

**INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST
REVIEW**

Summer 1966

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Program for African Unity

Nkrumah's Downfall

The Teamsters' Union

Cuba: Which Road ?

STALINISM or TROTSKYISM

Blas Roca: Cuban Communist Party

Joseph Hansen: editor of The Militant

A Political Assassination

The following statement was issued May 17, 1966, by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party:

A young socialist antiwar fighter, Leo Bernard, was slain yesterday in the Detroit headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party by an ultra-reactionary gunman. The other Wayne State University students, Jan Garrett and Walter Graham, are in the hospital, critically wounded.

This shocking, tragic and ominous deed is not an isolated act. It follows the bombing of the W. E. B. DuBois Club offices in San Francisco and the bombing of the headquarters of the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee.

The pattern is one of terroristic intimidation against the American antiwar, anti-racist, radical youth and socialist forces. The Detroit victims were members of the Socialist Workers Party or the Young Socialist Alliance, both energetic participants in the protest movements against the U. S. intervention in Vietnam and in the Freedom Now struggle of the Negro people.

This murderous assault was politically motivated. It was a product of the witchhunt atmosphere that has been stirred up and intensified by the "dirty" war in Vietnam. From the White House on down to the John Birchers and the Ku Klux Klan, the country is being incessantly incited against the "communist menace." Today's glorified "hero" is the killer in the green beret in Southeast Asia.

This bloody blow at the antiwar and socialist forces is a terroristic attempt to curb dissent. It is tragic confirmation of the recent warning by Senator Fulbright that the war hysteria whipped up by all the reactionary forces, beginning with the Pentagon, menaces freedom of speech and the hard-won liberties of the American people.

Taking the official propaganda as a cue and a license, the Detroit murderer armed himself and set out to kill some "communists."

This super-patriotic supporter of Washington's foreign policy of intervening against "communism" in places like Vietnam and Santo Domingo, is like many others also a rabid white supremacist. In March he applied for admission to Verwoerd's South Africa, saying he was "armed and prepared to fight against the Communists." Unlike the mercenaries hired by the CIA to crush the freedom fighters in the Congo, he was turned down and so took to hunting for victims closer to home.

American capitalism and its rulers are becoming



LEO BERNARD
October 24, 1938 — May 16, 1966

increasingly prone to violence. Over TV and radio, in the press and comic books, violence is shown and glorified day and night. The supreme madness of this system is the stockpiling of nuclear weapons capable of wiping out the entire human race. And Johnson's policy of escalating the war in Vietnam has made this possibility very real.

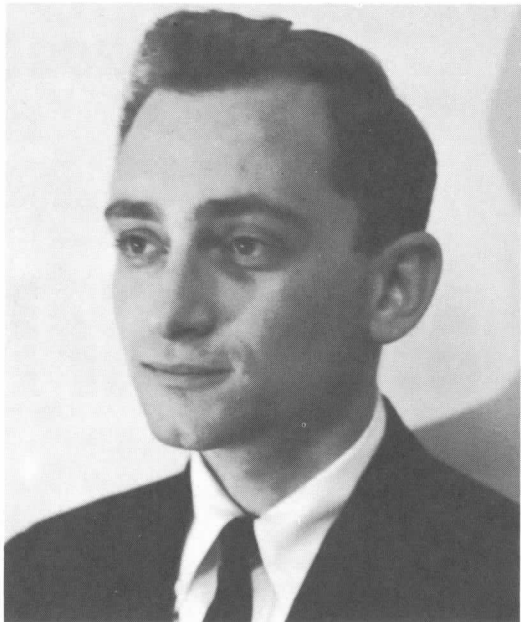
The Socialist Workers Party, as the most intransigent opponent of U. S. imperialism, mourns the martyred Leo Bernard. But it pledges to fight all the more resolutely to advance the socialist cause for which he died.

The best way to honor Leo Bernard is to stand firm and close ranks against all assaults by the forces of reaction.

Defend the right of all Americans to speak out!

Build a bigger, stronger antiwar movement!

Forward to a socialist America in a socialist world — a society cleansed of violence where peace, justice, equality and an end to poverty can be realized!



LEO BERNARD
October 24, 1938 — May 16, 1966

The Trotskyist Slanders Cannot Tarnish The Cuban Revolution

BY BLAS ROCA

In this issue of the International Socialist Review we are publishing two important documents in the development of the polemic which was initiated by Fidel Castro in his closing speech to the Tricontinental Conference, January 15, 1966. In that speech, Castro attacked "Trotskyism" in terms reminiscent of the frame-up charges in the infamous Moscow trials of the thirties.

The first document is an attempt to defend Fidel Castro by Blas Roca. Roca was the secretary general of the Cuban Communist Party in the thirties in the heyday of Stalinism and the secretary general in the continuation of that party in the form of the Partido Socialista Popular. Today Blas Roca is a member of the newly organized Communist Party of Cuba.

*Roca's article has been translated from the text published in the May 1 issue of the Mexico City semimonthly magazine *Politica* which carried it under the name "The Trotskyist Slanders Cannot Tarnish the Cuban Revolution."*

The second document is an answer to Roca's article by Joseph Hansen. Hansen is the editor of

The Militant, the American socialist weekly which Roca attacks in the first article. The article is reprinted from World Outlook, Volume 4, No. 17, May 27, 1966.

The vigorous and illuminating denunciation of the anti-Cuban propaganda of the Trotskyists which Compañero Fidel Castro made in his speech closing the Tricontinental Conference, was indispensable.

Not of course because of any significance ascribable to the Trotskyists in themselves, but because of the relation their propagandistic campaign has to the action Yankee imperialism is developing against the Cuban Revolution and because of the damage which, under the circumstances created by the differences involving various socialist states in the international Communist movement, their confusionist campaign could cause in some incipient sector of the rising revolutionary movement in Latin America.

Trotskyism is, in itself, in its politics and its theory, a corpse. Extended internationally in opposition to

Leninism and the Leninist thesis of the possibility of the triumph of socialism in one country, historic experience defeated all its major theses and reduced it to small groups isolated from the masses, whose principal function remained limited to combating the Soviet Union and the Communist parties.

The Yankee imperialists have found in the Trotskyists very active auxiliary forces in their efforts to destroy in the eyes of the Latin-American peoples the prestige of the Cuban Revolution by utilizing slanders and confusionist propaganda. These efforts are part of the imperialist campaign against Cuba: They complement the attacks by military means, the actions of infiltrated agents—sabotage, crime, espionage—the economic blockade, the breaking of diplomatic relations by the Latin-American countries, etc.

On the one hand, directly and in the name of its widely known agencies, the Yankee imperialists carry out an intense campaign in Latin America to convince the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois sectors that Cuba, and not the United States, constitutes a danger to the independ-

ence of their countries; that Cuba, and not the United States, is the interventionist power in the continent; that Cuba and not the conditions of national humiliation, underdevelopment, backwardness, unhealthy conditions, lack of culture, reactionary coups d'etat, repression and persecution, conditions created, reinforced or maintained through the intervention and domination of North American neocolonialism, is the cause of the uprisings, guerrillas, protests and struggles of the Latin-American peoples.

On the other hand, through channels that are not easily identifiable as imperialist and groups that employ a super-revolutionary language, they carry out a campaign to confuse the intellectual, student, worker and peasant sectors, spreading among them slanders such as that the Cuban Revolution is a failure, that it is not socialist, that it is not granting the aid or solidarity due the Latin-American peoples, that its leaders have been "purged" by tortuous means, that it is being consum-

ed in internal quarrels between men and factions fighting for power, that Cuba has been converted into a satellite of the Soviet Union, that Cuba's actions are determined by Soviet pressure, etc.

Indirect Sabotage

While the direct North American propaganda "justifies" its intervention in Santo Domingo with the pretended danger of a coup by "Communists trained in Cuba," the indirect propaganda by way of the Trotskyists accuses Cuba of not having given active solidarity to the Dominican revolution. While the OAS condemns Cuba "for sending arms to the Venezuelan guerrillas," supposedly revolutionary propaganda is circulated throughout the continent accusing Cuba of "turning its back to the Latin-American revolution."

This is the dual aspect of the propaganda war which the Yankee imperialists are developing against Cuba. In this war, Johnson, Rusk, McNamara, the CIA, the counterrevolutionary groups and grouplets are given the task, with the help of the AP and the UPI, of presenting Cuba as a revolutionary danger to the continent which must be smashed; while the Trotskyists and other pseudo-revolutionary elements undertake the dirty task of promulgating that the revolutionary power in Cuba is not revolutionary nor undertaking its duties of solidarity with the peoples, etc.; that is, the task of promulgating those things that help the imperialists in their effort to destroy the prestige and authority of the Cuban Revolution. The firm and unconditional defense of the anti-imperialist and socialist revolution, triumphant in Cuba, is a duty for every honest revolutionary, whatever his party affiliation.

This defense must be mounted whether it involves a military attack, an economic attack or an ideological and political attack of the enemies of the Revolution. This defense is not only a duty of solidarity, but in the direct interest of the movement for the revolution, for the sovereignty and independence of every country, for progress and socialism.

When Yankee imperialism seeks to destroy the prestige and authority of the Cuban Revolution in the eyes of the Latin-American peoples, it does not do so with the sole aim of weakening and isolating Cuba in preparation for a military attack. It does it also to weaken the resistance of any Latin-American country to its claims to domination and imposition of its will in order to weaken the revolutionary movement for national and social liberation in all the Latin-American countries, to weaken the faith of their peoples in revolution, in the final outcome of their combats and sacrifices.

The Trotskyists and other elements of like stripe, while they speak an ultra-revolutionary language, instead of conducting a struggle in honest defense of the revolution, collaborate with imperialism in the campaign to undermine its prestige and authority in the eyes of the masses.

Imperialist Agents

All this is one more proof that, as Compañero Fidel said, Trotskyism became a vulgar instrument of imperialism and reaction. With citations from declarations and writings of Trotskyist individuals and publications he showed convincingly that the campaign they are conducting is that of agents of imperialism.

Well, are the individuals and publications Trotskyist as was said in the speech of the first secretary of our party before the delegates of the First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America?

Strange as it may seem, it is necessary to answer this question, since Trotskyism is a medley of such confusion, of groups and subgroups, that some Trotskyists deny that other Trotskyists are Trotskyists. This, for example, is what *The Militant*, the newspaper of the North American Trotskyists does, when it tries to puncture the denunciation of Trotskyism made by Compañero Fidel Castro through the very simple device of claiming that the Trotskyists cited by him are not Trotskyists. According to this newspaper, neither the review *Marcha* of Montevideo, nor *Il Nuovo Mondo* of

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Rome, nor the *Monthly Review* of New York are Trotskyist, so that it considers that "the proofs cited by Castro to prove his assertions (against the Trotskyists) are flimsy."

The Newsletter, on the other hand, says that the review *Marcha* is an organ of the Posadas group, although it considers the latter not to be genuinely Trotskyist.

Independently of what *The Newsletter*, organ of the English Trotskyists, says, the allegation of *The Militant* is pure sophistry, since in the first place, Compañero Fidel did not say that the reviews mentioned were Trotskyist, but that they had published articles and reports of known Trotskyists and, in the second place, it is more than evident that the said publications systematically diffuse Trotskyist propaganda.

The English Trotskyists as well as the North Americans deny that Felipe Albaguante is Trotskyist. On J. Posadas, who is the head of the Latin-American Bureau of the Fourth International (Trotskyist) *The Newsletter* says the following:

"The Posadas group, in particular, is 'Trotskyist' only in name. In Great Britain, its most prominent leader when the group was founded has openly supported the right-wing witch-hunt against Young Socialists and councillors, while calling for world revolution! (such political chameleons, it seems can only be found in Posadas' menagerie.)" And *The Militant* itself, although it accuses Posadas and his groups of holding to stupidities like nuclear war being inevitable and that the atomic bombing of Moscow will signify the rebirth of the world proletariat, asserts that "to say that they constitute a vulgar instrument of imperialism and reaction is, however, a slander."

What the Trotskyist groups—including those of *The Militant* and *The Newsletter*—are spreading with respect to the Cuban Revolution are slanders, and very obvious ones. And that these slanders serve only the Yankee imperialists in their propaganda war against Cuba there is not the slightest doubt. And this labor did not begin now, but from the time they became convinced that they could not infiltrate into the Cuban Revolution, as they tried, in order to carry out from within their

work of provocation, confusionism and conspiracy in favor of the aggressive plans of North American imperialism.

In the mimeographed newspaper which was printed in Cuba by an organized Trotskyist group after the triumph of the Revolution with the assistance of Posadas and Adolfo Gilly—the latter was in Cuba in 1963 advising this Trotskyist group—the direct and open attacks on the Cuban Revolution and its leadership became general beginning in 1963. For example, in number 34 of the said newspaper, corresponding to the first part of September 1963, in an editorial entitled: *Cuba must support the Chinese line of world revolution*, it is brazenly asserted: "There is an enormous contradiction between the critical and alert revolutionary consciousness of the masses and the 'sea wave' which the leadership of the Revolutionary Government has been following between these pressures, from the international to the economic line."

And in number 43, corresponding to the first part of February 1964, they likewise posed editorially things like this: "In spite of the conciliatory and counterrevolutionary line of peaceful coexistence with imperialism which the Fidel Castro leadership has posed, the masses continue pressing against this line and go much beyond it."

Coincidental Attacks

In other words, as before, at the same time as the United States was giving a new impulsion to its aggressive policy against Cuba, with the piratical action of seizing the four Cuban fishing boats and detaining their crews, the Trotskyists carried out their counterrevolutionary mission of trying, with their slanders, to undermine the prestige and authority of the Cuban Revolution.

In the newspaper *Frente Obrero*, organ of the *Partido Obrero Revolucionario* (Trotskyist) of Uruguay, corresponding to September 11, 1963, in a long, extremely confused and at times incomprehensible article or report by J. Posadas entitled *The discussions on architecture in Cuba, based on the development of the pre-*

sent social struggles and preparation of the atomic war which imperialism is preparing, systematic defamation of the Cuban Revolution is carried on.

Congress of Architects

The article or report refers to the position which the Trotskyists had to take at the Seventh International Congress of Architects held in Cuba from September 29 to October 3 in that year. The fundamental point in this position seems to be to object to constructing homes or to subordinate constructing homes due to the fact that "when war comes it will destroy them" as can be seen in this confused paragraph which we have transcribed as follows:

"No congress of architecture can be posed without posing the war. It is insanity. It is an effort that is going to ask the Cuban population and the rest of Latin America and the world to do something that is going to be knocked down a few years later." The position, however, is the least of it. What is important is that throughout the whole article or report, slanders are inserted as baseless as this one which, by way of example, we have transcribed as follows:

"The congresses which they (*the Cubans*) hold are genuinely shameful. For example, many youth are attracted to them with women and dances. It was this way in '60. The meetings are simply an excuse. They will do the same with the architects and teachers."

And as always, these attacks of Trotskyist propaganda coincide with the intensification of the attacks of the imperialists, who in the month of September 1963 had, with their pirate planes, dropped bombs on the Brazil sugar mill and near the city of Santa Clara, and the month before, in August, with their pirate launches, had machine-gunned Puerto de Casilda and the sulfametal plant in Santa Lucia.

We could multiply the quotations and show, with them, how on the basis of slanders and sophistry, the Trotskyists have oriented their propaganda, from the beginning, to pit the masses against the leadership of our socialist state, to pit *Che* against

Fidel, to sow division and disunity among the revolutionary forces united firmly in our country under the guidance of Compañero Fidel Castro. This is the campaign which they are continuing today, to the profit of imperialism, as vulgar instruments of imperialism and reaction, since more than ever this expression arouses the ire of the Trotskyists of *The Militant* and *The Newsletter*. *The Newsletter*, the organ of the English Trotskyists, which denies that Posadas or Albaguante are Trotskyists, hurls epithets and slanders against the Cuban Revolution not less venomous and false than theirs. They go to the extreme of brazenly calling for the overthrow of the revolutionary power in Cuba. With the typical phraseology of Trotskyism, they call Compañero Fidel Castro "head of a capitalist state machine" and "prime minister of a Bonapartist government."

"So long as the Cuban state," they write, "rests on capitalist foundations, our opposition to Castro will remain fundamental and implacable. We shall support every attempt, successful or abortive, to replace the Bonapartist dictatorship of Castro with the power of the working class, with democratically elected Soviets led by a revolutionary Trotskyist party."

This is clear. The slander of the revolution, the denial of the socialist character of the Cuban state, is followed by the proclamation that they will support every attempt to overturn the revolutionary government. The bit about replacing it with Soviets led by a Trotskyist party is a laughable excuse. The whole world knows that the only attempts—frustrated by the heroism and the will of the Cuban people closely united around their revolutionary government—to replace the socialist power in Cuba are those of the Yankee imperialists. "This does not," they add, "in any way, cut across the principled defense of Cuba from imperialist attack. On the contrary, the best defence we can provide to Cuba is to assist the Cuban workers to defend themselves militarily and politically from the attacks of their own ruling class."

This is even clearer . . . and more repugnant. The principled "defense" of Cuba against the imperialist at-

tacks consists in organizing political and military attacks against the revolutionary power. This explains the coincidence between the most brazen attacks of Trotskyist propaganda with the piratical aggressions of the Yankee imperialists against Cuba. That is, the propaganda attacks against Cuba is the "defense" of Cuba carried out by the Trotskyists. The Yankee imperialists and their mercenaries likewise say that their crimes against the people of Cuba have the objective of "freeing them" from the Communist tyranny. In cynicism, the Trotskyists do not concede an inch to the imperialists.

The Newsletter and *The Militant* defend Adolfo Malvagni Gilly and are enraged, like him, over what Compañero Fidel Castro said concerning Yon Sosa and the labor of the Trotskyists in Guatemala. It seems strange that they should defend Gilly, a coreligionist and subordinate of J. Posadas, while they denigrate him and his group, considered by *The Newsletter* to be a "menagerie" and by *The Militant* as upholding "stupidities." But this is in perfect harmony with the fundamental confusionist and provocative role of Trotskyism.

Nevertheless, *The Militant* is compelled to confess that: "A complicating factor in the Guatemalan situation is the role of representatives of the Posadas group. This is a split-off from the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky. The Posadas group calls itself 'Trotskyist' and even makes out that it constitutes the 'Fourth International' . . . Posadas happens to have a few followers in both Cuba and Guatemala whose ultraleft stupidities do isolate them from the masses." Precisely this is the crime of the Trotskyist who infiltrated the guerrilla front of Yon Sosa in Guatemala.

Proclaim Revolution

With ultraleft slogans and calls for the immediate realization of the socialist revolution, they isolate this movement from the masses, they cut their road of development. With no little frequency they point to socialist Cuba; but in 1958 the Rebel Army did not proclaim the socialist revolu-

tion, but united the people in the practical struggle to overthrow Batista's tyranny and to destroy his mercenary army which served to support him and which was the instrument of neocolonialism and all the reactionary social forces.

The Trotskyists like to say that the measures of socialist transformation were taken in Cuba under the pressure of the masses; what they are not even capable of understanding is that the *revolutionary leadership* under the guidance of Compañero Fidel Castro prepared each step and took it in consonance with the same state of consciousness which they had created in the masses. In 1959 the proclamation of socialism would have divided the country; in April 1961 the masses unanimously supported the declaration of Compañero Fidel Castro on the socialist character of our revolution and carried it to victory, with their blood, on the beaches of Playa Girón.

In Guatemala, on infiltrating into Yon Sosa's movement, the Trotskyist elements, if with regard to program they do something like put the cart before the horse, politically they promote disunity and antagonisms among the revolutionary forces and isolate the guerrilla fighters, imposing the program of the Fourth International on them.

Fidel's Denunciation

"What the Fourth International thus committed," said Compañero Fidel, "was a true crime against the revolutionary movement, to isolate it from the rest of the people, to isolate it from the masses, by corrupting it with stupidities, the discredited and repugnant and nauseating thing that is Trotskyism today within the field of politics." In replies attempted by the Trotskyists to the denunciation by Compañero Fidel of their venomous activity, they once more repeat the slanderous speculations on the absence from Cuba of Compañero Ernesto *Che* Guevara. This is logical if one keeps in mind the interest of the Yankee imperialists in the question. The Yankee imperialists were, naturally, the first to speculate over the absence of Compañero Guevara from Cuba. They, above all, wanted to know where he

was to be found. No sooner did they kill him in Santo Domingo, than they had him traveling through Central America, gravely ill in a hospital bed or they put him in the heart of the Peruvian jungles.

