

WORLD OUTLOOK

a labor press service

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THE POUND STERLING BOWS OUT AS THE QUEEN OF MONEYS

By Ernest Mandel

Several historic tendencies met at the crossroads in the devaluation of the pound sterling. The most important, without doubt, were the decline of British imperialism on the one hand and the growing social crisis in Great Britain on the other. The British Labour party chiefs, good doctors at the bedside of capitalism, tried for a long time to bolster the patient by means of stimulants. But in face of the gravity of the relapse, they could not avoid the surgery which many experts had desired for quite some time.

Downfall of a Queen

For a century, from the battle of Waterloo until the shots fired at Sarajevo, the pound sterling was the queen of the world. Not that all the gold flowed toward the City, London's financial district, often there was more in Paris and sometimes even in Petrograd.

What gave the pound sterling its power was the superiority of British industry, the rise in productivity which it enjoyed in relation to that of other countries, the low prices which enabled it to penetrate all customs barriers, the abundance of capital which flowed toward all continents.

This abundance was such that the returns on capital invested abroad, for more than a half century, from 1885 to 1939, outweighed the capital exported annually.

The British bourgeoisie constructed the Empire to assure the security of their investments. They planted naval and military bases throughout the world to defend this empire and -- prudent stockholders -- spent for this only a fraction of the income returned by the capital invested abroad. Another function of the Empire was to extort from the colonized peoples -- above all those of India and Egypt -- payment for a good part of the costs of maintaining the British army, fleet and administration.

Two victorious wars and a wave of colonial revolution completely undermined the solidity of the edifice. A good part of the investments abroad had to be liquidated to finance the war effort. The political independence granted most of the former colonized countries meant that while the British investments were still safe, these countries hardly contributed any longer to financing the Establishment of her Gracious Majesty. The revenues brought in by these investments is still considerable, but their proportion in relation to the national income has been

greatly reduced. They no longer suffice to absorb the traditional deficit of Britain's trade balance; above all they are insufficient to finance the military effort which this weakened imperialist structure continues to require in all quarters of the globe.

The worst is that Great Britain long ago lost its monopoly in the world market on high productivity. Taking into account only the capitalist countries, the United States, Western Germany, Japan stand above England's technical level and sell industrial products at a lower price. In this is to be found the definitive cause of the continual deficit in the trade balance, the fundamental reason why the pound sterling no longer serves as an international means of payment.

For two decades, the Labour and Conservative governments succeeding each other in office have sought to hide this fundamental truth. In line with this, they have imposed many useless sacrifices on the British people. The day of reckoning finally came. The pound sterling is dead as the queen of moneys. The sterling zone is dying. The pound is becoming one money among others, standing somewhere between the Deutsche mark and the Italian lire. Thus the economic and financial reality, like a faithful seismograph, registered this major political overturn -- the irreparable decline of British imperialism.

Revolt of the Working Class

Not since the general strike of 1926 has the British working class been beaten in a direct struggle -- something unique in all of Europe. It suffered, it is true, the upset of MacDonald's split in 1931. But its Labour party came out of this holding the bulk of its forces, accentuating its socialist doctrine, remaining more than ever the symbol and rallying point of the world of labor as opposed to the world of capital.

This undefeated working class assembled the majority of the nation in 1945 in hope of constructing a socialist society along the peaceful road. If ever this hope could seem realistic anywhere, it was certainly at that moment and in this country. It is not easy to see what social force could have stood in the way of the Labour party forces at that time when they sought to definitively break with the capitalist regime.

The leadership didn't want socialism. Of course, they passed the most progressive social legislation, they nation-

alized some uneconomic branches of industry, but they left the monopoly of the manufacturing industries in the hands of the private capitalists and left it up to them to introduce the most modern technology in current production.

The results were not long in becoming manifest. The British economy showed a rate of growth below that of its main competitors. To seek to adjust high social expenses with an economy based on private profit -- this has long been impossible under capitalism. Thus first came the austerity which led to the discontent of a part of the middle classes and the white-collar workers, permitting the Conservatives to return to power. Then came fifteen years of Tory power during which the old industrial position was progressively wasted away in luxury expenditures and the growing flight of capital. Competitive capacities deteriorated more and more, not because wages were too high but because productive investments were insufficient.

To step these up, it was necessary -- as this course logically implied -- to stimulate and subsidize profits; and, in order to accomplish this, to reduce social costs and real wages. If the Tories had tried this, there would have been a general strike. Thus the job was left to Harold Wilson, greeted by the British capitalist press as the champion of "modernization" of the country from the time of his election.

Wilson loyally applied the program of capitalist health improvements. He reinstated austerity, levied new taxes on consumers' goods, froze wages, threatened organizers of strikes with criminal prosecution. Undoubtedly he scored the success of a surprise attack. For a year the British workers remained stupefied at the spectacle of "their" representatives, whom they had lifted into office at the cost of such efforts and sacrifices, unmasking themselves as worse enemies than the representatives of the bosses had ever dared show themselves in forty years.

But after this year of paralysis, came a second year of anger. One after the other, the big unions, the labor army by entire detachments, revolted against Harold Wilson.

The Transport Workers were the first to take the road of revolt; Wilson was beaten at the last Trades Union Congress. A shameful bit of skullduggery still saved him at the Labour Congress at Scarborough -- he promised the miners to suspend closing down the pits for the time being, without adding that this promise implied the perspective of an accelerated shutdown in the spring. The Miners Union thus voted for him at Scarborough; but when they discovered how they had

been cheated (Lord Robens, the head of the nationalized coal mines, charged the government with seeking to reduce employment in the mines from 380,000 persons to 65,000 within a time limit of a few years), they turned violently against the cabinet. Then the Amalgamated Engineering Union elected a militant of the left, a former Communist, Hugh Scanlon, to replace an extreme right-wing bureaucrat as main leader of the organization. Next came some very spirited and militant strikes in the ports of London and Liverpool.

Already cut off from the majority of the trade-union movement, Wilson had to undergo a furious assault from almost the whole party when his chancellor of the exchequer, James Callaghan, publicly supported a declaration made by the governor of the Bank of England, Sir Leslie O'Brien, according to which a permanent pool of unemployed is indispensable if Britain is to overcome inflation. This signified abandoning the principle of full employment, which has dominated the reformist ideology since the crisis of 1929. This was the drop that made the cup flow over. Wilson was threatened with a revolt by his whole party. This is what led him to devalue.

The truth was that the economic policy of the Labour cabinet was caught in a dilemma: it sought at any price to wipe out the deficit in the balance of payments; and it sought at the same time to step up the economy. The struggle against the deficit in foreign payments implied deflation; deflation implied mounting unemployment (at present it is without doubt around 800,000). But to seek at one and the same time to carry out deflation and to step up production is an impossible combination. By devaluing, that is, by cutting export prices seventeen percent, Wilson can hope to stimulate production and discourage imports; i.e., reestablish equilibrium in the balance of payments without choking off industrial expansion.

The Immediate Repercussions...

The immediate effect will be to cut down unemployment and weaken the pressure on the cabinet from the trade unions.

But the respite will not last long; inasmuch as Great Britain imports a large part of its food and raw materials. Devaluation stimulates not only exports (and thus production); it also provokes a rise in import prices, hence a rise in the cost of living. The specialists estimate this at four percent; no doubt their figure is too low. Wilson will seek to block the demands for an increase in wages. Cousins and Scanlon, under the pressure of their rank and file, have already warned him that he should be

under no illusions about this.

If the government seeks to impose a new wage freeze, the battle it evaded in the field of unemployment will have to be conducted in the field of incomes. If it concedes in this, inflation will become all the worse.

As always, the devaluation will thus provide only a brief respite, after which all the unresolved problems will reappear, sharper than ever.

In the international domain, the capitalist countries were happy over Wilson's "moderation"; if he had devalued thirty percent, it would have rudely shaken their markets. In exchange for this "moderation," they granted him a bit of charity in the form of a loan. The editorial writer of The Economist summed up perfectly the relations between the British bourgeoisie and their foreign partners in the title: "Beggars or Choosers." Are we beggars, or people who still have a choice?

The weekend of November 18 provided an answer to the question.

...and the Long-Range Ones

Aside from the British colonies and semicolonies, the only countries that immediately devaluated their own currencies following the devaluation of the pound sterling were those that have an analogous domestic problem of simultaneous inflation and stagnation, such as Spain and Israel. The operation on their part had a political rather than monetary motive.

In Brussels there was exultation: Great Britain's path toward the Common Market was singularly shortened by the elimination of two obstacles: the international role of sterling and the economic stagnation of Great Britain. It remains to be seen whether the social crisis and industrial competition will not yet arouse sentiments of a different kind among the capitalists of Western Europe.

For if in truth the other imperialist moneys are, to say the least, tech-

nically solid, the real problem does not lie there. The devaluation of the pound places a premium on British exports. If the world market is expanding, this premium brings a loss to no one. If it is stagnating, other countries are threatened with paying the bill for the temporary advantages assured to the British industrialists.

The first to become worried were the Japanese, who for the moment are experiencing the greatest expansion. In New York and Dusseldorf, the reaction is like that of the primitive rain makers: "May a recession be staved off! May an expansion come!" The fate of the international capitalist economy will be determined in the next six months. If in Germany a recovery sets in, the threat of a general recession will be avoided...this time. If the recession in Germany lasts, the effects of this recession and the British devaluation will make 1968 a somber year for the international capitalist economy. A touch of fever could lead some of the other capitalist powers to take advantage in their turn of devaluation in order to get out of a decline. The whole international monetary system threatens to be shaken.

The root of the problem is to be found here. Like the pound sterling, the dollar, keystone of the arch of the entire world monetary system, has a double function requiring two qualities that are becoming more and more contradictory.

As a means of international payment, it must be as stable as possible. As a weapon of struggle against a crisis in the United States (and by way of ricochet for the international capitalist economy!) it must also be flexible, that is, as unstable as possible. Any return to the automatism of the gold standard threatens to precipitate a grave economic crisis, which the capitalist world must avoid at any cost. But any continual monetary manipulation for expansionist aims is certain to precipitate inflation and the erosion of the international monetary system. The main lesson of the devaluation of the pound is that within the framework of the capitalist regime, there is no way out of this dilemma.

BRAZILIAN POLICE PUT A STOP TO SUBVERSIVE BLOUSES

Six blouses on display in a stylish shop in Rio de Janeiro were seized by the political police November 16. Accused of subversion, the owner of the shop, Miss Regina Viera de Melo, stated that in having the blouses made up, she had no intention of "creating a guerrilla atmos-

phere in Brazil."

