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## Debray Explains Reasons for Defeat of Che's Guerrilla Group

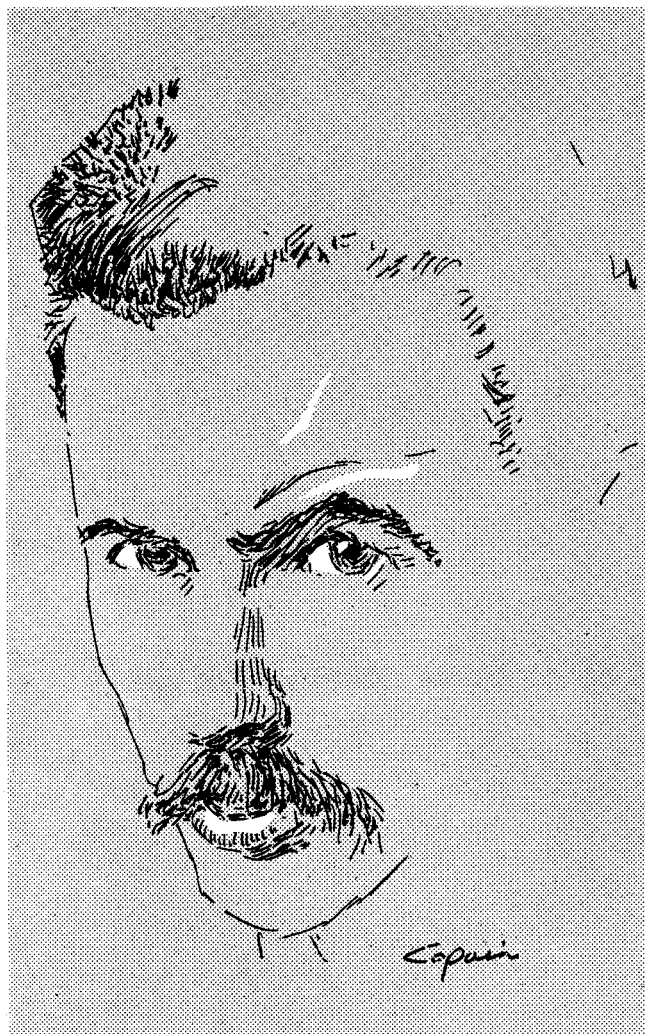
Report from the Underground:

### ***The Struggle Continues in Bolivia***

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REGIS DEBRAY

Reba Hansen, Business Manager

P. O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station

New York, N.Y. 10010

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SCHOENMAN DEPORTED FROM BOLIVIA AFTER ATTEMPT TO DEFEND DEBRAY

By Les Evans

Ralph Schoenman, a member of the Commission of Enquiry sent by the Bertrand Russell Foundation to present evidence in defense of Régis Debray, arrived in New York November 2 after being arrested and expelled from Bolivia.

Andrew St. George, La Paz correspondent for the London Daily Telegraph, reported that Schoenman was "painstakingly interrogated by Bolivian civilian and military intelligence" during the six days he was held before being deported.

Schoenman was arrested October 27 in Camiri when he attempted to interrupt the military prosecutor's closing speech at Debray's trial. He was taken from the court by military police after reading the opening words of a 15-page statement outlining gross violations of the Bolivian constitution in Debray's military trial.

"After his removal from the court," St. George reports, "Mr. Schoenman was driven under armed escort to the town of Choreti. There he was put aboard a plane for La Paz. Two security police agents and a major in Bolivian intelligence flew with him to the capital, where he was transferred to a military police car.

"This drove him to army headquarters in the Miraflores district, where I found him last night."

Schoenman, who is Bertrand Russell's private secretary, asked to be returned to England, but U.S. consular officials intervened, declaring his U.S. passport valid only for return to the United States. They claimed that as an American citizen, his passport was invalidated by a trip to North Vietnam for the International War Crimes Tribunal.

The New York Times reported November 3 that "Mr. Schoenman said he had spent days before his departure from La Paz in a Bolivian military prison, 'not in a cell, but in what might properly be called a cage.' He said he had often been threatened with death."

In the statement for the Commission of Enquiry, Schoenman had asked the military tribunal to call the five commission members to the stand as material witnesses for the defense. "Our evidence," he declared, "will establish conclusively that Professor Debray is a victim of terrible injustice -- of torture, of totally unconstitutional and illegal detainment -- and of an oppressive tyranny which fears the Bolivian people and serves the interests of the United States Government."

The other members of the commission are Robin Blackburn, Perry Anderson, Tariq Ali Khan and Lothar Menne.

The brief for the commission which Schoenman attempted to read quoted at length from the Bolivian constitution, which embodies extensive "guarantees" of civil and political liberty.

"The precise purpose of Professor Debray's interviews with the guerrillas," the statement points out, "namely the dissemination of information and opinion, is guaranteed by Articulo 7. A man who enters in his own name, with legal passport and formal approved application, a man who obtains journalistic credentials and comes to a country in the service of prominent publications and publishers performs a function similar to that performed daily in dozens of countries throughout the world and it requires more than political malice on the part of authority to refute this."

The constitution specifically prohibits "all species of torture, compulsion, exaction, or whatever form of violence, physical or moral..."

Yet Régis Debray "was beaten for 2 days after his arrest. He was tortured throughout this period and subsequently... He was told that he would be shot and was shown his published obituary accompanied by the information that he could now be killed easily as he was regarded as dead."

The commission denounced the refusal of the military court to allow Debray to speak in his own defense or to be represented by a lawyer of his own choosing. They ask:

"Under which clause is Professor Debray obliged to accept a military lawyer, appointed by a military tribunal?"

The Russell commission challenged the military tribunal to reveal what had been done to guerrillas captured by the Bolivian army:

"Who killed Jorge Vasquez," they demanded to know, "and on whose order? Vasquez, a great Bolivian...was wounded so gravely that any movement, let alone his so-called 'escape' was patently absurd...Vasquez was killed because he was the only witness -- a witness in a position to destroy the false charges against Professor Debray...."

"Where are the two prisoners captured in the end of July whose existence is denied by Commander in Chief General

Ovando and by the Commander of the Fourth Division, Colonel Reque Teran. The Russell Commission asks that these two prisoners be granted immediate habeas corpus and their constitutional rights and warns that a new crime is imminent in relation to these two young men whose lives are at stake. The evidence of their captivity exists."

The two prisoners were identified by Schoenman as Eusebio Tapia Arune, 18, of La Paz and Hugo Choque Silva, 18, captured in Chuayaco near Monteagudo July 23.

Schoenman further warned that "the life of Professor Debray is in grave and

imminent jeopardy. Colonel Reque Teran stated to members of the Russell Commission that Régis Debray should be shot... and that if it is his decision it will be done, out of hand. Other army officers have repeated this threat."

In concluding the statement for the Commission of Enquiry, Schoenman castigated the military tribunal:

"There will be no justice in Bolivia as long as tribunals such as this sit in judgment. Justice will return to Bolivia when the Tribunal of the revolution sits in judgment over the tyranny..."

#### REGIS DEBRAY EXPLAINS REASONS FOR DEFEAT OF CHE GUEVARA

[Marc Hutten, correspondent for Agence France-Presse in Bolivia, interviewed Régis Debray in prison in Camiri, October 27, asking him about his trial, Che Guevara and the Bolivian guerrilla movement. Hutten's article appeared in English in the October 28 London Times. The following extract includes the questions and answers.]