Rumors about Che

At the same time, as was already their custom, they made up and spread all kinds of macabre stories of their own pure invention: Castro had killed Guevara; *Che* was a prisoner or proscribed; there was a division among the Cuban leaders around the Chinese-Soviet differences; the Soviet Union had demanded Guevara's retirement, etc., etc. The letter from Compañero Ernesto *Che* Guevara to Fidel, written at the time of his leaving Cuba and read by the latter on presenting to the people the recently constituted Central Committee of the Communist Party, the first of October last year, was a crushing blow to all the tales woven by imperialism.

For the genuine revolutionaries, the words that Fidel said on the subject on that occasion, and the moving and profoundly revolutionary letter from *Che*, were definitive: They explained the absence of the stout and beloved comandante of our revolutionary war until it became necessary and possible to explain it. For the Yankee imperialists and for the Trotskyists no. They needed to continue the tales about "the mysterious disappearance," in order to continue the campaign to discredit the Cuban Revolution.

It is by no means accidental that the declarations of the Trotskyist elements and newspapers which Fidel mentioned in his speech, were made after the first of October; that is, when the letter from *Che* was fully known throughout the world. *The Militant*, in replying now, dwells on the theme and holds that what Castro ought to have done in face of the Trotskyist slanders is send a message to *Che* so that he, in a letter, might quash the rumor of his death. But in view of the facts, of what use would it have been? If before, with the last letter from *Che*, read by Fidel himself, the slanders and malicious speculations of these elements not only did not cease but multiplied,

wouldn't they have responded in the same way to a new letter?

The Newsletter, with greater cynicism, repeats the slanders. "Guevara," it says, "was killed or incarcerated in a special prison in Cuba or, and this seems more likely, he was exiled and his wife and children held as hostages in case he decided to do something rash—like speaking to the press or writing his memoirs. That Castro's fear of Guevara is real," it adds "was demonstrated recently when the Cuban government decided to disarm the militia on the flimsy pretext that the guns were not being maintained properly."

The slanders of *The Newsletter* are repeated by Gilly: "The vertiginous political evolution of the Cuban leadership in recent months," he writes, "confirms the opinion that it is true that they have either assassinated Guevara or that they are restraining him by some means or other from expressing himself politically."

For them the Tricontinental Conference was prepared bureaucratically, it was only a rostrum for Cheddi Jagan and Allende or it was a failure. In all their slanders against Cuba their innate hatred for the Soviet Union stands out.

Help for Imperialists

All the Trotskyist slanders now being repeated have as one of their aims to discover, for the benefit of the North American imperialists, the place where Compañero Ernesto *Che* Guevara is and, therefore, the concrete revolutionary activities which he is carrying on in accordance with his unshakable revolutionary vocation and his conviction as an anti-imperialist and socialist combatant. Along with this is the aim of serving, once more, the imperialist campaign to discredit the Cuban Revolution. Today this is one of their principal tasks inasmuch as Cuba represents the example, stimulous and support of peoples orienting toward a revolution against imperialism and its lackeys, servants and puppets.

Of course, their slanders will not get very far. Their tricks and divisionist intrigues can cause damage in countries like Guatemala and confuse sectors like those under the command of Marco Antonio Yon Sosa.

But neither will they prosper there for very long. The practical results of their tricks will show the masses and honest revolutionaries what they really are.

There is no slander, whether from the imperialists or from the Trotskyists or anyone else that can change the facts or destroy the prestige of a Revolution like the one in Cuba, made by dint of heroism and carried forward to its ultimate and necessary consequences.

The dignity, the firmness and the honesty of the leadership of the Cuban Revolution stand above any miserable slanderer. Faithfulness to proletarian internationalism, unlimited solidarity with the peoples struggling against imperialism, repeated a thousand and one times, have been proved by Cuba under all circumstances and before all the revolutionaries.

National sovereignty, seized in a revolutionary way from the Yankee neocolonialists who pre-empted it, has been maintained in a dignified way by Cuba, as the very reason for its struggle, as a banner for the peoples still subjugated, as the beginning of relations in the rising world of the new society without exploiters or exploited, in which countries, holding equal rights, are related fraternally with mutual respect and mutual collaboration.

There is no slander against the reality of our socialist revolution, which stands at the very doors of Yankee imperialism, of the reality of our successes and advances in the construction of socialism, of the reality of the unity of our people around the working class and the unbreakable confidence which it has in our successes and advances in the Central Committee and in its chief and guide, Compañero Fidel Castro. There is no slander that can tarnish the revolutionary call of the Second Declaration of Havana nor diminish the revolutionary importance of the resolutions of the First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In one word, there is no slander that can extinguish in the eyes of the masses of Latin America the burning flame of the inspiring example of the Cuban Revolution, victorious in face of all the aggressions, attacks and difficulties.

Stalinism or Trotskyism in the Cuban Revolution?

BY JOSEPH HANSEN

Why did Blas Roca feel impelled to take up the cudgel against Trotskyism? He says that Trotskyism, "in its politics and theory," is a "corpse." Wasn't Trotskyism reduced to that state by the late Stalin himself decades ago; not just once, but repeatedly, and not just polemically, but with frame-up trials, deportations and executions? Didn't both Khrushchev and Mao in their polemics finish the dead dog once again? Finally, wasn't the cadaver disposed of so effectively by Fidel Castro in his speech of January 15 that any hope of its ever being resurrected was ended once and for all?

What an unexpected sight, then, only three months after Castro's speech against Trotskyism, to see the Earl Browder of Cuba rushing to the rescue of the prime minister, as if unexpected weaknesses had suddenly been exposed in the January 15 speech – or unexpected life in the overkilled corpse!

Karl Marx, and Hegel before him, taught that what men propose – even the most powerful and authoritative – often fails to be realized and indeed, can end in just the opposite of

their aims and intentions. This appears to have been the case with that section of Fidel Castro's January 15 speech which was directed against the "Trotskyites" and intended to consign them to oblivion.

By employing old Stalinist slanders, long ago exposed as frame-ups, by lumping opposites together – the method of amalgam typical of Stalinism – by eschewing reasoned political argument, Fidel Castro's attack led to an outcome utterly unexpected by the advisers who supplied the prime minister with the material he used in his speech. Three things happened:

1) The slanderous charge that "Trotskyism became . . . a vulgar instrument of imperialism and reaction" was not accepted. The days of the Stalin cult are gone. The de-Stalinization process has destroyed forever the atmosphere when such vile accusations need only be asserted from on high to be believed. Castro's attack, on the contrary, provoked shock and dismay and led to widespread protests. The editors of the *Monthly Review* only voiced the general reaction in radical circles when

they recalled that "the accusation has no foundation whatever, as anyone who has seriously studied the history of the communist movement since the October Revolution must know"; that it was "precisely this accusation which provided the rationalization for the Soviet purge trials of the 1930's"; that if "anything has been proved – and not least by the Soviet government itself – it is that the trials were a shameless frame-up"; and that Fidel Castro "should not deceive himself that he can sway any but cowards and sycophants by mere denunciation."

2) Through the wide publicity it afforded and the sympathy it evoked for the slandered movement – undoubtedly the most maligned in all history – Castro's attack had the unanticipated effect of stimulating interest in the cause of Trotskyism and attracting further attention to its authentic ideas.

3) In the resulting discussion, the key issues involved in the attack began to emerge. They happen to be of vital concern to every revolutionary socialist and colonial freedom fighter: a) What is the nature of the



Fidel Castro addresses workers at cooperative in Pinar del Rio, 1960.

revolution now on the agenda in many countries, particularly Latin America? Must it first go through a bourgeois-democratic stage under bourgeois leadership? Or can a victory be projected under the leadership of a revolutionary-socialist party that frankly espouses from the very beginning the need to pose socialist tasks? b) What is the role of proletarian democratic norms in the revolutionary process, including free discussion and the exclusion of such abominations as slandering or muzzling oppositional views? Are these norms utopian, or are they really applicable and, in fact, a vital necessity?

These issues lie at the heart of the dispute and constitute its main interest. We will consider them in the process of analyzing Blas Roca's

contribution in detail.

The basic content of Blas Roca's article in the May 1 issue of *Politica* merely re-echoes the central theme of Castro's attack: Trotskyism is "a vulgar instrument of imperialism and reaction"—which itself was an echo of the standard Stalinist slanders. He repeats the very phrase insistently, as if mere repetition a number of times by someone as authoritative as Blas Roca would make up for Castro's unaccountable failure to make it stick.

There are, however, some instructive differences between the two attacks. While, in Castro's speech, the target was the Fourth International, you would never know that the references were to a fake "Fourth International" set up by one J. Posadas. Castro did not even mention the

name of Posadas. The connection of members of this group with the MR-13 guerrilla movement in Guatemala was used to brand the movement as "infiltrated" by "Trotskyites" whom Castro dubbed "agents of imperialism" under the general slanderous charge levelled against Trotskyism as such. Then independent journals, or journals of organizations having no connection with Trotskyism, were *amalgamated* with the fake Posadas "Fourth International" either because they raised questions about Guevara's leaving the Cuban political scene or because they published articles by Adolfo Gilly, a revolutionary-socialist journalist, whose views on some points demonstrably coincide with those of Posadas. In brief, Castro's attacks read a great deal like simi-



Fidel Castro addresses workers at cooperative in Pinar del Rio, 1960.

lar attacks made by Blas Roca himself as far back as 1961. (See, for instance, Blas Roca's book *The Cuban Revolution* or the pamphlet I wrote in 1962, *Trotskyism and the Cuban Revolution—An Answer to Hoy.*)

In contrast to Castro's original presentation of "Trotskyism" as a single movement, the nature of which could be judged from statements judiciously selected from the writings of the unnamed Posadas, or the statements of a creature of the UPI like Felipe Albaguante, who was exposed in 1963 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, Blas Roca now presents "Trotskyism" as "a medley of such confusion, of groups and subgroups, that some Trotskyists deny that other Trotskyists are Trotskyists." As a result, for the first time to my knowledge, Blas Roca deigns to identify Posadas as the author of some of the quotations which he finds so useful. He refers to a genuinely Trotskyist newspaper, *The Militant*, for the first time, although in a very peculiar manner, as we shall see. And, ranging far and wide, he brings in *The Newsletter*, the newspaper of the Socialist Labour League in Britain.

The purpose of this procedure soon becomes obvious. Responding to the emergency, Blas Roca is picking up the pieces of Castro's January 15 attack on Trotskyism and trying to build a better structure by using more boards, stronger glue, sturdier mortar to plaster cracks and a thick

coat of demagoguery to paint things and dazzle the eye.

This is a small-scale replica of the pattern Stalin followed in his notorious series of frame-up trials from 1936 to 1938. When glaring contradictions exposed the falsifications of his political police in a given frame-up, Stalin made up for it by staging a bigger and more imposing show trial. To use such methods in an effort to forestall Castro from rectifying a serious error—due, we may suppose, to bad advice—really injures the prestige and authority of the Cuban Revolution; that is, if Blas Roca can get away with it.

Now that he admits it involves something broader than the tiny Posadas group, Blas Roca seeks to ridicule the Trotskyist movement by saying that in it such confusion reigns "that some Trotskyists deny that other Trotskyists are Trotskyists." The argument only makes its author look ridiculous. Ultra-reactionaries likewise sneer at some Communists denying that other Communists are Communists; and they point to the polemics, which are not always models of comradeship, between the Khrushchevists, Maoists, Titoists and . . . Fidelistas.

What would an independent-minded revolutionist, who knows the positions of the leaders of the Cuban Revolution, say if someone argued like Blas Roca and coolly told an audience that the Cuban leaders were "imperialist agents," the proof being the evident confusion and mutual recriminations because of different positions taken on crucial issues by the Communist capitals—such as Belgrade's friendly attitude toward the Betancourt-Leoni government in contrast to Havana's hostility, Moscow's class-collaborationist attitude toward U.S. imperialism in contrast to Peking's intransigence, and Peking's sectarian rejection of a united front in defense of the Vietnamese Revolution in contrast to the appeals of all the others for a common front? The revolutionist would shout that this is utter nonsense and that the Cubans have their own positions—very good positions as can be determined by reading their declarations and judging their actions. To which the orator would respond in the crushing style of Blas Roca: "What a

joke! Everyone in this medley claims to be a Communist, whatever they call each other. I repeat what I said about the Cuban leaders no matter how much you squirm, and as proof I have scrupulously copied down the following stupidities from *Hsin-hua* on the united front."

The truth is that Blas Roca belongs to the Stalinist school which considers any critical opposition to the monolithic line handed down from the unchallengeable leader to be a reflection of imperialist pressure, if not a direct plot fomented by such agencies as the CIA. That the revolution should really be a "school of unfettered thought" is inconceivable to such ossified bureaucrats, for in a revolutionary party this involves the right to form tendencies and factions; and in a workers state it means the right of the proletariat to form a multiple party system so long as the various parties remain basically loyal to the revolution and its conquests. Democratic centralism means *democracy* in reaching decisions as well as *centralism* in carrying them out.

To rise to the level of the great tasks it faces, a revolutionary party before and after coming to power requires the free play of thought, not only because this is the best way to develop and lift the intellectual level of its members and leaders, but because it is the most efficient way of exploring all possible political variants and of reaching solid decisions that truly reflect reality and thereby enable the revolutionary party to intervene in the national and international class struggle most effectively. This view is not peculiar to Trotskyism; it is as old as scientific socialism and constituted the essence of Lenin's method of party building.

That serious differences appeared in the world Communist movement after the decades of Stalinist monolithism was in itself a progressive development. Arising fundamentally from the victory of the Soviet Union over German imperialism, the post-war advance of the colonial revolution, and a balance of world forces favoring the socialist camp, these differences have helped pave the way for a resurgence of revolutionary

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Marxism. What is bad is the absence of provisions, customs and institutions to carry the discussion of the differences forward to a democratic conclusion. And that lack reflects the continued existence of narrow, self-serving bureaucratic interests that deliberately block a normal resolution of the differences through the process of free discussion.

The Trotskyist movement did not remain unaffected by the advance of the colonial revolution, by the commencement of de-Stalinization, by the differences revolving around the Sino-Soviet conflict, and by other events. In fact the differential consequences of these developments can easily be found in the positions advocated by the various tendencies claiming adherence to Trotskyism.

A first-rate example of this was the impact of the Cuban Revolution. The overwhelming majority of the Trotskyists throughout the world considered this to be the opening of the socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere. The appearance of a new leadership, generated in the very process of a revolution, untainted by Stalinism and imbued with revolutionary determination, was hailed with immense enthusiasm. In the United States, the Socialist Workers Party took up the cause of the Cuban Revolution as its own and its candidates put defense of revolutionary Cuba as the first foreign-policy plank in their national election platform in 1960 and 1964. The Fourth International as a whole responded in the same enthusiastic way. This common estimate provided one of the main grounds for the healing in 1963 of a major split in the world Trotskyist movement that had lasted almost ten years.

Two groupings, each of them representing small minorities, stood in opposition and came to consider their differences to be so great as to transcend their duty to adhere to the principles of democratic centralism. One of these engaged in a split (Posadas of the Latin-American Bureau) and the other rejected participation in the reunification of the world Trotskyist movement (Healy of the Socialist Labour League).

Posadas, an energetic organizer, had been developing rather eccentric positions of his own inside the move-

ment, and on splitting he cast aside all restraint. He advanced the idea that nuclear war and revolution are synonymous; i.e., a nuclear war will finish capitalism but not socialism, it is therefore to be welcomed, and in fact ought to be initiated in a pre-emptive strike by the Soviet Union. Among the various tendencies of the world Communist movement, Posadas expresses affinity with Mao's thought, which, as he indicates with satisfaction from time to time, often corresponds with his own "brilliant" analyses. Apparently he is convinced that Mao reads his speeches and reports. The Posadas group could be dismissed as a rather bizarre cult were it not for the fact that it has a few followers in Cuba, has contacts with the Guatemalan guerrilla movement, claims to be the Fourth International, and thus serves Blas Roca as a convenient club with which to beat the "corpse" of Trotskyism.

The Healy group, reflecting British insularity, took the position that the Cuban Revolution has not reached the phase of a workers state, that Cuba remains capitalist, and that Castro is just a demagogue if not worse.* In this respect, the quotations selected by Blas Roca were accurate enough reflections of Healyite views. It happens, however, that Healy's position, clearly a prime example of ultraleft sectarian thinking, was thoroughly debated by the world Trotskyist movement and overwhelmingly rejected as not in consonance with the reality.

In presenting Healy's nonsense about Cuba as the position of the Fourth International or *The Militant*, Blas Roca is deliberately dis-

* *The "theoreticians" of the Socialist Labour League consider that their abysmal ignorance of Latin-American politics endows them with a special right to pontificate on the Cuban Revolution. Naturally this offers sport to Blas Roca, who chortles over such boners as their informing the British public that the independent weekly Marcha of Montevideo is an "organ of the ultraleft Posadas group." For those hardy souls who try to keep up with The Newsletter this is but another sad instance of the notorious unreliability of this publication in handling such pedestrian things as facts. But what should we say then of The Worker, the voice of the American Communist Party, which, in its January 23, 1966, issue, printed a dispatch from its Havana correspondent listing Marcha as a "Spanish Trotskyite weekly?"*

honest. I say this not as an epithet, but as an easily proved statement of fact. *The very article in the February 5 Newsletter from which Blas Roca quoted ends up with an attack on the Socialist Workers Party for its position in relation to the Cuban Revolution and Fidel Castro.*

Omitted Pabloites

Blas Roca could have brought in the conflicting position of still another group which claims to represent the Fourth International: a recent minor split-off headed by Michael Raptis (Pablo). Apparently this did not fit in with the immediate job at hand. Up to now this group has not developed views on Cuba differing distinctly from those of the Fourth International. Its differences are in other areas. It considers the de-Stalinization process to be irreversible and synonymous with democratization. In the Sino-Soviet conflict it favors Moscow over Peking and leans most strongly in the direction of Titoism. The sharpest differences with this group occurred over party-building methods, particularly the observance of democratic centralism.

Let us now consider Blas Roca's argumentation on how the Trotskyists allegedly serve as "very active auxiliary forces" in the effort of the Yankee imperialists "to destroy the prestige and authority" of the Cuban Revolution. He seeks to prove this by citing published statements by Posadas selected to coincide with the timing of various piratical forays fomented or engineered by the State Department or the CIA. Posadas coordinates his statements, if we are to believe Blas Roca, so that they appear in published form "as always" to "coincide with the intensification of the attacks of the imperialists . . ."

Doesn't this sound like the red-baiting formulas of a comic book? Must we really submit this kind of argument to serious analysis?

1) What about the declarations made by Posadas between piratical forays? Did they fluctuate markedly in the direction of a friendly tone? If they did not, if Posadas maintained a uniformly critical position, then his declarations were not timed to coincide with the piratical for-

ays—and Blas Roca's case falls to the ground.

2) If Posadas' purpose was to undermine the prestige and authority of the Cuban Revolution, why did he make such self-destructive declarations? The very quotations carefully selected by Blas Roca are devastating—to Posadas. Read the sentences transcribed by Blas Roca from the article or report by Posadas on the discussions on architecture: "No congress of architecture can be posed without the war. It is insanity." And so forth and so on. Even Blas Roca is compelled to admit that the long text is "extremely confused and at times incomprehensible." He is completely correct. The utterances of Posadas damage only the prestige and authority of the author.

The alternatives are inescapable: Either Posadas appears bizarre to all who read such declarations, or the intellectual level of the Cuban cadres (and the cadres of the Latin-American revolution as a whole) is so incredibly low that they can be swept off their feet by extremely confused and at times incomprehensible nonsense. Does Blas Roca hold to the latter alternative?