The police replied grimly that each of the blouses was decorated with a portrait of Che Guevara and that in Brazil it is impossible to permit effigies of that man to be sold.

WHY McNAMARA'S REMOVAL FROM THE PENTAGON STIRS FEAR

By George Novack

President Johnson has suddenly transferred Robert McNamara from the post of secretary of defense where he has served for seven years to the presidency of the World Bank. This move has touched off feverish speculation in diplomatic and political quarters at home and abroad. What does it portend?

The perfunctory explanation in the official statements that McNamara took the step entirely out of personal choice hardly holds water. Tom Wicker of the New York Times categorically asserts that the initiative came from the president. The Washington correspondent wrote on November 30 that "Johnson himself did not inform the Secretary of his nomination to the bank post" but confronted McNamara with the accomplished fact.

What led Johnson to remove McNamara so stealthily from the third most important office in the U.S. government and appoint a new secretary of defense at this time when there is only a year to go in the president's present term? Why did he make a change that he knew would create commotion and even consternation around the world?

Some essential elements for an answer are known. McNamara has been one of the three men in Washington who make the ultimate decisions on foreign policy. He has met regularly at least once a week, sometimes more, with the president and secretary of state to deal with all matters pertaining to the Vietnam intervention. He has been so conspicuous as the chief civilian organizer that at one point it was called "McNamara's war."

However, since the summer of 1966 the defense secretary has developed sharp differences with the joint chiefs of staff over some major issues of military strategy. He has resisted requests for the mobilization of reserves to amplify the numbers of American troops beyond 525,000 to fight the ground war in the south. Against the generals, he favored the erection of an anti-infiltration barrier along the seventeenth parallel which divides the north from the south. He reportedly regards the \$5 billion antimissile missile system he recently announced as a waste of money.

No admirer of the achievements of General Westmoreland, he has been increasingly critical of the commander's tactics and displeased with the progress of the war which he knows is not going so well as the official optimists claim in public. He has angered the admirals by overriding on grounds of economy their recommenda-

tions for more aircraft carriers.

His main disagreement with the military leaders has concerned bombing targets in North Vietnam. McNamara has advised against bombing too close to the Chinese border or striking at the docks in Haiphong harbor. Since the generals have won out, U.S. planes have been bombing within seven miles of Chinese territory and hitting warehouses close to the docks.

In addition to these quarrels with the Pentagon chiefs, McNamara has offended key industrial interests over such disputes as the TFX fighter plane, long-range bombers and similar military hardware decisions involving billions of dollars in lucrative contracts. As secretary of defense, the former head of Ford Motors controlled the expenditure of \$80 billion, well over half the federal budget.

Consequently, he has been looked upon by "doves" and "hawks" alike as the most persuasive voice for restraint upon the Pentagon brass hats among the men closest to Johnson.

The president's move to dump his defense chief must be interpreted as a victory for the joint chiefs of staff and the advocates of widening the war and fighting on regardless of costs and consequences in the powerful armed services committees of Congress, in the State Department and on the White House staff. That is how the news has been received in both camps.

Thus the 1964 Republican presidential candidate, Barry Goldwater, whose policy Johnson has been pursuing, stated that the decision was a "combination of McNamara wanting to move and Johnson wanting him to." In any event, he added, "I'm very glad he's leaving."

On the other hand, Professor John Galbraith characterized McNamara's departure as a triumph for the conservative forces and the generals "who have found him an inconvenient voice for restraint" and prefer a more compliant man in that cabinet seat. Arthur Schlesinger, the academic adviser to the Kennedys, deplores his removal "as ominous and scary." Their attitude appears justified by the fact that Rusk, the main target of the "doves" on Capitol Hill, stays in office while McNamara is on his way out.

Johnson's surrender to the brass hats is connected with plans under discussion to escalate military operations

in Southeast Asia which raises problems in regard to the forthcoming presidential campaign. By dismissing McNamara and appeasing the generals, Johnson is free to widen the war without risking a public policy row between the joint chiefs and the defense secretary which might have ended in resignations on either side. Such a contretemps would have been highly embarrassing during an election year.

Mary McGrory reported from Washington in the November 28 New York Post that "the President is increasingly desperate to end the war which has cost him popularity and prestige and mounting criticism. McNamara's removal would make a decision to intensify and hopefully end the war by 1968 presumably unanimous within the government."

She pointed out that "his removal to the World Bank post...insures his silence. International servants do not speak out against national policy from the counting-houses."

While official circles deny that McNamara was shifted to clear the way for new military actions, this supposition was given credence by General Eisenhower's television interview with former General of the Army Omar Bradley coinciding with the announcement. The former president proposed that land forays be made into North Vietnam as well as neutral Laos and Cambodia and favored hot pursuit by air into China. Respect for boundary lines on a map can be overdone, he said.

According to the November 30 New York Times, some senior military men believed that "General Eisenhower may have been asked by the Administration to float the idea to test the reaction, both among the American people and in Moscow and Peking."

That same day the apprehensive Times editors complained of this reversal of position by Eisenhower who had warned against involving American forces in a major war on the Asian mainland and re-

jected escalation in favor of negotiation when he was in the White House. They observed that "Eisenhower's remarks will strengthen fears at home and abroad -- fears that we hope are groundless (our emphasis) -- that the United States is preparing to widen its present 'limited' war that has already exceeded reasonable bounds. His unfortunate remarks could hasten that genuine possibility."

While the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff conceded that plans are being studied for invading North Vietnam, he contended that these are solely for contingency purposes and have not yet been recommended. Nevertheless, some highly placed congressional critics fear that expansion is on the doorstep as McNamara goes out. Thus Senate Democratic leader Mike Mansfield expressed the hope that "McNamara's leaving will not mean in the months ahead further escalation of the bombing in North Vietnam or of the war to other areas."

McNamara's fall demonstrates how greatly the power of the military has grown in national affairs. They are in the ascendancy in shaping government policy at the behest of the most recklessly aggressive imperialist forces among the ruling class. Now, even Eisenhower, despite his warning against the danger of the "industrial-military complex" at the end of his administration, is peddling their arguments.

Johnson has plunged ahead without letup in Southeast Asia since he ordered the first bombings of North Vietnam in February 1965. Now, according to certain of his friends, McNamara himself is worried lest further escalation provoke a confrontation with the Soviet Union or China. His dismissal can only be viewed as an alarm signal in every capital not vassalized to Washington.

It will surely intensify the unpopularity of the president and his war among the American people and spur the antiwar movement to more vigorous actions against his disastrous course in Vietnam.

JOHNSON'S NEW EXPERIMENTS LEAD HIM INTO SOME STRANGE ALLEYS

Johnson is "experimenting a great deal now with new techniques" in his efforts to counteract the precipitous decline in his popularity on the eve of a presidential election year, James Reston of The New York Times has reported.

The experiments include an attempt to create a new "image." His success at this was so great on the very first try that the president was forthwith awarded the Oscar as the greatest ham actor to

yet trod the boards in the White House.

Johnson is also playing around with some political experiments in obvious hope of coming up with something new to break his losing streak. Thus he recently floated a trial balloon in witch-hunting.

Three Republican congressmen, Gerald R. Ford, Leslie C. Arends and Frank T. Bow revealed November 28 that

at a White House briefing on October 24, Johnson had read a document that persuaded them that the massive October 21 antiwar demonstration in Washington had been organized by "Hanoi."

The report was about "meetings between the protest leader, David Dellinger, three or four other antiwar leaders, and Vietnamese Communist officials."

In a dispatch from Washington about this, New York Times correspondent Fred P. Graham reported:

"The Johnson Administration has rejected requests by the House Republicans to release the report or otherwise document the charges, saying that to do so would fuse a 'McCarthyist' witch hunt."

A Justice Department "spokesman" when questioned about the charges of a Hanoi plot, referred to a statement made by a high government official at a Pentagon briefing the day before the demonstration. In the briefing, the official said that while the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, which organized the protest, did contain some Communists, "we have no evidence that the Communist party is in control of or in charge of the rally and march."

"In Copenhagen," continues the Times, "where he is attending the Vietnam International War Crimes Tribunal, Mr. Dellinger readily conceded that he had met with Communist Vietnamese officials. But he branded as 'absolute nonsense' the charge that the Vietnamese had influenced the course of any protest rallies in the United States."

"He said it had worked the other way around -- that he had urged them and leaders in other countries to stage rallies to coincide with those in the United States. He added that he had been out of the country and had not even participated when the initial plans for the Oct. 21 rally were made at a meeting of antiwar leaders here on May 17."

The most significant items in this episode are (1) the idea of probing for a reaction on a witch-hunt gambit, (2) having Johnson himself undertake this; (3) doing it with full recognition that what was being toyed with was nothing less than a revival of McCarthyism.

It was exactly like a pyromaniac striking a match and saying, "This could

set the house on fire; but we refuse to do that because it would be pyromania."

The most ironic aspect of this little test run staged by Johnson, is that he himself wants to get together in a secret confab with the person whom he considers to be the most powerful figure in the Communist world. Here is the inside dope as reported by Newsweek [December 4 issue]:

"President Johnson wants a meeting next spring with Communist Party boss Leonid Brezhnev, who is now reckoned to be the first among equals in the Soviet hierarchy -- and LBJ has his Kremlin experts looking into the best way to arrange a summit. LBJ was encouraged to seek the meeting after he received a letter ten days ago from Aleksei Kosygin... in which the Soviet Premier expressed alarm over the state of Soviet-American relations. A summit talk, besides clearing the international air, would largely benefit LBJ in an election year. The President's popularity rose markedly after his Glassboro talks with Kosygin last summer. Soviet diplomats in Washington say they're in favor of a Johnson-Brezhnev summit. They hold that no prominent GOP Presidential candidate will be able to do more than LBJ to end the Vietnam war. In fact, most Republicans, the Soviets argue, may well advocate escalation. Therefore, many political analysts maintain, the Soviets would prefer to see LBJ remain in the White House."

One of the reasons Johnson's popularity rose temporarily when he met Kosygin at Glassboro was that ordinary people hoped the two would be able to come up with some formula to end the war in Vietnam. Another reason was that Johnson's success in inveigling Kosygin into a confab seemed to indicate that his policies were impressing the Soviet government -- he had them eating out of his hand!

Would a repeat performance prove sufficient, if it were timed correctly, to put Johnson over with the electorate as less of an evil than a Goldwater who might get the U.S. involved in a war in Vietnam?

Johnson is desperate enough, it seems, to give it a whirl -- even if it leaves him open to the charge from some McCarthyite in or around the White House that the very idea of having a little Communist popularity rub off on the president of the United States is nothing less than a plot hatched in Moscow.