\* \* \*

QUESTION: How do you feel, and what are your feelings now that your trial is nearing its end?

DEBRAY: I feel badly because my trial is taking place as if I were not there. Bolivian procedure forbids the accused to speak. I might as well not have been there, it wouldn't have changed anything. I have had to listen for a month to a string of calumnies, falsehoods, and carefully organized insinuations without being able to answer them.

As far as my lawyer is concerned, he was appointed: he can't defend me at all as I should like, first of all because he doesn't know all the facts and then because he is the victim of a normal inhibition and is under psychological pressure.

I feel badly because for a month I've been listening to "evidence" that isn't evidence, to real sleight-of-hand on the part of the prosecutor, for reasons of publicity and supported by the complicity of the national press and the Government.

I'm not writing at all. It's just not in me. I spend the time thinking about Guevara, my comrades who are dead, and about my trial, too.

Q: The Bolivian Communist Party did not support the movement directed by

"Ché" Guevara. Do you think it betrayed the revolution this way?

D: You can't talk about betrayal as such, because it's a serious accusation and because you'd have to have means of illustrating it, which I don't have right now. It's obvious that serious problems came up between "Ché" Guevara and the Bolivian Communist Party.

There was nearly a rupture three months before the hostilities started and of course this considerably and deeply upset relations between the guerrillas and the other political forces of the country.

It's certain that that quasi-rupture played a capital role in the liquidation of the guerrillas. That said, most of the guerrillas came from the basis of the Bolivian Communist Party. In this connection you must distinguish between militants and the leadership.

Q: Why did hostilities break out prematurely between the guerrillas and the soldiers?

D: That was the result of meeting of three things, three accidents, three imponderables.

First, because of an imprudence on the part of the leader of the forward party, Marcos, the guerrillas who were north of Nancahuazu in March were discovered by the Army and followed, step by step, on their way back from Vallegrande to Nancahuazu, by an Army column. That error was the starting point of Marcos's removal as leader of the forward party.

The second thing was the revelation by Algaranz [one of the four Bolivians on trial] of the ranch that served as a contact point between the guerrillas and the town, and consequently, the blocking of the road to the camp and the occu-

pation of the ranch.

The third thing was the desertion of three elements on March 11 and March 17. The guerrillas had committed the imprudence of confiding in them and giving them all the information about the leadership of the movement, the presence of Guevara and strength and armament.

Two of these elements deserted on the 11th. On the 14th they gave the Army a regular report, which was confirmed, point by point, on the 17th by the third deserter, Choque [another of the accused Bolivians].

Q: Can Guevara himself be held responsible, at least partly, for the guerrillas' failure?

D: No, absolutely not. "Ché" did everything to make the guerrillas prosper. He was the victim of imponderables, the victim of a political deception on the part of certain Bolivian sectors, the victim of a giving up, patently, by the guerrillas themselves, that is to say, in this absolutely deserted zone, without population, without water, without food.

So the guerrillas were the victims, first, of the jungle and the natural surroundings, which physically destroyed and broke the combatants, and that was in March.

Q: Is it correct that there was inside the guerrilla movement friction resulting from two different views about the orientation of the movement -- the national view, that of the Bolivians, and the continental view held by the Cubans?

D: There was friction, but for other reasons. The division wasn't on the criterion of nationality. "Ché" laid down a single conception, let's say Latin American, which none of the Bolivians argued with. What there was was deserters and

traitors, not by opposition but by ideological deficiency.

There was, unfortunately, a lot of this, mainly about 20 miners, which hadn't been expected. There were 15 or 17 deserters and four other guerrillas who were expelled. They belonged to the Lump-proletariat.

Q: The theory and ideas you set forth in your book Revolution in Revolution, have they been upset as a result of the experience of these past months?

D: Upset, no, modified, yes. In fact, I wouldn't take anything out of my book if I were to rewrite it, I would add certain things. You have to get into the lesson of these past months by agreeing to look straight at things.

If it was only through loyalty to "Ché's" memory, I would revise certain points in my book which he didn't agree with. Guevara read my book once and we talked about it. Anyway, our polemic wasn't very important, since "Ché" had his own ideas, and although we were agreed on a lot of things, my book carried no weight in the movement. It's here, in Camiri, that it is being accorded great importance, for reasons connected with my trial.

Q: Unlike many journalists, as soon as Guevara's death was first announced you accepted it without showing the least surprise. Would this be because you knew he was in a desperate situation?

D: Yes. In seven months the guerrillas had had no contact with the outside world. This led me to foresee, as by evidence, that they were going to be finished soon. The guerrillas were the victims of the surroundings. They were assailed by hunger, cold, and deprived of food and medicine. Finally the Army cut off any possibility of retreat.

#### FOUR SOLDIERS TESTIFY ON THE EXECUTION OF CHE GUEVARA

[Walter Operto, a correspondent of the sensationalistic Buenos Aires magazine Así, flew in a private plane to Vallegrande, the Bolivian town where Che Guevara's body was displayed to the press. Operto managed to interview four soldiers concerning the execution of Guevara and then flew out of the country before the Bolivian authorities could seize the tape. Part of Operto's article was reproduced in the October 20 issue of Marcha, the Montevideo weekly. The following is a translation by World Outlook of this extract.]

\* \* \*

At four in the afternoon of Friday

the thirteenth, we were in Vallegrande, interviewing Colonel Joaquín Zenteno Anaya, head of the 8th Division of the army. We told him that we would like to interview the soldiers and officers who fought in the battle where "Che" lost his life. Colonel Zenteno Anaya replied that this was impossible since these men were not in Vallegrande. "They are in the Quebrada del Yuro," he told us, "on the trail of those who were with 'Che.'" But a half hour later, without Colonel Zenteno Anaya knowing about it, we were in Señor de Malta hospital talking with four soldiers who were convalescing from the wounds they received in the encounter

with "Che's" guerrilla fighters. These four soldiers, belonging to the group of "Rangers" trained by U.S. officers, told the special correspondents of Así that "Che" had been wounded, that he had been taken prisoner and that he was killed the day following the battle. The names of the soldiers are as follows: Miguel Taboada, 20; Julio Paco, 19; Valentín Choque, 19, and Beno Giménez, 20. Their declarations corroborate what had already been said by Dr. Martínez Caso.

The soldier Miguel Taboada, of Cochabamba, fought against "Che" in Higuera, receiving a bullet wound in his left leg. Here is what he told us:

"You fought in Higuera against 'Che'?"

"Yes."

"Was he killed instantly?"

"No. A round from a machine gun broke his legs and another shot jammed his automatic rifle."

"That means he was taken alive?"

"Yes."

"And what was done with him?"

"The cadetes (in Bolivia officers are called cadetes) surrounded him and talked with him."

"And then?"

"We made camp. We were tired and we had wounded compañeros. The guerrillas who were with 'Che' had retreated."

"Did you see 'Che' alive?"

"Yes."

"And when did he die?"

"The next day."

"Did he die from his wounds?"

"No."

"Then how did he die? Was he killed?"

"Lieutenant Prado killed him with a bullet in the heart."

Julio Paco, Valentín Choque and Beno Giménez said the same. The three, like Taboada, saw "Che" alive, and the three declared that "Lieutenant Prado killed him the next day with a bullet in the heart."

As we were listening to this sensational revelation, another soldier in the bed next to Taboada, who had been wounded in an earlier battle with the guerrillas, shouted to a nurse who happened to come into the room:

"Run to the post and tell an officer to come at once..."