Personally, it pleased me to see Blas Roca quoting so extensively from Posadas while at the same time clearly indicating who the author was. One could only wish that Blas Roca would be more honest about indicating that this is a small sect and not the voice of the Fourth International.

Is Blas Roca more fortunate with his quotations from *The Newsletter*? He asserts that the nature of *The Newsletter* position "explains the coincidence between the most brazen attacks of Trotskyist propaganda with the piratical aggressions of the Yankee imperialists against Cuba"; but he does not even try to indicate any coincidence in dates as he does in the case of Posadas. Blas Roca relies on barefaced assertion and the impact of the outrageous theoretical and political positions voiced by *The Newsletter*.

We would like to know in greater detail from Blas Roca, however, exactly how *The Newsletter* proved to be a "very active auxiliary force" in the efforts of the Yankee imperialists. Can he name any group in all of Latin America that has been

influenced by *The Newsletter*? We will go further. Can he name a single person in all of Latin America who considers himself a partisan of *The Newsletter*? The truth is that the position of *The Newsletter* on the Cuban Revolution is in such utter contradiction to the reality that the Healy group stands in absolute isolation. Its position on Cuba doesn't play the dirty game of imperialism, as Blas Roca maintains; it only plays into the hands of Blas Roca. Even the half dozen admirers of the Socialist Labour League to be found in the United States consider that Healy is completely wrong on this subject. They sedulously seek other reasons for praising him.

We thus come to a key question. Is this the best that Blas Roca can do in trying to bolster and shore up the contention that Trotskyism is a "vulgar instrument of imperialism and reaction"? The answer is yes. That's the best he can do.

Two omissions from Blas Roca's list are truly telling. The first is the Fourth International. He does not offer a single quotation from the genuine publications of the Fourth International. In all its declarations—and there are many of them—he could not find a single phrase that lent itself to his work! The reason is simple. The Fourth International espoused the cause of the Cuban Revolution from the very beginning, has energetically participated in its defense, and has pointed again and again to the Cuban Revolution as one more mighty verification of the validity of Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution. That is why Blas Roca found nothing to say about the main stream of the Trotskyist movement when he set out to do his smear job.

Socialist Workers Party

The other omission is the Socialist Workers Party. If Trotskyism became a "vulgar instrument of imperialism and reaction" and the Trotskyists are "very active auxiliary forces" in the efforts of the Yankee imperialists to destroy the prestige and authority of the Cuban Revolution, the most crushing proof surely ought to be found in the imperialist U.S.A. itself. And this should be all

the easier, one would imagine, because there is absolutely no question about who represents Trotskyism in the United States—it is the Socialist Workers Party.

Did Blas Roca fail to search here for evidence? We doubt it. He or his American co-thinkers combed the pages of *The Militant* and *The International Socialist Review*, and the public declarations of the American Trotskyists and their pamphlets and books, looking for something that could be used in the attack against Trotskyism.

Unimpeachable Record

The truth is that among the radical groupings in the United States, the record of the Socialist Workers Party is unimpeachable and outstanding; so outstanding, in fact, that Blas Roca himself has been very cautious about attacking it even when pinned down on the subject. For instance, in June of 1962, Blas Roca did a smear job on Trotskyism in *Hoy*, utilizing quotations from Posadas (whom he did not name as the source) in the way now familiar to us. But only a few months before that, in its April 16, 1962 issue, the *National Guardian* printed an exclusive interview in which Blas Roca was asked if he welcomed to the ranks of Cuba's friends and partisans in the U.S. "people of any orientation, for example Trotskyists . . ."

Blas Roca equivocated somewhat but obviously felt that he could not openly attack the American Trotskyists. "I am not well acquainted with those who call themselves Trotskyists in the U.S.," he said, "We are separated from Trotskyists in general by fundamental points of view, and from some in particular by their actions as enemies. But I think all in the U.S. who sincerely defend and support the Cuban revolution, and the right of the Cuban and other Latin American peoples, do a worthy revolutionary job and we value them whatever their ideological concepts may be . . ."

The Militant has consistently printed the main declarations of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara despite the limited number of pages at its disposal and is a well-known source



Farrell Dobbs (second from right) visits Cuban agricultural cooperative in spring of 1960. Trip was in preparation for 1960 presidential elections, in which Dobbs as the Socialist Workers Party candidate made defense of the Cuban Revolution his No. 1 foreign policy goal.

of truthful information about the Cuban Revolution. At the big turns like Playa Girón and the 1962 "Caribbean crisis," *The Militant* went all out in defense of the Cuban Revolution and denunciation of American imperialism. It did this, not from outside the country, but inside the imperialist monster itself. And its record of activity in defense of Cuba is superior to that of Blas Roca's sister organization, the American Communist Party.

The record of *The Militant* is so irreproachable in this respect, that Blas Roca was apparently puzzled as to how to smear it. His solution was the frame-up technique of the *amalgam*. He took the ultraleft sectarian position of the Socialist Labour League, which the Socialist Workers Party opposed so vigorously as to drive Healy to split from the Fourth International, and quoted it in close association with references to *The Militant*. To prove how deliberately this was done it is only necessary to take the January 31 issue of *The Militant* in which we first responded to the attack in Castro's January 15 speech, com-

pare it with the February 5 issue of *The Newsletter*, which deals with the same subject, including an attack on the Socialist Workers Party, and then check how Blas Roca pasted these opposites together in his article. It is an example for the textbooks on the polemical methods of the Stalinists.

There is still another remarkable omission. When Blas Roca wrote his article, he had before him a copy of the April issue of *Monthly Review* which contains the stand taken by editors Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy on Castro's January 15 speech. Yet he does not say a word about the *Monthly Review* or the very important issues raised by the two editors. He acts as if he had never heard about the deduction made by the *Monthly Review* concerning advisers who possibly supplied Fidel Castro with the material used in attacking "Trotskyism."

The proof that Blas Roca had this issue of the *Monthly Review* before him is, I think, compelling. In his article, he quotes the following sentence written by Adolfo Gilly, but without indicating its source: "The

vertiginous political evolution of the Cuban leadership in recent months confirms the opinion that it is true that they have either assassinated Guevara or that they are restraining him by some means or other from expressing himself politically." The source of that quotation is page 29 of the April 1966 issue of the *Monthly Review*. This is the same issue that contained the editorial statement by Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy. (We will return to the question of Guevara.)

Blas Roca failed to refer to the *Monthly Review* in order to facilitate evading the cardinal political issues. This is the same pattern followed by Gus Hall, the main spokesman of the American Communist Party, in his response to the stand taken by the *Monthly Review*. (See *The Worker* April 24, 1966, and my reply in the May 9 *Militant*.) Huberman and Sweezy challenged Fidel Castro on the "ugly and perhaps ominous" aspect of his speech in which he charged that Trotskyists are "agents of imperialism." "It was precisely this accusation which provided the rationalization for the Soviet purge trials of the 1930's," they said. Fidel Castro has not yet responded to the challenge issued by *Monthly Review*. Blas Roca chose to step forward instead. But he remained silent about the reference to the Moscow trials. Does he still support the "rationalization" used in purging Stalin's opponents or possible opponents? Does he think the Soviet government under Khrushchev was wrong in adding to the mountain or evidence proving that Stalin framed up his victims? He does not say.

However, we see that he proceeds as if Stalin had been vindicated. Thereby he provides a most illuminating insight into the nature of some of Fidel Castro's advisers and offers confirmation of the reasoning of the editors of *Monthly Review* that to revive the accusation used in the Moscow trials is a "sure sign of either ignorance or malice" and that in this matter "the malice comes from advisers who never abandoned the attitudes and methods which underlay the trials."

Without naming the *Monthly Review*, Blas Roca does attempt an answer on Che Guevara's disappearance from the Cuban political scene.



Farrell Dobbs (second from right) visits Cuban agricultural cooperative in spring of 1960. Trip was in preparation for 1960 presidential elections, in which Dobbs as the Socialist Workers Party candidate made defense of the Cuban Revolution his No. 1 foreign policy goal.

"Fidel," said the *MR* editors, "should be under no illusions that only imperialists and their agents are interested in Che's fate." They expressed the hope that Castro would soon clear up the mystery, but they asked: "Is Fidel Castro aware of the real issues at stake in the Guevara affair? And does he realize that every day's delay in clearing up the mystery brings anxiety and doubt to honest revolutionaries everywhere and joy to their enemies?"

More on Guevara

Blas Roca simply repeats the accusations made in Castro's speech—the sole interest in the matter allegedly lies with the Yankee imperialists, whose "very active auxiliary forces" spread all the contradictory rumors about Che Guevara in order to undermine the prestige and authority of the Cuban Revolution. The letter from Che read by Fidel last October was absolutely "definitive" for "genuine revolutionaries," says this prestigious authority. Blas Roca takes up only one new point, a point which I happened to advance in the article published in the January 31, 1966 *Militant* from which Blas Roca quotes several times. On the assumption, which I accepted, that Castro told the truth about Guevara's taking a new assignment, I called attention to the *disproportion* in that part of Castro's speech. If it was true that imperialism was making a big and damaging campaign against the Cuban Revolution by raising questions about Guevara's disappearance, then it was completely out of keeping to use this as a springboard for an implausible attack on "Trotskyism" which would only prove divisive in the revolutionary movement and would be rejected by the majority of today's revolutionary vanguard. On the other hand, it would have been devastating for Che Guevara to imitate Mark Twain and write a letter of greetings to the Tricontinental Conference indicating that the rumors about his death were grossly exaggerated.

Here is Blas Roca's response: "But in view of the facts, of what use would it have been? If before, with the last letter from *Che*, read by

Fidel himself, the slanders and malicious speculations of these elements not only did not cease but multiplied, wouldn't they have responded in the same way to a new letter?" As if the content and style of such a letter would not be sufficient to establish its authenticity!

This is Blas Roca's answer not only to *The Militant* but to *Monthly Review*, both of which raised the question from the viewpoint of honest revolutionaries concerned about the welfare and prestige of the Cuban Revolution. Does Blas Roca really think that the matter can be disposed of with the epithet "imperialist agents"? That kind of answer is alarming!

New Questions

Since Blas Roca wants it that way, there is little choice but to raise some further questions:

1) Does Che Guevara know about the speculation over his disappearance from the public scene in Cuba? Yes or no!

2) If he does not know, how is this to be explained?

3) If he does know, why does he fail to respond to the concern of his comrades and friends? Why doesn't he indicate to the world that everything is all right with him? At the moment, what single act by him could conceivably be of greater assistance to the Cuban Revolution?

Blas Roca becomes most effusive in praising the "stout and beloved comandante of our revolutionary war" Che Guevara and in defending him from the alleged slanderous attacks of the Trotskyists who, we are told, seek to pit him against Fidel. But Che's opinion of the Trotskyists is quite different from the view contained in the slanders put into Castro's January 15 speech. I noted this in the article in *The Militant* which Blas Roca cited. Blas Roca ignored the paragraphs quoting the tribute paid by Che Guevara to the Peruvian Trotskyist peasant leader Hugo Blanco who has been held in prison at Arequipa without trial for three years. Neither Guevara's tribute nor the picture of a Trotskyist leader rotting in a Peruvian jail for the "crime" of leading a peasant struggle can easily be fitted into Blas Roca's

slanderous picture of Trotskyism as a "vulgar instrument of imperialism and reaction."

While Blas Roca is answering the questions asked him above about Guevara, he might tell us also if he thought the stout and beloved comandante did wrong in paying tribute to Hugo Blanco. Speak up, Blas Roca, you have the floor . . .

Blas Roca singles out as one of his targets Adolfo Gilly and tries to make something out of the fact that "other Trotskyists" should both "defend" him and "denigrate him and his group." "It seems strange," says Blas Roca. ". . . But this is in perfect harmony with the fundamentally confusionist and provocative role of Trotskyism."

And in the very week that Blas Roca's article slandering Adolfo Gilly in the foulest way appeared in Mexico City in *Politica*, Adolfo Gilly was arrested by the Mexican police and held without bail because the charges were so serious that he might receive more than a five-year sentence. And what are the charges? That he engaged in a "Communist conspiracy" to overthrow the Diaz Ordaz government; that he was involved in such "crimes" as seeking to organize protest demonstrations against the visit of President Johnson!

Roca's Position

Where does Blas Roca stand in this? With the witch-hunters and red-baiters of the corrupt Mexican bourgeoisie? Or with the victim? We hope that Blas Roca will take a correct stand in this and express solidarity in the defense of Adolfo Gilly and the other victims despite his political differences with them.

Does a stand like that seem "strange"? It is perfectly comprehensible to every militant. And in the same way, the stand of *Monthly Review* in disagreeing with Adolfo Gilly's negative appreciation of the Tricontinental Conference and his estimate of Fidel Castro's course while agreeing with him on other issues is completely rational and understandable. The position of most Trotskyists toward Adolfo Gilly is not fundamentally different. They consider that he has made val-

uable journalistic contributions; at the same time, insofar as he is influenced by the views of Posadas on some issues, they would like to see him take a more independent course. No matter how mistaken they might think him to be in his views, they would unanimously reject with indignation the Stalinist slander that he is an "imperialist agent."

Murder of Leo Bernard

If Blas Roca chooses not to understand this, perhaps another case will sink home. I had barely begun this reply when the news came from Detroit that an ultrarightist, racist-minded gunman had entered the Eugene V. Debs Hall, the local headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party, to kill some "Communists." He ordered three young antiwar fighters there, one of whom belonged to the Young Socialist Alliance and two to the Socialist Workers Party, to line up against the wall. He then pumped nine bullets into them, killing Leo Bernard and critically wounding Jan Garrett and Walter Graham.

As Staughton Lynd said, "Leo Bernard is the first person in the peace movement to be murdered." I do not know whether this political assassination was reported in the Cuban press or what stand Blas Roca took on it. In the United States the entire antiwar movement has rallied in a spontaneous expression of solidarity in face of this murderous blow struck against the movement as a whole.

The Communist Party, U.S.A., made an official statement May 18 as follows:

"The deliberate political murder in Detroit, Michigan on May 16 of Leo Bernard of the Socialist Workers Party and the shooting of Jan Edward Garrett and Walter Graham of the Young Socialist Alliance in an attempt to kill them is a shocking consequence of the anti-communist campaign of the ultra-Right. These three young men who were active in the struggle to end the war in Vietnam are also victims of the domestic hatred engendered by the warmongers.

"For the past several months, the murderer had planned to kill some

communists.' On March 3rd, the Detroit police were warned that this was the plan of this political hoodlum and did nothing about it. The Federal agencies were told about the murder plan before March 3rd by a consulate in New York and did nothing about it except to tell the Detroit police. The murderer lined up his victims and started shooting with a shout, 'You are all Communists.' This is cold-blooded political murder and all who have responsibility must be called to account.

"This murder is related to the ultra-Right action organization of anti-Communist hoodlums in Detroit known as 'Breakthrough' which tried to break up a meeting in Cobo Hall on May 6th at which Gus Hall was the main speaker. On that occasion, one who tried to break into the meeting carried a loaded 38 revolver with obvious intent to use it. That outfit gets its political direction from the Birchites.

"This is also related to the bombings of the Communist Party headquarters building in New York, the bombing of bookstores in Detroit, Los Angeles and Chicago, the bombing of the DuBois headquarters in San Francisco and the Vietnam Day headquarters in Berkeley, the acts of arson in Chicago and Indiana, the death threats through the mails and by telephone in various cities—all of which are known to city and Federal authorities who do nothing about them. The Detroit murder must serve to halt this brand of terror in our political life. All who advocate peace, democracy and political freedom have the responsibility to speak up and strengthen these struggles."

Similar Opinion

Dorothy Healy, the Southern California chairman of the Communist Party, voiced the following opinion:

"The monstrous murder of Leo Bernard and the wounding of Jan Garrett and Walter Graham is a direct outgrowth of anti-Communist hysteria. This anti-Communism, which provides the justification for military aggression in Vietnam and domestic repression at home, has taken the life of Leo Bernard just as it has killed the Vietnamese fighting

for independence. All Americans fighting to end the war in the Mekong Delta and those fighting for freedom in the Mississippi Delta should join in demanding an end to the hysteria which produced this attack on members of the Socialist Workers Party."

We leave it to Blas Roca to fit these statements into his slander about the Trotskyists being "very active auxiliary forces" of American imperialism when in reality they are recognized by friend and foe alike as "very active" in opposition to its "dirty wars" in Vietnam, Santo Domingo and Cuba! No doubt Blas Roca will say nothing. Even silver-tongued orators sometimes find that silence is golden.

Roots of Ultraleftism

For a genuine revolutionary Marxist, it is not sufficient to determine that a position is "opportunist," or "ultraleft" or "sectarian." The reason why sincere and intelligent revolutionists can sometimes be found in any of the various blind alleys leading away from the road to socialism must be elucidated. Sociological reasons may be found, such as ties to the middle class or the pressure of a bureaucracy or caste.

Even if the analysis is carried far enough to reveal these underlying sources, a grain of truth may nevertheless be found lurking in their political positions. That is one reason why a figure of the stature of Lenin did not brush aside sincere revolutionists who argued for a position he disagreed with. His language could be very forceful, of course, but he nevertheless engaged in a reasoned discussion and he did not hesitate to appropriate something of value in an opponent's position. In the hands of Lenin, proletarian democracy was a genuine revolutionary tool.

It was injurious to the Cuban Revolution to muzzle the Posadas group. Blas Roca quotes from the "mimeographed newspaper which was printed in Cuba by an organized Trotskyist group after the triumph of the Revolution with the assistance of Posadas and Adolfo Gilly." He does not mention that the newspaper was mimeographed because they were denied the use of a

press. He does not add that even the mimeographed newspaper was put out of business through the arrest and imprisonment of those who produced and distributed it. Was the Cuban Revolution so weak ideologically that it was incapable of answering the arguments of even a Posadas?

Treatment of Posadas

It may have seemed troublesome to pay attention to the "long, extremely confused and at times incomprehensible" articles or reports by J. Posadas which constitute the main grist of his small propaganda mill. No doubt there are youth in Cuba, however, who might have liked to argue it out with the followers of Posadas as a way of sharpening their own thought and advancing their revolutionary education. The overhead cost of suppressing the group was rather high, for it gave substance to the false charge that the Cuban Revolution is going the way of the Russian Revolution; i.e., is becoming *Stalinized*.

Particularly in the United States where Stalinism has done untold damage to the revolutionary socialist cause, the suppression of the Posadas group did injury to Cuba. There were few campuses where the violation of the democratic rights of the Posadas group was not thrown at defenders of the Cuban Revolution, particularly *Trotskyist* defenders of the Cuban Revolution.

It is all the more brutally unfair of Blas Roca to tax the Posadas group with unwarranted criticisms of Fidel Castro in view of the unwarranted violation of their democratic rights. From their own experience they came to the conclusion that they had been given a raw deal and there are others who would agree on this despite the deepest repugnance for their political positions. The treatment of the Posadas group demonstrated that as yet the Cuban Revolution has not evolved institutional forms providing for the free expression of dissident opinion within the framework of loyalty to the Revolution. This is a grave weakness.

The mistake of the Socialist Labour League arises from the incapacity of its insular-minded leadership to recognize a revolution when

they see one. This is quite a condemnation of their theoretical and political capacities and signifies their doom as a viable movement. But there is one kind of revolution they would deign to recognize (we hope) if they saw it. That is a revolution that organized workers power through soviets or councils and followed the norms of proletarian democracy laid down by Lenin in *State and Revolution*. Since the Cuban Revolution has not yet achieved soviets, the SLL denies that a proletarian power exists in Cuba. From this they deduce that capitalism must still be in power no matter what measures have been undertaken and no matter what anybody says. They are, of course, mistaken. Their insistence on converting democratic norms into criteria marks them as sectarians; and their opposition to Cuba's revolutionary government despite its obviously tremendous achievements shows that they are ultra-lefts like Posadas. They are even less serious than Posadas, however. The entire colonial world remains largely a closed book to them. They are not really interested in it. They are quite content to vegetate in their placid little island where not even the cops carry guns. Periodically they announce grandiose plans about "reorganizing" the Fourth International and saving it from the "degeneration" brought about by such things as its support for the Cuban Revolution and the Castro team.