ONE IS MISSING FROM THE NINETEEN

By Pierre Frank

A very restrained communiqué in Pravda November 25 informed the world that eighteen Communist and workers parties which took part in the "consultative gathering in Moscow in March 1965" have decided "to convoke, in February 1968, a consultative gathering for a collective exchange of opinions on the problems relating to convoking an international conference of Communist and workers parties."

The objective of the latter conference would be to "consolidate the unity of the Communist parties, as well as... the cohesion of all the socialist and democratic forces, in the struggle against imperialism, for the national and social liberation of the peoples, for peace in the world."

One could say that the formulation includes solidarity with the Vietnamese people. But shouldn't that be made the central point in order to decide what international actions to undertake and how to conduct them?

Let us, however, leave this aside, no matter how essential it may be, and examine the question in its general aspects. The last international conference, of the 18, was held in 1960. It found no solution to the Sino-Soviet conflict.

Five years passed before, in March 1965, a first "consultative meeting" could be held; and, after that, it will have taken a good deal of time for it to meet again, three years later, to hold another "consultative meeting" which will discuss the possibility of convoking an international conference.

Now, as everyone knows, the "unity of the Communist parties" is far from growing stronger with the passage of time. Thus the communiqué was careful to avoid

mentioning that at the "consultative gathering of March 1965" there were 19, and not 18 parties, that the Cuban Communist party was thus not included in the convocation for February 1968.

This is not too surprising in view of the hostility to Cuban policies and the conference of the Organization of Latin-American Solidarity shown by the Soviet leadership via articles by Latin-American bureaucrats published in Pravda.

The restraint in the communiqué, too, doesn't this indicate that the signers have few illusions as to the results to be expected from the March 1968 gathering? But in face of the attacks they have been subjected to by the Chinese, they could not remain completely passive.

It is probable that the March 1968 gathering will in its turn give birth to something quite insignificant. Stalinist monolithism is indeed dead; the bureaucratized parties will not be able to create the unity, the cohesion about which they talk so profusely.

Unity, international cohesion is not being prepared in the "consultative gatherings" of the Stalinist bureaucrats grown tired and gray in the harness. It is being prepared in the actions for Vietnam like the one organized October 21, in which hundreds of thousands of persons, particularly the youth, mobilized, not for "peace" but for the victory of Vietnam.

Such actions, and the participants in them, are converging toward and will finally fuse politically with the program of the October 1917 revolution which the Fourth International has carried on since the Communist International passed away.

VITALE WRITES ON ZIONISM AND THE ARAB WORLD

[The following review of a 32-page pamphlet, "La cuestión judía, el sionismo y el mundo árabe" (The Jewish Question, Zionism and the Arab World),* by Luis Vitale, a well-known figure in the Chilean left, has been translated by World Outlook from the October issue of Punto Final, a pro-Cuban magazine published in Santiago, Chile.]

* * *

* Published by Impresora Delta, Santiago, Chile. 1967.

A controversial subject which Vitale analyzes -- "why the conflict was a genuine test that revealed the disorientation existing in the ranks of the Left in contrast to the homogeneity among the bourgeois parties." Taking Zionism as the target of his attack, in view of the role it plays as the ruling political movement of Israel, the author sets out to demonstrate the falseness of its arguments, insisting that his criticisms are directed against it and not against the Jewish people. Vitale presents the Arab-Israeli conflict "not in the abstract and outside

of time, but in a concrete historical context: in the epoch of colonial and social revolution."

On the basis of a number of facts that make the document interesting, the pamphlet ends with a series of conclusions which we summarize as follows: (a) imperialism has carried on a permanent aggression against the Arab peoples; (b) one should defend, not the governments, but the conquests of the Egyptian people; (c) the defeat of the Arabs was a victory for imperialism and a setback for the world revolution -- it strengthened the "dirty war" being waged by the United States in Vietnam and improved its position for an attack against China; (d) the course of the military operations showed

that the pro-imperialist government of Israel was calculating on taking the initiative; (e) "the policy of the Soviet bureaucracy was just as vacillating as in the Caribbean crisis of 1962 if not more so"; (f) the Arab governments, incapable of achieving unity because of their bourgeois policies, displayed complete absence of coordination; (g) the vanguard workers of the Arab countries have witnessed the fact that unity is not feasible under religious slogans but only on the basis of an intransigent class line.

In short, a thoughtful contribution on a problem of our time that has been the subject of impassioned debate. Every studious person should include it in his library.

GUATEMALAN GUERRILLA GROUPS WORKING TOGETHER

By Antonio Valdés

A recent interview with Nestor del Valle, Guatemalan delegate to the Organization of Latin-American Solidarity [OLAS] conference, contains encouraging news about the relations between the two guerrilla groups operating in Guatemala. The interview appears in the September-October issue of OCLAE [Organización Continental Latinoamericana de Estudiantes], the magazine of the organization of the same name, whose headquarters is in Havana.

Valle's discussion in the interview is a general one. He outlines the firm commitment of his organization, the FAR [Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes], to the OLAS perspective of armed struggle as the only road to power, and sharply exposes the reactionary character of the "reformist" Montenegro regime in Guatemala.

Valle's comments on the relations of the FAR with the MR-13 [Movimiento Revolucionario 13 de Noviembre] reflect the efforts being made to unite the revolutionary forces in Guatemala. It is an encouraging development away from the period of sharp factional disputing between the two movements, which got a lot of notice at the Tricontinental Conference in Havana in January 1966.

In reply to the interviewer's question "about the differences between FAR and the MR-13 Movement led by Yon Sosa," Valle replied:

"Our differences with the comrades of MR-13 have been largely overcome. Our commander, César Montes, has squarely confronted this question, emphasizing the general problems of the war [against the regime] and the negative character of these differences at a time when a common enemy as strong as imperialism is attacking us both, while we ourselves attack one another internally.

"Every time we speak with them we try to stress the points that unite us and play down those that divide us. We have reached the point where we exchange experiences and information, coordinate our work in the mountains and the city better, and help each other materially. This approach is sufficient. We shall continue discussing and working with them.

"For example we consider them members of the national committee that represents Guatemala at OLAS and when we next talk with them, we will inform them of the steps taken here, the importance of the conference, and the efforts that we have made and will continue to make to strengthen the unity of the revolutionary movement in Latin America.

"With the comrades of MR-13 we struggle against the puppet regime and imperialism: that in essence unites us."

. ST. KITTS LEADER FOUND INNOCENT

William Herbert, leader of the People's Action Movement, and six of his followers were found innocent November 27 of conspiring to overthrow the government of

St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla by force. The charge was armed attack on the Basseterre police station June 10 in a move by Anguilla to secede.

CAAMAÑO REPORTED TO HAVE "DISAPPEARED"

Col. Francisco Caamaño Deño was reported November 28 to be missing from his diplomatic post in London. His wife said he vanished in mid-October after he left for Spain via the Netherlands. Presumably he met with foul play.

Caamaño was thrust into a position of leadership in the 1965 uprising in San Domingo which was crushed through the massive intervention of U.S. troops sent in by President Johnson. Caamaño agreed to go into exile as a leader of the left.

Gen. Wessin y Wessin, a militarist of the Trujillo days, was one of the few ultraright figures to also go into exile

in a show of impartial treatment of both right and left which, it was claimed, would help stabilize the situation in the Dominican Republic.

Recently there have been repeated rumors that Gen. Wessin y Wessin is preparing to return to the island. This could lead to another explosion of popular anger in which there would be heavy pressure on the Balaguer government to permit the return of Caamaño. The question now being asked is, did the secret political police decide to get rid of the popular leftist leader as a preventive measure?

BOLIVIAN GENERALS "DISCOVER" NEW SENSATIONS IN CHE'S DIARY

At the beginning of November Bolivian army chief, General Ovando, announced that Che Guevara's diary would be auctioned off in the near future. One Paris publisher offered \$100,000 before he dropped out of the bidding. Then the generals hit a snag.

Apparently some questions arose about the right of the Bolivian government to sell the private papers of the slain guerrillas. Probably a squabble also broke out inside the government as to who would collect the booty if Guevara's diary were sold.

Finally Barrientos issued a proclamation that the auction would be carried through and the pay-off would go to the army:

An Agence France-Presse dispatch from La Paz November 24 reported that "The Bolivian government has issued a decree authorizing the army to sell Comandante Ernesto 'Che' Guevara's field journal to 'the highest bidder.' The decree stipulates that documents found on the guerrillas become the property of the armed forces. Several offers, running up to very high amounts, have been made by publishers in the United States."

The decree was followed immediately by a full-scale "merchandising" campaign. A November 25 United Press International dispatch reported that Barrientos had suddenly "discovered" evidence in the diary of "an evident falling-out between Mr. Guevara and Premier Fidel Castro."

"Without giving the dates of the entries," the dispatch continues, "General Barrientos said in an interview that several remarks in the diary seemed

ironic or critical toward Mr. Castro."

Such an unlikely possibility would naturally vastly increase the value of the document to American publishers. In view of the notorious record of the Bolivian government for fabricating "proofs" and adding "details" to material in its possession, who knows what amazing political secrets will be discovered in Che's diary before it is finally auctioned off at a suitably inflated price?

But Che's diary may be only the beginning. Having got hold of a good thing, Barrientos appears only too happy to supply a steady stream of literary remains of the guerrillas he murdered.

The "gorillas" are assiduously spreading the rumor that they have in their possession another notebook of Guevara's, even more sensational than the diary.

David F. Belnap writing from La Paz in the November 27 New York Post suggests some of the juicy contents of the new "find":

"Best guess is that the mystery notebook contains some surprising names and perhaps provides a tipoff to underground Castro Communist movements hitherto unsuspected in other parts of Latin America."

Belnap reports that both United States and Latin-American "intelligence sources" have seen the notebook. Undoubtedly this, too, will go on sale when the bidding has sufficiently warmed up.

CASH REGISTER BELLS FAIL TO RING OUT FOR SVETLANA

A gloomy Christmas seems in store for the publishers of the Twenty Letters to a Friend, authored by the most sensational literary find of the year, Svetlana Alliluyeva.

According to Newsweek [December 4], "To the surprise and occasional pique of booksellers around the country last week ...[the book] was proving to be one of the major publishing disappointments of recent years. Everyone had presumed that because Svetlana was Joseph Stalin's only daughter and an intimate witness to the family life of one of history's bloodiest tyrants, her reminiscences would automatically make a runaway best seller."

