Soviet account of the incident was briefer. According to this source, the Chinese students blocked the entrance to the mausoleum. The Russians waiting in a long queue to enter grew impatient. The police asked the students to proceed into the mausoleum. The students paid no attention. Finally the police intervened to get them to move along.

Why the Kremlin did not permit the Chinese students, embassy staff members and Hsinhua correspondent to carry out whatever ritual they wished was not explained. Perhaps the Russians in the long queue would have displayed patience in the matter out of concern for diplomatic relations between the two countries and interest in avoiding any incident that might put a further strain on them. Perhaps the fault was with the cops. It appears to be a part of the police mentality in all countries to want the pavements kept clear of obstructions, particularly if it involves political dissidents.

Wherever the blame lay in Moscow, in Peking the incident was soon escalated into a major incident. The entire press kept up a drumfire day after day. Mass meetings were held. Demonstrations were organized at the Soviet embassy. A concerted campaign involving every city and town in China, all organizations and every prominent individual began rolling. Abroad every Chinese embassy and all Hsinhua correspondents joined in the chorus. Declarations from all these sources have filled the pages of the Chinese press ever since and constitute a good part of the material sent abroad by the Hsinhua News Agency. A series of new incidents of similar nature followed in rapid succession. These included an attack by the French police on Chinese students in Paris, an attack by members of the Soviet embassy on Chinese students in Baghdad, a similar incident in Belgrade. In Moscow a new incident flared when Soviet police allegedly raided a display case in the court of the Chinese embassy where photographs were displayed of the first incident. (It seems that by good fortune Chinese photographers happened to accompany the Chinese students when they appeared in Red Square with wreaths to honor the memory of Lenin and Stalin.)

The tone of the campaign being waged in the Chinese press has to be read to be appreciated. Here are some examples:

An editorial in the January 27 People's Daily was entitled, "Hit back hard at the violent provocations of the filthy Soviet revisionist swine!" The editorial termed the attack on the Chinese students a "fascist outrage." The following sentence shows the line: "How closely your atrocious, bloody suppression of the Chinese students resembles the atrocities committed by the Czar, by Hitler and by the Ku Klux Klan! This clearly shows that what you are practising in the Soviet Union is in fact the most reactionary and the most savage fascist dictatorship."

An article in the January 31 People's Daily said, "You Soviet revisionist pack of hyenas, prick up your ears and listen..." The article ended with, "Any clown who thinks he can stop the mighty torrent of China's great proletarian cultural revolution will be knocked flat by the surging waves. The wheels of history will flatten every last monster."

The term "fascist rule" in the Soviet Union is sometimes varied with "fascist-like" but the emphasis is on "fascist." One of the students involved in the incident in Moscow was quoted as saying at a rally staged at the railway station upon the arrival in Peking of the victims: "The bloody incident on Red Square has given us a profound lesson in class struggle. We saw with our own eyes the fascist brutalities of the modern revisionists and saw with our own eyes to what extent a socialist country had degenerated with the restoration of capitalism!"

Li Peng-wang, a representative of the students who returned from Iraq, was reported by Hsinhua February 3 as having said the previous day, "The Soviet revisionist rogues were today's fascists."

The February 5 People's Daily ran a front-page account of the alleged raid on the display case in the courtyard of the Chinese embassy in Moscow. The feature was a statement by the embassy saying "that it was a shocking bloody incident plotted brazenly and in a planned way in the Chinese embassy compound by the Soviet government. It was an act of fascist barbarity unprecedented in the history of international relations." The term "Soviet fascist atrocity" was used by the embassy. On February 6, Hsinhua used the same adjectives in two headlines: "Japanese friends protest against Soviet fascist outrage," and "Chinese people indignant at new Soviet fascist outrage."

In Warsaw the Chinese embassy and other Chinese organizations in Poland sent a letter February 4 (reported in the February 6 Hsinhua) to the Chinese embassy and Hsinhua office in Moscow which stated: "Brezhnev, Kosygin and their ilk are so frantic, brutal and shameless that they are even worse than the Hitlerite gangsters in the past. All this shows that Mao Tse-tung's thought is matchlessly powerful and that the Soviet revisionist renegades are putting up a deathbed struggle as their days are numbered!"

To find a parallel for these epithets it is necessary to go back to the time when Hitler was moving toward power. In those days Stalin called the Social Democrats in Germany "social fascists," characterizing them and the Nazis as "twins." This was the justification which Stalin offered for refusing to seek a united front with the Social Democrats against the threat of German fascism, a policy that led to the disaster of

Hitler's triumph.

In the din of Peking's campaign around the "fascist outrage" committed by the "Soviet revisionist filthy swine" who extended their "blood-stained tentacles into the Chinese embassy," little could be found offering a rational explanation for this latest intensification of the Sino-Soviet conflict. It requires little analysis, however, to lay bare the main factors involved.

If it be granted that the Kremlin was at fault in the original incident January 25 in Moscow and the subsequent raid on the display case in the courtyard of the Chinese embassy there, the incident in Iraq remains puzzling. How did it happen that Chinese students in Baghdad came to be attacked by "thugs" employed by the Soviet embassy there? According to Hsinhua, the Iraq incident occurred January 28. The report in the February 1 Hsinhua said merely that ten Chinese students studying in Iraq returned to Kwangchow January 31 "filled with immense indignation for the Soviet revisionists. These students had been brutally beaten up in Iraq by the embassy staff members of the Soviet revisionists leading clique." No details were given.

On February 2 Hsinhua reported that a "leading member of the All-China Students' Federation issued a statement" in Peking February 1 "strongly condemning the Soviet revisionists' fascist brutalities against the Chinese students studying in Iraq on January 28th when they went to the Soviet embassy to lodge their protest against the Soviet revisionists' persecution of Chinese students in Moscow." Again no details.

On February 1, Chang Wei-ping, the first secretary of the Chinese embassy in Baghdad gave a press conference in which he stated that the Chinese students went to the Soviet embassy to lodge a protest and that they were attacked "by over thirty Soviet revisionist hooligans led by A.S.Novkov, counsellor of the Soviet embassy."

The Hsinhua correspondent testified that he accompanied the students and that his camera was grabbed away by the Soviet officials, the film exposed and the camera smashed. The broken camera together with a smashed flashbulb were submitted as evidence along with hospital examination papers for five of the students and the correspondent. Hsinhua's man indignantly denied the Soviet account that a provocation was involved.

In Paris, the relationship of the Soviet embassy to the attack on the Chinese students, committed by the French police, remained at least indirect. The incident occurred on January 27 as a group of Chinese students who had been studying at Rennes passed through Paris on their way home to China.

They decided to lodge a protest at the Soviet embassy over the incident in Moscow. The group of 49 marched in orderly fashion, according to the January 31 Hsinhua, until they came within 200 meters of the Soviet embassy. There they were halted by the French police, who "unjustifiably demanded that they come again the next day."

After a parley of about ten minutes, more police arrived. "In all, about 200 of them launched a surprise raid on the Chinese students on the sidewalk from all three sides and arrested them by force. They brutally dragged the men students to the police van by their necks or ears and the women students by their hair or plaits.

"The students defended themselves heroically against great odds. After some 20 minutes of bitter struggle, they were all arrested.

"In the course of the struggle, all 49 of them, including 19 girls, were beaten up by the police. Some of them were wounded in the head and bled and others suffered internal injuries.

"In defiance of the Chinese students' noble feelings for Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the most respected and beloved leader of the Chinese people, the French policemen tore up his portraits and trampled underfoot copies of 'Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung,' both of which the Chinese students had carried with them."

The Belgrade incident occurred on January 20, that is, before the Moscow incident. It was not reported by Hsinhua, however, until January 29. In a dispatch bearing a Peking dateline, Hsinhua declared that while the Chinese embassy was giving a film reception, "a group of Yugoslav ruffians appeared before the embassy and completely smashed its news display case with tools they carried for the purpose. They then fled away in a hurry."

It appears that in the display case were "photos of Chairman Mao, the greatest, greatest leader of the Chinese people and the reddest, reddest red sun in their hearts..."

In all the varied circumstances of these different incidents, there is one common element -- Chinese students who have abruptly terminated their studies abroad and who are returning to China. Another common element is the decision of all of them to engage in a militant demonstration involving Soviet officials.

The first question that arises is why are all of these Chinese students returning home simultaneously?

In the flood of words in the Chinese press about the incidents, not a single line has been reported by Hsinhua as to why they have terminated their studies and returned home. Two reasons can be deduced nonetheless. (1) Tens of millions of students in China are no longer attending classes, their schools having been closed down pending revision of the system of study so as to bring it into greater conformity with "Mao's thought." It is anomalous for Chinese students to remain abroad studying in school systems that are even farther from "Mao's thought." (2) The Chinese students studying abroad were nearly all selected by educators who were the first target of the "cultural revolution." Every single Chinese student abroad is thus a target of suspicion. Where do they line up in the factional struggle now convulsing the regime? Let them come home and show where they stand; this is more important than their studies!

In the light of these considerations, it becomes clear why the Chinese students would prefer to get off the planes and trains with proof at hand of their devotion to "Mao's thought." The cleanest bill of health is obviously a set of bandages and a blood-stained copy of the "Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung" which can be waved at a rally. (This has actually been reported by Hsinhua.)

The same goes for all the personnel of the embassies, many of whom have likewise been recalled to China, and the correspondents of the Hsinhua News Agency. This explains the composition of the delegations sent to lay wreaths or to present protests, as well as the arrangement to have a photographer along.

No attempt at a Marxist justification for labeling the Soviet government as "fascist" has yet appeared in the Maoist foreign publications. The factional aim is clear enough, however.

First of all it is aimed at bolstering Mao's contention that a united front with the Soviet Union in supporting the Vietnamese people and opposing the U.S. escalation of the war is excluded. You can't have a united front with fascists!