Nevertheless there is a kernel of truth in their criticism which must be recognized. Cuba does not yet have a soviet form of government. And this, too, is a grave weakness.

The mainstream of the world Trotskyist movement has held since the beginning that the Cuban Revolution is inherently the most democratic since the October 1917 Revolution in Russia. Evidence for this abounded in the early years. The blockade and armed aggression mounted by imperialism cut across this tendency and prevented it from flowering. For instance, the humanist Cuban leaders abolished the death penalty but had to reinstate it in face of the murderous forays and bombings organized by Cuban counterrevolutionaries financed, armed and instigated by the CIA. Under the tighten-

ing grip of the imperialist blockade Cuba necessarily took on some of the characteristics of a beleaguered fortress—which is not exactly a greenhouse for the development and observance of the norms of proletarian democracy. And still the Cuban Revolution remained remarkably free of the bureaucratic sickness that wreaked such havoc in the Soviet Union. When the bureaucratic danger became acute in 1962, the famous move against Aníbal Escalante and his cohorts was undertaken.

The Cuban leaders have indicated their awareness of the weakness in the Revolution on the side of political institutions and have expressed their intention many times of moving ahead in this field. They have made tentative experiments and have registered real progress in the construction of the Communist Party of Cuba. But they still have a considerable distance to travel before it need no longer be said that every important policy hinges on the decisions and the life of a single leader. The slowness of the process of setting up democratic institutions of proletarian rule in Cuba is of concern to many supporters of the Cuban Revolution besides the world Trotskyist movement.

Real Worry

We come finally to what is really at the bottom of the attack against "Trotskyism." Blas Roca intimates in his sneering references to the "superrevolutionary language" of the Trotskyists. You would think we were still back in the thirties when the Blas Rocas were defending the Stalinist (not Leninist) "thesis of the possibility of the triumph of socialism in one country" as against the Trotskyist position that the very defense of the socialist achievements of the October Revolution required the extension of the revolution and its culmination in an international revolution that would finally establish socialism in the industrially advanced capitalist countries. The correctness of the Trotskyist position has been confirmed by reality—in the extension of the revolution into Eastern Europe, in the toppling of capitalism and landlordism in China, and last, but by no means least,

by the revolution in Cuba itself, only ninety miles from the world's major capitalist power.

A single additional socialist revolution in Latin America today could end the isolation of Cuba from the American continent at one blow and assure the rapid spread of revolutions throughout the Americas. Never has the Trotskyist program had such reality as today! This is precisely what the Blas Rocas, representing the miserable remnants of Stalinism in the Western Hemisphere, fear and are seeking to block.

Roca as Analyst

Consider the following paragraphs from Blas Roca's article, in which he really tries to come to grips with Trotskyism:

"With ultraleft slogans and calls for the immediate realization of the socialist revolution, they isolate this movement from the masses, they cut their road of development. With no little frequency they point to socialist Cuba; but in 1958 the Rebel Army did not proclaim the socialist revolution, but united the people in the practical struggle to overthrow Batista's tyranny and to destroy his mercenary army which served to support him and which was the instrument of neocolonialism and all the reactionary social forces."

Whatever quotations Blas Roca may find in the articles and reports of J. Posadas, the Trotskyists do not call for the "immediate realization of the socialist revolution." This is a caricature, like the Stalinist caricature of former decades which claimed that Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution meant "simultaneous revolutions" everywhere.

"The Trotskyists," continues Blas Roca, "like to say that the measures of socialist transformation were taken in Cuba under the pressure of the masses; what they are not even capable of understanding is that the *revolutionary leadership* under the guidance of Compañero Fidel Castro prepared each step and took it in consonance with the same state of consciousness which they had created in the masses. In 1959 the proclamation of socialism would have divided the country; in April 1961 the masses unanimously sup-

ported the declaration of Compañero Fidel Castro on the socialist character of our revolution and carried it to victory, with their blood, on the beaches of Playa Girón."

According to Blas Roca, "The Trotskyists like to say . . ." Again, it is Posadas who likes to say. The decisive element in the victory of the Cuban Revolution was unquestionably the leadership provided by Fidel Castro, who succeeded in overcoming the long default in leadership due to Stalinists like Blas Roca, by-passing them from the left. Naturally the masses responded. So did the Trotskyists and many other genuine revolutionists on an international scale. But Blas Roca's reference to Posadas here is only part of the smokescreen under which he advances a line in opposition to the line followed by Fidel Castro up to now of revolutionary struggle and declared socialist aims.

Blas Roca's line, as indicated in these paragraphs, is the same line as the one advanced by the U.S. Communist spokesman Gus Hall in his criticism of *Monthly Review*. It is the concept that the revolutionary process in industrially underdeveloped countries must go through two separate stages, a bourgeois-democratic stage led by the progressive-minded bourgeoisie and a later stage in which the revolutionary leadership of the proletariat can come forward. The concept is the one advanced and defended by the Mensheviks in opposition to both Lenin and Trotsky. Something more is involved, however, than just a long outmoded concept.

I do not deny that in 1959 a "proclamation of socialism" in Cuba would have been widely misunderstood. The reason had nothing to do with the class character of the developing revolution. It was due to the enormous discredit brought on the very name of socialism or communism by the record of Stalinism in the Soviet Union and in Cuba where the Communist Party supported Batista. A "proclamation of socialism" would have been misunderstood as a "proclamation of Stalinism."

It was correct of Castro to avoid that misunderstanding; to which we should add that Castro himself had been repelled by the record of the

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Communist Party and did not yet consider himself a Marxist. Instead of developing around a proclaimed program of socialism, the revolution moved forward under a slogan of action; namely, armed struggle against Batista. And even on this level, the Communist Party under Blas Roca's leadership failed miserably, attacking Castro's movement as adventurist and putschist.

Nominated President

The truth is that Blas Roca's line, of avoiding the "super-revolutionary language" of socialism, of advancing the concept of two stages, had already been tried out in Cuba and had been found wanting, to say the least.

On December 4, 1939, the Cuban Communist Party nominated its candidate for the office of president. His name? Colonel Fulgencio Batista, the Chief of Staff of the Cuban armed forces. Blas Roca and his fellow Stalinist leaders backed Batista because they considered him to be a "man of the people," a good bourgeois democrat, a leader of the "first stage" of the revolution. And Batista rewarded his Communist Party supporters by giving them posts in his cabinet.

Without this coalition, Batista could never have gotten into a position to establish his bloody dictatorship. There were two stages all right. Two stages of a counterrevolution. In the first stage, the revolutionary forces were hoodwinked and duped into supporting a bourgeois democrat—a figure like Sukarno or Chiang Kai-shek, who was also touted by Stalin in the "first stage." In the second stage, the revolutionary forces were decimated as the counterrevolution consolidated its dictatorship. This tragic process was duplicated in Brazil two years ago when Goulart was pictured as the good bourgeois democrat on whom all reliance should be placed in stage No. 1.

The Castelo Branco coup d'etat in April 1964 demonstrated in the most emphatic way that the line of a "two stage" revolution is still quite capable of paving the way for a "two stage" counterrevolution. This lesson has been freshened since October

1965 with the blood of hundreds of thousands of Communists in Indonesia. If Blas Roca's line is applied elsewhere in Latin America, it will most certainly guarantee another defeat as it did in Cuba in Batista's day, in China in 1925-27, Brazil in 1964, Indonesia in 1965 and many other countries where it has been tested.

The question then comes up: Can a successful revolution be organized around a mere slogan of action as happened in Cuba under Castro? To answer, yes, implies two things: (1) The indigenous bourgeoisie and their imperialist backers have learned nothing from the Cuban experience. (2) The masses in Latin America have learned nothing from the Cuban example of going forward to the socialist stage—in other words, "socialism" still has not recovered in their outlook from the terrible discredit bought on it by Stalin and his handpicked lieutenants like Blas Roca.

Both conclusions are wrong, in my opinion. American imperialism and its stooges are far readier to act in the most violent way at the first sign of a revolutionary upheaval no matter what attempts are made to disguise it. Johnson's occupation of Santo Domingo and the repressive measures taken against the Peruvian guerrilla fighters in the past year are proof enough without adding the lesson of Johnson's escalation of the war in Vietnam.

Revolutionary Impact

On the other hand, the Cuban Revolution has had an immense effect on popular consciousness throughout Latin America and this effect will grow as the contrast between Cuba's gains and the stagnation in the rest of Latin America becomes more glaring. In record time Cuba achieved such things as the liquidation of illiteracy. Unemployment was ended, social security guaranteed, an education assured to every child. Despite all the difficulties of the imperialist blockade and a number of serious errors, the planned economy is developing and offers a bright perspective for the future. And what an impressive fact—little Cuba, only ninety miles from

the imperialist U. S. has been able to hold out against the world's mightiest power for seven years now! "Socialism," Cuban-style, is bound to appear more and more attractive—as the socialist revolution was to the masses of the world in the first years after the October Revolution. The Latin-American masses will become increasingly impatient to achieve what the Cubans did—a socialist revolution. And why shouldn't they have it?

This rehabilitation of the word "socialism" and the program of socialism will likewise be listed in history to the credit of the Cuban Revolution and it will be achieved despite everything that the Blas Rocas, with their treacherous advice can do to stop it.

In their editorial on Castro's January 15 attack against Trotskyism, Huberman and Sweezy made the following point:

"Whatever it's role in Guatemala, Trotskyism is certainly not a large or important political force in Latin America as a whole. But if Fidel Castro and the Latin American Communist parties duck the question of socialism, and still more if they attack as Trotskyites all those who openly struggle for a specifically socialist revolution, then the prospects for Latin American Trotskyism will be vastly improved."

Whatever it is called—"consistent class struggle," "revolutionary Marxism," "revolutionary socialism," or "Trotskyism"—the prospects for socialist revolution in Latin America are already vastly improved. The prospects for "class collaboration," "peaceful coexistence," "popular frontism," "coalitionism," or "Stalinism" are on the decline. The great dividing line was drawn by the successful Cuban Revolution. The popular appeal of the socialist goal, noted by Yon Sosa, the Guatemalan guerrilla leader, is but one indication of the deep processes at work in this direction.

The defeats and setbacks of the past few years will prove to be but temporary. Latin America's 200 million people are gathering their forces for another giant step forward. Nothing will be able to stop them—not all the dollars and guns of imperialism, and still less the pitiful labors of the Stalinist defilers of socialism.

The ADC Under Attack

BY ROBERT LANGSTON

The Alexander Defense Committee, an organization providing funds for legal defense and family relief to persecuted opponents of the racist South African regime, has been ordered by the U.S. Justice Department to register as an "agent of a foreign principal" under the provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938.

Civil liberties attorney Stanley Faulkner, who has been retained as counsel, has advised the Committee to ignore the order, as the Act is not applicable to it, and he has so informed the Justice Department.

In a letter to President Johnson, A. D. C. officers Paul Boutelle, Robert H. Langston, Berta Green and Dave Dellinger requested that he order the Justice Department to stop this harassment. As Chief Executive, the President is responsible for the conduct of the Justice Department.

The letter points out the A. D. C. is a purely American organization, having no "agency agreement" with anyone, which decides for itself what cases it will support on a basis of specific pleas for aid. The organization has no salaried personnel, and every cent collected above minimal operating expenses is sent to the victims of apartheid barbarism.

In a speech Johnson made on May 26th at a White House reception commemorating the third anniversary of the Organization of African Unity, Johnson pledged the people and the government of the United States to the cause of the peoples of Africa in their efforts to win "freedom, equality, justice and dignity." He expressed "repugnance" at "the outmoded policy which in some parts of Africa permits the few to rule at the expense of the many" and declared: "Just as we are determined



Dr. Alexander

to remove the remnants of inequality from our own midst, we are also with you—heart and soul—as you try to do the same." He further promised that "we shall continue to provide our full share of assistance to refugees from social and political oppression."

Citing Johnson's speech, the letter states that "we take the sentiment you expressed with utmost seriousness." It then asks: "But how can the people of Africa, or the people of America, believe that you do likewise when, at the very moment you were uttering these things, your Department of Justice was moving to harass an American organization devoted to translating into reality, in whatever limited way, these very principals."

The letter recalls that a short time ago the Verwoerd government crushed Defense and Aid, the last organization operating openly in

South Africa to provide legal aid to opponents of the regime, and affirms: "We trust you would not wish to imitate Verwoerd by suppressing our organization."

The organization that the Justice Department is trying to stigmatize as a "foreign agent" was formed in February, 1965, in response to the persecution of Dr. Neville Alexander and ten of his colleagues. Dr. Alexander is a young scholar who was the first non-White South African to receive a Humboldt scholarship for advanced study in West Germany. He was awarded a Ph. D. degree in German literature by the University of Tuebingen in 1962 and, refusing offers of academic posts in Europe and England, returned to South Africa to become a high-school teacher.

The Eleven were arrested in July, 1963 and sentenced to prison terms ranging from five to ten years. In reality, they have been sentenced to indefinite terms, since under South African law, a prisoner can be held after having served his sentence as long as his further detention is deemed by the Minister of Justice to be in the "interest of public order."

Dr. Alexander and his friends were never accused of having committed, nor even having planned, any act of violence. The prosecution sought to show only that they had formed study groups to investigate possible ways of conducting the struggle against apartheid and had read and discussed Marxist literature and works on guerrilla warfare. Nor had any of the defendants a long political past. Although Dr. Alexander had been active at the University of Capetown in student groups affiliated to the Unity Movement of South Africa, his initiative in forming the study groups was his first act of political leadership.

Dr. Alexander and the other male defendants have been in the notorious Robben Island concentration camp since 1963. Much of this time, Dr. Alexander was held in solitary confinement, and he suffered a serious ear injury as a result of a beating administered by sadistic guards. This is the "foreign principal" whose "agent" the Justice Department alleges the A. D. C. to be.

It is useless to speculate on the reasons for this attack on the Alexander Defense Committee. But that

it is an attack is certain. For if the officers, yielding to the threat of five year prison sentences and fines of ten thousand dollars, should comply with the order to register, they would be legally bound to hand over to the Justice Department all records of the organization, including lists of contributors. This would make the raising of funds extraordinarily difficult.

The A. D. C. therefore cannot comply with the Justice Department order. Under no circumstances would the Committee commit the perjury that such compliance would necessarily involve. Nor would it breach the trust of its contributors. And the A. D. C. will certainly win a court battle if the Justice Department pursues this matter further.

However a long legal struggle would interfere seriously with the work of the committee. It would force it to divert energy and, worse than that, funds, from its proper work to the task of simple self-preservation.

Although no further legal steps are possible in the Alexander case, the families of the Alexander Eleven must be supported, as they were left destitute by the imprisonment of their breadwinners. The case itself must continue to be publicized as widely as possible. There are some 3,500 prisoners in South Africa who have been convicted of political offenses; and there are an incalculable number of others who are being held in police stations throughout the "Native Reserves" under Proclamation 400, which allows any policeman in the Reserves to arrest any African at any time and to hold him indefinitely, incommunicado, without charges.

Need for Defense

These victims are mostly very poor, and without help from abroad their families will, quite simply, starve. There is a continuous stream of political exiles from South Africa who need financial aid in relocating. And there are thousands still active in the liberation struggle inside South Africa who may yet be arrested and tried for their activities. They will need funds for legal defense, and these funds must come

from outside, since anyone within South Africa who solicits money for the defense in political cases makes himself liable to prosecution under the Suppression of Communism Act.

Typical of those who are being aided by the A. D. C. are the following whose cases are sketched here briefly:

P. Gcabashe. Mr. Gcabashe is a sixty-year-old former teacher who, shortly before he was due to retire, gave up his teaching position, and thereby also his claim to a pension, to become a full time organizer for the Unity Movement among the peasants in northern Natal Province.

In December, 1964, Mr. Gcabashe was seized by the political police. Frantic appeals by his wife to be informed of his whereabouts were unanswered. Finally, in a letter which he was able to smuggle out, it was learned that he was being held in a jail in Pondoland under Proclamation 400. So far as is known, Mr. Gcabashe is still in prison. It is unlikely that he will ever be tried in a regular court of law where a legal defense would be possible. His family lacks any form of support.

Leo Sihlali and Louis Mtshizana. Mr. Sihlali is a teacher who was fired and black-listed for his leadership in opposition to the "Bantu Education" scheme, whereby the South African regime hopes to fragment the African community through re-tribalization. Mr. Mtshizana is a lawyer who has defended hundreds of persons accused of political offenses. Over the years, they have been subjected to relentless persecution. After Mr. Sihlali was fired from his teaching post, he was hounded from town to town, everywhere refused a residence permit and always prevented by the police from finding a job. Mr. Mtshizana has been framed on a weapons possession charge, although he was finally acquitted. He has been convicted of "seeking to defeat the ends of justice" for advising some school boys charged under the Suppression of Communism Act of their constitutional right to refuse to testify against themselves.

In July, 1963, Mr. Mtshizana was banned for five years. Mr. Sihlali was served with similar banning or-

ders in March, 1964 and, in addition, was placed under house arrest. In April, 1964, both men were convicted of violating the Suppression of Communism Act and of seeking to leave South Africa without valid documents. Both are now in the Robben Island concentration camp.

The families of both victims need help urgently. Mr. Sihlali is the father of four children, and Mr. Mtshizana of three. Mrs. Sihlali was subjected to bitter persecution after Mr. Sihlali's conviction, and her friends have recently lost all contact with her.

New Tour Planned

In order to raise funds to aid such victims, the Alexander Defense Committee seeks to awaken the American people to the realities of the South African situation. In 1965, the A. D. C. brought I. B. Tabata to the United States for a national lecture tour. Mr. Tabata, who is now in exile in Zambia, is one of the most prominent of the South African liberation leaders and is currently president of the Unity Movement of South Africa and of the African Peoples Democratic Union of Southern Africa.

The Committee has invited Mr. and Mrs. Franz J. T. Lee to come to the United States for a similar tour during the late summer and early fall of this year. Mr. and Mrs. Lee are young South Africans of the Cape Coloured community who are now studying at the University of Frankfurt in West Germany. Franz Lee who is a close personal friend of Neville Alexander, is secretary of the German Alexander Defense Committee and European representative of the African Peoples Democratic Union of Southern Africa. He has written extensively and lectured throughout Europe on South African affairs.

Funds are urgently needed to carry on the work of the committee and to counter the attack on it by the Justice Department. All queries and contributions should be addressed to the Alexander Defense Committee, 873 Broadway 2nd Floor South, New York, N. Y. 10003.

Towards a United Democratic Movement of Africa

The following editorial and statement of principles are reprinted from "Unity," the newsletter of the African People's Democratic Union of Southern Africa, Volume II, No. 4, April, 1966.

In this issue of our newsletter we take the opportunity to put forward our ideas on the vexed question of organizational unity in Africa. We do this, not in a spirit of boastfulness, but in order to help solve a problem that has presented itself forcibly to Africa as a result of recent events in this continent.

We feel that we can make a contribution here, for, after all, we are a unity movement. Since the early 'forties we have clamored for organizational unity in our own country. This was not accidental. Our experience taught us that the fight against national oppression and exploitation in South Africa cannot succeed without the unity of the oppressed and exploited.

Indeed, we have taken the matter so seriously that we have worked out a basis for such unity and have never ceased to invite our brothers in the other liberatory organizations to come and join hands with us. But the forces that are ranged against the liberation movement in that country as in the whole of Africa, are so great and powerful that so far they have been successful in keeping us divided.

These forces we clearly understand and have lost no opportunity to expose them. It is for this reason that the organizations affiliated to the All-African Convention and the Unity Movement have never received publicity from the imperialist press. Hundreds of people belonging to these organizations have been victimized by the South African *Herrenvolk* (master race) without the slightest murmur from the press. There

has been an almost complete conspiracy of silence against our organizations. The forces of imperialism—its press, radio and other agencies—have fought a relentless war against the All-African Convention and the Unity Movement.

We are not in the least worried by this. For we know the enemy we are up against. It is an enemy with a long history of trickery, subversion, subterfuge and double-dealing. To be able to meet this enemy effectively, we have to know its nature. For a people desiring to emancipate itself must understand the process of its enslavement. Only in this way can we see through the machinations of imperialism.