We took this as a signal to get out of the place. Fifteen minutes later our plane was flying over Vallegrande. Below, a military jeep was racing along the road to the airport.

An hour later were saying good-bye by Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

### THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES IN BOLIVIA

#### A Message from the Underground Fighters

La Paz

The Latin-American national bourgeois and imperialist news agencies have hastily prophesied the liquidation of the guerrillas in Bolivia and the failure of armed struggle -- advocated by Comandante Ernesto Guevara, Fidel Castro, and the Cuban revolution -- as a method of struggling for power. But they are mistaken.

It is true that the assassination of "Che" Guevara is a heavy blow to the Bolivian guerrilla struggle. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that guerrilla war, in Bolivia as in any other country in which it arises, has deep national and world economic causes.

With regard to Bolivia, guerrilla

war is nothing more than the continuation of the class struggle on the level of arms. To facilitate grasping this, a summary of the current situation faced by the Bolivian people can prove useful.

Since November 4, 1964, power has been in the grip of a military caste, shaped and educated in the courses provided by the Pentagon in the Panama Canal Zone, in Guatemala, etc. The regime is at present under the strict control of Yankee military commissions.

The 1964 military coup d'état was called the "restoring revolution." In actuality, the military caste intensified and carried to its logical conclusion the antilabor, antinational policies which the MNR [Movimiento Nacionalista Revolu-

cionario] had already initiated in the final stages of its exercise of power. It should be recalled that it was during the administration of Siles Suazo that the destruction of the unions was begun by means of armed attacks, that it was during the regime of Paz Estenssoro that the army occupied the mines, precipitating the first battles like the one at Sora Sora.

In power, the "gorillas" restored the laws favoring imperialism and "la rosca" [tin barons] which the insurgent masses had overturned in 1952.

Within a few months after taking power (May, 1965), the military junta went over to the offensive. Decrees were issued lowering the wages and salaries of all sectors of the working class. In the nationalized mines this amounted to fifty percent. Next, also by decree, the trade unions were dissolved and military administrators and receivers were placed in charge of the unions' resources. These measures were climaxed by a Union Regulation by means of which the Ministry of Labor appointed leaders in the unions. Shortly after this, to block the workers and people from taking action, a decree was issued called the Law of State Defense and Security [Ley de Defensa y Seguridad del Estado], providing a prison sentence of two to six years for any trade-union or political activities in opposition to the line of the military junta. In September, 1966, repressive action was begun against revolutionary parties and the unions.

Through bloody massacres, four of them since November 1964, with thousands killed, the army occupied the mines, took over or destroyed the union radio stations and engaged in ruthless terrorism.

After this preparatory work, they called elections to give the dictatorship a semblance of illegality. Despite the fraud, despite the oppressive machinations, Barrientos was supported by barely thirty percent of the voters. At the same time a controlled, docile parliament was set up in which all that is permitted is the hired opposition of the FSB [Falange Socialista Boliviana] and the PDC [Partido Demócrata Cristiano].

The legalized military dictatorship brought some civilians into the cabinet from parties that had been repudiated and forgotten by the masses but which the military caste restored to political life. The dictatorship resurrected these mummies in order to incorporate them into its ministries. It then utilized its power to create parties with numerous labels. This holds for the PIR [Partido de la Izquierda Revolucionaria], the PRA [Partido Revolucionario Auténtico], the MPC [Movimiento Popular Cristi-

ano], the PRN [Partido de la Revolución Nacional], the PSP [Partido Socialista Popular], and the PALIC [Partido Agrario de la Izquierda Cristiana]\* which are only bureaucratic committees or mere letterheads. The lot of them do not have a hundred active cadres. This is the extent of the civilian support for the dictatorship.

The people struck at the military caste the very day of the coup d'état, November 4, 1964. It was clear to the masses that the military government would intensify the rightist course of the MNR regime, and with clear intuition they opposed it from the first moment. No sector of the workers or the populace was taken in.

As has been traditional, the miners led the struggle against the dictatorship. The military were unable to find the slightest fissure in the courageous, granite opposition of the miners. The factory workers similarly took their places in the opposition, although less militantly. The urban middle class, which at first remained hopeful, soon grasped the incompetent and counterrevolutionary nature of the military government, the turn to the left among the university students being spectacular. The teachers, too, lined up with the miners.

The dictatorship was unable to find a social base. It had no force with which to govern outside of the army. Consequently it employed violence against the masses.

The mines were converted into huge prisons with forced labor, in which work is carried on at bayonet point. With wages reduced by fifty percent, with personnel reduced by thirty percent, more must be produced than in November, 1964. All active unionists have been fired from the mines -- the members of the POR [Partido Obrero Revolucionario], the PRIN [Partido Revolucionario de Izquierda Nacionalista], the PCB [Partido Comunista Boliviano]. Any attempt to inspire union activities ends up with those involved being

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\*The PIR was founded by the Stalinists in 1940, dissolved in 1952, and recreated by the military junta. The PRA began as a right-wing splitoff from the MNR in 1963. The MPC was founded by the military junta after 1965. The MPC originated in the same way under the direct sponsorship of Gen. René Barrientos. The PRN, founded similarly in Santa Cruz, is headed by Gen. Ovando Candia, a member of the junta. The PSP, another creation of the same kind, is headed by Oscar Barrientos, a cousin of the dictator. Gen. Barrientos himself is chairman of the PALIC which was set up under similar circumstances.

sent to prison or to a concentration camp. Up to the present, 8,000 workers have been fired from the mines for political or union activities and the purge is still going on. The same holds true for the factories, plants, offices, etc. Barrientos, nicknamed "General Massacre" and the "Cao Ky of Bolivia," has admitted that there are at present 500,000 unemployed out of a total population of 4,000,000.

The Barrientos government has continually alleged that it has the support of the Bolivian peasants. This is untrue, as could already be seen from the results of the 1966 elections in which a big proportion of the peasants abstained.

The peasants in the communities and former haciendas, clearly conscious of their interests, displayed lack of confidence in the military government from the beginning. The army has traditionally been the enemy of the peasant masses. But in addition to this, the peasants felt that with the seizure of power the former landlords and their agents began acting as if they had a new lease on life, and the old racial prejudice in the cities once again became noticeable with its invidious language about the "dirty Indian," and the disdainful and arrogant attitude to be seen among public officials and in the conduct of the authorities on a provincial and county level. Thus there are no economic, social or political reasons why the peasant masses should feel attracted or obliged to support the Barrientos military regime. Just the contrary.

The truth is that the military dictatorship has bribed the bureaucracy based on the peasant artisans which was set up and corrupted by the MNR. This bureaucracy and the military dictatorship became amalgamated because their interests coincided. Without government support the bureaucrats would not have lasted a month, the military men in turn needed to control the countryside and block the peasants from mobilizing. Because of this, the peasant bureaucracy came to serve Barrientos and, with the help of the army, now controls, by means of armed violence, the most densely populated and restless centers of the countryside. The Peasant Confederation and the departmental federations are the only organizations in existence, the rank-and-file peasant unions, their councils and subcouncils having been suppressed. These paid bureaucratic leaderships, many of them deputies and functionaries holding various posts, make up the government ministry. With the help of the army, they punish rebellious peasants with arson, murder, the confiscation of stock and crops and finally expulsion from their holdings.

The broad peasant masses are against the military dictatorship, they are decidedly in favor of the guerrillas, but as yet they are unable to mobilize. They will do this, we are certain, at a more advanced stage of the struggle.