Secondly, anyone who advocates such a united front at once becomes suspect. Why does he want a united front with fascists? Is he perhaps a fascist himself?

Thirdly, any ties with Soviet officials would at once become ties with fascists, and this could be applied retroactively in the example set by Stalin in handling oppositionists in the Soviet Union.

The logic of this pattern is, naturally, to break off all diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. The break itself would become evidence of the correctness of the label, for obviously Mao would not break diplomatic relations unless the Soviet government was actually fascist. (The February 6 Hsinhua reports Vanguard, the organ of the Australian Communist party, as saying: "On all questions of world revolution, Mao Tse-tung has been proved to be correct.")

In face of Johnson's escalation of the war in Vietnam, the incidents involving Chinese students in Moscow and other cities are thus seen to be of the most serious nature. The use to which Mao is turning them seriously injures the defense of the People's Republic of China, the entire camp of workers states, and the cause of the world socialist revolution as a whole.

#### VENEZUELAN CP LEADERS ESCAPE FROM PRISON

Three well-known leaders of the Venezuelan Communist party escaped from the San Carlos prison in which they had been held for four years in Caracas, according to a February 7 dispatch. They were Pompeo Marquez, Guillermo Garcia Ponce and Teodoro Petkoff. Police found a tunnel about 260 feet long dug from a house located near the prison and calculated that it took at least a year to dig it. The three leaders were political prisoners, having been jailed by the Betancourt regime as political opponents in 1963. Marquez and Garcia were members of parliament. Reputedly the three leaders belong to the right wing of the Communist party and are opposed to armed guerrilla struggle.

DRAW YOUR OWN CONCLUSIONS

As noted at various times in World Outlook during the past year, the Cuban government has made some very cogent criticisms of the Frei regime in Chile, which is currently serving as a display case for the State Department in Latin America. The attitude of the Cuban government toward Frei was one of the main indicators in determining how false was the judgment offered by certain ultraleftists that the Tricontinental Conference in January 1966 marked a "turn to the right" for Castro.



EDUARDO FREI MONTALVA

In contrast to the principled stand of the Cubans in defense of the Chilean workers when they were attacked by the Frei regime, Brezhnev-Kosygin have displayed a different attitude. This culminated recently in a very generous gesture toward the Chilean president.

Granma, the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Cuba, reported the news in a rather wry way. In the January 29 issue of the English edition, a box of exactly 34 lines, under the heading "USSR AND CHILEAN GOVERNMENT TO COLLABORATE," said:

"MOSCOW, January (TASS). -- Agreements providing an important basis for commercial and economic relations between the Soviet Union and Chile are expected to be signed this week in Moscow.

"It appears that for the success of this economic collaboration, Soviet credit is to be given to Chile under advantageous conditions.

"One of the agreements has to do with the construction projects for industrial enterprises in Chile. The Soviet delegation, which visited this Latin American country several months ago, has stated that the collaboration may cover several branches of the Chilean economy.

"The Soviet Union will supply machinery and equipment for the plants to be constructed with Soviet technical cooperation. The Chilean

representatives had already expressed their readiness to purchase machinery and equipment from the Soviet Union amounting to sixty million dollars.

"Trade relations between Chile and the USSR will also be increased. To date the USSR had purchased raw materials (mainly wool) from Chile. It is expected that the Soviet imports from Chile will in the future increase the percentage corresponding to finished and semi-finished items."

At the opposite side of the same page, in an equally prominent position, was another box, also exactly 34 lines in length. Under the headline, "WHAT IS THE FREI GOVERNMENT?" this item read:

"Frei's government represents the oligarchic, and pro-imperialist interests that oppose revolution and social-political transformations in the brother country of Chile.

"It is a government at the service of the exploiting classes. Frei designated himself a 'reformist' during the presidential campaign but has carried out no social change whatsoever. On the contrary, he has opposed every type of change in favor of the workers and peasants, and has supported the owners and employers, unleashing a wave of savage repression against strikes and popular protest movements. On the international scene, he maintains a policy of subservience to the dictates of the United States government. Defenders of the so-called 'Alliance for Progress' support Eduardo Frei. His 'reformism' and the 'Alliance' are, in truth, one and the same aspect of imperialist policy in Latin America. That is why Frei and his government are considered one of the principal allies of imperialism.



EDUARDO FREI MONTALVA



"Frei defends the interests that oppose the working classes.

"In regard to Cuba, Frei is, in addition, an accomplice to the criminal imperialist blockade against our economy. For that reason, he is repudiated by every sincere revolutionary on this continent."

#### CHEN YI DECLARES CHINA READY TO MEET U.S. ATTACK

At a reception staged in Peking February 4 in celebration of the nineteenth anniversary of Ceylon's independence, Vice-Premier Chen Yi declared that China was ready to smash any plan which Washington may have to escalate the war in Vietnam to involve the People's Republic of China.

The Ceylonese ambassador to China, D.B.R. Gunawardena, acted as host at the festivities. "For peace in Vietnam the American troops should withdraw," he said. "Allow the Vietnamese to settle their affairs among themselves by their accredited leaders."

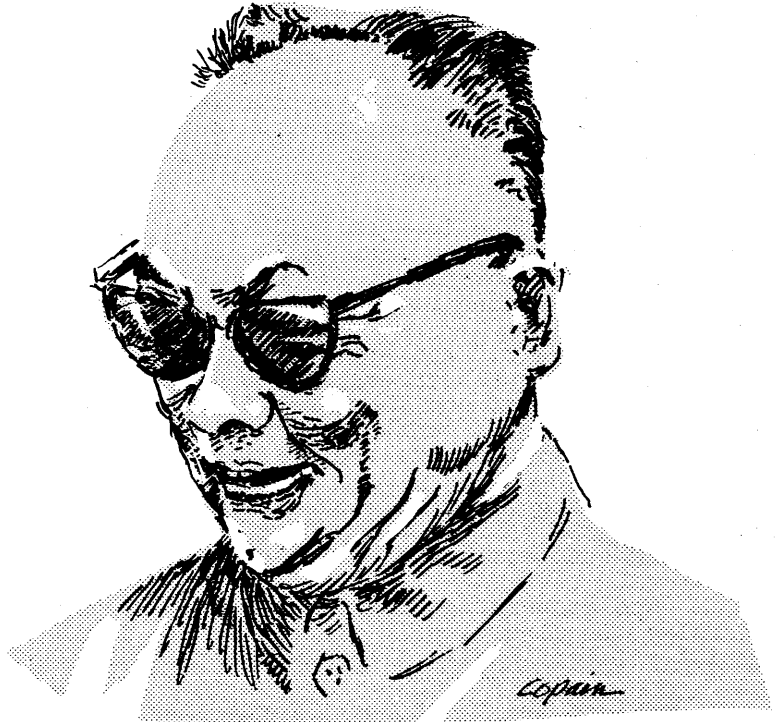
The representative of the Senanayake government in Ceylon hailed the "cultural revolution" and paid tribute to "the guidance, ideology and the radiant thought of the great leader, Chairman Mao Tse-tung."

Chen Yi thanked Ambassador Gunawardena for praising "our great leader Chairman Mao, the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and the great proletarian revolution."

He then described the aims of the "cultural revolution" and condemned "imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries for their brazen slanders and virulent attacks against China." These attacks, he said would only injure those who made them. He then turned to the war in Vietnam. The struggle there, he said, "is now entering a crucial stage." He cited Mao Tse-tung on being distrustful of the "nice words" of the imperialists and not being intimidated by their bluster.

Chen Yi then declared: "We have long been prepared. China's great proletarian cultural revolution is itself the most extensive and best preparation against war. The 700 million Chinese people are determined to support the Vietnamese people to the end in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and can certainly smash any plan of U.S. imperialism to expand its war of aggression."

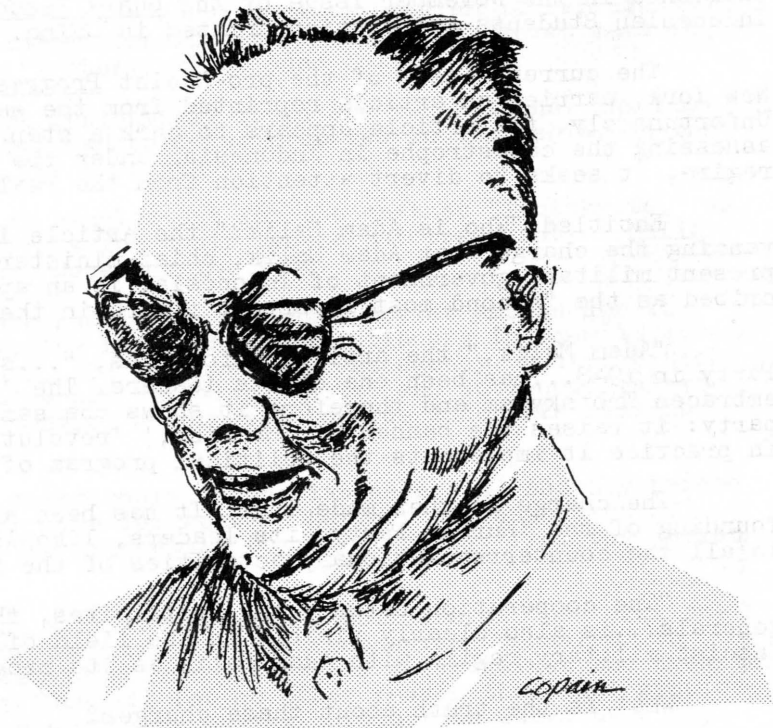
After attacking the "modern revisionists" for being in collusion with U.S. imperialism and serving "as the counterrevolutionary special detachment of U.S. imperialism," Chen Yi praised the Senanayake government, saying: "We are deeply convinced that so long as our two governments and peoples work sincerely together, the relations of friendship and cooperation will surely continue to develop and grow stronger."