But the owner of a small bookstore in Chicago, Stuart Brent, whose reaction was held to be typical, was reported as saying, "That book is as dead as the trash in my wastebasket."

A first edition of 125,000 copies was printed. So far, the publishers managed to place 115,000 in bookstores. But the cash registers did not begin pealing. Samuel Sheridan of Grosse Pointe, Michigan, said: "Never has a book fallen so flat on its face." He has sold just one out of the twenty-five copies in his store.

The author is reported to have received the highest price ever paid for a single manuscript -- somewhere around two million dollars.

This is about double what Eisenhower is reported to have been given for his memoirs on the eve of entering the White House. Even taking into account the inflation of the dollar since Eisen-

hower got his check, Svetlana seems to have been considered by the publishing world to be a much more impressive writer.

One of the explanations offered for the low sales is that the book was killed by the extensive publication of serials in the newspapers and Life magazine. Everett Noonan, manager of a bookstore in Beverly Hills, California, thinks it is due to the disappointing quality of the book. "If the book was a good description of what Stalin was like we would be selling it out. But all she says is that my heart belongs to daddy."

There is still an outside hope that Christmas sales may register a rise in the book's popularity. After all, it is not easy to find a more perfect example than is offered by Svetlana of the American Way of Life where hard work receives its just reward.

In accordance with this image, most of the American press have pictured Stalin's only daughter in the most favorable light -- like a true princess. An exception is Esquire, "the magazine for men" (or the men's room). It was not entirely respectful. The November issue used a full-color portrait of Svetlana on the cover, but put a black mustache on it exactly like Stalin's. And the promotion department attached a label: "Exclusive and Unauthorized: HOW SVETLANA FLED COMMUNISM FOR AMERICA AND FOUND GOD, HAPPINESS AND TWO MILLION DOLLARS."

It was a case, it seems, where the editors succumbed to the temptation to let truth, for once, win out over beauty.

1,000 STUDENTS PROTEST AT "SEDITION" TRIAL IN BERLIN

More than 1,000 students demonstrated at the Moabit Courthouse in West Berlin November 24 as one of their number went on trial for allegedly throwing a stone at a cop last June.

When the students tried to break through a police cordon at the courthouse, the cops turned a water cannon on them, despite freezing weather -- it was snowing at the time.

Fourteen students were arrested. Traffic was blocked around the courthouse for more than an hour.

The defendant, Fritz Teufel, 24, is being tried for "sedition." He was arrested June 2 during a demonstration against the shah of Iran. Another student,

Benno Ohnesorg, was shot to death by a detective during that demonstration.

A week before Teufel went on trial the detective was acquitted of a charge of negligent homicide.

Teufel said he regarded the shah's visit as a "low comedy," in which "the public is justified in throwing eggs and tomatoes if the performance does not satisfy them." He denied that he had thrown a stone or committed any other violence. He has been held in the Moabit prison for all but four weeks since June 2.

Teufel said the contradictions of modern society became evident to him when he entered the Free University and began to read socialist literature.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL'S MESSAGE ON CHE GUEVARA

[The following is the text of a dispatch from Conakry, Guinea, reporting Stokely Carmichael's reaction to the death of Che Guevara. Previous to this, only a brief statement (which may have been but a part of the original) was carried by the press wires under an Algiers dateline. This was quoted in World Outlook November 10.

[The Conakry dispatch is undated but was printed in the November 26 issue of the English edition of Granma, the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Cuba.]

* * *

Conakry (Teófilo Acosta, special Prensa Latina correspondent). -- "With the death of Ernesto Che Guevara, it is our revolutionary duty to create Vietnams inside the United States," stated Stokely Carmichael in a message to the black people of the United States.

Carmichael, who asked Prensa Latina and Radio Havana Cuba to publicize his message, pointed out: "Guevara died the way we all should die: fighting imperialism, weapons in hand."

The message, given to this reporter in the capital of Guinea, reads as follows (in a retranslation from the Spanish):

"Brothers and sisters:

"With the announcement of the death of Brother Che Guevara, the imperialists have begun to think that our struggle, not only inside the United States, but also around the world and especially in Latin America, has been liquidated.

"They, the imperialists, have begun to laugh and celebrate. They think today, as they thought in the past, when they killed Brother Malcolm X, that our movement in the United States will come to a standstill. How wrong they are!

"Inspired by Malcolm X's blood, millions of young Afro-Americans came forth prepared to fight and fulfill their revolutionary mission.

"The death of Che Guevara places a responsibility on all revolutionaries of the world to redouble their decision to fight on to the final defeat of imperialism. This is not the time for tears but for combat. This is not the time to make long speeches dedicated to Che's memory, but a time for practical, courageous action on all anti-imperialist fronts.

"If imperialism believes that by

killing Che Guevara it can hold back revolution in Latin America and the rest of the world, imperialism is sadly mistaken. From Guevara's blood will arise new revolutionaries, and we who already are revolutionaries will become stronger, stauncher, braver.

"Che Guevara died the way we all should die: fighting imperialism, weapons in hand. His example, like that of Malcolm X, like that of Patrice Lumumba, spurs us on in the fight and gives us strength to continue this struggle, which we shall win.

"Che Guevara has left us his example; he has left us his ideas, embodied in his historic letter to the Tricontinental Organization, which constitutes a guide for the blacks of the United States, for the fighters in Bolivia, in short, for all revolutionaries on this planet.

"Che's letter is very important for us. The slogan which he coined -- to create one, two, many Vietnams -- is the best way for us to help our brothers in Vietnam, who are fighting for all of us.

"This letter has given many of us inside the United States the strength to create Vietnams there. We are certain that our fight is to be waged in the streets of Detroit, New York, Chicago, Washington and Philadelphia, that our struggle is taking shape inside the United States, where we are exploited and oppressed.

"With the death of Ernesto Che Guevara, it is our revolutionary duty to create Vietnams inside the United States. Che explained clearly that there is no need to talk more, that the contradictions in the world are clear, and that the time has come for each to take his place in the fight.

"This is exactly what Malcolm X said: the time for words has passed. Now it is the time to fight.

"They died fighting. And we, from now on, will also die fighting.

"For me, it is difficult to speak about the death of Che or the death of Malcolm X, since it seems to me they are with us, since the causes for which they fought and died are the same causes for which we are fighting.

"That is why -- in essence -- Che Guevara is not dead. I do not wish to speak of Che as if he were dead. It would not make sense. His ideas are with us.

"I never met Che Guevara in person,

but I know him. And I know him even better now. The important thing is to realize that his ideas are with us, and that is why we are prepared to go on fighting. Let imperialism know that his physical death will be avenged.

"To my brothers in the United States I say: Black Power for all, from South Africa to Nova Scotia. When the world's 900 million Africans stand up to announce their presence in the Third World we will bring down imperialism and we shall win victory."

HOW THE VIETNAMESE SAVE THE WOUNDED AND BURNED

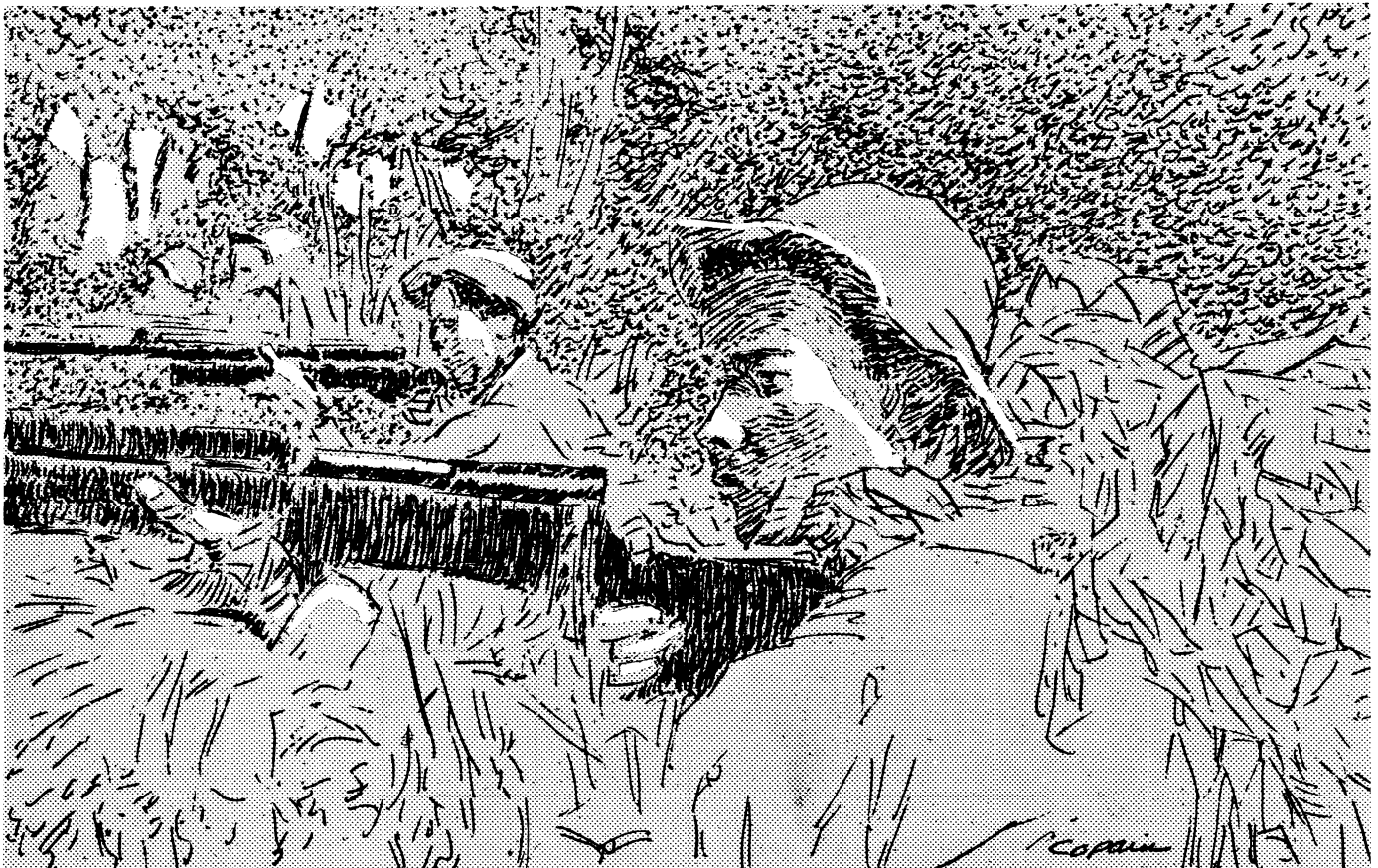
In its issue of November 25, the Paris daily Le Monde featured on its front page an interview of unusual interest, describing how the Vietnamese people have organized their medical services to meet the gigantic problem which they faced as the target of American military might.