In the pages that follow, we attempt to draw the attention of the liberation movements and organizations in Africa to the necessity of forging a united struggle against all those forces that are opposed to our freedom. It will be seen that we all suffer from the same disabilities; we have to fight against the same enemy; that this enemy has, for strategic reasons, decided to carve up our continent into a checkerboard pattern of separate states; that in spite of this Balkanization of Africa, the enemy itself has formed a unified strategy against the people of Africa.

Finally, we seek to show the possibility of the formation of a united democratic Liberation Movement of Africa. Such a movement would, of necessity, look beyond the granting of formal political independence, into a future where Africa will have thrown off the shackles of domination by imperialism in any shape or form. Then Africa will be really free to determine its own destiny.

It is our considered opinion that for this there can be no better training-ground than co-operation among the liberation movements in their pre-independence

struggles against the local fascists in particular, and imperialism in general. Just as imperialism has a unified strategy for Africa, so also must the liberation movements work out a unified strategy for the fight against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

To make such unity lasting, fruitful and not self-defeating, we shall have to accept certain fundamental principles, which alone will enable us to wage a consistent and intransigent struggle against our enemies. Unity for the sake of unity is worse than disunity. There must be purpose in our unity, and this purpose must be to declare war on all the enemies of our freedom and to ensure that we shall finally gain complete, genuine, and not spurious, independence.

These principles are laid down below, and we believe that no organization or movement genuinely fighting for liberation will reject them. But acceptance is not enough. What is more important is to act consistently in accordance with accepted principles and programs. Our experience is that those who prate loudly about freedom very often refuse to be tied down to a form of behavior consistent with their protestations.

This is what makes unity difficult to achieve because principled unity means a complete break with the past, which for most oppressed people has been one of collaboration with the enemy in one form or another; it means a new orientation, a new political outlook. This is resisted most strenuously by imperialism, sometimes working through its agents—conscious and unconscious—among us. This we have to guard against.

Finally, it must be clearly understood that we are up against a formidable enemy and that the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism will be a protracted one. But history is on our side, if only we can realize the tremendous power that is potentially in our hands. Let us act now. This is the time for principled unity of all the liberation movements in Africa.

Imperialism in Africa

Africa, Asia and Latin America are awakening to their responsibilities in the world today. Large sections of the population in colonial, ex-colonial and neo-colonial countries are taking up positions in the inevitable confrontation between imperialism and anti-imperialism.

There is a growing realization, especially in Africa and Asia, that imperialism, being united and international in character, can only be countered by a united and international force. This is the thought behind the clamor for Afro-Asian solidarity. It is increasingly being felt that the anti-imperialist forces of the world must unite for thereby they have nothing to lose but their chains, which tie them to their feet behind the chariot wheel of international finance capital.

Equally, there is a growing realization in Africa and Asia that imperialism is capable of adapting itself in order all the more effectively to perpetuate its stranglehold over its spheres of influence all over the globe. For example, in its own interests, imperialism has contrived to withdraw its political hegemony over its

vast domain in Africa and Asia, giving formal independence to its erstwhile children of bondage, only to tie them even more securely to its economic apron strings.

The more progressive elements in these two continents have seen through the machinations of imperialism. They have learned by bitter experience that neo-colonialism invariably follows in the wake of so-called independence and are taking steps to counteract the perpetuation of imperialism in this new guise. It is this realization that has given birth to the concept of continental unity in Africa, of which President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana is the chief exponent.

Imperialism has reacted sharply to this move. For this form of unity, if brought about, would be detrimental to the interests of imperialism in Africa. Therefore, imperialism, its press and its lackeys, have turned their venom on President Nkrumah; have vilified him and called him all sorts of ugly names. The attempts to sabotage and subvert the Conference of the African Heads of State and Government held in October last year in Accra; the hysterical outbursts of the imperialist press thereafter; and the prolonged hallelujahs after the army coup, are all of a piece with the concerted conspiracy by imperialism and its agents against the real independence of Africa.

Side by side with these developments, and as a logical concomitant of them, has been the call for a united struggle amongst the liberation organizations and movements in unliberated territories against the forces of national oppression and exploitation—in particular against the united military and political strategy of the South African *Herrenvolk*, the little fascists in Rhodesia, the blood-stained Franco dictatorship and the tottering Salazar regime backed by the NATO powers, by West Germany and American imperialism.

It is this aspect of the strategy for the effective liberation of Africa that we set out to consider below. We have to examine whether or not it is possible for the liberation organizations and movements to forge a co-ordinated struggle against South Africa, Rhodesia, Portugal, Spain and imperialism in general. To put it in another way, we have to explore the possibilities of launching a united movement for the purpose of fighting for democratic rights on a continental scale.

For this purpose we have to know the problem with which we have to contend. It has become axiomatic that a people seeking to liberate itself must first understand the nature of its oppression. It is only in this way that the oppressed can evolve methods of struggle that will be effective in the fight for freedom.

When we look at all oppressive regimes in Africa, we find that they are based on a policy of perpetuation of national oppression and exploitation. The white oppressors in these territories have found it convenient to discriminate against the aborigines and other groups, on the basis of pigmentation and have sought and find all manner of justification for their prejudices in the outmoded and primitive theories of race differences.

These fascist regimes have put their racist theories into practice. They have erected impermeable walls between the ruling classes and the oppressed; they have created relationships of master and servant be-



I. B. Tabata, President of APDUSA

tween the two groups; they have deprived the oppressed of all human rights; they have dehumanized them and treated them as things, as objects brought to this world only for the convenience of the ruling classes.

The oppressed peoples have been treated as beasts of burden, regimented and ordered to do the bidding of their masters; they have been relegated to an inferior position in all walks of life; they have been impoverished, deprived of education and social status; they have been consigned to the bleak squalor, to the slush and the stench of location life and stripped of all human dignity. Their person, their house and privacy have been violated in accordance with the laws of the ruling classes; they have been molested, brutalized and tortured by the police with impunity.

They have been placed outside the pale of equality before the law. Freedom of speech, thought, movement and association has been denied to them. No real political rights are accorded to them so that they cannot participate in the making of the laws that govern their lives; they have been bludgeoned into submission and obedience to the laws that have been designed for their own enslavement. In short, the oppressed have been reduced to the status of Helots and Calibans in their own motherlands.

This is a characteristic feature of all the oppressive regimes in Africa. They are based on a policy that is designed to maintain, entrench and perpetuate national oppression and exploitation. It is a policy that pays huge dividends to the representatives of international finance capital in these territories and to their masters in America, Britain, France, Spain, Portugal and other imperialist countries.

Indeed, the accident of color in these unliberated countries has been used to cover up the interest of finance capital in the economic exploitation of the oppressed. Racialism has been drawn like a red herring across the trail in order to blur the picture so that this form of exploitation should go on unchecked. It is this type of exploitation that continues in the shape of neo-colonialism even after constitutional independence has been granted to some of those countries whose blood imperialism has sucked for ages.

Here, various devices are used, one of which is to make the emergent states client states to the various colonial powers, who maintain the new governments in power by extensive financial assistance. In this way these imperialist powers pose as the great philanthropists who are dedicated to promoting the welfare of the so-called undeveloped countries. In return they expect collaboration from the victims of their generosity.

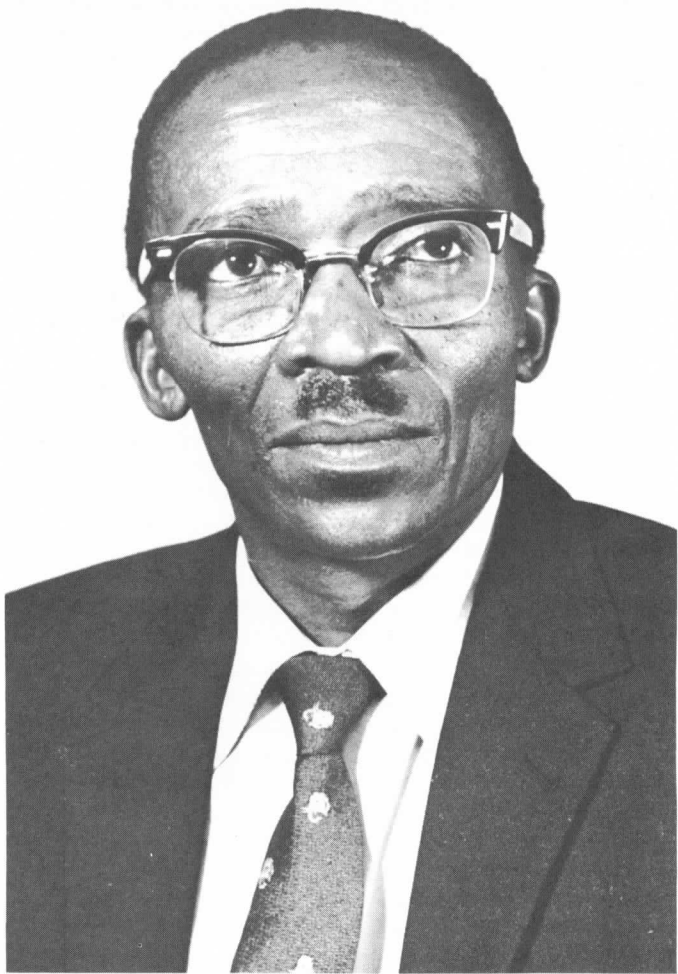
This aid should properly not be regarded as an act of bounty by these colonial powers. Apart from the fact that it is intended to maintain imperialism in effective control, it should also be regarded as an insignificant fraction of the loot and plunder that these impoverished countries have recovered from the imperialist brigands. It is nothing to be thankful for. On the contrary, these states should feel outraged by the thought that imperialism seeks to entrench itself in this reprehensible manner. In addition, they should demand more from these expropriators of colonial wealth.

From the above it will be clear that we in the unliberated territories suffer from both national oppression and class exploitation. That is the nature of our oppression. But let us go deeper into our problem. This is the role of imperialism in Africa.

One of the most important things for the Liberation Movement in Africa to remember is that imperialism has big stakes in the unliberated countries. It is because of these interests that imperialism gangs up with the local race supremacists against the people struggling for liberation.

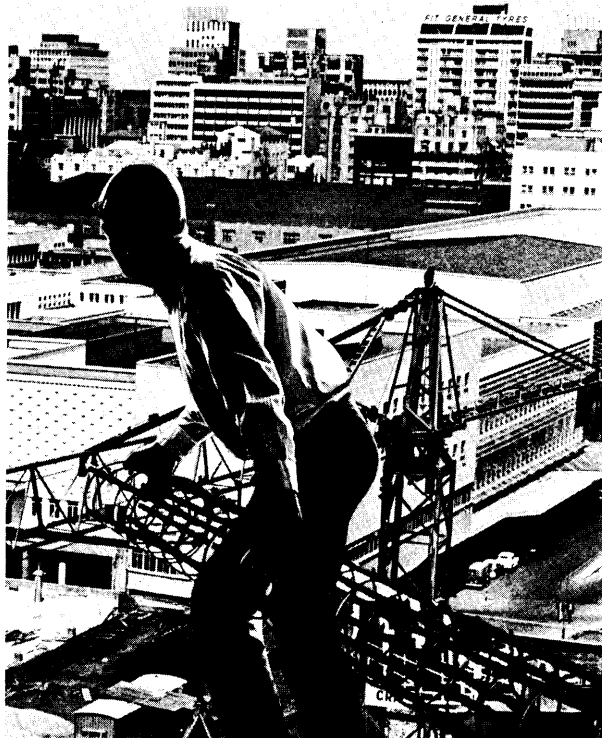
There may be small domestic quarrels between imperialism and its little servants in South Africa, Rhodesia and elsewhere, but when it comes to the major question of the national oppression and exploitation of the people on whose sweat and toil imperialism has reached fantastic dimensions of prosperity, there is the greatest unanimity between imperialism and its local representatives and agents. Imperialism knows which side its bread is buttered. It has a unified plan for the maximum exploitation of the human and natural resources of Africa.

British investments in Rhodesia, for example, have been estimated as amounting to \$420 million to \$560 million. British and American finance capital owns practically all the mining and industrial wealth of Rhodesia. Rhodesian Anglo-American and Roan Selec-



I. B. Tabata, President of APDUSA

SOUTH AFRICA PROSPERS WHILE CRITICS CRUMBLE



RACIST PROPAGANDA. Cover of typical South African pamphlet widely circulated in U. S. ruling circles. Pamphlet contained speech by H. L. T. Taswell, South African ambassador to the U. S., to the Executive's Club of Chicago, March 4, 1966.

tion Trust produce between them one-eighth of the world supply of copper; Tate and Lyle has over \$2.5 million invested in Rhodesia; Imperial Tobacco has \$210 million. Other firms include the British American Tobacco, Dunlop Tyre Company and numerous other American and British companies, including clearing banks and insurance companies.

Big British international companies like British Petroleum, Unilever and International Chemical Industries have extended their tentacles to Rhodesia. Some of these have subsidiaries all over the world, including South Africa and other imperialist puppet regimes.

Britain and America have their biggest stakes in South Africa — \$3 billion and \$600 million respectively. It is therefore in their interests to maintain in power a government in South Africa that will ensure the continued and uninterrupted flow of profits from their mining, industrial and commercial concerns there. All successive governments in South Africa have been nothing more than the watchdogs of imperialist interests in that country.

That is why Britain and America will not, at the United Nations, go beyond condemning the most ob-

viously crude aspects of Verwoerd's apartheid policies. They will not be party to any attempt seriously to challenge the dictatorship of the minority over the majority in that country. The present ruthless exploitation of the Non-Whites pays imperialism well, and all that Britain and America would have Verwoerd do is to have it sugar-coated, mixed and alloyed with hypocrisy.

Verwoerd's brutality is unsophisticated and must inevitably lead to a revolt, not only against the system of *herrenvolkism* in South Africa, but also against imperialism in general. It is this that imperialism finds embarrassing and dreads.

Imperialism also has its vested interests in the Spanish colonies in Africa — the Canary Islands, Rio de Ore on the west coast of Africa and Equatorial Guinea. The Canary Islands are a strong source of revenue for Spain, her investments there amounting to \$700 million. Spain and America also act in concert and collusion in the exploitation of the people of the Canaries; there is the greatest mutual understanding between them in the savage brutalities perpetrated by Spain upon the innocent people.

In 1953 a military treaty was signed between these two imperialist countries. In terms of this treaty, America was, by imperialist law, empowered to set up military bases in the Canary Islands. One of these bases, recently established, is equipped with atomic weapons as part of the imperialist unified strategy for the permanent exploitation of the wealth of Africa.

The Canary Islands are also used as bases for South African and Portuguese military and civil aircraft. Official figures for 1964 show that of the 2,172 aircraft that landed at Las Palmas alone, 483 were South African, 164 Portuguese and 101 Belgian or West German planes. Spain and South Africa are close friends and treaties of friendship and co-operation have been concluded between Spain and Portugal.

The fascist regimes of Verwoerd, Smith, Franco and Salazar have the full backing and encouragement of imperialism. They have the support of Britain, America, West Germany, France and Belgium in the continued oppression and exploitation of the unliberated peoples in Africa. West Germany, for example, through its notorious multi-millionaire, Baron Alfred Krupp, the armaments industrialist and Hitler's disciple, controls the extraction of oil in Angola.

Britain, America and South Africa also have interests in the exploitation of the wealth of Angola under the aegis of the Salazar fascist regime. America, through Dillon Read and Company, with strong links to South Africa, has underwritten the development plan of the Portuguese dictators for Angola and Mozambique to the tune of \$20 million.

In addition to the ideological ties that exist between Verwoerd, Smith and Salazar, there are strong economic links that bind these dictatorships closely together. To be able to keep the wheels of the gold mining industry running and thus maintain and increase the rate of profits that accrue to imperialism, Verwoerd has to look beyond the borders of South Africa for cheap labor.

Rhodesia, Barotse Province (Zambia), Malawi and

the British Protectorates are among the chief sources of this cheap labor, which alone helps maintain the strength and stability of South Africa's economy by boosting the gold mining industry which is the mainstay of that economy. Furthermore, South Africa has a standing contract with Portugal whereby the latter, for financial gain, places at the disposal of South Africa, for exploitation on the mines, human slaves numbering between 150,000 and 200,000 annually.

These men are chattels, completely under the control of the ruthless fascists. For them no home and no family life is permitted to exist. They must be bled until the last drop of blood has been squeezed out of them, their children and their children's children. Portugal is perhaps the most barbaric of all the Hitlerite regimes in Africa.

Between South Africa and Rhodesia in particular there exist the closest blood, ideological and economic ties. Recently trade agreements have been signed between the two countries to ensure maximum economic co-operation in time of need and include the unrestricted entry of a wide range of duty-free goods. South Africa's interests in Rhodesia amount to \$490 million.

The Governments of Verwoerd, Smith and Salazar have the same interests in common and are faced with similar problems. They have therefore entered into secret military pacts to stem the tides of revolutionary movements at home and to keep the snowballing of African nationalism at bay beyond the Zambesi River. To this end the Verwoerd regime has built military concentrations along its borders with Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and South West Africa.

It has built airstrips for military purposes along its borders with Rhodesia, Mozambique and Caprivi (at Katimamulilo) just across the Zambesi. With the aid of Britain, America, France and Japan, South Africa and her fascist allies have built up a powerful military force equipped with modern weapons. South Africa's military instructors and advisers include experts in guerrilla warfare from France and experts in the application of inhumane methods from Nazi Germany.

One of these German militarists, Major-General Friedrich Wilhelm von Mellenthin, was a member of Hitler's General Staff. His activities in South Africa between 1950 and 1961 were extensive and included talks of establishing strong military links between NATO and South Africa, Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique, and the formation of a *South Atlantic Treaty Organization* (SATO) and the building up of a force with "permanent striking power." Another aspect of Mellenthin's activities was the signing of a secret agreement between South Africa and West Germany in 1961.

All these facts show that the local fascist regimes have strong imperialist backing and that the struggle against them should really be regarded as a struggle against imperialism itself. Indeed this is a necessary prerequisite for the final liberation of Africa as a whole from its visible and invisible shackles.

Throughout the continent of Africa there are unmistakable signs that the people are ready to make sacrifices for their liberty. But this by itself is not enough. They must learn to define more precisely what freedom means. Freedom from what and for

what? They have to learn to know where they are going, and also how they are to achieve their goal, that is, they must know the nature and the methods of the struggle in which they are engaged.

It is the task of the leadership to bring this knowledge to the masses. The people must be taught to regard their organizations as instruments of struggle, as vehicles for the ideas of the Liberation Movement. We have to form a continental organization, not only as an instrument of struggle but also as a weapon of defense against the ceaseless attacks from imperialism and its agents and agencies.

Nature of the Struggle

Such an organization will give the liberation movements and the organizations from the different countries a sense of belonging and thus strengthen them in their fight against the local fascists in particular and against imperialism in general. We must state our struggle as one against oppression and exploitation and for complete and unfettered democracy.

Unity must be forged as a matter of principle, not expediency. For this reason it is necessary for the organizations and movements seeking to unite to lay down a clear basis for such unity as they desire. This unity must also have a purpose, not unity for the sake of unity or unity for the purpose of collaborating with imperialism with all its ramifications. Such unity would not serve the interests of a free and independent Africa.

The Organization of African Unity has realized the necessity for the different freedom organizations from each country to unite and fight together under one leadership. Only in this way can a Liberation Movement which truly represents and expresses the wishes of the people be formed.

That the OAU has failed to achieve this unity in the case of ZAPU (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union) and ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) on one hand, and PAC (Pan Africanist Congress) and ANC (African National Congress) on the other, does not detract from the correctness of this principle. Other inherent factors come into play here. We need not go into these for our present purpose. Suffice it to say here that such unity has to be based upon clearly formulated principles and a program of action acceptable to the parties concerned.

Just as unity of all liberation organizations in each territory is essential for the effective prosecution of the struggle against national oppression and exploitation and for liberation, so is it vitally important for the different liberation movements and organizations in different territories in Africa to work towards the formation of a single, unified command for the effective conduct of the struggle against national oppression and exploitation and is a pre-condition for the post-independence anti-imperialist anti-neocolonialist struggle.