It has proved impossible to convert the Bolivian peasants into a conservative social force, a support for bourgeois governments. The reasons are clear. The agrarian reform, owing to its limitations, did not bring about an agricultural transformation. It did not change the system of cultivation, it did not increase production. Consequently the annual income of the peasants continues to be one of the lowest in the world. Misery, backwardness, disease persist. The former colonized peasants, who received a bit of land in the case of haciendas affected by the Agrarian Reform of 1954, see this land today split up among their sons, now young men establishing families. In addition, the unemployment in the cities and mines, aside from the stagnation it induces in the countryside, aggravates the misery still more, since, directly or indirectly, the burden falls on the peasant family. It must not be forgotten that the urban and mine proletariat is half peasant; now unemployed, they and their hungry children turn to their relatives dwelling in misery in the countryside.

Because of all this, the peasant masses in Bolivia, despite the Agrarian Reform, continue to remain a fighting force which, when the time comes, will break the chains of the bureaucracy and the army and join the mighty armed struggle of the Bolivian people.

Only the officers, who lack any popular support, and a bourgeois opposition composed of the FSB and the PDC are permitted to engage in political activities. They share important functions in the state apparatus. The Christian Democrats took over the Ministry of Labor and compromised themselves by implementing the antiunion decrees which were rejected by the masses and which met with stubborn resistance. They likewise approved the firings and the impounding of trade-union headquarters. These parties, with their demagogic propaganda, tried to win popularity among the masses in order to become their spokesmen, but failed in this.

The opposition parties of the left, the POR, the PCB, the PRIN, had to go underground. The same holds for the MNR, although to a lesser degree. The POR and the PCB have been banned by decree, prohibited from publishing anything, from maintaining a headquarters, from holding meetings, etc.; and a savage repression has been waged against their members and leaders, who crowd the jails and concentration camps.

The MNR is at present orienting toward forming a national front together with the FSB and the PDC, in order to put together a civilian alternative team that could take over and run the government in accordance with its own line, the army assisting. The POR, on the other hand, advocates a Left Front of revolutionary parties, the masses and guerrilla forces.

The guerrillas, organized by the Castroist sector of the youth, induced a qualitative change in Bolivia, a sharper definition of the revolutionary forces, and served to separate the opportunists from the revolutionists.

With regard to the guerrillas, the parties hold the following positions: The government parties are, of course, opposed. These include the FSB, the PDC and the MNR, which have issued special statements disavowing any ties or support, while demagogically insisting that Communism cannot be fought by means of arms alone but requires economic and social measures. The pro-Peking Communist party supports the guerrillas verbally, but does nothing practically. The PRIN holds a contradictory position. While Lechín, in exile in Santiago, Chile, openly declares his sympathy for the guerrillas, the leaders of his party in La Paz are negotiating a front with the MNR and the PDC with a conciliatory line toward the army. The position of the POR, the Bolivian section of the Fourth International, is clear and definitive. It is militantly on the side of the guerrillas and is appealing to the people to support them. [See "The Meaning of the New Guerrilla Front," in World Outlook, July 14, p. 658.]

The position of the pro-Moscow Bolivian Communist party displays the twists and turns characteristic of all the Stalinist Communists. In the beginning the party participated in the preparations for the guerrilla struggle, including demanding that the political and military leadership be placed in the hands of one of its secretaries. Then little by little it took its distance in association with the break between the right wing of the Venezuelan Communist party and Fidel Castro and the guerrilla fronts commanded by Douglas Bravo. After the OLAS conference, the attitude of these Bolivian Communists changed into aggressive opposition to the guerrillas, compelling the Communist youth linked with the guerrillas to go underground in their own party in order to avoid reprisals. Political circles in La Paz, particularly those close to the PCB, are convinced that the pro-Moscow leadership in the persons of Jorge Colle, Mario Monje and Aldo Flores have gone very far in making things difficult for the Communist youth associated with the guerrillas as, for instance, in the case of the group

headed by Loyola Guzmán.

It is certain that the Bolivian Communist party supports the rightist line of the Venezuelan Communist party, that it is working in alliance with the PIR, the first Stalinist party in Bolivia, founded in 1940 and dissolved in 1952 after a decade of betrayals and coalitions with "la rosca" when it was murdering miners. This party was reconstituted by the military junta and now has four ministries, enabling it to serve as a vehicle through which the PCB could work. In addition, Government Minister Antonio Arguedas was a member of the PCB, in charge of the cell at the air base. Relations between the regime and the Communist leaders are friendly. The pro-Moscow Communist secretaries have not been arrested, while the repression fell fully on the Trotskyists, the pro-Peking Communists, leaders of the PRIN and trade-union leaders.

The closing of the democratic road is not a rhetorical phrase in Bolivia but a tragic reality. Parties have been outlawed, trade-union activities banned, political and trade-union leaders imprisoned. The only law is the law wielded by the army. The courts of justice have been converted into agencies furthering the repression. No one in the revolutionary opposition has any assurance of being free tomorrow or of being alive next week. The army and the National Guard control the cities, the mines and the countryside; and exercise of even the most minimum political and trade-union rights is denied.

And in the midst of this brutal repression, an economic crisis is strangling the people. Economic development is a crude joke. Imperialism is taking over all the economic levers and continues to choke off the nationalized property. Bolivia has been converted into a virtual Yankee colony.

Under these economic and political conditions, the masses, having been shot down in strikes, having seen the mines occupied by troops, their union headquarters taken over, their leaders imprisoned, turned in a natural way toward armed struggle. Responding to the feelings of the masses, the POR was the first party to propose guerrilla warfare.

The "various forms of struggle," the theme which the Communists utilize to mask their cowardice and betrayal, is not a subject of debate in Bolivia. It is no longer a matter of an abstract discussion, but of determining the concrete methods of struggle in the concrete moment of Bolivian history. Consequently when the guerrillas appeared on March 23, the pleasure of the masses could be felt from the cities to the countryside, including the mines. But as the guerrillas went into



action, the pro-Moscow partisans of a "democratic peace" began operating in the shadows, without going into open opposition, setting up obstacles to isolate the guerrillas from the working-class political forces that wished to join them and to fight, and then they abandoned the guerrillas when they became encircled by the army.

Thus heavy blows were dealt to the guerrillas. The Communists of a "democratic peace" sought to liquidate the guerrillas, this they held in common with the "gorillas," in order to pontificate later on the failure of this method of struggle and to refurbish their revisionist position on coexistence and the peaceful roads to socialism.

### 20,000 IN WEST BERLIN MARCH OCTOBER 21

#### West Berlin

A massive demonstration of 20,000 persons assembled here October 21 to protest U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Timed to coincide with the demonstration in Washington, this was by far the largest and most militant antiwar action that has taken place in this city.

The demonstration began with a march down the Kurfürstendamm, Berlin's famous street, where demonstrations are usually prohibited.

Following the march a mass rally was held at Wittenbergplatz, in front of West Berlin's town hall. A number of speakers addressed the crowd.

The official slogans of the demonstration were "Stop the war in Vietnam"; "Yankees, get out of Vietnam"; and "Let Vietnam live."

In addition, the Berlin SDS [Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund -- Association of Socialist Students of Germany] brought hundreds of posters with Che Guevara's picture and the slogan, "Create two, three...many Vietnams!"

The demonstration was visibly divided between the peace organizations and the West Berlin Communist party on one side and the students on the other. The students were especially militant and angry because of the death of Che.