The interview was granted by the North Vietnamese minister of health, Dr. Pham Ngoc Thach, to Dr. Escoffier-Lambiotte during a trip to Europe to testify before the second session of the In-

ternational War Crimes Tribunal at Copenhagen.

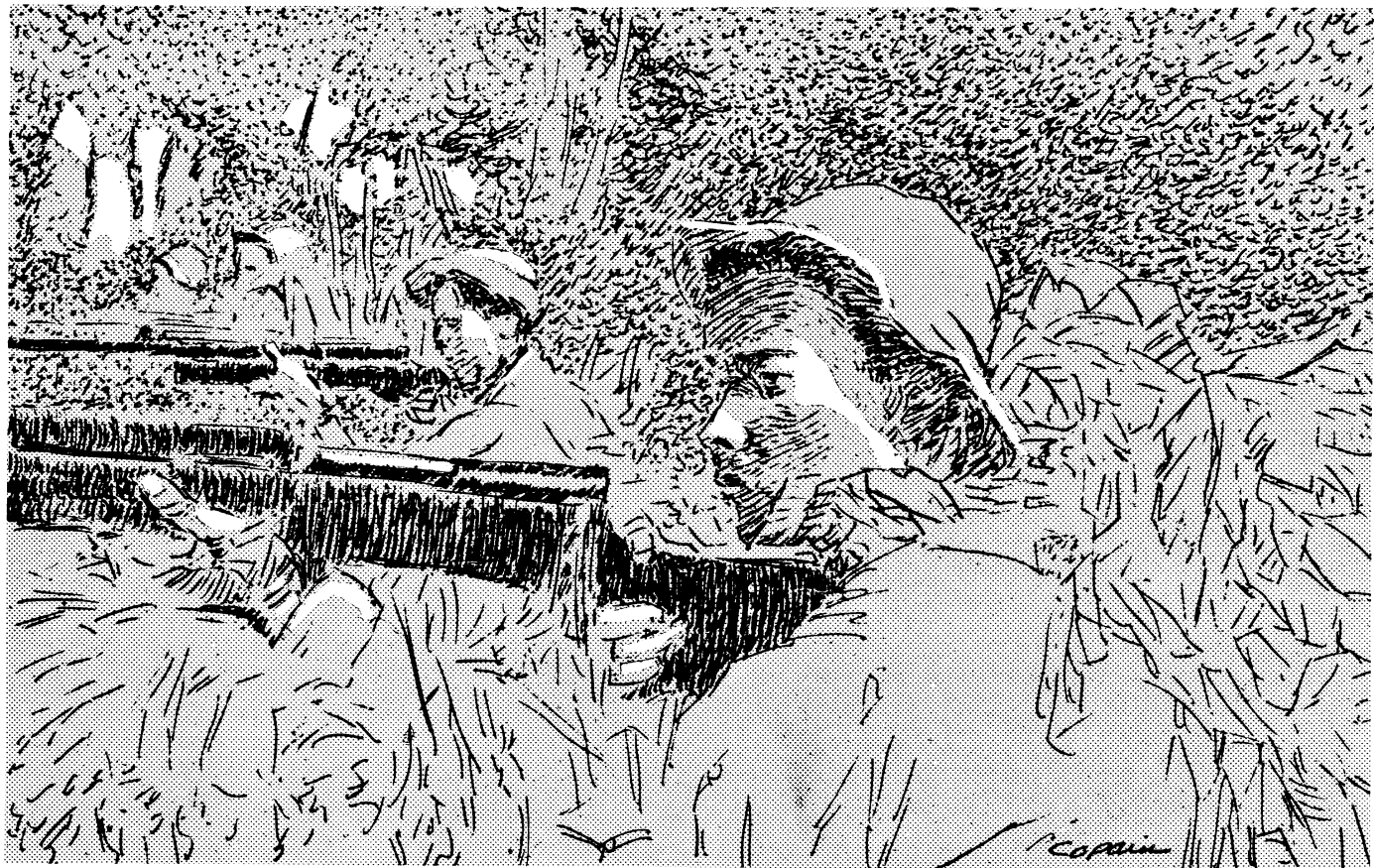
Dr. Escoffier-Lambiotte asked Dr. Thach about the losses being suffered.

"The losses," replied Dr. Thach, "are actually quite low and this is because of a tight, disciplined organization that is universally accepted, because it is based on a moral ideal profoundly rooted in the people. They know that they are defending their land, their factories, their jobs, their freedom and



VIETNAMESE freedom fighters defending their land against the aggression of the mightiest military power on earth. They have written one of the most heroic pages in human history. Equally heroic are the determined workers and peasants who have kept up production in face of the napalm,

high explosives and fiendish antipersonnel devices dumped on them by U.S. planes. One of the most moving chapters written by the people of this small land is their success in maintaining and expanding medical services into a vast network active throughout the entire countryside.



their lives, and it is easy to understand, in view of this powerful motivation, why this life-saving discipline is rigorously followed.

"The directives given out arise from continuous research and experience which is ceaselessly renewed and ceaselessly adapted. At present ninety percent of the wounded or killed, which we have suffered, were outside of their shelters. The policy of constructing trenches and individual shelters is efficacious, unambiguously followed and applied.

"The same holds true for the evacuation of the cities. The first raid on Hanoi in October left 200 victims, killed and wounded, by fragmentation bombs in many instances. In the last raids of the series we had practically no losses. In the meantime we had proceeded to evacuate all the populous quarters, sending the people to the village cooperatives; the city dwellers were welcomed there by the officials who organized lodging and activities for them. Rescue workers accompanied the evacuated populations."

Dr. Thach explained how the medical services are organized:

"Each village, each factory, each community, has a health network composed of a health officer, a nurse and a midwife. Each village infirmary has an underground operating room and equipment enabling them to handle ordinary surgical cases (fractures, flesh wounds, etc.) and in addition countering such things as shock among those who are gravely wounded.

"We don't have sufficient reserves of blood in all these scattered infirmaries; so we battle against losses of liquid through transfusions of serum and electrolytic adjustments, and we likewise employ with success the methods of traditional medicine, utilizing extracts from local herbs.

"We evacuate to the better equipped centers only the gravely wounded who require considerable care. In Quang-Binh, for instance, where we suffered relatively high losses, eighty-three percent of the wounded were taken care of on the spot and only seventeen percent had to be evacuated to the district hospitals. In these cases transportation is handled by two men bearing a stretcher."

Asked about the danger of epidemics, Dr. Thach said that this had been successfully overcome through massive use of vaccines and careful general hygiene and sanitation.

Hasn't this required large amounts of vaccines? Who furnishes them?

"No one. We manufacture them our-

selves and our reserves are sufficient.

"During the first two years of the war in 1965-66, we produced more than 100 million doses of vaccines....Our centers for manufacturing these obviously could not remain in the cities; we moved all of them and completely reconstructed them in the heart of the forests where they are operating at full capacity. In addition we have worked out new techniques adapted to our particular situation; thus in the case of Sabin vaccine against polio, yours can be kept only under refrigeration. Ours must be transported on foot from village to village; it can be kept for a month at ordinary temperatures."

The interviewer wondered if this required unusual help by doctors and technicians from abroad in view of the flood of new problems.

"Up to now we have not had a single foreign practitioner. It is possible that we will eventually accept such aid, but it will only be symbolic.

"In 1955 we had one doctor for every 150,000 inhabitants and one health officer for every 100,000 inhabitants. In 1965, we had one doctor for every 8,000 inhabitants and one health officer at least for every 2,000 inhabitants.

"We followed a policy of intensive formation of doctors in all the provinces; this year we now have several medical schools installed in the provinces in the heart of the forests, with all their research equipment, training materials and libraries. In six years, every province will have its school. Today, one-fourth of our doctors are women and we estimate that in six years women will constitute eighty percent of the medical corps.

"The health officers likewise are mainly women. They complete a short three-year course, but each year they go on to a new level of skill. Thus in 1965 we made a fantastic effort to prepare them for surgery. The plan to improve the level of surgery started in August 1964, at the time of the first bombings. At the end of 1965 everything was ready, men and materials, to face the daily problems.

"The health officers are able to handle simple surgery (fractures and flesh wounds) and shock, and we have simplified and codified a certain number of techniques which are satisfactory and correspond to our particular needs.

"Thus for fractures, we utilize an old method of traditional medicine which uses splints of bamboo that maintain complete mobility of the joints. We have also found that the bacillus subtilis constitutes a remarkable preventive treatment for infection and an excellent healing

agent for burns and wounds. We manufacture it on a massive base and utilize it systematically.

"Our results are satisfactory, since the mortality rate for wounds among civilians due to bombings is lower than that among the American troops during the Korean war."

The interviewer observed in a footnote that bacillus subtilis is used in the West mainly against intestinal infections and as a complement in the use of antibiotics. "The results obtained in Vietnam," he added, "are extremely interesting and merit wider research and study here."

The Parisian doctor asked the following question: "The prodigious organization of the American military medical services has been described many times. Based on speed and mobility, the helicopter, the portable hospital installed in a few hours, almost immediate evacuation to the rear, it has meant a very low mortality rate. You lack technical means of this kind. On the military level what is your organization like?"

"Our methods," replied Dr. Thach, "are diametrically different. We answer the American mobility with our organizational stability and Vietnamese rigidity."

"In place of taking the wounded to the doctor, we take the doctor to the wounded. We have one nurse for fifteen men, and when it is necessary to transport casualties we do it with the help of stretchers carried by men to the underground hospitals."

"Moreover, we have many more civilians wounded than soldiers. In two years our health service developed ten times more than during the ten preceding years of peace and it is at present infinitely more developed than the military medical service. The results obtained through this organization are good and I can cite by way of example that in one of the provinces that has been the hardest hit by air raids, Quang-Binh, in two years we have had only four cases of tetanus. The percentage of infections among civilians as well as soldiers is in general very low."

Concerning burns from napalm and poisoning from chemicals used by the U.S. forces, Dr. Thach had this to say:

"In the provinces near the border, five to ten percent of our wounded are from napalm burns. You know that these burns leave frightful keloidal scars, a great deal like those observed after the explosion at Hiroshima. Napalm is dropped by plane in 'jet containers' and is utilized in bombing our towns."