Only in this way is it possible for the different liberation organizations and movements to formulate a common strategy against the local fascists and against imperialism in general.

United in this way, and conducting the struggle for liberation on the basis of principles and programs accepted by them and formulated by them, the liberation movements and organizations will be transformed into a new body, with a new vitality and a new status and deriving its dignity from its ability to conduct a truly independent struggle against *all* forms of oppression and for a truly democratic Africa, free from all insidious influences.

In this way the continental Liberation Movement will be in a position to speak with one voice and to act as one body. It will also be able to approach the OAU or individual African states on a new basis and ask for the kind of assistance and advice that it as a whole or its affiliates need. This relationship will be healthy for both the African Liberation Movement and the African revolution as a whole.

In our view the following program of minimum demands should be acceptable to all organizations and movements seriously fighting for democracy. And if these demands are acceptable to all liberation movements and organizations, then it should not be difficult for them to unite under a single, unified leadership in pursuance of these democratic objectives. The demands are:

(1) The right of every man and woman to participate in making the laws that govern his country. This means the granting of full citizenship rights to all irrespective of so-called race, color, sex and religion.

(2) The fundamental right of Habeas Corpus should be accorded to all irrespective of so-called race, color, sex or religion. The present state of helplessness of the oppressed peoples is an outrage to the principles of democracy. No man should be molested by anyone whosoever, including the police, with impunity. All should have the right to inviolability of person, of one's house and privacy.

(3) It is the duty of the democratic state and parliament to safeguard the rights of the workers irrespective of so-called race or color.

Demand for Agrarian Reform

(4) There must be a fair and equitable division of the land in conformity with the existing rural population, living on the land and working the land. This means the abolition of all discriminatory laws relating to the land, whereby the oppressed have been rendered landless and helpless while the ruling class has appropriated to itself vast estates and has instituted feudal relations on these white-owned estates at the expense of the oppressed. This demand implies a new division of the land in accordance with democratic principles.

(5) All citizens, irrespective of so-called race, color, sex or religion, must have the right to full and equal educational opportunities. The general aim of education, which should be the function of the democratic state and parliament, should be to educate the worker and the peasant to the level of the technician and the engineer.

The social function of education should be to prepare the citizens for life in a free and democratic society. No artificial limits should stand in the way of

the acquisition, dissemination and application of knowledge. Nothing but natural lack of capacity should prevent anyone from acquiring and enjoying the best that the educational system can provide and the democratic state, parliament and people should be the guardians of the best standards of education.

(6) Everyone should be accorded freedom of movement and occupation irrespective of so-called race, color, sex or religion.

(7) Everyone should be entitled to full equality of rights without distinction of so-called race, color, sex or religion.

(8) Everyone should be accorded freedom of speech, press, meeting and association in accordance with democratic principles.

(9) There must be complete equality of all citizens before the law and all punishment incompatible with human dignity must be abolished.

(10) There should be no taxation without representation, and the system of taxation must be free from all discrimination of the basis of so-called race, color, or class.

Principles of Unity

The basis for unity should be that:

(a) all the organizations and movements accept the demands for full democratic rights as set out above;

(b) all accept the policy of non-collaboration with imperialism and its agents and agencies and are uncompromisingly opposed to neo-colonialism; they are opposed to oppression and exploitation and refuse to collaborate with the oppressors;

(c) all accept the principle of unity of all liberation organizations and movements in Africa; and

(d) all accept the federal structure, that is, that the existing organizations and movements shall be united under one federation.

It must be realized and accepted that:

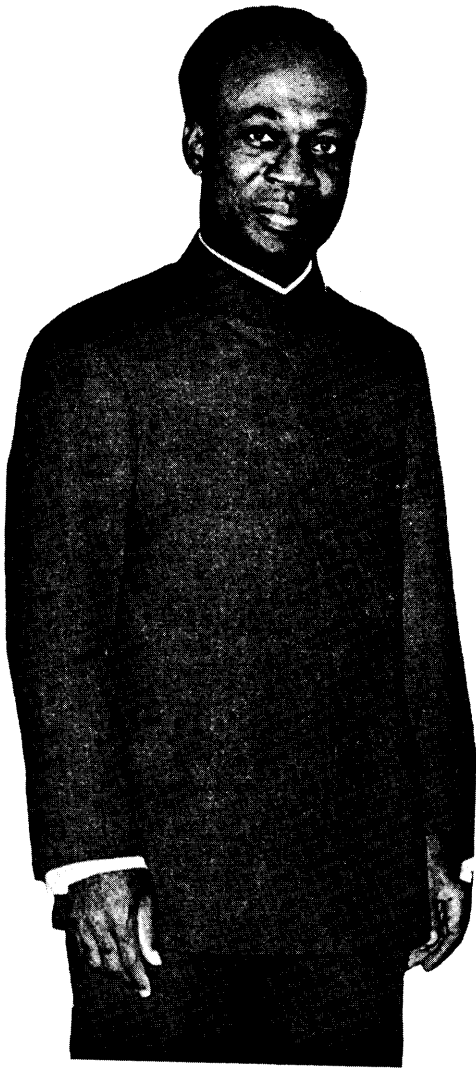
(a) unity is a prime necessity for the successful conduct of a protracted struggle, and the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism must of necessity be a protracted one involving painful sacrifices, including loss of life;

(b) a pre-condition for a united struggle is a complete break with imperialism and its agents in all countries;

(c) the maximum unity can only be achieved in the actual conduct of the struggle, provided that the struggle is an independent one, free from the influence of the ideas of the enemy class, and has a principled basis and a correct policy; and

(d) a continental organization under a central command is essential both as a short-term policy and for the long drawn-out struggle for liberation and for real independence.

Once we have accepted the principles enunciated above, once we have formulated our objectives, once we have clearly stated which way we are going, once we have freed ourselves of all feelings of dependence upon the enemies of our freedom, we shall be in a position to launch a democratic Liberation Movement united in its determination to transform Africa into a new continent of free and independent peoples.



Kwame Nkrumah

Nkrumah's Downfall

BY HENRI VALLIN

Friday, February 25, 1966, was a day of great rejoicing among imperialist and bourgeois circles the world over. Imperialists celebrated the downfall of the African nationalist who had led the first successful struggle of a colony in Black Africa for independence, an achievement that set off a chain reaction ending in political independence for nearly all the African states within ten years – Kwame Nkrumah.

As a leading theoretician of Pan-Africanism, Nkrumah again and again voiced the anger of the African nationalists over the repeated crimes and conspiracies of imperialism against the peoples of Africa: when Lumumba was murdered; when Ben Bella was overthrown; when Ian Smith got away with his Unilateral Declaration of Independence for a white settlers' regime in Southern Rhodesia against the sham "resistance" and "boycott" organized by the "Labour" imperialists in power in London.

Nkrumah's book *Neo-Colonialism—the Last Stage of Imperialism*, which was published last year, met with an angry public response from G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs in the U. S. State Department, because of its indictment of the role of American capital in consolidating the economic stranglehold of imperialism over Africa after most areas had won independence. A loan granted to Ghana was even cancelled due to the outcry in Wall Street over the book.

The rejoicing of the world bourgeoisie was due not only to dislike for Kwame Nkrumah. The March 6 London *Sunday Times* carried a headline, "Ghana swings to the West." The generally well-informed Paris daily *Le Monde* declared March 4 that the "National Liberation Council" installed in power through the February 25 military putsch was preparing to restore industry in Ghana to private ownership. In fact, what



Kwame Nkrumah

began that day in Ghana was to all intents and purposes a counterrevolution.

Revolutionary socialists have many criticisms to make of Kwame Nkrumah. They are quite able to analyze the reasons why his policies led to his own downfall. But they are not so factionally blinded as to fail to recognize a counterrevolution when they see one. Their duty is to oppose it and intransigently fight against it whatever the shortcomings of the regime it seeks to topple. For revolutionists all over Africa, February 25 was a Black Friday indeed!

The imperialist press has printed all kinds of false stories about a "popular uprising" that is said to have toppled Nkrumah's regime. Nothing is further from the truth. Nkrumah was overthrown through a reactionary military putsch carried out by the Second Brigade of the Ghana army which was staffed by members of the Ashanti tribe, of late more and more hostile to Nkrumah.

Role of Foreign Agents

It seems established that British and American imperialist circles, as well as the CIA and the British Secret Service, conspired with the military in bringing Nkrumah down. The former head of the Ghana Secret Service, one Khow Daniel Amihya, who was dismissed from his job by Nkrumah and who has lived in London since 1961, boasted publicly of his part in the conspiracy. On returning to Accra, he was demonstratively put in jail for having given the game away.

Terms do not exist sharp enough to denounce the role played by the "Labour" imperialists at the head of the British government in bringing about Nkrumah's downfall. These gentlemen are against force and violence if it is directed at Ian Smith's tyranny in Southern Rhodesia. As "humanitarians" they shudder at the very thought of an armed uprising against the inhuman fascist dictatorship crushing the majority of African inhabitants of the Union of South Africa under Verwoerd. But high diplomats, army officers and spies under their orders have calmly employed force to overthrow one of the few governments of Black Africa whose claim to be "socialist" – in the sense of the reformist welfare Social Democracy – was not completely unfounded.

Heading the bourgeois state machine in Britain and

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administering the affairs of British imperialism, the leaders of the Labour Party have participated in some of the most shameful actions of world imperialism in the past eighteen months – the Belgian paratroop attack against the nationalist government of Stanleyville; the U. S. imperialist aggression against the Vietnamese revolution; the toleration of Southern Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence behind the smoke screen of a fake "blockade."

For some time Nkrumah himself had felt that an imperialist conspiracy directed against his regime was underway. He issued public warnings about it. Several attempts were made to assassinate him. During one of them he had to use a gun in self-defense, so lax and unfriendly had the police become around him. As one conspiracy after another was uncovered and publicly exposed, the world bourgeois press sneered at his "persecution complex." Events have shown that these warnings were only too well founded.

However, the real conspiracy that brought Nkrumah down was not the military one, of which he seemed to be expectant for some time (in July of last year he dismissed Major General Ankrah as deputy chief of staff, holding him to be a security risk, and this February he warned parliament against the increasing role of the army in African politics). The real conspiracy was the *catastrophic decline in the price of cocoa during the past seven years to nearly one-fifth of what it was in the late fifties*. From a peak of over \$1,000 a ton in 1957-58, the price dropped to \$504 in 1963-64 and down to as low as \$210 last summer, after which prices picked up again.

The decline in the price of cocoa came after a period during which "they were encouraged by the manufacturers to expand their production, with the assurance that they could count on prices between \$560 and \$700 a ton at least up to 1970. This July Ghana's main crop cocoa for shipment between August and September was being quoted at \$245 a ton. But the country has already ploughed many millions of pounds into improvement schemes and disease control . . . all the effort and investment earned a nil return." (*The Economist*, October 2, 1965.)

Now Ghana is mainly a cocoa exporting country. Its economy has all the shortcomings flowing from *monoculture* – its fate hinges essentially on the price of cocoa. When prices started to slide, the currency reserves built up to \$560 million during the forties and fifties began to melt away (they were down to a few million dollars at the time Nkrumah was overthrown). Ghana's economic development plan, based on the assumption that cocoa earnings would amount to \$280 million annually in the late sixties, including 1970, was upset when earnings stagnated around \$200 million.

Since Nkrumah did not want to revise the seven-year plan (among other reasons, precisely in order to overcome the dependence of the country on a single crop!), deficit financing was resorted to on a wider and wider scale, the deficit rising to \$112 million for the 1963 budget. This in turn meant increased inflation, rising food prices and mounting scarcities in some goods like yams and knives. These developments, completely opposite to the expectations of the people who had voted Nkrumah into power and who had

associated independence with the hope of a steadily increasing standard of living, created the general climate of political unrest in which a conspiracy like the one organized by the officers on February 25 could succeed.

It is true that the price of cocoa rose again after last summer. But it did not reach the minimum price of \$560 a ton sought by the Ghanaians. It is also true that the catastrophic decline was caused not only by the manipulations of the big chocolate trusts in Britain and the U. S. but also by overproduction due to a vast expansion of output in countries other than Ghana. Nevertheless it is significant that within a few days after Nkrumah's fall, cocoa for delivery in March-May 1966 was quoted on the London exchange at \$499.66 a ton. As late as February 20 the quotation was \$448. In any case the damage had been done. The collapse of the price of cocoa bankrupted the Ghanaian exchequer, reduced the standard of living for the Ghanaian people and ended in the collapse of Nkrumah.

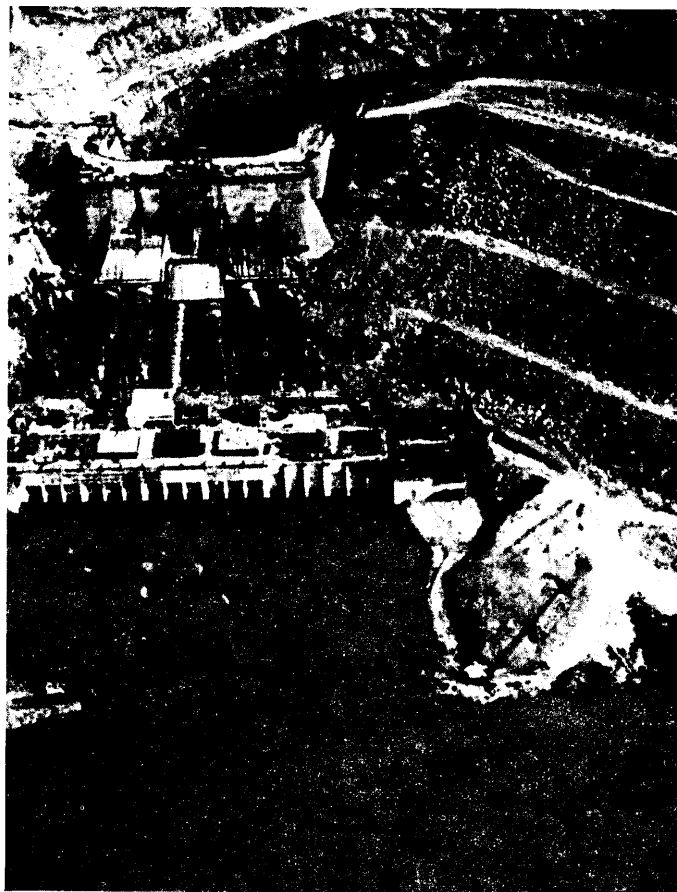
Type of Mixed Economy

Ghana's economic structure was a queer mixture of "welfare socialism" of the type seen in Western Europe and typical neocolonialism. Such a combination hardly seems possible—until the consideration is brought in that the per capita gross national product in Ghana in 1955 was three times that of Nigeria and nearly ten times higher than that of India—the remarkable figure of \$460, which appears to be equal to or above that of Turkey!

This high income was mainly due to a long-term rise in the price of cocoa and an effective cooperative system that eliminated most of the middleman's profit in the wholesale trade and export. A government Cocoa Marketing Board bought at a fixed price all the cocoa planted for the market by the Ghanaian peasants. In addition to the Cocoa Marketing Board, a strong cooperative system was developed by the United Ghana Farmers Council, and a state sector was opened in agriculture, the State Farm Corporation holding 105 farms covering 80,000 acres by the end of 1965. This area was scheduled to be expanded to 220,000 acres by the end of 1969. Mainly food crops like rice were to be grown in this sector.

However, alongside these forms of state intervention in the economy, which were obviously in the interests of the peasant masses and the working population in general, there is a predominantly private sector in agriculture. This includes not only independent small peasants owning their own piece of land but also middle peasants and farmers exploiting labor power on a large scale. Many cocoa growers use migrating sharecroppers from neighboring countries (Togo and Upper Volta), through a system called *abusa* under which the sharecroppers receive one third of the crop and the proprietors two thirds.

(Nkrumah was readying a new agrarian reform that would have increased the sharecropper's proportion and at the same time take away half of what the landowner traditionally received, a part going to a National Collective Productivity Fund. Besides this, an Agricultural Development Fund would loan money at



Volta river dam (above) financed mainly by U.S. corporations to provide power for Ghana industrialization, and the beginning of the 1963 regulations paving way for foreign investment.

Act 172



THE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SECOND

ACT

OF THE PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC
OF GHANA

ENTITLED

THE CAPITAL INVESTMENTS ACT, 1963

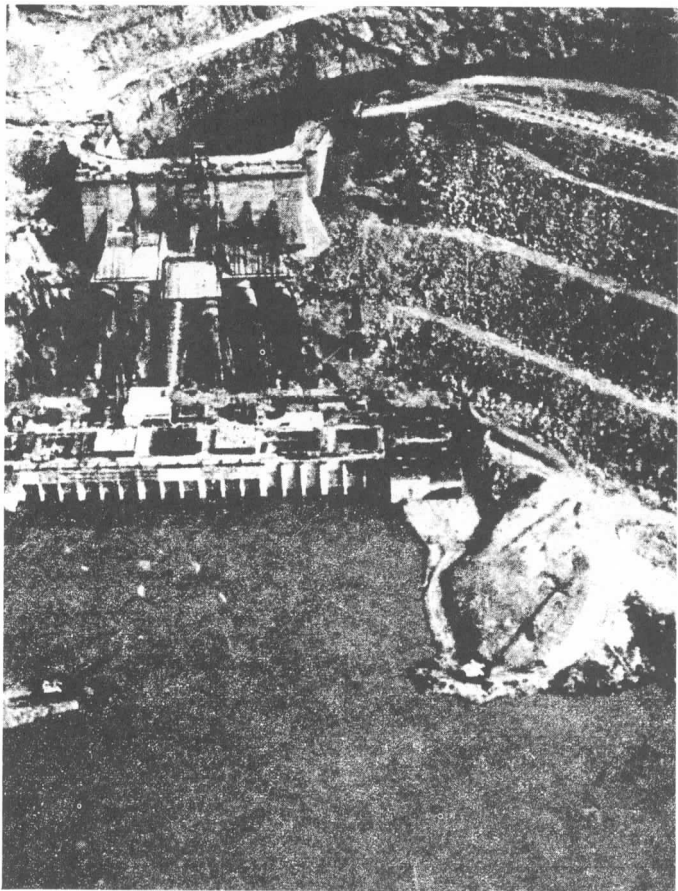
AN ACT to encourage the investment of foreign capital and other purposes connected therewith.

DATE OF ASSENT: 19th April, 1963

BE IT ENACTED by the President and the National Assembly in this present Parliament assembled as follows:—

PART I—CAPITAL INVESTMENTS BOARD

1. (1) There is hereby established for the purposes of this Act a Capital Investment Board. Establishment of Board.
- (2) The Board shall consist of a chairman and eight other members including,
 - (a) a representative of the Bank of Ghana,



Volta river dam (above) financed mainly by U. S. corporations to provide power for Ghana industrialization, and the beginning of the 1963 regulations paving way for foreign investment.

low interest rates to the poor peasants, freeing them from the grip of the usurers and moneylenders. Thus two main sources of profit for the rich farmers and village bourgeoisie were threatened. Nkrumah's hour had obviously struck.)

Industry, banking and international transport display a similar combination of "welfare socialism" and typical neocolonialism. The Nkrumah government made an effort—a costly one—to free the country from dependence on the big British shipping and airline companies. An independent state-owned Ghanaian airline company (Ghana Airways) and a Ghanaian shipping company (Black Star Line) were developed. A large number of state-owned mining, banking and industrial companies were also set up. (In cases of nationalization, handsome compensation was paid to the former owners.)

Parallel Private Enterprise

But alongside these government enterprises, quite a number of Ghanaian businessmen started up private concerns of their own, especially in consumer goods. With the assistance of French and West German private capital, Ghana built a large textile industry. Italian capital helped build an oil refinery which makes Ghana self-sufficient in this field. And the biggest industrial scheme, the \$200 million Volta River Project and the \$125 million Valco aluminum smelting plant, to make the country self-sufficient in power and aluminum, are completely dominated by international capital (the two big American aluminum outfits, Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corporation and Reynolds Metal Company, as well as various international banking corporations like the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Export-Import Bank of the British government, etc.).