CHEN YI

#### HOUSING SHORTAGE IN JAPAN

In 1966 the Construction Ministry of the Japanese government estimated that about 7,600,000 houses would be necessary in the next five years to meet the acute housing shortage in Japan. But, pleading lack of funds, the government cut this goal down to 6,700,000 units. Meanwhile land prices and construction costs are skyrocketing.



CHEN YI

"WHO IS ADAM MALIK?"

By Les Evans

The most serious defeat of the world socialist movement in recent years was the crushing of the Indonesian Communist party. The disaster affected not only Indonesia, but the rest of Asia as well. The most pressing need today for Indonesian revolutionists -- and the revolutionary movement as a whole -- is to analyze and understand that defeat so as to bar a repetition when the next opportunity for a socialist victory appears.

The first steps in this direction were undertaken by the surviving leaders of the Indonesian Communist party (PKI) now in exile in China. This was in the form of a message of greetings to the Tenth Congress of the Communist party of Japan and was published in the November issue of the Suara Pemuda Indonesia, the bulletin of the Indonesian Students Association printed in China. (See World Outlook January 6.)

The current issue of the pro-Maoist Progressive Labor magazine, published in New York, carries an article reprinted from the same source, Suara Pemuda Indonesia. Unfortunately, the article appears to mark a step backwards rather than an advance in assessing the catastrophe in Indonesia. Under the guise of attacking the present regime, it seeks to divert attention from the real issues facing the PKI.

Entitled "Who is Adam Malik?" the article is devoted almost entirely to advancing the charge that Adam Malik, chief minister for Political Affairs in the present military government of Indonesia, is an apostle of "Trotskyism." He is described as the "second most important figure in the Presidium" of Nasution's regime.

"Adam Malik," the article informs us, "...since the founding of the 'Murba' Party in 1948...has been one of its leaders. The 'Murba' is a political party which embraces Trotskyism and therefore it shows the same characteristics as any Trotskyite party: it raises the banner of 'Marxism,' 'revolutionary,' 'leftist' and the like, but in practice it implements the political program of the rightwing forces."

The charge is then made that "It has been an open secret that ever since the founding of the 'Murba' Party, its leaders, like Adam Malik, have always participated in all the counterrevolutionary activities of the right-wing forces..."

"The cooperation between the Trotskyites, the bourgeoisie and the fascist generals...is also clearly visible in the field of foreign affairs followed by the fascist military regime with Adam Malik as its progenitor."

What is the truth about these charges?

The Partai Murba was founded in October of 1948 by Tan Malakka, one of the founding leaders of the Indonesian Communist party in 1920, and a hero in Indonesia's struggle for freedom. To understand the Partai Murba and its promising beginnings it is necessary to know at least a little about Tan Malakka, something which the authors of "Who is Adam Malik?" do not provide.

In 1925 Tan Malakka became the representative of the Communist International for all of Southeast Asia. In 1926, against the advice of Tan Malakka, the Indonesian CP launched a disastrous uprising. This led to the suppression of the party and Tan Malakka's break with the now Stalinized Comintern.

For 18 years he worked to build a revolutionary underground throughout Southeast Asia, returning in 1945 to Indonesia, which was then occupied by the Japanese.

He tried to persuade Sukarno to fight for independence. Sukarno had collaborated with the Japanese during the war, and was afraid to oppose his capitalist masters, although he was still a popular figure among the Indonesian masses.

Time was running out. The Allies were about to land, which would mean restoration of Dutch rule, so Tan Malakka kidnapped Sukarno and forced him to sign a declaration of independence.

In the years that followed, various partisan armies fought the Dutch; but where Sukarno made treacherous concessions to the Dutch in a series of "negotiated" agreements, Tan Malakka and the forces he led remained intransigent for complete independence.

In October of 1948, Tan Malakka founded the Partai Murba, or Proletarian party, which numbered at the outset some 80,000 members. He was Sukarno's chief contender for leadership of the Indonesian revolution. A few months later, in June of 1949, Sukarno had Tan Malakka murdered.

Tan Malakka had never formally been a member of any Trotskyist organization, although certainly he was an outstanding revolutionary whose politics were "Trotskyist," i.e., revolutionary socialist, in the broad sense. But the party he founded never had a chance to develop.

Adam Malik was a young follower of Tan Malakka during World War II and the struggle for independence. On Tan Malakka's death, he and a few others who found themselves in the leadership of the new party became demoralized, and defected to the bourgeoisie, taking the remains of the Partai Murba with them.

From the beginning of the 1950s, Adam Malik and his party have been bitter enemies of Trotskyism and of the revolutionary working-class program it represents. This fact must be well known to the "Indonesian students" and their Maoist mentors, who are now issuing statements on the "Trotskyism" of Adam Malik.

Why do they now choose to attack Trotskyism? There are two reasons. The most important is the catastrophe which their own policies prepared in Indonesia. In the Stalinist tradition, they are seeking for a scapegoat.

More specifically, Adam Malik is singled out for the epithet "Trotskyite," as a way of attacking the Kremlin bureaucrats for their red-carpet treatment of Malik last October 17-22. (See World Outlook, December 16, 1966.)

Preparing for Malik's visit to Moscow, M.D. Sytenko, Soviet ambassador in Djakarta, made a special point of praising the counterrevolutionary Indonesian government. A September 18 dispatch by Antara, the Indonesian press agency, quotes Sytenko as saying that Indonesia was "continuing her anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist policy" and that "the attitude of the Soviet government towards Indonesia remains unchanged."

As a goodwill offering to the reactionary Indonesian generals, shortly before Malik's arrival in Moscow, the Kremlin expelled Answar Dharmar, correspondent of Harian Rakjat, the official organ of the Indonesian Communist party, from the Soviet Union.

This cynical act was consistent with the Kremlin's policies of "peaceful co-existence" with imperialism and its agents. But for the Indonesian Communists to paint the reactionary Malik as a Trotskyist discredits their case against the Kremlin. (The charges are implausible on their face, if for no other reason than that genuine Trotskyists are the last people in the world the Soviet bureaucrats would have anything to do with.)

The slightest examination of the accusations raised in the Indonesian article make it plain that the whole "exposé" has nothing in common with the actual history of the Trotskyist movement in Indonesia.

The only authentic Trotskyist organization in Indonesia has no relationship with the Partai Murba, or Adam Malik. It was begun in June of 1946 as the Communist Youth Army, which was organized into a political party, the Partai Acoma, in 1952.

Founded on August 8, 1952, the Partai Acoma (Indonesian Communist Group of Struggle) has a long history of persecution at the hands of the bourgeois Sukarno government. (As late as December of 1965, after the counterrevolution was in full swing, Second Secretary of the PKI, Njoto said of Sukarno that, "The PKI recognizes only one head of the state, one supreme commander, one great leader of the revolution -- President Sukarno." Asahi Shimbun, Tokyo, Dec. 2, 1965.)

In 1959 the Partai Acoma was recognized as the Indonesian section of the Fourth International -- the world party of the socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938. It was the only Indonesian party ever so recognized.

In February of the same year, Ibnu Parna, the leader of the Partai Acoma and a member of parliament, was jailed for eleven months, despite his parliamentary immunity, for publishing a pamphlet denouncing the suppression of workers' rights by General Nasution.

Thus, six years before the military coup, a Trotskyist leader was imprisoned

for warning the Indonesian workers against the man who was to become the butcher of the Indonesian Communist movement.

In 1964 Sukarno declared the Partai Acoma illegal, at the request of the Communist Party of Indonesia!

The Indonesian Trotskyists struggled against overwhelming odds to create a mass revolutionary party in time. They were met in that attempt with persecution and harassment not only by the ruling class, but by the party that dominated the working-class movement, the PKI.

For Communist youth who bear a responsibility to analyze the terrible defeat for which their party is responsible, it is a shabby deception to concoct fantasies about "Trotskyites" in high places and to falsify the real role of Trotskyism in the Indonesian revolution.

In reality it is only the Trotskyists who have been able to cogently explain and denounce the class-collaborationist policies that led to the Indonesian disaster.

#### THE KREMLIN DEFENDS ITS TIES WITH THE INDONESIAN GENERALS

[To stay in the good graces of the reactionary generals who seized power in Indonesia and murdered as many as 500,000 "Communists" in one of the bloodiest purges of all time, Brezhnev and Kosygin went to such lengths as to expel the official correspondent of the Indonesian Communist party from the Soviet Union and to put on a degrading public show of friendship with Adam Malik, the diplomatic envoy of the Indonesian butchers. (See World Outlook December 16, 1966.) Naturally Brezhnev-Kosygin have met with some sharp criticism for such conduct.

[Among the critics was Avanti, the official daily of the united Social Democratic party of Italy. By attacking the Kremlin, the Italian Social Democrats counted on diverting criticism coming their way because of their own scandalous attitude on such things as the Vietnam war.

[Through its Rome agency, the Moscow head office of the Soviet press agency Novosti decided to answer Avanti. The reply was submitted to the editors of Avanti, who published it in the issue of December 17, 1966.

[The arguments put forth are of such a revealing nature as to be virtually self-answering. At the same time, as a defense of the Kremlin's efforts to appease the Indonesian witch-hunters, the article offers damning evidence on how consciously Khrushchev's heirs go about betraying the principles of international solidarity and socialism. In view of its interest, World Outlook is offering the following translation of the article.]

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At the end of last month the Soviet-Indonesian talks on economic cooperation and financial accounts were concluded in Moscow. The Soviet Union has met the wishes of Indonesia and agreed to extend the date on which repayment of the loans and payment of interest fell due, even though certain reservations were expressed. The Soviet Union has rather serious reasons for doing this. Bloody events took place in Indonesia during the year which stirred the whole civilized world.