The students remained orderly through the march and rally. Then, as the rally ended, 2,000 returned to the Kurfürstendamm where they sat down in the

But the guerrilla struggle in Bolivia, despite the death of Comandante Guevara, despite the blows, continues to be the way out of the country's economic and political crisis. It is the duty of revolutionists in Bolivia and Latin America, as the Bolivian POR sees it, to back the present guerrilla struggle, strengthen it, break it out of isolation, link it up with the mass movement in the cities and the mines, bring in the peasantry as a fighting force.

This means opening new fronts, within the concept of a mobile column, organizing an armed struggle in the mines and the cities, and, still more, promoting the fighting solidarity of the masses throughout Latin America.

middle of the street, blocking traffic in the heart of Berlin. Soon their number swelled to 4,000.

A smoke bomb exploded in the America House, a CIA-financed cultural center for the American government in West Berlin. Students then began to burn the right-wing newspapers of the Axel Springer chain, the big publishing monopoly.

At this point hundreds of police attacked the students, using water cannon and clubs. Twelve police and many of the demonstrators were injured.

The battle lasted eight hours -- until two o'clock in the morning. When it ended, forty-nine demonstrators were jailed. Twenty-two police cars were damaged in the fight.

The Berlin Social Democratic party, which traditionally is in the government in West Berlin, admitted that "the demonstration was the biggest West Berlin has ever seen..."

They then went on to praise the cops! "The mayor has thanked the police," the party said, "for their patient and intelligent behavior."

They piously proclaimed that the "restraint" of the police had been evidence of the spirit of democracy that prevails in West Berlin.

Rudi Dutschke, the leader of the socialist students, declared, "We do not want to be the fig leaf for this democracy which is already finished." He called for further demonstrations.

### STOKELY CARMICHAEL VOWS TO CARRY ON CHE GUEVARA'S STRUGGLE

Upon arriving in Algiers from Conakry October 19, Stokely Carmichael, the militant leader of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, issued a statement to the press on the death of Che Guevara.

According to Agence France-Presse [as translated by World Outlook], Carmichael said that "from the blood of Che a thousand Che Guevaras will be born. The death of Che does not put an end to the struggle for liberation in the world. On the contrary, his blood will serve to nourish the liberation movements, bring-

ing them to full flower."

"The death of Che," the black power leader continued, "will make us struggle all the harder. I will continue struggling myself and I hope that when my death comes it will be like Che's. What better homage can we pay him than to say that he died fighting? Che Guevara died showing us the road to follow and we now have a duty to humanity as well as to ourselves to see to it that his work is carried on. In the hearts of the Afro-Americans, Che's death can only make him seem more alive."

### WAS GUEVARA'S BODY HANDED OVER TO THE CIA?

In a front-page story October 23, the Buenos Aires newspaper Primera Plana reported that the claim of the Bolivian authorities that the body of Che Guevara was cremated is false.

The truth is, according to Primera Plana, that the embalmed body was sent to the U.S. military base in the Panama Canal Zone.

The information was sent to the Argentine journal from Bolivia by one of its special correspondents.

A similar story had already been reported by Marcha in its October 20 issue. The Montevideo weekly published an article by Rogelio García Lupo which explored the discrepancy between the care with which the body was embalmed on the day Guevara was killed and the story on the following day that it had been "cremated."

"A rare custom," observed the author caustically, "of first embalming the body and then immediately converting it into ashes."

García called special attention to the eyewitness accounts of the American military man who appeared to be in charge of bringing Guevara's body to Vallegrande and having it embalmed. This mysterious "adviser," who spoke English with an American accent, vanished about the same time as the body.

García states categorically: "General Ovando lied when he stated that the body of 'Che' was cremated...The body of Ernesto Guevara was sent secretly to a CIA base in United States territory where the arrival of bodies from Vietnam is such a routine matter that it would not be noticed in the civilian or military airports."

### TROTSKY IGNORED IN NEW HISTORY OF SOVIET PARTY

A new rewriting of the official history of the Soviet Union, issued by the Soviet government in time for the fiftieth anniversary of the Russian revolution, "virtually ignores" the role of Leon Trotsky in the Bolshevik seizure of power in 1917, according to an Associated Press dispatch.

The new concoction put out by Moscow "reiterates a rewriting of history dating back to Stalin's days to attack Trotsky and portray him as merely one of many Communists who took part in the revolution."

The chief difference between this new work and former doctored accounts pro-

duced by the Kremlin bureaucracy seems to be in the role accorded to Stalin.

The Associated Press reports that "The new history book also mentions the late Soviet dictator Joseph V. Stalin by name 36 times, but mostly in routine listings of persons attending meetings."

The 608-page volume is Book One of Part Three of the official history of the Soviet party.

The review points out that "Trotsky is considered by Western historians second in importance only to the leader of the Communist seizure of power, V.I. Lenin."

### GUERRILLAS ACTIVE IN VENEZUELA

Four members of the Venezuelan National Guard were reported killed on October 18 by guerrillas in two ambushes near the villages of Santa Teresa and Altagracia, which are about fifty miles from Caracas.

Guerrilla activities have been reported to have likewise increased recently in the state of Lara.

The Venezuelan government reported late in October that the army had discovered two tons of arms and ammunition

in the village of Junquito, near Caracas. The supply, which had been hidden in a tunnel, included mortars, grenades, rifles and cartridges as well as field clothing and medical equipment.

On October 24, the army claimed to have killed a guerrilla commander known as Comandante Sapo, whom they identified as Carlos Miguel Febres.

He met death during a skirmish in the Voladero region in the state of Managas, about 350 miles from Caracas.

### NEW GUERRILLA FRONT REPORTED IN COLOMBIA

Several new groups of guerrillas have appeared in the wild, mountainous region of Valledupar, not far from the Venezuelan border, according to the Bogotá newspaper El Tiempo.

The groups are reported to be led

by Comandante Caldas, also known as Tulio Bayer. He is a doctor who has already been in prison because of his revolutionary ideas.

The guerrillas are alleged to have ambushed several buses.

### PRICES SPIRAL IN JAPAN

A "whirlwind of rising prices" has hit Japan, threatening to touch off political repercussions.

The Asahi Evening News reported October 23 that "Price hikes have been particularly noticeable in clothing, fuel and water, and it is certain that the 'storm' of rising prices will become the focus of political debate as it gains momentum toward the year-end."

The price of rice to consumers was increased October 1. There is a pattern of steady increases in the prices of such staples as cooking oil, beef, pork, eggs, mackerel, tuna, sugar, soybean products and, in some areas, vegetables.

With winter approaching, prices of propane gas, oil-stove fuel, briquettes, charcoal and coal are all rising. The Asahi Evening News gave the price of coal

as an example. In Fukushima prefecture the increase has been 700 yen [almost U.S.\$2] a ton -- about seven percent.

Prices of towels, shirts, sheets and handkerchiefs have gone up ten to twenty percent in Tokyo and Osaka.

"To counter these price hikes," the Asahi Evening News reported, "consumers are banding together throughout the nation. Not only in Tokyo and Osaka, but also in smaller cities throughout the nation, people living in apartment complexes are forming joint purchasing cooperatives to buy in bulk at lower prices and pass on the savings to individuals.

"Livelihood protection cooperatives are also being formed by housewives to purchase various food items, fuel oil and other daily necessities at lower prices."