The latest report of the World Bank gives the total capital investment in Ghana since 1959 (including government loans and aid) as \$224 million from Great Britain, \$112 million from West Germany, \$84 million from the U. S., \$28 million from France, \$28 million from the USSR, \$28 million from Poland and \$5.6 million from China.

There is therefore no doubt about the basic structure of Ghana's economy being neocolonial. But it is true that within this neocolonial framework, the masses enjoyed a higher standard of living than in the other African countries, not only thanks to a more developed economy, but also thanks to the many social reforms carried out by the Nkrumah regime, such as free education (the number of pupils in primary schools rose

from 154,000 in 1951 to 1,480,000 in January 1966), free health service, state insurance, the extension of the piped water system, and nearly full employment.

On this hybrid but basically capitalist economic structure, Nkrumah erected a no less hybrid political regime and state power, the basically bourgeois nature of which was to tragically assert itself against its founder in the end.

Kwame Nkrumah broke very early with the first political party of the Ghanaian bourgeoisie, the "United Gold Coast Convention," and established his own popular "Convention People's Party," which received a large majority in the British-controlled general elections. There appears to be no reason to doubt that this party had the genuine allegiance of the masses of simple peasants and urban workers and that it moved continually towards the left. It should not be overlooked that Ghana was the African country with the largest number of British-educated bourgeois entrepreneurs and middle-class intellectuals and administrators. Much of the hate for Nkrumah displayed by the imperialist press for years was really an expression of solidarity with the top layers of the Ghanaian bourgeoisie whom Nkrumah largely eliminated from the direct exercise of political power.

Did Nkrumah thus succeed in creating that strange animal, a brain child of Nikita Khrushchev and other leaders of the Soviet bureaucracy, the "national democratic state", a creature neither fish nor fowl, neither a bourgeois nor workers state, as proclaimed in the new party program adopted at the twenty-second congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union? Unfortunately for them, events have once again confirmed that the "dogmatic" Marxist theory of the state continues to be much more serviceable in seeking to understand current developments in Africa than any of the revisionists, "new" discoveries.

It is to be understood, of course, that any progressive nationalist, and all the more so a revolutionary socialist, who set out to build a workers state in a country like Ghana would face enormous difficulties. The country is a caldron of conflicting social forces, some of them closer to the age of stone than the jet plane. The tribal chiefs who control most of the more backward areas of Northern Ghana rose up in strong opposition to the government when it sought to introduce . . . compulsory primary schooling for girls. Already turned away from the people in the time of British rule, and used as tools by the imperialists to maintain their domination over the masses, these chiefs several times came into sharp conflict with Nkrumah, especially when the central government sought to end their domination in local affairs by setting up town and city councils. They were also dissatisfied at being kept out of the central government.

Besides the rather numerous British-educated bourgeoisie and intellectuals, independent Ghana inherited from the Gold Coast colony a complete system of army and state administration which remained practically intact throughout the entire period of Nkrumah's rule. In a special supplement to *Africa and the World*, a magazine published in London with a political line identical to that of Nkrumah's Convention People's Party, the editor Douglas Rogers commented as follows on the military putsch:

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"When Ghana became independent, it had to take over a colonial army trained and led by British officers . . . After independence, Ghana had to take over the old colonial administrative apparatus. Many of the top-rank officials had had years of loyalty to the British colonial regime. They constituted a privileged middle class, like the army officers, and they strongly resented Nkrumah's struggle to create democracy and social equality in the country. Some of them were connected with chiefly families who have retained a smoldering resentment at the introduction of modern local government, with municipal and town councils increasingly assuming the power previously vested in the traditional chiefs.

"As the socialist, democratic revolution grew and spread, there remained an underlying potential for counter-revolution."

The analysis is fairly correct; but the conclusion is a half truth which hides the central fact. It is precisely because the revolution had *not* grown to a point where it became socialist, where it destroyed the economic power of the propertied class, where it overthrew the old, imperialist-installed state machine, that the "potential for counter-revolution" could be so easily used to bring down Nkrumah!

Douglas Rogers seems to miss a decisive point. What is to be noted in Nkrumah's downfall as well as in the earlier downfall of Ben Bella is precisely the *failure of all attempts to reconcile irreconcilable class conflicts*, the failure of all attempts to "build socialism" without a workers state that has previously destroyed the bourgeois state machine, the failure to find an "African road to socialism" based somehow on national solidarity and class collaboration as opposed to the classic Marxist-Leninist road of revolutionary class struggle.

Failure to Disarm Generals

When Rogers states that Nkrumah was unable to eliminate the Sandhurst-trained officers of the Ghanaian army, because that would have meant "instant armed resistance," he forgets that by leaving them in charge of the army nothing was gained. They finally rose against Nkrumah anyway, and in the meantime the masses had become demoralized. Wouldn't it have been better to meet them in a trial of strength at the time independence was won, when the mass movement was rising and buoyant and could have swept away any resistance attempted by a few hundred neocolonialist-minded officers?

Wasn't it Nkrumah's policy to try to conciliate the backward, reactionary tribal chiefs in relation to his "welfare socialism"? Wasn't there even a blueprint announced in June 1965 to set up a national organization of chiefs and include it as part of the government's party, the Convention People's Party? Wasn't the same conciliatory policy followed towards the native bourgeoisie and foreign imperialism? Wasn't this the root of the evil?

Nkrumah was undoubtedly the main spokesman of revolutionary nationalists in Africa who wanted to unify the continent. He stood up strongly against most of the political schemes and plots imperialism hatched

in Africa. But his attitude towards the neocolonialist stooges and reactionaries heading the majority of African states remained contradictory at best.

On the one hand he offered asylum to many revolutionary exiles from neighboring countries or South Africa who continued to struggle for the emancipation of their peoples. The Sawaba movement of the Republic of Niger, the Kamerun guerrilla fighters, the outlawed left opposition of the Ivory Coast, and various national organizations of South Africa had their headquarters in Ghana. Guerrilla training camps were opened on Ghanaian territory for several of these movements. All this speaks in favor of Nkrumah.

Unity of Opposites

But on the other hand, he sought to unify Africa not by means of a revolutionary mass movement from below but by cementing together the various existing states with their—in most cases utterly reactionary!—governments, armies and high functionaries plundering their respective treasuries. And that, of course, was contradictory to the highest degree. That the reactionary governments of Africa ganged up against Nkrumah was more or less inevitable. That he succumbed again and again to their blackmail because he wanted to "unify Africa" with their help and assistance was a tragic mistake. At the latest "summit" meeting of the Organization of African Unity in Accra, he even agreed to their demand to expel the foreign political refugees from Ghana. Before he could keep his promise, his enemies eliminated him from power.

In addition to these historically futile attempts to win reconciliation from his irreconcilable class enemies, Nkrumah suffered from an overdose of paternalism in his attitude towards the Ghanaian people. Again it must be stressed that the task of building up a mass movement along genuinely revolutionary-socialist lines in a backward country like Ghana is extremely difficult. National and tribal peculiarities must indeed be taken into account, and ways and means found to express socialist ideas in a manner that catches the imagination of the people.

But considerations of this nature can in no case justify the systematic use of the mystique of the leader cult which Nkrumah cultivated around his alleged role as "osagyefo" (redeemer) of the country.

This was combined with ever-increasing bureaucratization of the Convention People's Party, of severe repression of trade-union autonomy, of rampant corruption among the government and the party functionaries, of growing privileges to the party and state bureaucracy. (The crassest case was that of Minister Edusei's wife ordering a gold (!) bed to be paid for out of the public exchequer. There is no doubt that Nkrumah knew about the corruption of most of his ministers, and that he was both unable and unwilling to eliminate this disease, perhaps because he also participated in it.) Such a policy, based upon lack of confidence in the masses, could only heighten the apathy induced by the unfavorable change in the economic climate.

For more than eighteen months now, the African scene has gone from bad to worse. The overthrow of the nationalist Stanleyville government by Belgian

paratroopers and Tshombe's white mercenaries; the military coup that overthrew Ben Bella; the elimination of the Communist Party and all left-wingers from the civilian government in Sudan; a series of military coups d'état in the neocolonialist states controlled by French imperialism like Dahomey, Central African Republic and Upper Volta; the way Ian Smith could get away with his Unilateral Declaration of Independence, and now the overthrow of Nkrumah, all point in the same direction—a seemingly uninterrupted wave of counterrevolutions is sweeping Africa. Only the military coup in Nigeria can be listed as a partial exception.

That this wave is not yet over is indicated by the fact that after Nkrumah's downfall, Oginga Odinga, leader of the left wing in Kenya, was dismissed as vice-president of the country and expelled from the government party, the Kenya African National Union, which he had helped to found. Sekou Toure in Guinea, Modibo Keita in Mali, Nyerere in Tanzania, and even Nasser in Egypt feel insecure. As for President Obote of Uganda, he escaped Nkrumah's fate a few weeks ago only by striking first himself and putting nearly half his cabinet in prison.

Without doubt what is involved in this wave of counterrevolution is a considered imperialist plot, in which both the CIA and the British secret service play their role, to stem the tide of the African revolution before it undermines the foremost strategic and economic positions held by imperialism in that continent—the Rhodesian copper belt and the South African gold and diamond fields. The systematic way in which imperialism is able to organize these coups, with virtually complete passivity on the part of the Kremlin, is at the same time a severe indictment of those forces that have claimed "peaceful coexistence" is possible on the basis of the pledge of imperialism not to export counterrevolution.

Lessons of the Coup

It is significant that some nationalist leaders are trying in their own way to draw some lessons from Nkrumah's fate. Nyerere made a public appeal for amplification of the African revolution and not to be frightened by the temporary victory of the counterrevolution in Ghana. In a resolution adopted by its national council meeting in Bamako on March 15-16, the National Union of Workers of Mali called on the workers to defend the fruits of their revolution at all costs, and urged them to organize the workers' militias in the workshops, construction sites and other enterprises. This is certainly a step in the right direction.

Basically, the imperialist move to re-establish stooges rather than to be satisfied with preserving economic power under the administration of popular nationalist leaders, reflects desperation in the face of historical trends. It demonstrates that the margin for conciliation between the fundamental interests of world imperialism and the nationalist masses of Africa, fighting for independence but still lacking clear socialist consciousness, has become narrower and not wider.

From the viewpoint of imperialism, it is a thousand times preferable to exploit the wealth of a semicolonial

country through the instrument of a popular nationalist leader of the bourgeois (Nehru, Sukarno) or petty-bourgeois (Nkrumah, Nasser) type, than through the rule of military stooges like Suharto, Ankrach or Ky, who have no durable mass base in the country at all and who can only sooner or later provoke mass uprisings which are much more costly to keep in check (look at Vietnam!) than underwriting nationalist leaders with a mass following.

If imperialism nevertheless feels compelled to put these stooges in power everywhere, it is because it believes too much is at stake and that the chances of African nationalism developing even under petty-bourgeois leaders are too great. The call for a Pan-African army to wage war against the white settlers' Southern Rhodesia—which would have been only a stage towards war against Verwoerd's apartheid regime—is certainly not unrelated to the decision of imperialism to do away with Nkrumah.

These counterrevolutionary coups can succeed only if the masses are relatively apathetic—a condition for which the nationalist leaders themselves often bear the main responsibility (as in the cases of Ben Bella and Nkrumah). But the apathy cannot last. The African revolution historically is on the rise. The social and economic factors feeding the revolutionary process are becoming stronger, not weaker. It is only a question of time until some striking success of the revolution will break the series of counterrevolutionary victories.

Such a success could in turn become the starting point of a process of permanent revolution, neutralizing eighteen months of permanent counterrevolution, provided that the lessons of these defeats are correctly assimilated. The balance sheet of these eighteen months shows the historical failure of the petty-bourgeois nationalist leaders, who, while paying lip service to socialism and while taking some genuinely anti-imperialist measures, proved unable to destroy either the state machinery or the economic props of neocolonialist power, both in their own countries and in Africa, because they feared to mobilize the masses on a broad scale and to organize them democratically.

The African masses, who will rise again, must learn to arm themselves and to root out officers and army cadres groomed by imperialism. They must learn the need to expropriate the foreign and indigenous capitalists, to destroy the bourgeois state apparatus and to set up a new state of their own, a state of the workers and poor peasants. They must learn how to establish the historical continuity between tribal communism and modern communism. They must learn to see that Africa will be united not by hodgepodge of feudal emperors, bourgeois presidents and neocolonialist stooges, but by fighting masses, from below, and on a socialist basis. And they must learn that to achieve results, it is necessary to build revolutionary-socialist parties, based on the body of experience assembled in scientific socialist theory, by-passing those who want to lead them into the dead end of some odd-type "African socialism."

Under these conditions, the revolution can make a sensational comeback, even in Ghana, in fact especially there!

March 20, 1966

Hoffa and the Teamsters

BY FARRELL DOBBS

Since the government first began its "investigation" of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters leadership some ten years ago, there have been a spate of books, innumerable magazine and newspaper articles, consisting in the main of tendentious and biased accounts of the issues in dispute. At long last there appears a book on Hoffa and the Teamsters* whose claim of undertaking an objective appraisal is well merited.

This important book is doubly unique. Its authors delved into their subject with praiseworthy objectivity and the Teamster president gave them extraordinary access to union affairs. The result is a refreshing effort

**HOFFA AND THE TEAMSTERS: A Study of Union Power by Ralph and Estelle James. D. Van Nostrand. 430pp. \$6.95.*

"If one strolls through Greenwich Village in downtown New York one will eventually come upon the narrow, dingy building which houses the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party . . . Up two flights of rickety stairs at 116 University Place one finds the ramshackle office of Farrell Dobbs, leader of the Party and little-known candidate for President of the United States in 1960.

"This now-obscure man and his tiny organization provide the key to understanding the emergence of Jimmy Hoffa and the origin of many of his methods and beliefs. Although Hoffa has not spoken to Dobbs for over twenty years, his public speeches and private conversations still give Dobbs credit for the institutional framework and imaginative ideas which have grown famous as Hoffa's collective bargaining trademarks.

"Dobbs served as the guiding genius behind the formation of the Central States Drivers Council (CSDC). Then, at the very brink of success, he stepped aside for a full-time career as a Marxist politician, creating a vacuum which was soon filled by Jimmy Hoffa. The CSDC became the vehicle which propelled Hoffa into national prominence."—from Hoffa and the Teamsters, by Ralph and Estelle James.

to present an unbiased study of the nation's largest trade union.

Both authors teach economics, Ralph James as associate professor at the University of California and Estelle James as assistant professor at Stanford University. When they first met James Hoffa about five years ago, they seem to have approached him with somewhat prejudiced minds. Their initial attitude was perhaps due to brainwashing by the capitalist news media as well as to ignorance of the Teamsters' side of things. Hoffa responded by challenging them to make their own investigation of the union and he offered to open the doors for them to get a picture they could never find in books. They accepted the challenge and he made good on the offer.

Across an extended period the Jameses found themselves in the thick of Teamster activity, either or both being involved according to the given situation. They went to the union's 1961 convention where they also attended caucuses. Later they sat in at a meeting of the International Executive Board. Introduced as "assistants" to Hoffa, they observed contract negotiations and grievance sessions with employers, trustee meetings about pension fund matters and union strategy conferences related to these affairs. They talked with various Teamster officials and staff members through opportunities afforded by their free access to the union headquarters. Files were opened to them dating back through the Hoffa, Beck and Tobin regimes. All in all, they got a rather extensive picture of the Teamsters, at least at the leadership level.

Seeming puzzled by Hoffa's frankness with them when "no assurances were ever given about the conclusions we would reach," the authors state: "Whatever his motivation, deep appreciation and approbation is hereby expressed to James R. Hoffa . . . who had the courage to offer such novel exposure and who kept it up, no matter where we wanted to dig. Hoffa wanted

us to get a feeling for being on the inside. And we most assuredly did."

All was not beer and skittles for the Jameses, as an excerpt from their description of the experience will explain: "The Teamsters' criminal lawyers and several vice-presidents were virtually persuaded at one point that we were agents for the FBI, and a trusted staff member was instructed to ascertain whether I [Ralph James] actually had a university affiliation. On the other hand, many members of the Teamsters' inner circle believed we had been bought off by Hoffa. The Justice Department seemed to agree with this consensus and refused to answer our questions on even the most innocuous topics, presumably for fear that they would be leaking information to the enemy. We were frequently asked 'who was paying' for our transportation and other expenses, the implication being that Hoffa must be picking up the bills. As a matter of fact, we covered all costs ourselves; had it not been for our shoestring budget we would have accompanied Hoffa on additional trips."

After noting that a few of Hoffa's associates became convinced they were trying to do an honest, objective job, the authors add: "The purpose of this book is neither to praise nor to damn Jimmy Hoffa. Rather we wish to contribute to a greater understanding of one of our most powerful and least comprehended public figures—the president of the country's largest union, a man who was made notorious by the McClellan Committee eight years ago and whose name is now a household word." Looking into the Teamsters from the outside and with little background experience in unionism, they have done remarkably well in digging out the facts and presenting them in an unbiased manner. If more writers from academic circles tended to emulate their objectivity when dealing with the labor movement, it would represent a gain for historic and social truth.

The political climate in which the Jameses carried out the project is reflected in their presumption that the Justice Department looked upon the Teamsters as "the enemy." There are ample grounds for the presumption. Beginning in 1957 the McClellan Committee of the U. S. Senate conducted a two-year smear attack on the Teamsters, using Hoffa as the central target. The Justice Department followed through with six felony indictments against Hoffa and other Teamster officials. First came trials on bribery and wire-tapping charges, both resulting in acquittals.

Mail Fraud Charge

The next attack took the form of an indictment for mail fraud which was dismissed by the court. Prosecution for allegedly taking a payoff from an employer resulted in a mistrial. Convictions were finally obtained against Hoffa and other defendants, in one case on jury-tampering charges and, in a separate one, for alleged fraud in administering the Teamsters' pension fund. In both instances the convictions have been appealed and the cases are now pending before higher courts.

Parallel events have demonstrated that the government's vendetta against Hoffa and the Teamsters is actually aimed at the whole labor movement. A case



Mike Healy
Illinois



Carl Keul
Iowa



J. M. O'Laughlin
Michigan

in point is enactment of the anti-labor Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law. The whole attack—smear campaign, felony prosecutions, anti-labor laws and all—seems designed to make every union official fearful of governmental persecution if he gets out of line. It hasn't worked with the Teamsters who have fought back as best they seem to know how. But it got swift results with Meany, Reuther and the rest of the craven heads of the AFL-CIO. They violated the most elementary principles of labor solidarity by rushing to expel the Teamsters from the AFL-CIO as soon as the capitalist government opened its assault on that union.

In refreshing contrast, the Jameses brushed aside the propaganda smear and sought to dig out the facts for themselves, especially in the case of the Teamsters' pension fund. "We have not been trained as detectives," they write, "nor do we possess the vast supply of men and money with which the Justice Department and its 29 grand juries have investigated every action of the Pension Fund in recent years. We are not seeking to uncover crime, but rather to evaluate the economic merits of a large, rapidly growing and unique investment program. Despite the various shortcomings in our knowledge, we believe we have pieced together the over-all pattern of this complex puzzle." They devote over 100 pages to the subject, buttressing their findings with detailed statistical tables.

Their conclusions about the government's charges are worth quoting: "In the context we have developed,



Mike Healy
Illinois



Carl Keul
Iowa



J. M. O'Laughlin
Michigan



William Ryan
Missouri



T. T. Neal
Missouri



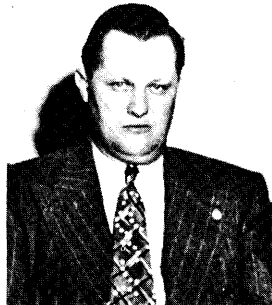
John Wirth
North Dakota



Farrell Dobbs
Minnesota



Jack Maloney
Iowa



T. V. Smith
Nebraska

the fraud indictment seems deceptive, and the resultant conviction both inadequate and unwarranted, for one cannot be legally defrauded unless one accepts the misrepresentation and acts in direct consequence thereof. A more pertinent description of the CSPF [Central States Pension Fund] investment problem emerges from a study of the loans granted: the entire program appears ill-conceived by any standard of financial soundness, and the trustees from both sides of the table [employers and union] are responsible.