The reaction that broke out against hundreds of thousands of Communists and democratic-minded persons provoked strong protest and indignation in both the USSR and the international field. Intervening in defense of democratic-minded people and all progressives in Indonesia, the USSR requested the new Indonesian leaders to take measures aimed at stopping the terrorism that can only cause national unity to disintegrate and thereby weaken the resistance to imperialism and cause national achievements to be lost.

The requests from the Soviet Union and from other democratic forces in the world have played a moderating role. In Indonesia the mass slaughter and persecution have stopped.

There were people in Indonesia who exerted pressure so that a law was enacted illegalizing the Communist party which has three million members.

After that another absurd step was taken -- Marxist-Leninist ideology was banned. This is a challenge not only to the world Communist movement, but also to the whole

progressive world.

All this exerted a negative influence on the position taken by the Soviet delegation during the negotiations with the Indonesian delegation. Indonesia did not obtain what she expected.

The solution to international problems, on which the destiny of the peoples hinges, should not be based exclusively on sentiment. In this case it is necessary to bear in mind the real situation and the new circumstances which require avoidance of impulsive decisions. Is it right to ignore the fact that in Indonesia recently the international situation and collaboration are considered in a more realistic way?

As is known, Indonesia has returned to the UN after having boycotted this international organization for nine months. Indonesia has stopped its so-called opposition to Malaysia, which was unjustified and was taken up mainly out of prestige considerations. The Indonesian government has stated to the whole world that in the future it intends to follow a policy of peaceful coexistence and active neutrality. It is very important that Indonesia proposes to consolidate national sovereignty and follow an anticolonialist and anti-imperialist political line.

Indonesia, of course, can achieve this program only with the support of the anti-imperialist forces which are active inside the country and abroad.

These active forces are first of all the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The policy of the Soviet Union with regard to Indonesia is aimed at supporting its political orientation toward consolidating national independence and depriving the imperialists of the possibility of taking advantage of the political situation in Indonesia for their imperialist aims.

This position of the Soviet Union does not differ from the fundamental principles which constitute the basis of relations between the USSR and other countries fighting for their independence and social progress.

Also at this time the Soviet Union considers it to be her duty to support the patriotic forces of Indonesia, not only to keep that country in its anti-imperialist position but to prevent it from moving to the right.

The positions taken by some foreign newspapers and press agencies, stating that the Soviet Union in making concessions to Indonesia was doing nothing less than supporting the rightist military regime, which was defined as an instrument of American imperialism by the Hsinhua News Agency, are absurd in our opinion. The latter agency also stated that the socialist countries in general and the Soviet Union in particular are justifying the recent Indonesian events, such as the banning of the Communist party and Marxist-Leninist ideology.

It is clear that the above charges are wrong. Soviet-Indonesian collaboration is first of all to the advantage of the world in evolution. It contributes to the development of the world revolutionary process.

#### BOUMEDIENNE SEEKS A WAY OUT OF POLITICAL ISOLATION

By Henri Dumoulin

Algiers

Projects for agrarian reform, for community elections, industrialization -- these are the themes of the official propaganda of Colonel Boumédiène's military regime. These were also the objectives of the Ben Bella government in the spring of 1965, a few weeks before the coup d'état. Nevertheless isn't it an error, ascribable to superficial analysis, to view the Boumédiène regime as a mere continuation of the bonapartism of the ousted regime?

With a leftist orientation, the Ben Bella government sought, often in an empiric way, to set sufficient popular forces in motion to create the means to concretize its socialist program. It succeeded in arousing considerable hopes among the disinherited rural masses.

The regime born in the June 19 coup is of qualitatively different nature. It has displayed resolute intention to block any further development of the revolution. Repress-

ing all the elements capable of forging a proletarian alternative, it has sought to find a base of support in the countryside among the middle layers standing above the poor peasants who constituted Ben Bella's base of support.

This is the framework within which must be placed the agrarian reform project and the community elections. They are efforts at breaking the political isolation threatening the men of June 19. The content of these projects is fundamentally different from the spirit of the Algiers Charter (the program of the Front de Libération Nationale passed at a congress of the party in the spring of 1964).

The projected agrarian reform would limit the area of big holdings according to the income of the owner, the criterion being that it must not be greater than that of a functionary at the highest administrative level. The nationalized farms will be operated by self-management committees or in the form of small individual holdings tied together by cooperatives.

The big landholders will thus retain a considerable income; they will keep their herds and can expand them; they will receive indemnity from the state which will "buy" their nationalized land.

The government in this way hopes to foster the amassment of capital nationally. In this the Investment Code favors investments in private enterprises, protected by the state, or in mixed enterprises in which the state participates with capital and protection.

Instead of expropriating and breaking the economic and political power of landed property, a reform of this kind seeks to change over the big landholders, pressuring them into becoming reinforcements for the native bourgeoisie in process of developing under the benevolent protection of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie of the state and party.

The Community Council of the Agrarian Reform [Conseil Communal de la Réforme Agraire] which will be in charge of carrying out this project, beginning with the...end of 1967, will be composed of the chairman of the Community Council elected in the February 1967 elections, representatives of the local administrations, and peasants of modest incomes chosen by the FLN party. The chairman of this council will be the regional secretary of the party. Thus the decisions will be made by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie that is now solidly installed in the party and the state.

The bureaucrats, separated from the workers, feel the influence of the owners whom they are supposed to expropriate. In the absence of direct intervention by the workers, the bureaucrats can arbitrarily decide on the evaluation of the land, the determination of indemnities and disbursements, thus opening the door to favoritism, nepotism, the formation of cliques and circles.

This so-called agrarian reform, judiciously thought out, limited and controlled by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, will vainly seek to give a little satisfaction to the poor peasants while it maintains the power of the landowners.

The February 5 community elections were calculated in the same way. The slates were made up by the party, the top brass of the administration and the Armée Nationale Populaire [National People's Army]. The slates were often the outcome of extensive bargaining. The single slate system, offering two candidates for each post, does not permit the proletarian forces in the towns and the countryside to distinguish between the old liberal bourgeoisie and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie of the state. In addition, the stamp of approval given to these elections by the Union Générale des Travailleurs Algériens [General Union of Algerian Workers] -- at least by its leadership -- while more than one union militant is in prison, the victim of repression by the military regime, can only sow confusion among the popular masses.

The degree of participation in the elections will indicate whether the new regime, while remaining unpopular, has succeeded in becoming accepted.

The various oppositional currents opposing Boumédiène from outside the country are confused and scattered. Some of them like the Organisation Clandestine de la Révolution Algérienne [OCRA] are preparing a bourgeois alternative to the bonapartist regime, while others, like at least a wing of the Organisation de la Résistance Populaire [ORP] are ready to compromise with the military power. In face of this it is more important than ever to work for the crystallization of a workers party in Algeria itself, a party based on the workers in the cities and countryside, the only sector with sufficient potential strength to win the disinherited peasants from the influence and power of the rural bourgeoisie and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie of the state. This is the only means of leading the disinherited rural masses onto the road of a genuine agrarian reform and the socialist revolution.

FRENCH TROTSKYISTS HOLD NINETEENTH CONGRESS

Paris

The Parti Communiste Internationaliste, the French section of the Fourth International, held its Nineteenth Congress at the end of January. The preceding congress, held a little less than fifteen months previously, was devoted mainly to international problems connected with preparations for the World Congress of the Fourth International in 1965. Already at the time of its Eighteenth Congress, the PCI was gaining new members among the youth, more than making up for the loss in numbers when a faction headed by Pablo split a few weeks before the congress. Since then, the French section has continued to grow through the recruiting of youth. Thus the Nineteenth Congress was marked above all by the fact that there was an increase of about fifty percent in the number of activists since the previous congress, the average age of the party membership dropping considerably because of this.

Under these circumstances, the primary objective of the congress was to consolidate the gains (which did not at all signify stopping recruitment, just the contrary), to achieve homogeneity through a discussion in the preparatory period and at the congress on the principal political questions which a large number of the new members understood but partially upon joining the party. The outcome of the congress indicated that this objective was achieved.

The Nineteenth Congress opened by paying homage to the memory of the comrades who had died since the previous gathering -- R. Zakine, Alfred Luu, Bruno (Birger). The congress likewise paid homage to Comrade Leo Bernard of the Socialist Workers party in the United States, murdered in Detroit by a fascist, and sent greetings to two other comrades, Jan Garrett and Walter Graham, wounded during the same attack. Hugo Blanco, K. Modzelewski and J. Kuron were named honorary chairmen to represent all the victims of repression throughout the world and the congress paid tribute to the heroic Vietnamese freedom fighters.

Fraternal representatives from various sections were present at the congress. Comrade Livio Maitan brought greetings from the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and talked on the main problems facing the International at present. Greetings were likewise read at the congress, among others from the SWP in the United States.

The political report on the situation in France and the political tasks of the organization was presented by Comrade Pierre Frank. He dealt in particular with the politics of de Gaulle in face of the needs of French capitalism and the new contradictions this has engendered. He analyzed the struggles of the workers, the objective and subjective difficulties they have encountered and the need for an overall perspective in order to unite their struggles. A considerable part of his report was devoted on the one hand to the French Communist party and the lessons to be drawn from its recent congress; and on the other hand to the renewal of the revolutionary vanguard which is now occurring thanks to the political development of the young generation.

A full discussion took place on these questions and the draft document around which the preparatory discussion was held for two months was considerably amended and completed before being adopted by the congress. (The PCI will publish this document as rapidly as possible.)

Under the same point on the agenda, the congress adopted a resolution concerning the party's orientation in the legislative elections next March 5 and 12.