"The same holds, with less frequency, for phosphorous and magnesium, the latter sent by shellfire from the marine artillery and those who have gone beyond the seventeenth parallel. We treat these burns with the classical methods -- struggle against shock, dehydration, electrolytic imbalance, occluding dressings, antibiotics, and systematic use of bacillus subtilis. We have neither a blood bank nor a skin bank."

The chemical war conducted by the U.S. has likewise faced the Vietnamese with problems. Casualties, particularly from the defoliant chemicals, are treated with both modern and traditional methods.

The final question was as follows: "Doesn't this people, which sees death every day, burns or mutilations, whose towns, villages, factories and roads are razed or destroyed, which has seen so many years of horror and grief from the war, doesn't this people want peace at any price?"

Here was Dr. Thach's answer: "'Peace' should not be an empty word. For us it can only be a synonym for independence and freedom. The desire for peace is immense, but our people are ready to go to the end. Almost all of our fishing industry has been destroyed, but as against this our agricultural productivity is higher than ever; we have more than 1,000 cooperatives producing close to five tons of cereals a hectare and in which seventy percent of the labor has been taken over by the women. Our survival is assured; and the difference between survival and life is the freedom for which we are struggling and without which peace could have no meaning."

"Principles have become a tradition among us, and peace is a question of principle."

"No discussion with the Americans is possible until the bombings and all the acts of war against the DRV [Democratic Republic of Vietnam] are halted unconditionally. If this is done, then a discussion could be envisaged."

SURVIVORS OF GUEVARA FORCE EVADE BOLIVIAN ARMY TRAP

The Barrientos dictatorship admitted November 29 that the survivors of the guerrilla group led by Che Guevara had managed to slip through an army trap and

disappear in lowland jungles along the Beni River. The army officials claimed that only five men survived the battle in which Guevara was wounded and captured.

SARTRE'S OPENING SPEECH AT COPENHAGEN HEARINGS ON U.S. WAR CRIMES

[The second session of the International War Crimes Tribunal, the body of distinguished public figures initiated by Bertrand Russell, held its first meeting in Copenhagen on November 20.

[In opening the hearings, Jean-Paul Sartre, executive president of the tribunal, made the following remarks.]

* * *

So the second session has begun. I would remind you that we have three principal accusations to consider:

-- Have the American forces used or experimented with new weapons, or weapons forbidden by the laws of war, such as gas, special chemicals, etc.?

-- Have Vietnamese prisoners been subjected to inhuman treatment, in particular, torture or mutilation, forbidden by the laws of war?

-- Have there been unjustified reprisals against the civilian population, in particular, execution of hostages?

-- Have camps for forced labor been created, populations deported, or other acts committed which contribute to the annihilation of the population and which can be legally characterized as acts of genocide?

I do not think we need here reconsider our aims, or the problem of the legitimacy of the Tribunal, because all that has been explained at length during the first meeting. I will limit myself to responding to our guest of a moment ago by saying that if there is no American here to defend the position of the American government, it is because the American government, which was invited several times to send a representative, refused to send one. Therefore it is not that the Tribunal is one-sided, but that it cannot bring the accused here by force. We asked them very nicely to come, and they have not come. However if in essence there is no dividing line between the first session and the second session, if we renounced our intention to have a single session, it is because it would have been too lengthy, and under too difficult, and too costly, conditions. But the two questions to which we responded in the first session are tied to the three questions which we are going to consider this time.

In particular, when we speak of the bombing of civilians, of the systematic and deliberate bombing of the civilian population, we have at hand something which was proved during the first session, something which we have condemned, some-

thing which since the first session has been so intensified that our condemnation has been outdated. Having said that, we cannot withdraw the condemnation, because it is complete, but we shall devote this afternoon to the development of the bombings since the condemnation we made in May.

Consequently, and to give you an example of the change, I am bringing to your attention a telegram sent from Hanoi on the nineteenth of November, which speaks of the bombing of Hanoi on the seventeenth of November:

"On the seventeenth of November the American imperialists once again committed extremely grave crimes against the Vietnamese people.

"They launched violent attacks against several residential districts in the center and in the suburbs of the capital, Hanoi, and in other provinces of North Vietnam. In attacking the capital Hanoi three times, at 7:15, 9:00 and at 10:55, they mobilised planes of the U.S. Navy and the U.S. Air Force, which made 76 attacks, dropped 56 explosive bombs, more than 30 of them being delayed-action bombs, 12 containers containing 200 ball-bombs, including delayed-action ball-bombs, fired 50 fragmentation missiles, thereby killing 33 civilians and wounding 158 more, and destroying numerous dwellings and property belonging to the people. Each of the four urban districts of the capital, Hai Ba Trung, Hoan Kiem, Ba Dinh, Dong Da, as well as the several villages attached to the suburban districts of Gia Lam, Thanh Tri, and Tu Liem were attacked. Just in the Hai Ba Trung district, from the market of Hoah Binh to the market of Mo, on an area of about one square kilometer, U.S. planes dropped six containers containing some 3,600 ball-bombs, thereby killing more than 100 civilians, and setting fire to and damaging hundreds of dwellings. They dropped a great number of ball-bombs and two explosive bombs of 750 pounds each on the Bach Mai hospital, the biggest hospital in Hanoi, killing a patient and wounding a doctor, a nurse and an assistant nurse while they were at work. The ward for infectious diseases, the neuro-psychiatric ward, and lodgings reserved for the personnel of the hospital, were seriously damaged.

"The Hai Duong hospital was also attacked. They also dropped ball-bombs on the Polytechnical School, the Economy-Plan High School, the Music School, and on the grounds. Just on the Polytechnical School and on the Economy-Plan High School they dropped more than 1,000 ball-bombs, killing and wounding more than 25 people. They fired lacerating cube-missiles on

the residential district where the diplomatic corps are located, in Ba Huyen street, Than Quan street, and at the office of the International Commission at 12 rue Phan Chu Trinh. Assistant Officer Mangal Chand, 25 years old, of the Indian delegation, was killed by a missile fragment, and another member of the Indian delegation was wounded. On the same day, American planes also attacked several residential districts in the city of Hai-phong, in the provinces of Hung Jen, Thai Binh, Nam Ha, Hai Duong, Ninh Binh, Hoa Binh, Ba Thai, Ha Bac, and numerous places

in Thanh Hoa, a region bordering on the demilitarized zone. Before Vietnamese and foreign opinion, the commission of enquiry on the war crimes of the American imperialists in Vietnam denounces the new grave crimes of the American imperialists."

You see our second session is tied to the first. At bottom, they are but one. Therefore it requires few words to begin -- it suffices to say: the session continues.

U.S. AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM A "PURE CRIME OF CONQUEST"

[The following message from Bertrand Russell was read at the first meeting of the second session of the International War Crimes Tribunal, which opened November 20 in Copenhagen.

[At the first session, which concluded May 10 in Stockholm, the United States government was found guilty of the crimes of aggression, widespread, deliberate and systematic bombing of civilian targets in Vietnam, and violating the neutrality and territorial integrity of Cambodia.]

* * *

As we meet in quiet comfort, the people of Vietnam are made to suffer new and greater crimes. Hour by hour, and day by day, the horror intensifies, inflicting wanton pain and torment on a nation which has known no peace.

We are calm and unhurried. We have carried on our work these many months in the tranquility of our laboratories and reading rooms. We have studied the war through the means which are customary to us as scholars. The written word, pictorial evidence, the material remains of incinerated villages -- all these are transported to us for examination at our convenience. We form our judgment as we would judge right and wrong in a war of antiquity. The anguish of the Vietnamese people is as remote from our lives as that of a people who are removed from us by centuries.

We have not shared their suffering. Our judgment does not vindicate them, but vindicates ourselves. The idle man has no right of judgment over those who support the concept of morality and justice by their active struggles against cruelty and injustice. Our words are a small charity, causing us to endure no hardships. Ours is a meagre role in history. Can we consider ourselves actors when the drama of our epoch is a life and death struggle between the peasants of Vietnam

and the mechanised slaughter perpetrated from Washington?

The course of history is being shaped in Vietnam. We shall not alter it much by our words. It is the people of Vietnam who refuse to submit to United States hegemony, who are altering history. They are proving the might of men inspired by ideals. They face the richest armies and the most modern instruments of extermination.

America spends seventy million dollars per day to enact mass murder, but the impoverished nation of Vietnam cannot be deterred. The power of this example will be felt in every continent where the poor have been cowed before the military prowess of their oppressors. The power of their example extends even to the affluent nations of the West, where their heroism has stirred politically inert people to massive protest against the new barbarism of the Pentagon.

What we may say counts for little beside their deeds. By examining and exposing American war crimes in Vietnam we do no more than ask to be counted on the side of those who are struggling in a just cause. By fulfilling the minimal obligations which we recognise, we seek merely to avoid moral impotence.

We have already presented conclusive evidence of the aggressive character of the United States intervention in Vietnam. As we proceed we must recognise how profoundly the concept of aggression covers all of America's crimes in Vietnam.

We are not examining a border dispute between Great Powers to determine which is the aggressor, in the sense of the first party to transgress the frontiers of another. In such a case, I should be reluctant to say that the incident of aggression would constitute the totality of all war crimes in the ensuing battles.

I do not agree with the rigorous

adherence to formal definitions which prevented our placing the bombardment of Hiroshima and Nagasaki on the same moral plane as the crimes of the Axis in World War II. Japan's aggression does not exonerate the United States for using the atomic bomb against civilian centres.

But I believe firmly that America's aggression in Vietnam is a pure crime of conquest, delineating precisely between aggressor and victim. I cannot remember any war within my own lifetime in which the term "naked aggression" so profoundly explained the full meaning of the bloodshed.

In Vietnam there is a race of men who, in modern times have never been free and who have never known peace. This explains why the war knows no middle course between national salvation and genocide. Men who have known only war, injustice and suffering can make no compromise, for they possess nothing to concede.

They may lose their lives, but these were already taken from them. Their culture may be brought to ruin, but it was already perverted and abased by the power of alien forces. Their wealth may be wasted, but it was already stolen. A century of western oppression forms the prelude to a quarter century of violent strife.

The struggle aims not to restore the past, but to create the future. The epic struggle of Vietnam continues so long as one man survives, embodying these hopes, demanding to create a new life, free of impoverishment and fear, with

dignity and courage. Every man of this race, who has not been bought by the United States, carries this hope. Each threatens America; for each must be exterminated if America's will is to prevail.

We meet in the coming days to consider the extent to which America is already guilty of genocide, in the most exact juridical sense of the term.

America's intent is plain; the logic is unmistakable. Our task is to hear the evidence, document the atrocities, and declare the extent to which this -- the most heinous of crimes -- has been committed.