Nature of Pension Fund

"In fact, Hoffa long believed that this would shield him from prosecution on the Pension Fund issue; to indict him, he thought, the government would have to indict others on the board, and Kennedy would not dare to cast his political net so wide. Had Hoffa more clearly revealed the CSPF investment policies at the trial, the judge would probably have thrown up his hands and directed a verdict of acquittal. Instead, Hoffa portrayed the Fund's investments in glowing terms, and the jury found him guilty." These conclusions, which in effect render a verdict of not guilty, show both honesty and moral courage on the authors' part.

Fair-minded though the Jameses strive to be, conceptions stemming from an academic background in

Members of the Teamsters area committee, as they appeared at the time of a session in Omaha, Nebraska, during the successful campaign to establish area-wide bargaining for over-the-road drivers in the Central States. Identification of individuals includes in each case the state represented. Other committee members, not present at the time, included: Thomas Flynn (Indiana), B. V. Griff (Ohio), J. T. O'Brien (Illinois), J. F. Scislawski (Wisconsin), and E. J. Williams (Indiana).

capitalist economics creep into their evaluations of union policy. They appear to credit the capitalist thesis that unions must rely heavily on "forcing" workers to join up. Remarks about the Teamsters' grievance procedure imply acceptance of the capitalist myth that arbitration of worker-employer disputes can be "impartial," when in truth the class struggle knows no neutrals. In similar vein, they seem to think it valid for the government of the employers to impose legal bounds on the use of union strength.

Despite such misconceptions about the realities of class struggle, however, their study makes important factual contributions to the recording of Teamster history. I feel qualified to make that statement from personal knowledge since, as the book explains, I participated in Teamster struggles of the Thirties in the Mississippi Valley.

For years there has been argument within the Teamsters over who was "first" to establish an area-wide council. Behind the argument lies a desire by various individuals to claim credit for initiating this type of collective bargaining mechanism which laid the basis for the union's present scope and power. The Jameses cut through superficial evidence related to formation of just any kind of loose area setup. They get to the heart of the matter when they say of the Central States Drivers Council, "This was the first, and for many years the only, example of area-wide bargaining in the Teamsters." (Emphasis added.)



William Ryan
Missouri



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Members of the Teamsters area committee, as they appeared at the time of a session in Omaha, Nebraska, during the successful campaign to establish area-wide bargaining for over-the-road drivers in the Central States. Identification of individuals includes in each case the state represented. Other committee members, not present at the time, included: Thomas Flynn (Indiana), B. V. Griff (Ohio), J. T. O'Brien (Illinois), J. F. Scislowski (Wisconsin), and E. J. Williams (Indiana).

They sketch out the development of centralized bargaining with employers through the CSDC and the use of leverage techniques in extending the union power from terminal to terminal. While Hoffa gets due credit for his role in bringing the CSDC to its present strength, account is also taken of the contributions made by the founding leaders of the CSDC. Hoffa's efforts, as Teamster president, to extend CSDC policies throughout the trucking industry are described, especially concerning the 1964 national contract for intercity and local cartage workers.

Primarily the book is a study of Teamster leadership with sparse mention of the rank and file. This is not necessarily, or fully, explained by an assumption that the authors deliberately chose Hoffa as their central theme. "It is always an intriguing intellectual game," they write, "to speculate on the importance of personalities in history." Although valid enough up to a certain point, such intellectual preoccupation risks something else: a deformed view of the interrelationship between subjective and objective factors, also between leaders and ranks.

"Underlying Hoffa's collective bargaining policy has been a vision of power aggrandizement for himself and the union," they assert, "the building of an industry-wide contractual structure under a single unified command—his own." Here the appraisal of a subjective factor, Hoffa's personal ambitions, gets mixed up with the objective role of the union itself. Implicitly, an organizational form developed historically for working class defense against capitalist exploitation, in this case the Teamsters union, becomes categorized as a mere instrument of "power aggrandizement." Through erroneous lumping together of Hoffa and the union, the authors miss the real point. Evidence revealed by their study indicates that Hoffa tends to identify the union with himself more than himself with the union. And a tendency of that nature violates correct principles in leadership-membership relations.

Healthy, constructive relations between leaders and members must be based upon mutual understanding, confidence and trust, along with reciprocal cooperation in carrying forward the aims of the organization. These needs, in turn, require democratic patterns throughout the whole organizational structure. Leaders should be democratically selected and subject to replacement at every level in the leadership apparatus. There should be union democracy in deciding policies and union discipline in carrying them out, with the exercise of leadership authority remaining subject to critical review before the rank and file. These conceptions are different from Hoffa's methods which the Jameses describe and characterize as a tendency toward "one-man operation." Comparison of 1938-39 methods in the CSDC with those employed today should help to throw further light on the subject. Take, for instance, contract negotiations and grievance procedures.

Not much goes on in industry that the workers don't know about, including what the employers may think are their private trade secrets. As a body, therefore, workers have rich practical knowledge of their industry. They know what material gains they can realistically demand in a given situation and experience has taught them how the employers will try to



James R. Hoffa

wriggle out of meeting their demands. It follows that involvement of the union ranks must be an integral part of fully meaningful contract negotiations. Leaders are not elite thinkers who divine what is necessary and possible and, like Moses, miraculously guide the ranks into the promised land. Their task is to help the workers classify and generalize their demands and to take the initiative in fighting to establish, maintain and strengthen union control on the job.

That's the way we went about it in the 1938-39 Teamster campaign to establish centralized bargaining and uniform contract terms for over-the-road drivers in the Central States area. Moreover, all employers looked alike to the union area committee. None were subjected to special demands, nor did any receive special favor. As against all employers, the union forces stood in full solidarity, maintaining fair and equitable internal union relations in an open and aboveboard manner.

A much different concept emerges from the Jameses' description of Hoffa's methods. To quote them in part: "Hoffa's bargaining strategy is a sequence of power maneuvers and propaganda steps designed to steer the rank and file, local union officials, and management toward his predetermined end . . . He reminds the employers that he is an eminently reasonable man, but the passionate rank-and-file feeling must be deferred to . . . He establishes an aura of complicity by



James R. Hoffa

revealing inconsequential tidbits about his problems with local union leaders . . . Simultaneously, a very different picture is conveyed to the local Teamster leaders and membership . . .

"He portrays the employers as harsh, uncompromising, and struggling over many detailed points. He stresses the likelihood of a prolonged strike . . . As the showdown nears, Hoffa impresses upon the employers that they must think 'realistically' and meet his demands . . . Hoffa splits the employer group by playing off one interest against another . . . In the face of these diverse pressures, threats, and promises, the employers capitulate . . . Another victory is chalked up, and Hoffa's reputation for invincibility is reinforced." The contrast between the two methods speaks for itself.

Hoffa still maintains what is known as an "open end" grievance procedure. The concept it involves, which had been developed earlier by Teamsters Local 544 in Minneapolis, Minnesota, was incorporated into the first Central States over-the-road contract of 1938. The "open end" meant that the union maintained unconditionally its right to strike at any time to make the employers abide by the contract terms. Grievances were never submitted to a so-called "impartial" arbitrator.

They were never allowed to pile up without decisive union action, as is so widely the case among trade unions today. With instinctive working class solidarity, born from bitter experiences with chiseling employers, the Teamsters area committee of 1938-39 started from the assumption that the worker was in the right and the employer in the wrong. Nothing more than full compliance with the union contract was demanded of employers and nothing less was tolerated. As in everything else, all employers looked alike. They either complied with the contract terms, or else.

As the Jameses describe things, Hoffa has drastically modified union handling of the "open end" grievance procedure. "Here particularly," they say, "he has built the stage on which to demonstrate his flair for the dramatic, his love of intrigue, and his grasp of the intricacies of motor freight. Every three months Hoffa assembles management and union representatives at a Chicago hotel for a grievance-settling ritual . . . When the routine cases are out of the way, Hoffa bursts into the room, demands to know the remaining problems, and quickly solves them.

"In regular grievance cases, neither union nor management representatives dare to question his interpretations; in complex change-of-operation sessions, all rely on him to reconcile the conflicting interests of employers, local chieftains, and workers. Meetings are often halted until Hoffa is available for consultation. Then, head cocked, deliberating only a moment, he launches upon a series of unchallenged explanations. The onlooker becomes aware that here lies the center of power for the entire show." The change in concepts, as described, is not for the better.

Hoffa's political limitations as a trade union leader are reflected in what the authors term his "bread and butter" philosophy. He has been unable to rise above peanut politics with Democratic and Republican office holders. The limitation has been very costly to the Teamsters. Restrictive laws passed by the capitalist politicians have weakened the Teamsters' inherent

power to defend their class interests. A nine-year vendetta has been waged against them by the capitalist government, under both Democratic and Republican administrations. To a politically class-conscious worker the answer to these attacks is self-evident. The Teamsters should take the lead in breaking with capitalist politics and launching an independent labor party. Their perspective should be to build a class political movement oriented toward the workers taking governmental power away from the capitalists.

Such a shift in policy would take more than a change of mind on Hoffa's part. The whole official machine in the Teamsters is entangled in horse-trading ties with capitalist politicians at all levels of government, wherever they can swing a "sweetheart contract," to use a union term. To cut the union loose from this crippling entanglement, it will take a major upheaval in the ranks. Such an upheaval is in the making under the worsening objective conditions of the times, and those who lead it will have to be tied closely to the union ranks in a thoroughly democratic way.

The book concludes with comment on current speculation as to who will take Hoffa's place if he goes to jail. Like everyone else, probably including Hoffa himself, the authors don't know for sure. Only one thing does seem certain on this point. Whoever heads the Teamsters, he had better have the courage of a Hoffa and, in addition, possess sufficient political class consciousness to meet the needs of changing times. Otherwise he may not have a very prolonged term in office.

Postscript:

In 1941 a fight developed between Daniel J. Tobin, then president of the Teamsters, and Local 544 in Minneapolis, led by members of the Socialist Workers Party. Tobin demanded that the local surrender its autonomous rights and submit to arbitrary rule by a trustee of his designation. The local rejected his demand and fought back, but in the end Tobin succeeded in taking dictatorial charge of its affairs.

The conflict had its roots in policy differences about the impending entry of the United States into World War II. Tobin supported such entry, the Local 544 leaders opposed it. No purely trade union issues were involved, except as they came up tactically in the struggle stemming from the basic question of war.

Tobin flooded Minneapolis with his henchmen and, in the battle that followed, he got support from the mayor of Minneapolis, the governor of Minnesota and the president of the United States. At the height of the conflict, leaders of Local 544 and of the Socialist Workers Party were indicted under the Smith Act, a thought-control law. Eighteen were convicted and, after losing an appeal to the higher courts, were compelled to serve terms in federal prison.

Clearly this episode in Teamster history had political implications reaching beyond purely trade union questions. It is, therefore, surprising that the Jameses treat it rather superficially and even quite one-sidedly

in their book. One gets the impression that they fail to perceive the true political dimensions of the subject, and that they tend to view it as more or less a side issue in essential Teamster history. A reading of a further article on the 1941 struggle by the same authors* fails to change that impression.

Important facts are missing from their presentation. Some of the facts reported are misinterpreted, not in my opinion deliberately, but most likely because they are examined out of context from the full factual story. Here is an example: "At first (1935-1936), Tobin tried unsuccessfully to suppress them [the leaders of the Minneapolis local]. Then he bided his time until 1941, when, in the most dramatic exception to his noninterventionist policy, he expelled them from the Teamsters . . ."

The first part of the quotation is accurate. In 1935 Tobin revoked the local union's charter with the International, but in 1936 he was compelled to reinstate it. The next passage in the quotation, however, can only be interpreted as an arbitrary deduction by the authors, or as their acceptance of an unverified assertion by some apologist for Tobin. A series of ascertainable facts challenge the flat statement that "he [Tobin] bided his time until 1941." Lacking these facts, the Jameses give the impression that, ever since 1936, Tobin had just been looking for a chance to crack down on Local 544. They slur over the whole question of subsequent working relations between Tobin and the Minneapolis local, for example, during the over-the-road campaign. The fallacious notion is implied that the war question was little more than a pretext used by Tobin to help carry out long-held intentions, that it was not the basic issue behind the dispute.

Mistaken appraisals of this kind generally result, even though unintentionally, from hasty and oversimplified conclusions about complex questions. It would seem better to go a bit slower in undertaking objective analysis of such an important question, at least until there has been more thoroughgoing research of the kind the Jameses demonstrate elsewhere in their valuable study of Hoffa and the Teamsters.

BRIEF REVIEWS

THE LEFT IN EUROPE SINCE 1789 by David Caute, World University Library. 256 pp. \$2.45.

This is an examination of the entire European Left since the French Revolution of 1789. The author leaves out virtually nothing and no one. He writes deftly and manages to pack a lot of facts within a limited space.

The book deals with reformists and revolutionaries,

*"The Purge of the Trotskyites from the Teamsters." *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, March 1966. pp. 5-15.

radical democrats and socialists. The author shows great sympathy for all of the tendencies he examines.

This book will provoke considerable interest among students of socialism. For beginners, however, too much is dealt with in too little space.

The black and white and color illustrations are worth the price of the book by themselves.

THE INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES: SPAIN 1936-1939 by Vincent Brome. William Morrow & Co. 317 pp. plus photographs. \$6.00.

The International Brigades were composed of thousands of volunteers who came from all over the world to fight in Spain against Franco's fascist army. According to Vincent Brome, at least 85 per cent of these volunteers came from a working class background. Not less than 25 per cent of the volunteers died in action.

This book is primarily a battle history of the International Brigades. The author follows the personal stories of several individuals through the events. The political background to the military side of the Spanish Civil War is treated summarily.

THE TROTSKY PAPERS 1917-1922, edited and annotated by Jan M. Meijer. Mouton & Cie., The Hague. 858 pp. (Available in this country from The Humanities Press, \$28.50)

In 1936 the International Institute of Social History at Amsterdam acquired from Leon Trotsky a collection of 800 documents covering the period 1917-1922. Trotsky called this "the Lenin-Trotsky Correspondence."

He placed these historical records in the safekeeping of the Institute because he feared they would be stolen or destroyed by Soviet agents. GPU agents had already tried to get their hands upon the collection which refuted many of the myths propagated by Stalin's regime about Trotsky's role. Trotsky himself intended to use these materials in writing a history of the Civil War which he directed as creator and commander-in-chief of the Red Army.

The present volume comprises documents 1-435, roughly half of the total. (The rest will be published in a second part.) It includes a wide variety of documents: telegrams, letters, telephonic and written messages, orders of the day, minutes of the Central Committee, Politburo and Orgburo meetings, extracts from speeches, draft resolutions, including exchanges between Lenin and Trotsky on revising the program of the Communist Party, and other communications.

All were issued at the height of the Civil War when the young Soviet Republic was battling for survival. Moving from one front to another in his military train, Trotsky as commander of the armed forces was in constant communication with Lenin, head of the Council of People's Commissars in the Kremlin.

The trust that Lenin reposed in Trotsky, contrary to later Stalinist lies, is attested to by the document on page 589. The military opposition within the party and army, egged on from behind by Stalin, had protested the stern measures taken by Trotsky at the critical battle of Svyazst in 1918. After a

politburo meeting in July 3-4, 1919, Lenin handed Trotsky a signed sheet containing an advance blanket endorsement for any order he might choose to issue.

The text of this testimonial reads: "Comrades! Knowing the strict character of the instructions issued by Comrade Trotsky, I am so convinced, supremely convinced that the instruction issued by Comrade Trotsky is correct, to the point, and essential for the good of the cause, that I wholly support this instruction." (An extended account of this episode is given in Chapters XXXV-VII of Trotsky's autobiography *My Life*.)

This whole work, painstakingly annotated by the editor, publishes for the first time indispensable sources about the difficulties facing the Bolshevik leaders in defending their revolution and for grasping the real relations among them.

BOOKS RECEIVED

RADICALISM IN AMERICA by Sidney Lens. Thomas Y. Crowell Co. \$8.95.

THE ANARCHISTS by James Joll. The Universal Library, Grosset and Dunlap. \$2.45 paper.

THE TROUBLED CAMPUS compiled by the Editors of Atlantic. Atlantic Monthly Press Book \$1.95 paper.

SCIENCE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: NEW PATTERNS OF LIVING by Richard L. Meier. M.I.T. Press. \$2.45 paper.

STALIN edited by T. H. Rigby. Prentice-Hall. \$1.95 paper.

RANDOLPH BOURNE: LEGEND AND REALITY by John Adam Moreau. Public Affairs Press. \$5.00.

CULTURAL FRONTIERS OF THE PEACE CORPS edited by Robert B. Textor. M. I. T. Press. \$2.00 paper.

THE FIRST YEARS OF YANGYI COMMUNE by Isabel and David Crook. Humanities Press. \$6.75.

VIETNAM AND THE UNITED STATES by Hans J. Morgenthau. Public Affairs Press. \$2.00 paper.

CONTAINING THE ARMS RACE: SOME SPECIFIC PROPOSALS by Jeremy J. Stone. M. I. T. Press. \$6.95.

STRATEGIC POWER AND SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY by Arnold Horelick and Myron Rush. University of Chicago Press. \$5.95.

AGE OF INDUSTRIAL VIOLENCE by Graham Adams, Jr. Columbia University Press. \$8.50.

THE REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALS, 1864-1943 edited by Milorad M. Drachkovitch. Stanford University Press. \$6.95.

CONFESSIONS OF AN IRISH REBEL by Brendan Behan. Bernard Geis Associates. \$4.95.

LOOK EAST, LOOK WEST by David Tornquist. Macmillan. \$5.95.

VOZNESENSKY: SELECTED POEMS. Hill and Wang. \$4.50.

MARXISM IN MODERN FRANCE by George Lichtheim. Columbia University Press. \$6.75.

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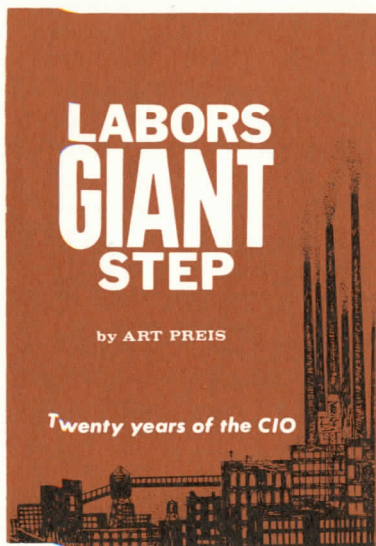
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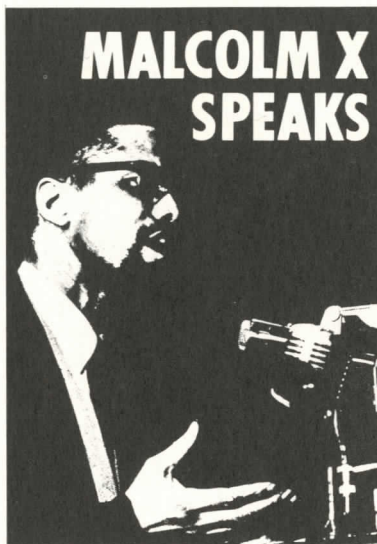
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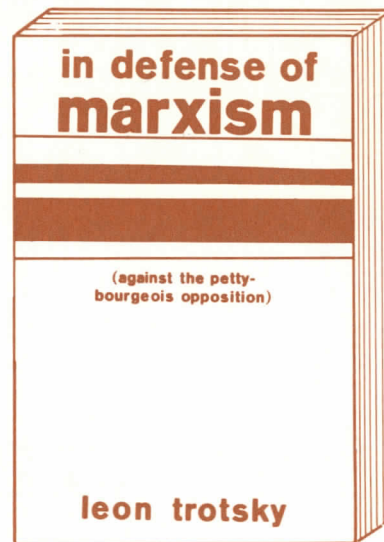
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