The second part of the congress was devoted to an organizational report by Comrade Michel Lequenne. He dealt with the various activities of the organization, opening a serious discussion which was very frank with regard to weaknesses without ceasing to be realistic as to the measures to be taken to remedy them.

The congress finally took up the question of the incoming leading bodies. In the election of the Central Committee, a considerable number of youth were included who had had the opportunity to demonstrate their capacities in the past period and who could thus develop politically and become genuine Trotskyist leaders. The Political Bureau was enlarged in the same way.

The congress ended after two days of ardent work. The encouraging progress of the party in the past two years gave grounds for confidence that the coming period will prove as heartening both in recruiting the new generation and in seeing them mature politically as Trotskyists. The French section of the Fourth International will be in good position when the series of developments taking place in the depths, under the apparently calm and stagnant surface of Gaullism, emerges into the light of day and among other things shakes the conformism and apathy due to the old workers leaderships.



APPROACHING A DECISIVE TURNING POINT IN GREAT BRITAIN

[The following statement on the situation confronting the British Labour movement was issued by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International December 4, 1966.]

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The situation in Great Britain is now approaching a decisive turning point. It is not the crisis of British capitalism, frankly admitted by all political forces in the country, that is new but the role played by the leadership of the Labour Party. This new role differs from the previous role of social democracy in which it defended capitalism by granting small reforms to the working class. Today the Labour Party leadership, while continuing to pose as the representative of the British working class, systematically endeavours to apply a plan of modernization and consolidation of British capitalism at the cost of the working class itself. This is the basis of the growing conflict between the mass of workers -- above all those in the trade unions -- and Harold Wilson's Labour government. The reflections of that conflict inside the British Labour Party and the working class could decide the possibilities of a breakthrough towards socialism in Great Britain for a long period to come.

The roots of the chronic crisis of Britain's capitalist economy are well known and need only brief mention. Britain's capitalist class is paying the price today of having been the pioneer beneficiaries of the first industrial revolution. Its present distress stems from this historic distinction. Even before the first world war it was clear that it had lost its great advantage as world leader in industrial productivity. That it could still retain for a period of thirty years the features of a major imperialist power was due to its enormous foreign capital investments, accumulated in the course of a century and more. This enabled and ensured substantial profits permitting it to live with a chronically negative trade balance without a real threat to the stability of the pound.

The second world war seriously depleted these foreign holdings in an absolute sense but even more so in a relative sense. Britain's "invisible" exports proved less and less able in themselves to maintain a positive balance of payments. The relative backwardness of British industry and industrial productivity developed with increasing speed particularly during the decades of the fifties and sixties in comparison with its principal competitors in Europe (West Germany) and Asia (Japan). The latter's rate of growth and modernization outstripped Britain's particularly since they carried no great military and naval burden. This in turn brought the chronic balance of payments crisis and the periodic attempt to stop this crisis through government engineered recessions which could only accentuate the gap between the rate of growth of both productivity and production between Britain and its main competitors.

For many years now the leading spokesmen and ideologues of British capitalism have advocated a clear programme for rationalizing and streamlining the capitalist economy. Implicit in this programme is a callous stop to nominal wage increases in order to raise the rate of profit and capital accumulation. Also, a vast displacement of labour from the so-called backward and stagnating industrial branches toward the expanding ones, particularly those tied to exports. By ending the condition of full employment which the British working class has known for nearly 25 years (except during the Tory engineered recession of 1963-64) they could indeed go a long way toward "rationalizing" capitalist industries. The aim was the crushing of working class resistance to capitalist super exploitation by the creation of an industrial reserve army, that would bear down upon wage increases and even present wage standards, and thus overcome the main obstacle which arises from the workers' stubborn defence of their living standards and social services, which they have won through long and successful struggle. This employers' strategy is also designed to prepare Britain's entry into the Common Market on the most advantageous basis.

A direct attack by the capitalist class through a Tory government would have provoked a generalized resistance of the working class which could have very well led towards a victorious general strike and a consequent social and political crisis for British capitalism. In the face of this the Tory party was restrained by various sectors of British capital from undertaking such an offensive. With refined political instinct they favoured a Labour government's undertaking of this dirty job, particularly since it would at first enjoy the good will and loyalty of the overwhelming majority of the working class. They calculated correctly that a Labour government could apply the employers' programme more directly than any Tory government since 1951 and that this would create divisions, confusion, and demoralization inside the working class sufficiently to reduce to a minimum the "social overhead costs" of the streamlining operation.

The past year's experience shows that they did not miscalculate.

Through a skilful use of the traditional machine of Transport House and a no less skilful appeal to the basic loyalty of the British working class to the Labour Party, Wilson has been able to carry through step by step support to U.S. imperialism's dirty war in Vietnam, with a de facto recognition of the white settlers' apartheid regime in Rhodesia; a tacit abandonment of any extension of the social services including the promised return to a completely free health service; all this combined with the hypocrisy of an "incomes policy" -- a thinly disguised form of wage freeze. When all these measures proved insufficient to rehabilitate Britain's sick capitalist economy he has -- with the enthusiastic approval of the British bourgeoisie and the international bankers -- gone to the point of stopping free wage bargaining between unions and employers; suspending already signed contracts that called for wage increases, imposing a total wage freeze and threatening punitive measures for trade unionists who resist these measures with industrial action. As the cost of living continues to rise partially also as a result of some of the measures taken by the Wilson government and as the latter specifically permits the increased indirect taxes to be passed on to the consumers, this policy means in fact a downward slide of real wages. The stringent credit restrictions linked with this decline of real wages can only lead to a real recession, i.e., mass unemployment which is already visible in the present wide layoffs.

Not much time need be spent on the cynicism of these gentlemen who were returned to power by promising the working class to eliminate the threat of periodic unemployment inherent in the Tories' "stop go" policy and who now revive this very same policy on a still greater scale. Nor should anyone who has studied the lessons of history be astonished that these "labour lieutenants of capital" who draw their strength by claiming to represent the interests of the working class cynically betray these interests for the sole benefit of "rationalizing" Britain's capitalist economy. This is the same role played by the Social Democratic leadership of Western Europe, who having integrated themselves totally into the bourgeois state, find themselves obliged to save that state and bourgeois society whenever the social contradictions impose decisions which the working class would never accept if they came from the direct representatives of the capitalist class.

This treacherous behaviour of the Labour leaders has aroused widespread opposition and indignation among militant workers. But it has already created widespread confusion and disillusionment among the great mass of Labour supporters. For them it still remains unthinkable that their political party, which they built through generations of struggle and innumerable sacrifices, so as to defend their interests against capitalism, should now turn, at least in its top layers, into an instrument for the defence of capital against labour. There is a very real danger that while opposition to Wilson will slowly and constantly grow inside the Labour Party and inside the TUC, and while these large bodies will slowly swing to the left, actual militant reactions to Wilson's anti-working class policies will remain episodic, fragmented and largely isolated from the great mass of the workers. While able to achieve some partial results as the Seamen's strike did, they would be unable to prevent the main goals of the employers' policy -- a cut in real wages for the mass of workers and the reappearance of a permanent body of unemployed -- from being achieved.

The most advanced militants of the British working class must be very conscious of this danger. It is true that the British workers today have a tremendous confidence in their organized strength. It is also true that they have never experienced an important defeat in open battle for an entire generation. They have experienced 25 years of uninterrupted full employment. All this explains the anger and violence of the workers' reactions to Wilson's betrayal. It explains why a new mass left wing will certainly arise in the Labour Party. This time, in contrast to the experience of Bevanism in the 1950s, it is based mainly on the unionized industrial workers. All these considerations are fundamental in assessing the increasing difficulties with which Wilson's government will be faced, and in expressing confidence that the British working class will not permit its standard of living to be cut down without putting up a vigorous struggle against the employers' offensive.

But for all of this it nevertheless remains true that the offensive has overall goals, in every sector of the economy, which cannot be prevented by fragmented reactions of isolated sectors of the working class. Only a generalized struggle by all the main sections of that class, for general objectives and with an alternative solution and alternative leadership clearly appearing before the mass of the working class, could really and decisively defeat the employers' plan and Wilson's measures. In the absence of such a generalised struggle the most probable variant is that these plans and measures will succeed with only partial concessions won from the government by the most militant sections of the working class.

Obviously the need of the hour is the preparation of a general counter offensive of the working class, to defend its past conquests and present standard of living, and to impose an alternative, truly socialist, solution to the crisis of the British economy and society. To be able to prepare and actually realize such a general action it is necessary to formulate a clear programme of action and to achieve the widest possible unity of action inside the trade unions and the Labour Party for the mobilization of the workers around this programme.

A major void that impedes a wide working class mobilization is the absence of an alternative leadership recognized by the mass of workers themselves. As revolutionary Marxists we are fully conscious of the need to build in Britain a revolutionary socialist organization which, embodying all the lessons of past and present experiences of the British and international working class, could become an effective instrument for leading the British workers toward overthrowing capitalism. But we also are fully aware of the fact that the overwhelming majority of the British working class is not yet ready to follow such an organization and that it will not readily abandon its historical allegiance towards the Labour Party.

For that reason to restrict oneself to declamatory calls for the building of a revolutionary party instead of proposing concrete steps for common action to all those unionists and workers, particularly within the Labour Party and in the large factories who are aroused over Wilson's betrayal, means in reality to abandon the perspectives of a real struggle in the immediate future for the pipe dreams of sectarian self-indulgence. In reality, a revolutionary organization with a real mass following will be built precisely through constant and patient efforts by the vanguard to participate in a constructive way in common activity with the broad mass of the class conscious workers.