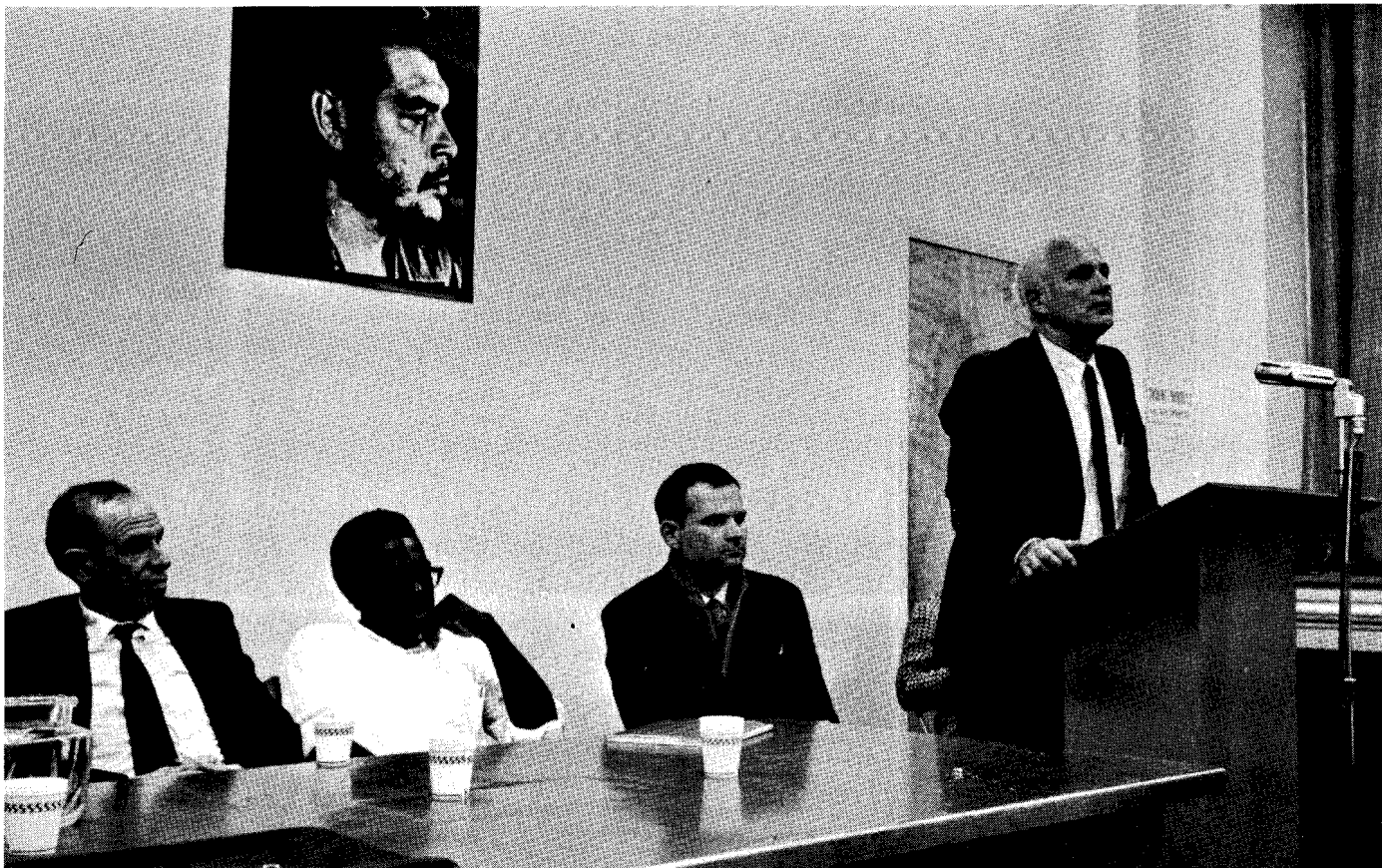
### A NEW INDUSTRIAL DISEASE

A 15-year-old girl died from the effects of air pollution in Yokkaichi, Japan, October 19.

Kimie Minami was the twelfth person to die among patients officially diagnosed as suffering from polluted city air.

Japan's largest petrochemical industrial complex is located in Yokkaichi.

The girl was diagnosed as suffering from asthma in 1957 and was officially declared a victim of polluted air by a city medical council in 1965.



PAUL SWEEZY, coeditor of Monthly Review, speaking at New York memorial for Che Guevara sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum. Seated speakers, from left, are Edward Boorstein, economist and author;

Derrick Morrison, national committee member, Young Socialist Alliance; and Ralph Schoenman, member of Bertrand Russell Commission of Enquiry, deported from Bolivia for attempt to defend Régis Debray.

#### NEW YORK MEMORIAL FOR CHE GUEVARA

New York

More than 350 people squeezed into the hall of the Militant Labor Forum here November 3 to pay tribute to the fallen Latin-American revolutionary, Ernesto "Che" Guevara.

The crowd heard Pedro Juan Rua, of the New York branch of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence; Julius Lester of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Elizabeth Sutherland, author of a forthcoming book on Cuba; Edward Boorstein, an economist who worked in Cuba under Guevara; Derrick Morrison, a member of the national committee of the Young Socialist Alliance; Paul Sweezy, coeditor of Monthly Review; and Edward Shaw, national organization secretary of the Socialist Workers party.

Pedro Juan Rúa, the first speaker, said it was necessary to follow Che's example, and not merely pay lip service to him as a martyr. He also castigated some ultraleftists in the U.S. who denigrate

Che and other Cuban leaders as "petty bourgeois."

The SNCC representative, Julius Lester, recalled all the other revolutionaries who have fallen in the struggle, many unknown, and the contribution they have all made. He spoke movingly of the sacrifices of the ordinary rank and filers who carry on the revolutionary struggle in its most difficult days and often die before the glorious and tumultuous victories are achieved. He was given an ovation by the crowd.

Che's abilities as an administrator, organizer and economist were discussed by Edward Boorstein from his firsthand experience with the revolutionary leader. He described some of Che's personal characteristics.

Elizabeth Sutherland quoted from a moving letter Che sent his daughter on her tenth birthday, and pointed to Che's qualities as a humanist. She also chided those who, at other meetings or in arti-



EDWARD SHAW, Socialist Workers party organization secretary, addressing memorial meeting for Che Guevara. Shaw declared, "The only tribute Che himself would have accepted as good coin is our dedication

to making a revolution here." Strong applause greeted his remarks. The speakers included Julius Lester, Elizabeth Sutherland and Pedro Juan Rúa. Melissa Singler of Merit Publishers chaired the meeting.

cles, had used the occasion of Che's death to attack his ideas.

Che's qualities as a thinker as well as a man of action were discussed by Derrick Morrison of the YSA. Morrison also discussed the guilt of U.S. imperialism in the murder of Che, and in the murder of Malcolm X.

Paul Sweezy recalled his visits with Che in Cuba and in New York when Che came to address the United Nations. He placed special stress on Che's ability as a revolutionary thinker.

An unscheduled speaker was Ralph Schoenman, secretary to Bertrand Russell, who had just arrived in New York after being expelled from Bolivia by the Barrientos military dictatorship.

Schoenman had been in Bolivia to seek information concerning the violations of civil rights and of the Bolivian constitution in the case of Régis Debray.

The military regime confiscated his passport (he is a U.S. citizen), preventing him from returning to his work in

England. They turned his passport over to the U.S. authorities, who claim it is no longer valid because Schoenman had traveled to North Vietnam in connection with the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal; and they put Schoenman on a plane bound for Miami.

Fresh from seeing Régis Debray in Bolivia, Schoenman described the agony Debray felt over Che's death after having lived with the guerrillas headed by Che.