Vietnam has much in common with other struggles for justice. Although it is not the task of our Tribunal to consider these other struggles, we cannot forget them. They are the raison d'être of new tribunals and future enquiries.

By our modest effort, we wish to affirm the duty of those who have sought only to contribute to civilisation to stand with the men and women who struggle to uphold its values. Let us remind the complacent that the crimes against the American Negro will also receive the most exhaustive examination. Let this warn the arrogant spokesmen of the American Century that the crimes against the people of Latin America will also be exposed.

We are not the judges; we are witnesses. Our task is to make mankind to bear witness to these terrible crimes and to unite humanity on the side of justice in Vietnam.

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS LOSE IN BELLWETHER CHILEAN STUDENT ELECTION

Santiago, Chile

In elections held by the Student Federation of Concepción November 19, the Christian Democrats suffered their first defeat in five years. They were beaten by a joint slate put up by the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria and the Partido Socialista. The MIR-PS candidates won 1,270 votes as against 1,060 for the Christian Democrats.

The winning slate was headed by 23-year-old Luciano Cruz Aguayo, a student of medicine and member of the MIR who came to prominence last September during some student actions in which he declared a hunger strike. The student demonstrations culminated in mass actions in the streets of Concepción.

The son of a former army officer, Luciano Cruz, joined the Communist party.

He was expelled from that organization in 1964 for adopting positions that were too radical for this "peaceful coexistence" minded party.

The outcome of the university elections in Concepción were held to be of symptomatic importance for the country as a whole. The daily El Mercurio declared in an editorial November 21:

"The university election in Concepción represented a decided turn of the students toward extremist positions. The slate headed by Luciano Cruz of the MIR overcame the Christian Democrat candidate despite the lack of Communist support. [The Communists ran their own slate, getting 257 votes.] The strengthening of the extremist positions tilts the balance among the national political parties and marks a new milestone in the current regroupment of the Chilean left. It appears

symptomatic that the coming apart of the FRAP [Frente Revolucionario de Acción Popular -- the Socialist and Communist party bloc formed in the last presidential elections], noted in the elections for the FECH [Federación de Estudiantes de Chile], should be repeated in the south; but this time leading to a collapse of some proportions for the Communists and the Radicals. [The Radicals received 527 votes in the election.] The Socialists were able to verify that their alliance with the MIR can pay off better than bowing to the FRAP. On the other hand, the Communists, upon being isolated, showed lack of pulling power in the vote."

At the same time, the Christian Democrats still appear to be holding their own among the students at the University of Santiago. In the October 22 elections, the Christian Democrat slate won with a vote of 6,191. The Communist party slate came second with a vote of

3,412; the joint MIR-PS slate got 1,965; the Partido Radical 1,136 and the Partido Nacional 994.

As yet definitive conclusions cannot be drawn inasmuch as the returns are not yet in from other universities. It could be that the Christian Democrats are maintaining their majority nationally despite the outcome of the election in Concepción. In that city the growth of the MIR and the militant struggles it led during the past year have evidently had an important effect.

In Santiago, the strong showing of the Christian Democrats, the Radicals and the most reformist sector (the Communist party) indicates that the Chilean students have not yet entered the stage of deep radicalization and are still voting for the bourgeois reformist and traditional left sectors.

TRIBUTES TO CHE GUEVARA CONTINUE IN CHILE

Santiago, Chile

Since the mass meeting in this city October 17 in tribute to Che Guevara [see World Outlook November 17, page 927], other gatherings have continued to voice the feelings of the workers over the example set by the heroic life of the greatest Latin-American Marxist revolutionist of our time.

The Socialist party organized various meetings in Santiago and in the provinces. The MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria] has also conducted mass rallies. In the universities of Santiago, Concepción and Valparaíso the miristas have organized militant demonstrations.

In Concepción, at the rally Novem-

ber 19 in the Cervantes theater where the MIR-SP celebrated the victory of its slate for the first time over the Christian Democrats, a victory won by a margin of more than 200 votes, Luciano Cruz, a member of the MIR, recently elected president of the Federación de Estudiantes de Concepción, dedicated the victory to Che Guevara.

The Municipal Workers of Santiago, which has a membership of 3,000 workers, resolved at a meeting November 11 to pay revolutionary homage to the life and struggle of Che Guevara.

This was in response to a proposal made by militant workers of the MIR who have advanced perceptibly in this union during the past year.

CONCERNING J. POSADAS

[The following statement was issued November 11 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

A person named J. Posadas, and the group he leads, expelled more than five years ago from the Fourth International, continues to conduct a campaign of lies and slander with regard to the revolutionary workers movement and the Cuban leadership in particular.

After having declared that Che Guevara had been murdered by Fidel Castro in 1965, that the documents "attributed" to Guevara were false, that the guerrilla struggle in Bolivia was a "comedy" and

that the Bolivian government had not "presented a single body of a guerrilla" to prove that there were guerrillas (in July 1967!), this group has not hesitated now to say that the death of the "fake Guevara" was a show put on by the Cuban and Bolivian governments!

The frenzy of J. Posadas to deny all evidence has led him to invent the worst charges against the revolutionary tendencies and to present all their acts as "miserable comedies."

The United Secretariat once again calls attention to the fact that the Posadas group has nothing in common with the Fourth International whose name it utilizes without authorization.

BOLIVIAN CP VIEW ON THE GUERRILLAS AND THE DEATH OF CHE

[The following interview, entitled, "Bolivia After the Death of Che Guevara," was granted by Jorge Kolle, a member of the Secretariat of the Bolivian Communist party, to Eduardo Labarca, editor of the Chilean Communist daily El Siglo.

[The interview is evidently considered to be of prime importance by the pro-Moscow Communist parties. Translations of it have appeared in the Italian CP daily l'Unità and the French CP daily l'Humanité.

[World Outlook does not have the original Spanish text as published by El Siglo and we have therefore made an English translation from the Italian version published in Rome November 17.

[The Italian text included two editorial notes, one of some length. It is not clear whether these were added by the editor of El Siglo or by the editor of l'Unità.

[The interview is of special importance in the context of the general attack now being mounted against the Cubans by the right-wing leaders of the Latin-American Communist parties and their allies and backers in the Kremlin.

[The attack and its meaning is considered by Livio Maitan in an article on page 1,014 of this issue of World Outlook.]

* * *

What role has the PCB played in the guerrilla action which developed in the country and what has been its position toward it?

In the view of the PCB, guerrilla warfare, as one of the forms of armed struggle, within the framework of "methods of struggle" for the seizure of power by the revolutionary forces, has been and still is a method, a tactical category; but, in the PCB's view, its application as a strategy does not suit the concrete historical reality of the country's economic, social and political conditions. The basic fact in Bolivia today is the military government's counterrevolutionary offensive against the people, the working class, its organizations and leaders: the breaking up of the national, democratic, popular and revolutionary forces; government control over the unions; repression and imprisonment of patriots, democrats and revolutionaries.

(Note: The PCB is underground. It was outlawed by decree of the military dictatorship three weeks prior to the first episode in the guerrilla action.)

The PCB believes that we must seriously look toward a period of reorganization and strengthening of our forces: we must create the necessary preconditions for forming a popular, anti-imperialist front based on unity between the working class and important layers of the peasantry which would permit us to confront the tasks of seizing power. And in this we must not underestimate any method of struggle, utilizing them all in mass action and in every concrete case adapting them to the situation.

Guerrilla warfare started off without a proper appreciation of the political and social factors indispensable to its development; it emerged prematurely. Nonetheless, as a matter of principle, the PCB extended solidarity to the guerrillas and supported them with all the means at its disposal, without taking part in an organizational way. And there was a nucleus of our members who, outside the party bodies, took part in the armed actions.

(Note: The role and sacrifices of the Bolivian Communists are not well known. Guillermo Peredo Leigue, called "Inti," who is now leading the survivors from Guevara's group is a member of the Central Committee of the PCB. Communists who died in battle were "Inti's" brother "Coco," Aniceto Reynaga, Antonio Jiménez, called "Pan de Dios" ["Bread of God"] and Jorge Vásquez Viana, who received a bullet wound in the stomach, was operated on in Camiri and then killed with a pistol shot in the back by an officer of the Fourth Division for "an attempt to escape"; this pretext was clearly a lie since, according to the medical report, the prisoner was in no condition even to move. Orlando Jiménez Bazán, called "Camba," who was captured and called as a witness at the Debray trial, is a Communist. After he refused to swear "before God and the sign of the Holy Cross," and swore "on my honor and by my fatherland," Camba declared: "I went into the guerrilla action because I am a member of the Bolivian Communist party." Loyola Guzmán and Paquita Leyton, who are being held in the La Paz women's prison, are Communists.

(All the following Communists are in prison: Pedro Aliaga, Clara Torrico, Olivares, Gabriel Pocol and Fernando Martínez, the chief editor of the Communist party organ, Unidad. Every week the dictatorship arrests more Communist activists).

How do you view the possible consequences of Guevara's death?

We would like first of all to express our admiration and our sorrow: admiration for the revolutionary who gave

his life for the cause; sorrow all the more intense inasmuch as this was a cold-blooded murder perpetrated far from the field of battle by the hand of agents of the CIA with the complicity of some Bolivian officers.

The death of Compañero Guevara and the guerrilla action's unfortunate outcome do not mean, in our opinion, that the guerrilla action was unsound. Perhaps we should speak of a "calamity" rather than of "unsoundness." The consequences are a heavy loss, too much so, for the revolution. They are creating the conditions in Bolivia for a new heightening of the crisis of the revolutionary movement and encouraging the offensive of the enemy, who is today in a position to exploit this "success"; but, in the last analysis, a positive lesson for the revolutionary cause can be drawn from this. Our people were and remain morally at the side of the guerrillas. The unfortunate thing was, as we predicted, that this support could not be concretized in an active manner.

It can be predicted that two tendencies will show up on a continental scale, one current parallel to the Communist movement, the other in opposition to it: on the one hand, development of armed guerrilla movements; on the other, reactionary activity directed by the CIA, which will seek to create provocations and to "establish" responsibility in order to decapitate the revolutionary movement. The main thrust of these attempts is directed against Cuba and the more well-developed Communist parties, like the Chilean for example.

What are the current prospects for the Bolivian people's and democratic movement?

As to our perspective, we will say basically that our people's and democratic movement will surely be victorious. Without question, the forces and also the organization which will clear the way for the struggle and for its victorious conclusion are maturing in the present crisis. For the present, we are passing through a crisis. The enemy has the initiative, but his inner contradictions limit his margin for maneuver; however, if these contradictions develop, they can and should create a situation favorable to the people. This is the period for reorganizing our forces.