Up to now, no real alternative leadership to the Wilson-Brown team has appeared on the scene inside the Labour Party, and no initiative from the outside can substitute for such a leadership. But all advanced working class militants and conscious socialists could and should undertake an immediate effort to regroup all those sections of the working class willing to fight the employers' policy and Wilson's measures around a common programme. Such a unity in action expressed in great mass meetings and demonstrations and widespread industrial action could become in itself a powerful lever for organizing and strengthening the left forces inside the Labour Party and put strong pressure behind those union leaders who are prepared to challenge the employers and Wilson. This alone will pose the immediacy of an alternative socialist programme.

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International is of the opinion that such a programme constituting an answer not only to the employers' offensive and to the measures of Wilson but also to the overall crisis of British economy and society should be built around the following central lines:

1. Immediate cessation of the wage freeze and restoration of full freedom of negotiation for the trade unions.
2. Immediate repeal of all anti-union legislation and withdrawal of all threats of legal penalties against unionists defending the material interests of union members.
3. Introduction of a universal sliding scale of wages (as, for example, attained in many American industries and in Belgium) automatically insuring commensurate wage increases after each rise in the cost of living and thereby at least safeguarding the purchasing power of wages against the worst erosion resulting from permanent inflation. Immediate introduction of the 40-hour-week without reduction of weekly wages, in order to establish full employment.
4. Radical reduction of military expenditures, an end to the "east of Suez" expense and an end to the expense of the nuclear deterrents.
5. Nationalization without compensation of "the big five banks," the big insurance companies, the automobile, aircraft and chemical industries as well as steel, all under workers' control. State control over imports and exports and overseas investments as a transitional stage to the establishment of a state monopoly of foreign trade. Systematic expansion of trade relations with the workers' states and the countries newly established in the wake of the colonial revolution.
6. Immediate elaboration by the trade unions of a general plan of development of the British economy under common ownership and workers' control, geared to a steep rise of social expenses in favour of the most disinherited parts of the British people, to increasing collaboration with the countries having a socialized economy and with

the countries going through colonial revolutions. Such a plan should be designed to free the British economy and the hard won social gains from the dictates of the City and of the international bankers, and to modernize the British economy without imposing the burden on the working class.

7. Opening of the books of all employers and suppression of the commercial and banking secrets in order to expose before the whole country the real truth about the relations between the total amount of wages, the total amount of capitalist profit and the rise in productivity. Introduction of control by elected shop stewards over all productive operations in all factories, private as well as public. Control of prices in retail trade by housewives' committees.

8. Immediate return to a completely free health service. Ironclad clauses to implement laws against racial discrimination, particularly in employment and wage scales. Immediate introduction of a £15 national minimum weekly wage for workers, applicable especially to women. Immediate acceleration of a low cost housing programme with a national target of 750,000 houses a year. Drastic measures to implement comprehensive education.

9. Immediate break with Wilson's shameful support to U.S. imperialism's aggression in Vietnam. Support to the revolutionary freedom fighters of the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front. Withdraw recognition of the rotten Saigon puppet regime; stop material assistance to aggression in Malaysia and Laos. Recognise the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

10. A call to all trade unions and organizations speaking in the name of the working class in Western Europe, to convene a European Congress of Labour which would work out concrete plans for a Socialist United States of Europe in place of the capitalist Common Market.

Around these and similar proposals, all left groups and tendencies should as quickly as possible achieve a large degree of consensus enabling them to prepare common action. They should act in common to have systematically elected trade union delegates who pledge themselves to a relentless struggle for the implementation of that programme. They should mobilize themselves to support and extend all industrial actions of the working class in defence of their standard of living and of their elementary rights. They should undertake the utmost efforts to coordinate their actions on a regional and national basis in order to prepare the great general wave of the working class counteroffensive which will defeat the employers' policies and crisis.

Down with the capitalist plan of "rationalising" the British economy at the expense of the working class!

Down with Wilson's treacherous anti-working class measures which favour the industrialists!

Forward, to a united front of all left tendencies and groups, for the building up of an alternative leadership in the Labour Party against the Wilson-Brown gang -- for a successful working class counteroffensive which will open up the road toward a socialist Great Britain.

#### THE CHALLENGE OF THE PIG-TAILED MACAQUE

Miss Mireille Bertrand, a psychologist from Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, reports success in training macaque monkeys to work without pay. The "infra-human primates" are currently "employed" in South Thailand as "agricultural laborers." They were selected because "they can tolerate frustrations" better than other monkeys.

Unlike the ultra-simian primate, "who usually works to reap some reward," the "pig-tailed macaque labors to avoid punishment." It takes a macaque "at least one month to learn his job." Through punishment, he learns who is boss. Once he has got this straight, he scrambles up palm trees, spins off coconuts and drops them to the ground so he will not be "unbalanced, choked or whipped." The macaque is good for a six-hour day.

It remains to be seen, however, if the macaque has much of a future under capitalism. Can he serve in the armed forces, for instance, and help conquer colonial territories like Vietnam? Can he be trained to use weapons capable of exterminating all higher forms of life on this planet, including sub-human and ultra-simian primates? It's doubtful. No matter how well they show up in some tests, macaques are only macaques and can never rise to the level of human intelligence.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

By K.A. Jordaan

[The following article appeared in the September 1966 issue of the European edition of Azania News, which is published by the Pan-Africanist Congress, 374 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C. 1. The full title of the article is "The Communist Party of South Africa -- Its Counterrevolutionary Role. Some Comments on the Statement from the Dock by Abram Fischer of the Communist Party of South Africa." Subheadings appear in the original.]

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"I believed when I joined the illegal Communist Party that South Africa had set out on a course which could lead only to civil war of the most vicious kind...Algeria provided the perfect historical example of that. I believed, moreover, and still believe that such a civil war can never be won by the Whites of this country. They might win some initial rounds. In the long run the balance of forces is against them, both inside and outside the country.... But win or lose, the consequences of civil war would be horrifying and permanent. Clearly it is imperative that an alternative 'solution' be found, for in truth civil war is no 'solution' at all."

-- Abram Fischer

He who wants to change the old society, but recoils from the only effective methods of doing so, ends up by accommodating himself to that society. He thereby accepts the values and class morality of the old society, the services of whose rulers and supporters he frantically seeks to enlist in order to effect social change. In the result, he enters into concubinage with them, and embarks upon a course of action which, far from bringing about the desired social change, merely leads to proposed surface modifications of the old society. We call such a person a reformist, or "a left-wing fellow traveler of the status quo," in whose eyes the cause of liberation is not compelling enough to permit the use of all means to attain it. But when a person, having set himself the goal of radical social change, is prepared to use the swiftest and boldest methods to achieve it, means and ends are in complete unity; and we call him a revolutionary.

We have before us the speech which Abram Fischer, leader of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA), delivered from the dock in the South African Supreme Court, which sentenced him shortly thereafter to life imprisonment. It is called What I Did Was Right and was brought out by Mayibuye Publications, London. An introduction to it says that he was sentenced in Pretoria in March, 1966, "for preparing to overthrow the Verwoerd Government by violence." This stands in sharp contradiction to the theme of his statement which expressed the traditional policy of the CPSA: to avert a popular revolution by seeking the cooperation of the government, through mass pressures and individual acts of bloodless sabotage, to undertake certain political changes in a democratic direction.

Our comments on his speech are therefore virtually an analysis of the policies of the CPSA who saw to it that it was widely circulated and did so with acclamation. Hence we often refer to excerpts from Fischer's speech as CPSA statements.

But first of all, it is necessary to record that Fischer embarked upon his course of action with deep personal conviction and a remarkable display of valour. This evokes our admiration and solidarity with him against the rulers of the country. To be sure, his speech from the dock is a touching document of great personal courage and sincerity.

Having said that, there are many who will disagree with the methods his party adopted to achieve their professed aim of democratic change. They are methods which the CP have doggedly followed for a number of years in our country, methods which lead further and further away from the goal of liberation and which tend to set back the struggle each time that they are employed. Fischer's speech summarises these CP methods, and in taking it as the point of departure for another criticism of them, we do so in the hope that the wiser counsels of revolutionary socialism will finally prevail throughout the Azanian movement for the effective prosecution of the struggle.

What I Did Was Right is certainly not cast in the mould of Fidel Castro's History Will Absolve Me. Whereas the former sought an accommodation with the rulers, the latter defiantly stated the revolutionary objective of liquidating the ruling class and doing

so by following Danton's prescription of "audacity, more audacity, and once again audacity." Fischer's speech is an abstract "criticism of weapons," while Castro assailed his rulers by combining "criticism with weapons."

Did Fischer's own end -- a crushing life sentence by the rulers -- justify the faith he had in them that they would play the game according to the rules and finally sit down with his party in perfect amity to listen to the voice of reason and then make provision for a peaceful transition to democratic rule? More concretely, did the ends of his party justify the means? Did those means not lead further and further away from the ends they had in mind? It is the complete dislocation between ends and means, as expressed in his court speech, that is the essential tragedy of the Fischer story. For running like a red thread through CP policy is their willingness to accommodate the rulers at every turn, to the extent of watering down the liberation programme, so that they might become amenable to the idea of sharing power with the oppressed. By accepting the assumptions and presuppositions of the ruling class, he met them unarmed on their battlefield -- their own "reasoning" in the teeth of opposition -- and became a captive of their special morality. In consequence, his political ends receded and became more obscure as the means of attaining them became more ineffectual.

#### CP "Marxism" as Old-Fashioned Liberalism

The CP make their retreat from Marxism under cover of Marxism. This is due to the fact that Marxism, as a doctrine and method of securing power, has come to grip the imagination of the oppressed everywhere. A political party that openly scraps this ideology therefore do so at the risk of losing its popular support. The CP change themselves from professed Marxists to old-fashioned liberals, but can do so only by changing Marxism itself into a liberal doctrine.