Schoenman referred to two other martyrs of the revolutionary socialist movement, Rosa Luxemburg and Leon Trotsky. Like them Che set an example that had real meaning only if it were followed.

Edward Shaw contrasted the honesty of Che and the other Cuban leaders to the lying propaganda and hypocritical attitude of the capitalist rulers of this country. He explained that Che's position on armed struggle in Latin America, the same position affirmed by the recent OLAS conference, was in actuality the only position possible for those seeking genuine social change. The conditions in Latin America, he said, make armed strug-

gle the only possible form of struggle, and to be against armed struggle means to be against struggle, period.

Shaw said that revolutionists in

the United States must not allow the ruling class to determine the tactics of the movement for social change. With Che and Malcolm X, he said, the SWP stands for struggle "by any means necessary."

#### GENERAL STRIKE IN AREQUIPA MAY MARK NEW TURN IN PERU

Although the Belaúnde regime seemed to have established a kind of graveyard peace in Peru, following several years of savage repression of land-hungry peasants and restless workers, that peace may now be on the verge of being shattered by a new rise in the class struggle.

The basic reason for the turn is the grave inflation and economic stagnation affecting the country.

The price of fish meal, which accounted for 27 percent of export earnings in 1966, suddenly dropped late last year from US\$143 to \$107 a ton.

The cost to produce a ton of fish meal in Peru is about \$130. The manufacturers decided to stockpile the product pending a more favorable price. Thus an important source of foreign exchange declined precipitately.

At the same time, military expenditures for the "gorillas" in charge of keeping down the peasants and workers, rose to new heights, further dislocating the budget.

On September 1, Belaúnde met this situation in the customary fashion of dictatorial regimes like his. He devalued Peru's money, reducing the sol from 26.80 to the dollar to 40.

Belaúnde's finance minister, Tulio de Andrea, said that Peru could look forward to a "shining future" so long as a sound budget was maintained. "If the situation now is difficult," he said, "it is also easy to overcome because basically our economy is sound and continues to be sound."

A newspaper columnist in Lima was less optimistic. Noting that the government wanted to cut imports by 50 percent in 1968 to check the outflow of dollars and to curb inflation, he commented: "This will happen because 50 percent of our people will be dead of starvation."

In Arequipa, Lima's second city (160,000 inhabitants), the workers were unwilling to die of starvation for the sake of balancing Belaúnde's budget and keeping the military supplied with U.S. armaments. They demanded a 30 percent increase in wages to make up for the 35 percent devaluation of the sol and its

immediate reflection in soaring prices for basic necessities.

When they got no satisfaction, they decided to call a general strike. This went into effect on October 19. The city of Arequipa, some 700 miles south of Lima, was sewed up tight.

The strike began with militant demonstrations. The strikers sought to block the railway line. They sent rocks sailing through the windows of some of the stores.

The police responded in the typical way of the police of Peru. They moved brutally against the demonstrators. Twenty were injured and about 100 arrested. But this did not have the expected effect. It did not halt the strike.

The government decided to follow up with more serious action. It suspended the sectors of the constitution guaranteeing civil rights and civil liberties. But the strikers refused to give up their struggle and the entire city remained paralyzed.

On October 23 the Confederation of Workers went into action in Lima, staging a demonstration at the government palace.

Fighting flared as the police again resorted to their favorite tactic: raw violence.

The general strike lasted in Arequipa for a solid eight days before it came to an end.

Details were not indicated in the papers outside Peru, but the government apparently made a significant concession to the workers in both Arequipa and Lima.

The Belaúnde regime proclaimed that the ending of the strike action indicated that things were again well in hand.

However, it was also clear that Belaúnde feared a grave social and political crisis was in the making, for he held secret meetings with Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre, who stands more or less for the liberal bourgeois opposition, and Manuel A. Odría, the retired general who was dictator of Peru from 1948 to 1956 and is

still a powerful figure among the most reactionary circles.

It remains to be seen whether this tentative coalition can be cemented into something durable. That it could block a fresh upsurge in the class struggle seems

highly dubious.

An average per capita income of only \$267 a year is clearly far below what is needed to keep body and soul together among the workers and peasants upon whom the entire society rests.

#### BOLIVIAN GUERRILLAS ENGAGE IN SKIRMISH WITH ARMY

A group of guerrilla fighters tried to take over the village of Mojocoya in order to replenish their supply of food, Agence France-Presse reported October 25. Mojocoya is about 65 miles from La Higuera where Che Guevara was captured and murdered.

The Bolivian army command claimed

that the guerrilla fighters were driven off. Two soldiers were wounded. Apparently the guerrillas suffered no casualties in the encounter.

Immediately after Guevara's death, the top army command claimed that only six guerrillas were left in the country. The claim was obviously a false one.

#### TWO SUSPECTED GUERRILLA TRAINING CAMPS IN CHILE

Bernardo Leighton, minister of the interior in Eduardo Frei's government, told the press October 30 that two guerrilla training camps had been set up in southern Chile about 300 miles south of Santiago in the mountains of Nahuelbuta.

The police claimed to have seized

a number of documents, photographs and maps in the supposed camps.

According to the government spokesman, the camps were designed for youthful members of the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario [Movement of the Revolutionary Left].

#### SINYAVSKY, DANIEL EXCLUDED FROM AMNESTY IN USSR

The Soviet bureaucrats have decreed an amnesty for thousands of prisoners as a gesture of "socialist humanism" in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of the Russian revolution.

But the gesture has a hollow ring when the best-known victims of bureaucratic injustice are excluded from the amnesty -- in particular, the two Soviet writers, Andrei D. Sinyavsky and Yuli M. Daniel, who were convicted in 1966 of "anti-Soviet propaganda" for daring to publish their satirical works abroad.

Sinyavsky is serving a seven-year term, Daniel is serving five years.

Sinyavsky and Daniel are listed as "particularly dangerous state criminals" to whom the amnesty does not apply.

Also excluded are persons convicted of active participation in "gross violations of public order." The New York Times reported November 1:

"This means that a young Soviet dissident, Vladimir Bukovsky, will have

to serve the three-year sentence imposed on him in September."

Bukovsky was convicted for taking part in a demonstration last January to protest the arrest of the editors of Phoenix 66, a clandestine literary magazine.

The editors, including Yuri Galanskov and Aleksandr Ginsburg, are still in prison awaiting prosecution on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." They also do not qualify for the amnesty.

The amnesty freed all first offenders serving terms of up to two years whose crimes did not fall in the excluded categories. Persons with longer sentences had their sentences reduced.

For those who are being released, the amnesty is certainly an occasion for celebration. Nevertheless, it requires a very highly refined cynicism to try to palm off such a gesture as a flowering of proletarian democracy. The fact remains that all outspoken critics of the regime, convicted solely for their ideas, are still in jail.

"PRAVDA" SETS THE LINE FOR CP ATTACK ON OLAS

By George Saunders

Pravda is setting the line for an attack by the Communist parties internationally against OLAS [Organization of Latin-American Solidarity]. Previously Pravda was quite close-mouthed about the organization founded in Havana last August, barely mentioning the conference, although on the eve of that gathering it published a significant part of an article by Luis Corvalán, disagreeing in a general, veiled way with the Cuban line. (Corvalán is head of the Chilean Communist party. The full article, entitled, "Which Way Forward in Latin America?" appeared in the July, 1967, World Marxist Review.)

Now, although no names are mentioned (Pravda does not refer to "OLAS" or "the Cuban leaders"), the target is quite obvious and the tone has become quite sharp.