What is your opinion of the news report that the diary of the guerrilla called "The Doctor" mentions the presence

of the first secretary of the PCB in the guerrilla zone and certain conditions which he is supposed to have put to Guevara?

Everyone knows that the PCB's policy consists in uniting the revolutionary forces to present a single powerful bloc against the continental and worldwide activity of imperialism. Nothing will be done by our party which could divide these forces. Furthermore, this is the policy of the Communist parties on this continent in general.

On the other hand, it is our view that the revolution must be an essentially national phenomenon: this is our principled position and it is no secret.

In my view, this is a new machination against our party: since our position is known, no party leader, no party body has been authorized "to negotiate" and could not have done so. Furthermore, there has been such a proliferation of guerrilla "diaries" published by the press and exhibited by the Bolivian high command that, whatever their source, they have lost all documentary or historical credibility. Simple common sense makes it impossible to believe in such a terrific quantity of "historians" for a guerrilla movement. It cannot be taken seriously.

What lessons does the negative outcome of the guerrilla action hold for the revolutionary movement of Latin America?

We reject all generalizations. We are sure of the fact that, in one way or another, the Bolivian case is an experience for the world and continental revolutionary movement. But it is up to the Latin-American revolutionaries in every country where they work, according to the situation in which they find themselves, according to their own experience and state of development to draw the lessons from the Bolivian experience. None are more qualified or more entitled to do this than the Communist parties and their leaders.

When the circumstances permit, we Bolivians must make our experiences known. I repeat, this experience and its results are ours alone. This does not represent "localism," nor, obviously, any abandonment of internationalist principles, but only our respect for each of our brother parties and the responsibility they assume before their peoples.

IN REPLY TO THE BOLIVIAN CP AND ITS BACKERS

By Livio Maitan

While revolutionists the world over anxiously wonder about the fate of the guerrillas in Bolivia following the death of Che Guevara, the offensive mounted by adversaries of the revolutionary line is being broadened and sharpened more and more.

Certain organs of the Latin-American Communist parties have even used their funeral eulogies to the guerrilla leader to stress their differences with his concepts and to insinuate, more or less implicitly, that his death, in the final analysis, was the practical result of a false orientation.

A few days after Fidel Castro's official announcement, Pravda opened its pages to two of the most hostile enemies of the Cuban line -- the Argentinian Ghiboldi and the Chilean Corvalán [see World Outlook November 10, page 912] -- enabling them to level an attack which, behind an obviously hypocritical screen, aimed in reality at the Fidelista leadership and its present orientation. It is thus clear that the leaders of the Latin-American CPs, in a very uncomfortable situation since the polemic over the activities of the Venezuelan CP broke into the open and they were nailed to the wall by the outcome of the OLAS [Organization of Latin-American Solidarity] conference, judged that the time for the counterattack had come.

The interview which Rodney Arismendi granted to the Italian CP weekly (see Rinascita, November 17) was another element in this generalized offensive, although Arismendi continued to stand on the ground which he had chosen at Havana, trying to play the role of a centrist moderator. The secretary of the Uruguayan CP stated in his opening observations that "the process underway in the Latin-American continent has all the characteristics of a prerevolutionary situation," but he was far from drawing from this the necessary conclusions; and in fact he once again resorted to his polyvalent formulas the aim of which is to cover up all kinds of opportunist adaptations.

It is significant moreover that he explicitly held out the perspective of a victory for the left in the next presidential election in Chile, bringing out at the same time with a certain pride that as for him, he had already been elected seven times to parliament in his own country, thus becoming the dean of that body.

But the interview granted by the leader of the Bolivian CP, Jorge Kalle,

is the item that in particular marks a new stage in the offensive of the pro-Soviet CPs (the interview appeared in the Chilean CP daily, El Siglo, and was immediately reprinted in the daily newspapers of the French and Italian CPs).* Kalle made sure to stress that his party had expressed its solidarity with the guerrilla struggle and that Communist militants had played a very important role in it. But at the same time he confirmed in essence what has been clear for some time in the light of a series of reports and declarations (including, particularly, the declarations made by Régis Debray) and which was prominently indicated in addition in the account from La Paz which World Outlook published in its issue of November 10. In short, Kalle's statements constitute further evidence for the following conclusions:

(1) The Bolivian CP -- reference here is obviously to the pro-Soviet CP -- did not favor guerrilla struggle, which it considered more or less a method to be used contingently within the framework of a more general strategy.

(2) When the CP understood that the struggle would be developed despite it, it sought to gain the controlling positions, utilizing top level leaders in an attempt which did not succeed owing to Guevara's opposition.

(3) When this attempt failed, the CP adopted a more and more critical and hostile attitude toward the guerrillas.

(4) Some of the Communist militants and leaders did play a major role among the guerrillas, but in opposition to the party line and by breaking with the party -- whether formally or in practice. (Kalle tries to make his readers believe that some of those who fell in the struggle or who are still carrying out leadership tasks in it remained members of the party, whereas in reality they left it.)

(5) Given its orientation, the CP did absolutely nothing to mobilize and help the guerrillas win; on the contrary the party did its best to put obstacles in their way and sabotage their action in every possible way. Kalle's statement: "The unfortunate thing was, as we predicted, that this [popular] support could not be concretized in an active manner,"

* For the full text of this article see World Outlook, page 1,012.

constitutes nothing but revolting hypocrisy.

It should be noted, finally, that in concluding, Kalle indicates that when the time comes his party may adopt new positions -- which could be a way of already indicating a new phase in the anti-Castroist offensive.

Within the framework of this whole operation of the Latin-American CPs, which from all the evidence has been worked out in consonance with Moscow, the attitude of the Maoist leadership assumes a significance not to be minimized. It should be noted that the Chinese have remained completely silent on the polemic between Fidel and the Venezuelan CP, on the message from Che Guevara and on the OLAS conference, while at the same time remaining reticent about the guerrillas in Bolivia, at times publishing some indirect commentaries critical of the Cuban orientation (some Latin-American, and not only Latin-American, groups openly supported by Peking have gone so far as to formulate quite explicit attacks on the "revisionism" of Fidel Castro).

The enormous fact should now be underlined that during the days and weeks in which the entire world followed the events in Bolivia, the Chinese press quite simply ignored the death of Che.

There is no need for us to insist on the fact that such an infamous attitude reveals a sectarianism carried to such an extreme that one can scarcely conceive it, and it says much about the concept held by the Maoists on relations within the international workers movement. But it is above all clear that at the root of such an attitude is a profound difference held by the Chinese with regard to the revolutionary strategy of Fidel Castro, Ernesto Guevara and the Latin-American vanguard. How otherwise can it be explained that people who polemicize every day with the Soviets and the CPs under their influence on practically all questions evade condemning the current offensive against the revolutionary road and guerrilla struggle and do not breathe a word on the events and conflicts of the highest degree of interest to the revolutionists of Latin America?

In reality, it is absolutely necessary that the revolutionary movement in Latin America and particularly in Bolivia reply in a resolute way to the questions that have been posed, meeting head on the attack of the adversaries of the revolutionary road and the guerrilla struggle.

This signifies, above all, recall-

ing the essential aspects of the analysis of the situation in Bolivia in the years 1965-67 as outlined by the Bolivian vanguard (see the many articles which have appeared in World Outlook up to the account from La Paz published in the November 10 issue). From this analysis, it follows without any possibility of ambiguity that the initiative taken of unleashing a guerrilla struggle was not artificial or premature, but corresponded to social and political dynamics that made it possible and necessary. The fact that the guerrilla struggle was greeted with enthusiasm by certain sectors and with sympathy by others and that it contributed immediately to greater sharpening of the contradictions faced by the regime and Bolivian society is an additional confirmation of the correctness of the fundamental choice that was made.

More generally, it would be completely arbitrary to draw from some grave setbacks or even the possible failure of this experience the conclusion that the concept of armed struggle and guerrillas is erroneous and must be abandoned. Defeats are always possible and guerrilla war likewise is a method of struggle that does not assure success on every occasion.

But what happened or may have happened in the current guerrilla struggle in Bolivia does not in the least change the fundamental tendencies of the Bolivian and Latin-American situation and it is these tendencies on which the revolutionary strategy of the Cubans and the vanguard throughout the continent is based.

The gentlemen leading the pro-Soviet CPs ought, moreover, to explain why in this case they rush to draw conclusions allegedly based on experience, while they pay no attention to the negative experiences of the "democratic" or "peaceful" road going back for decades.

This does not at all mean that we want to disregard the necessity for a precise analysis of the causes of certain setbacks. The analysis of the Bolivian guerrilla struggle must be made and will be made; it goes without saying that the first who should speak are not the strategists of the Latin Quarter or "cultural" circles somewhere in the world, but the organizations and the groups which have been participating in the dramatic struggle that is continuing against the Barrientos regime. We repeat -- a struggle that is continuing and which the revolutionists throughout the world are duty bound to support and help with everything in their power in these crucial weeks.

November 20

WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL FINDS U.S. GOVERNMENT GUILTY OF GENOCIDE

The International War Crimes Tribunal ended its second session of hearings December 1. It found the U.S. government guilty of a series of war crimes, including genocide.

Meeting at Roskilde, near Copenhagen, the tribunal heard a long series of witnesses, including experts who brought in extensive reports of their findings on the scene and the results of laboratory studies.

Besides genocide, the charges listed the use of weapons that have been banned by international agreement, maltreatment and killing of prisoners, violence and forced movement of prisoners. The U.S. was found guilty on all charges.

The U.S. government was also found guilty of aggression against Laos and Cambodia.

Last May, in the first session of hearings, which were held in Stockholm, the tribunal found the U.S. government guilty of aggression in Vietnam. [See World Outlook May 19, page 505.]

On the basis of the evidence

placed before the tribunal, verdicts of guilty were also brought in against Japan, Thailand and the Philippines as accessories to the American aggression. Last May, Australia, New Zealand and South Korea were found guilty of similar complicity. In response to invitations from the tribunal, the National Liberation Front and the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam cooperated with the investigation, making it possible for experts to move freely in the areas under attack by the U.S. and Saigon.

The U.S. government was also invited to cooperate with the investigation or to send representatives to defend the U.S. against the charges. The Johnson administration refused.

The tribunal cannot impose sentences on the guilty officials of the U.S. since it has no legal standing. Its moral standing, however, is unquestioned. The verdict it has brought in will be recognized by the overwhelming majority of mankind as a historic condemnation of the world's greatest criminal association -- Lyndon B. Johnson and the imperialist war machine which he heads.

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