Poor Marx! He is not here to defend himself. Yet the CP are merely following in the wake of the Kremlin bureaucracy who are trying to make Marxism "peaceful" and "respectable" in order to justify their collaboration with imperialism to stave off world revolution in general and colonial revolutions in particular.

The CP regard Marxism simply as a "social science" which enables one to understand the world.... Thus, according to them, "...most of the Marxist principles...are today accepted by many historians and economists who are by no means themselves Marxists." This observation by Fischer is an attempt to give Marxism a liberal respectability. It is true of course that many bourgeois scholars have come to recognise the law of class struggle and use the method of historical materialism in their studies. But the crux of Marxism, which the CP openly reject, is armed revolution to seize state power and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, or the rule of the majority over the minority. Marx was very clear on the kernel of his doctrine. In a letter to G. Weydemeyer (1852) he writes:

"...no credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society nor yet the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: (1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular, historic phases in the development of production; (2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; (3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society." [Emphasis in original.]

The CP do not subscribe to this pith of Marxism, because it conflicts with their concern over the fate of the privileged whites and their current collaboration with imperialism. They say: "Marxism is not something violent or subversive" and add: "We have never aimed at a despotic system of government. Nor were efforts ever directed to establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat in this country."

Whereas Marx says that "Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one," the CP rule out force completely as well. This naturally flows from their abhorrence of the dictatorship of the proletariat which in Azania [South Africa] simply means an armed black majority crushing the privileges of the whites in general and the imperialist owners of the means of production in particular.

Fischer is quite frank that he is more concerned over the fate of the whites in a war of liberation than he is over the blacks. "I...believe," he says, "that...a civil war can never be won by the whites of this country" and that, in any event, "the consequences of civil war would be horrifying and permanent."

What the "horrifying" and "permanent" consequences are, he does not spell out,

but it is clear that he regards the impress of a black proletariat on the state, resulting from a revolution, as more menacing than the retention of white minority rule by force of arms. It is precisely this fear for the future of the whites and their place as a special group in a new society that leads the CP to rule out revolution. For they say:

"The sole questions for the future of all of us...are not whether the change will come but only whether the change can be brought about peacefully and without bloodshed; and what the position of the white man is going to be in the period immediately following on the establishment of democracy." [Emphasis added.]

In essence this means that they are prepared to witness for an indefinite period the perpetuation of white domination by the ruthless persecution and slow mass murder of the black majority rather than to opt for a swift revolutionary way out that can put an end to three hundred years of race wars and genocide. They cannot agree to spill a little blood now in order to save a lot more blood later, because the blood of the white minority might be involved.

And so they have to emasculate Marxism of its revolutionary core and relegate socialism to the Hereafter. In consequence, concession after concession is made to the status quo. "Neither at that stage (1950) nor at any stage since then has a socialist revolution been on the agenda in South Africa," the CP assure us. Of course not, when the CP always had a vested interest in certain aspects of the status quo and when their collaboration with imperialism rules out any action that threatens the expropriation of imperialist interests in Azania, like the mines and private manufacturing.

"I...believe (says Fischer) that socialism in the long term has an answer to the problem of race relations -- that is, a socialist state. But by negotiations, other immediate solutions can be found. They must, however, not be imposed but worked out in cooperation, and that is what the Communist Party has stood for."

Having placed socialism into cold storage, the CP proceed to water down even the minimum democratic programme with their emphasis on change by negotiations between the oppressor and the oppressed, exploiter and exploited. The type of state the CP call for is neither fish nor fowl. What they want is a state embracing all the classes and the old race groups. They feel that "immediate dangers (of armed revolution, naturally) can be avoided by what we always refer to as a national democratic revolution." The "immediate proposals" of the CP "are put forward within the framework of the Freedom Charter for urgent discussion by a National Convention not in order to establish a socialist state but for the building of a national democratic state."

It is hard to believe, but it is true that in this day and age the CP still see a dichotomy between democracy and socialism, when it has been proved by life itself that democracy can be consolidated only by introducing socialist measures as soon as the revolution is victorious. To limit the programme of the democratic revolution to the framework of capitalism is not to guarantee the success of democracy but to repudiate it. History testifies that a democratic revolution must either grow over into socialism or suffer defeat at the hands of those against whom wholesale expropriatory measures are not taken in good time. "He who would strengthen democracy," says Rosa Luxemburg, "should want to strengthen and not weaken the socialist movement."

Thus the CP whittle down even the democratic programme by their insistence that a National Convention of the oppressors and the oppressed should meet to form a national democratic state. So that where the imperialist mining magnates and manufacturers, Afrikaner land barons and industrialists, should agree to meet the unarmed black workers and poor peasants for a peaceful transition to democracy, even a simpleton knows who will hold the whip hand and with whom effective political and economic power will really lie in this national democratic state.

The Marxian conception of the state is that it is the organ of rule of the dominant class which oppresses other classes. It consists of an ensemble of coercive institutions like the standing army, a permanent bureaucracy, courts of law, prisons and a parliament. Today that state is either the dictatorship of the proletariat or the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, even where the power of the latter is screened by the institution of parliamentary democracy based on universal suffrage. The CP envisage a type of hybrid state in which the blacks are brought into the councils of the nation at a purely parliamentary level, while real power is wielded outside by the bankers, the stock exchange and the owners of the means of production backed by the standing army.

This type of state has been established peacefully in a number of African countries by imperialism for the purpose of gaining local support for the further entrenchment of the foreign monopolists whose power hides behind the façade of parliamentary

government. This parliament is just a talking shop and acts as a safety valve for the grievances of the people as well as a clearing house for imperialist stooges. It can in no way pass laws aimed at breaking the imperialist grip on the country. "Law," says Marx, "cannot be higher than the economic structure of society or the cultural development conditioned by that structure."

What the CP are asking, therefore, is the usual "neocolonialist" solution to Azania's problems so as to keep intact white and foreign economic and military power, while the blacks dissipate their energies in a parliamentary fowl run. This is precisely the motive of the CP proposed national convention.

Of course, it has never happened in history for the propertied classes to sit in conference with the people they oppress so as to hand over peacefully and voluntarily a part of their power. Marx mercilessly ridiculed the German liberals who in 1849 called a parliament to draw up a constitution for a united Germany and then present it to the Austrian overlords for ratification. This parliament or convention of democratic nannies and bourgeois lawyers deliberated for weeks on constitutional niceties, gloriously unconcerned with the question of effective power to enforce their constitutional decision-making. When, therefore, the Austrian rulers had crushed the revolts that had broken out in various parts of their empire, they could turn their attention to this assembly of "old women" -- as Marx called them -- and disperse them without any trouble.

Together with the ANC [African National Congress], the "communists" called an "all-in Conference" in March 1961 "and decided," according to Fischer, "to make one more peaceful call on the Government to hold a Convention, at least to discuss the constitution for the new Republic of South Africa failing which there should be a three-day stay-at-home at the end of May." This Conference was really "all-in" in the sense that the agents of imperialism were also called upon to lend their support to the idea of a national convention. And if the government still remained intransigent, there was to be a strictly controlled "strike" of limited duration so as not to estrange and jeopardise the interests of imperialism whose cooperation the CP wanted for an Oppenheimer-Luthuli coalition within the framework of neocolonialism.

To be sure, it has been the traditional policy of the CP to give electoral support to the so-called progressive wing of capitalism as represented first by the United party and latterly by the Progressive party through both of which imperialism is contriving to promote its interests. The CP did this on the spurious grounds of preferring the lesser evil. In reality it was calculated to bring about a popular front between imperialism and the more moderate and "responsible" African leadership with the object of ousting the Nationalist regime and establishing a multiracialist imperialist semicolon in which an aspirant African bourgeoisie could have a vested interest.

It is fair to say that, in view of the counterrevolution that has gripped Africa for almost two years now, The African Communist (No. 26, 1966) is doing some rethinking on the uncritical support it has hitherto given to the so-called "noncapitalist" path which neocolonialist "national democratic states" have followed in Africa. The author of "Crisis in Africa," published in this number of the theoretical organ of the CPSA, calls for the formation of revolutionary Marxist parties in the African states to struggle for the complete liquidation of imperialism and the formation of workers states to open the way to socialist reconstruction on the lines of scientific principles laid down by Bolshevik-Leninism. But it is obvious that the CP cannot wear one face in the African states and a completely different one in Azania whose more advanced industrialization makes her riper for the ideas the CP now advocate in the countries to the north. It is time for ideological stocktaking!

The "all-in Conference" was held in Pietermaritzburg. The Congress Alliance and the CP "forget" that effective democratic constitutions are the result of the conquest of power, not a prelude to it; that they are the epilogue of successful revolutionary battles, not a prologue to them. Not that the CP had any plans for a revolution. They were merely applying their traditional policy of class collaboration with the rulers in order to secure some inconsequential reforms. They thereby sowed, with cool calculation, the illusion in the minds of the masses that they could achieve liberation, not by relying on an independent revolutionary struggle, but on the goodwill of the rulers. This had the effect of diminishing mass awareness of their organised might to settle their destiny according to their own lights.

What the CP wanted was what Marx called "a partial, merely political revolution" which, with the backing of the forces of law and order, could be achieved peacefully, without arousing the most downtrodden masses who have more "radical chains" to break. Every Communist party worth its salt bases itself squarely on the most exploited sections of the people. The CP stood in dread of the most exploited sections of Azania, because they feared a thorough renovation of society.



The CPSA Fear of a Revolution by the Black Masses

Several times in the course of his speech Fischer proudly pointed to the CP record of warning the rulers that unless they altered their policy a revolution would be unavoidable. In fact the CP willingly and knowingly acted as the barometer of the political pressures building up among the masses so that the rulers could either take measures in good time to deal with an impending political storm or heed the advice of the CP to introduce such reforms as would stabilise the situation in the country. Fischer says that it was his duty to be active in the CP "in view of...the dangerous circumstances which have been created in South Africa." He speaks of the "extremely dangerous situation into which South Africa is being led" by the policies of the government; of "...the present dangers in South Africa which would impel people to act." "The situation created," he warns, "would immediately be explosive and lead overnight to extreme unrest and violence." "South Africa," he continues in the same vein, "had set out on a course which could lead to a civil war of the most vicious kind," and concludes: "Had our White political leaders...preached the possibility of inter-racial cooperation...we might already have reached a position of safety."

What kind of language is this, coming as it does from "communists"? It amounts to this: the CP perspire doubly in fear at the prospects of armed revolution and find it more "horrifying" than the continued race violence and genocide committed by the rulers. There is no other interpretation one can place on these remarks.

The CP were exhorting the government to act at once before the liberation struggle came under the influence of a leadership that aimed at nothing less than a radical social overturn by methods of armed struggle. In this connection they refer to their services to the rulers. Fischer cites the Umkhonto Manifesto which says:

"We of Umkhonto we Sizwe have always sought to achieve liberation without bloodshed and civil clash. We hope, even at this late hour, that our first actions will awake everyone to a realisation of the disastrous situation to which Nationalist policy is leading. We hope that we will bring the Government and its supporters to their senses before it is too late, so that both the Government and its policies can be changed before matters reach the desperate stage of civil war." [Emphasis added.]

The "first actions" which Umkhonto (the military wing of the Congress Alliance) undertook to "bring the Government and its supporters to their senses" were "some highly controlled and restricted sabotage" against "carefully selected targets, targets which could be attacked without endangering life and limb...(and) which, if successfully attacked, would disrupt the process of governing."

The CP do not tell us that these futile methods not only increased the intransigence of the whites but exacerbated their race prejudice, compelling the government at the time to strengthen their armed forces and arm the whites more effectively. Earlier, Fischer had made reference to the Defiance Campaign against "Unjust Laws" in 1950. It was a peaceful demonstration, "but...violence was used against the protestors, violence in the form of arrests of innocent people and actual violence in the way of shootings." Yet even this natural reaction by the rulers against those who wanted to change the system of oppression did not deter the CP from using the black masses more than ten years later in an attempt to bring about reform in order precisely to forestall a revolution. That the use of the black masses to champion the lost causes of the CP led to their ruthless persecution and death in many instances, does not apparently worry the "communists" as long as a revolutionary upsurge could be averted.

What is significant here is that, while the CP irrevocably rule out force and revolutionary violence by the masses, the race violence of the ruling classes is simply deplored each time it occurs, and this in response to the peaceful methods of the CP and the Congress Alliance. This is a double standard of morality which naturally flows from their concern over the white voters and the existing property relations. Thus the CP acted in order to prevent a recurrence of the "Paarl riots" and the "Bashee murders" which led to the loss of white lives. Their action was calculated "to have the effect of deterring extremists, whose numbers and influence were growing at an alarming rate, from undertaking precisely that kind of terrorism which we have always fought to prevent." [Emphasis added.]

Equally damning is the CP view of the Azanian revolution as nothing else than the beginning of a race war. The calculated race wars of the rulers down the centuries hold less terror for them. But as soon as the black masses undertake some sort of concerted action to counter the race wars of the whites in order to protect themselves and improve their conditions of life, then the CP view this as the beginning and aggravation of racial strife. Listen to this:

"...there had been grave unrest in many parts of the country due to the application of apartheid laws -- in Zeerust and Sekhukhuniland, in Durban and Warmbaths, in Zululand and Pondoland.

"All these pointed to the almost inevitable outbreak of violence in its most dangerous form, i.e., indiscriminate violence purely on racial grounds."

Thus the steps taken by the poor peasants in these areas to resist the measures of the rulers to destroy their crops, cull their cattle and destroy their villages in order to force them to work for starvation wages, are called by the CP "violence in its most dangerous form"; more dangerous, that is, than the violence of the state against defenceless people. The CP are more concerned over those organised actions by the masses which "stimulate race antagonisms" and lead to loss of white lives than they are over the actions of the state which increase race antagonisms and the loss of black lives a hundred times.

[To be continued.]

#### CORRECTION

In the interview with Peng Shu-tse appearing in the February 10 issue of World Outlook, the sentence on page 145 reading, "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," should read: "As I stated earlier, the leaders in the Northwest, Southwest and Northeast bureaus can be considered to stand pretty firmly in the camp of the opposition."

#### CORRECTION

Several errors in translation appeared in the article "A New Stage in the Crisis in China" by Livio Maitan [World Outlook February 3].

On page 116, a sentence reads, "In line with this they utilized themes analogous to those tried out in mobilizing the Red Guard youth and they went so far in this as to advocate the formation of elective committees in the plants, the members of which are charged with keeping up production." This should be: "In line with this they utilized themes analogous to those tried out in mobilizing the Red Guard youth and they went so far in this as to advocate the formation of elective committees in the plants, the members of which are charged with staying on the job despite their election."

On page 117, a sentence reads, "In any case, the rejoinder of the group in power was rather lengthy, going into various areas:" This should be: "In any case, the rejoinder of the group in power was rather clear finally, going into various areas:"

On pages 117-18, a sentence reads, "What is particularly significant is that in the appeal published January 5, the 'troublemakers' are falsely presented as elements of the extreme left." This should be: "What is particularly significant is that in the appeal published January 5, the 'troublemakers' are accused of having falsely presented themselves as elements of the extreme left."

#### CORRECTION

A few translating errors occurred in three articles on China written by Livio Maitan and published in World Outlook some issues ago. The incorrect sentences, together with the corrections, are as follows:

In "Stormy Internal Conflicts in China -- I" which appeared in our October 7, 1966, issue:

On page 17, line 7, a sentence reads, "Elements in the army wanted to have a free hand in their own domain and not submit to constant interference from the party bureaucracy; and, in the presence of an accommodating attitude on the part of the political leadership (for example, certain statements by Chen Yi last fall), they emphasized

the importance of military technique." This should read, "Elements in the army wanted to have a free hand in their own domain and not submit to constant interference from the party bureaucracy; and, in the presence of an unfounded optimism on the part of the political leadership (for example, certain statements by Chen Yi last fall), they emphasized the importance of the factor of military technique."

On page 17, line 21, a sentence reads, "Did similar polemics develop in the industrial sector?" This should read, "Similar polemics developed in the industrial sector."

On page 17, line 25, a sentence reads, "Primacy belongs to the party and to the thought of Mao, the capital methodological importance of which in the construction of industry, technological progress and new discoveries, is exaggerated to the point of absurdity." This should read, "Primacy belongs to the party and to the thought of Mao, the capital methodological importance of which in the construction of industry, technological progress and new discoveries, is praised to the point of absurdity."

In "Stormy Conflicts in China -- II" which appeared in our October 14 issue:

On page 21, line 7, a sentence reads, "The youth learn the documents by rote; they did not experience the former regime; and they have not passed through the crucible of revolutionary war; they do not have the ideological education and training of the old cadres." This should read, "The youth, the documents repeat, did not live under the former regime and they did not go through the crucible of revolutionary war -- they do not have the ideological training and education of the old cadres."

In "The Continuing Crisis in China" which appeared in our October 21, 1966, issue:

On page 24, footnote No. 9, a sentence reads, "Sun Ken-fang's theses must have been even more far-reaching than those of Liberman." This should read, "Sun Ken-fang's theses must have been even more extreme than those of Liberman."

#### SOLIDARITY MESSAGES SENT TO TONY BLOOM

Socialist youth in the United States, who have been the target of native fascists, felt immediate solidarity with Tony Bloom, a member of the Young Communist League in London, when they learned that he had been shot in the stomach by a fascist January 29. [See World Outlook February 10.] The attempted killing of Tony Bloom was a fresh reminder of the three members of the Young Socialist Alliance who were shot down by an "anti-Communist" in Detroit last May 16 -- Leo Bernard, who was killed, and Jan Garrett and Walter Graham, who were seriously wounded. The National Executive Committee of the YSA sent a message of solidarity to Tony Bloom as follows:

"The Young Socialist Alliance extends its solidarity to you. The fascist attack on you is a desperate attempt to stop youth from fighting for fundamental social change, against reaction, and for an end to the inhuman war in Vietnam. The barbaric acts of the U.S. government in Vietnam and the British government's complicity with those acts contribute greatly to the anticommunist atmosphere upon which your assailants rely. In the United States this war-fed atmosphere has recently led to several terroristic acts, including the assassination of our comrade, Leo Bernard. Such acts will not intimidate us, and our immediate response must be to deepen the struggle for an end to the war in Vietnam. We will work all the harder for an internationally united and coordinated fight against the Vietnam war, for a world free from poverty, oppression, and violence -- for socialism."

The Socialist Workers party sent the following message: "We condemn the attempt by a fascist thug to murder you, and extend our sympathy and solidarity to you against this attack. Fascist violence is bred and nurtured by the capitalist system, including in those countries where capitalism rules for the time being under a 'democratic' guise. But the objective of the terrorists to intimidate fighters for peace and socialism will not be attained. We pledge to redouble our efforts to build a world cleansed of all violence, the great objective of the socialist revolution."

The Militant declared in an editorial in its February 13 issue: "These attacks are spawned by the atmosphere of anti-communism generated by the capitalist ruling class. This atmosphere is intensified by the war in Vietnam, where the capitalists make the killing of communists a virtue. The support by the Wilson government to the war in Vietnam is undoubtedly a factor in developing an anti-communist atmosphere in England which makes fascists feel they can kill communists and other radicals with official sympathy and moral sanction."