The attack came in the form of an article commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the October revolution. Dozens of such commemorative pieces by Communist leaders from around the world have been printed in Pravda in anticipation of November 7. The author is Rodolfo Ghioldi, billed as a member of the executive of the Central Committee of the Argentine Communist party. According to Le Monde, Ghioldi is in Moscow; his contribution was not sent from afar, then, but was composed under circumstances that facilitated consulting with the Soviet bureaucratic apparatus on one point or another.

Is it an accident that the Soviet displeasure with OLAS begins to take open form in the Soviet press in the wake of the death of Che Guevara; and that the first mouthpiece chosen is an Argentinian?

Prefatory to his main purpose, the attack on OLAS, Ghioldi hits on some points worth mentioning, though not worth reproducing in toto. His first remarks are general, on the impact and significance of October. He points out that colonial or dependent countries can now make the "democratic, agrarian, and anti-imperialist" revolution because of the Soviet Union's existence. What he thinks about their making a socialist revolution, comes later -- during that attack on OLAS.

Citing Soviet economic gains and the hardships endured by Argentine workers, he goes, at some length, into the trade squeeze the U.S. applies to underdeveloped economies. All this is to show how good and revolutionary the Soviet policy of economic construction and "free trade" is.

His apology for Soviet trade policies is clearly to counter OLAS criticism of Soviet aid (not trade) to oligarchic governments in Latin America. Of course, Soviet spokesmen, and their capitalist sympathizers, have equated criticism of this unjustifiable political aid with opposition to free trade, something the Cubans are actually vitally in favor of.

But let us hear from Ghioldi himself:

"The progressive role of the Soviet Union in the realm of trade relations has enormous importance, for trade relations with socialist countries are established on a just basis, with fair prices, without any military-political conditions, and they are mutually advantageous.

"The peoples have been convinced beyond question that the Soviet Union is pursuing a new and just international line. Of course this cannot help but annoy the imperialists. Imperialism, especially American imperialism, is greatly concerned to prevent by any means the establishment of normal trade relations between Latin-American countries and the Soviet Union.

"The experience of the Soviet Union, the experience of the revolutions that have taken place in other countries, have demonstrated and confirmed the truthfulness of Marxist-Leninist principles, whose adaptation to contemporary conditions is reflected in the documents of the conferences of Communist and Workers parties of 1957 and 1960. Maoism and tendencies like it carry out attempts to displace Marxist-Leninist positions in fundamental questions of contemporary life. In these attempts they proceed for the most part from nationalistic positions. The conditions of chaos created in the People's Republic of China by the adventurist line of the 'great leap forward' and the 'cultural revolution' show to what tragic extremes the departure from Marxist-Leninist conceptions of the revolution may lead -- away from the construction of socialism, from proletarian internationalism, from the doctrine of the Communist party as the organized revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. At the present time we are witnesses of the fact that the true revolutionary gains of the working class and people of China, won in 1949, are being endangered. The distinctive features of Maoism are chauvinism and anti-Sovietism.

"And it is not surprising therefore that the so-called 'left national forces,' coming out without the Communists and even against them, finding themselves to one



degree or another under the influence of Maoism, should set the gears of bourgeois nationalism into motion again. The most typical thesis of these groups proceeds from the assertion that Marxism-Leninism does not exist, or that if there is something like it, it is a purely Russian national phenomenon, as a result of which the Marxist-Leninists of Latin America are nothing but agents of Moscow. If we leave aside the provocative essence of such declarations and the outright falsification of the true situation -- in fact each Communist party, in accordance with its responsibility before the world revolutionary movement, itself determines its own political line -- it becomes crystal clear that the petty-bourgeois tendencies deny the international significance and value of Marxism-Leninism. And this leads to the denial of certain well-known positions of V.I. Lenin regarding this question, stated in particular in his work Left Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder.

"V.I. Lenin wrote: 'Now we have before ourselves quite considerable international experience, which speaks with full clarity, that certain basic features of our revolution have not a local, not an exclusively national, not only a Russian, but an international significance.' 'But at the given historic moment the situation is such that the Russian model shows all countries something, and quite an essential something, about their own inevitable and close future.' 'The experience proved that in certain quite essential questions of the proletarian revolution it inevitably awaits all countries to do what Russia did.'

"Together with the denial of the international significance of Marxism-Leninism, the petty-bourgeois nationalists have created a conception of local or continental exceptionalism with the aim of justifying the departure from Marxist-Leninist teachings. Having substituted another system of ideas for Marxism, they try to lay a base for this operation which they have carried out. Among the substitute ideas are: rejection of the necessity for the activity of the Communist parties; belittling of the role of the working class as a revolutionary force; denial of the theory of the hegemony of the proletariat; rejection of the Leninist principle of the vanguard role of the proletariat; and the assertion that there exist several vanguards. In the above listing alone, the degree of scorn and ignorance with which these grouplets approach theory is already apparent: if Marxist-Leninist theory does not justify their actions, down with the theory.

"Maoism and its related currents promote extreme adventurism, applying 'attack theory' to every situation, re-

gardless of the presence of the objective and subjective conditions. It proposes that revolution may be brought in from without, artificially stimulated across borders, and consider the nature of the revolution to be separate from the process of class struggle in the countries themselves. These adventurist, subjectivist tactics, spiced with Bakuninism in some cases, with Blanquism in others, usually lead to quite tragic results, as happened in Indonesia. Moreover, these groups blindly persist in their demand of 'an eye for an eye,' thus getting into a dangerous situation of playing with war. The most impassioned criticism is directed toward the Soviet Union, which is planning and realizing the construction of communism. The Trotskyist argument about the impossibility of constructing communism in a single country is revived. The petty-bourgeois nationalists likewise stubbornly insist that the Latin-American countries must pass over directly to the socialist revolution, discarding the preparatory stages of the agrarian, anti-imperialist, and democratic revolution. In their indefatigable desire to prove the 'weakness' of Marxist-Leninist positions, they try no less than to deny the basic postulate of the unity of the world socialist system, the proletarian movement in the capitalist countries, and the national liberation movement in the dependent countries.

"Moreover, the idea of the contradiction between socialism and capitalism as the basic contradiction of our epoch is also denied. They do not wish to acknowledge that in the general anti-imperialist movement the hegemonic role belongs to the world proletariat. In every way the Maoist theory is repeated that the decisive contradiction of today is that between the 'third world' and imperialism. Maoism and its henchmen with one sweep of the pen cancel the role of the world socialist system and the international proletariat.

"The existence of the Communist parties, firmly standing on Marxist-Leninist positions and guiding themselves by Marxist-Leninist ideology, impedes the spreading of revisionist ideas; therefore the Maoists do not stop short of attempts to bring division into the ranks of these parties, create certain difficulties in them. In this too is revealed the essence of the melancholy role Maoism and currents siding with it have taken upon themselves....

"The Soviet Union today is a mighty world power, ever so strong in all respects. The Soviet Union influences the life of the whole world and not only is not alone but is part of the world socialist system. This new situation guarantees support and aid to the growth and development of new states.

"The existence of the USSR and the world socialist system creates for countries that have freed themselves the necessary conditions for moving along the noncapitalist path of development. In its fifty years the Soviet Union has been the biggest and firmest hope of the people of the world for peace, democracy and socialism. The Soviet Union and the world socialist system are most important factors in international life. The Latin-American peoples turn their eyes to the Soviet Union and understand that they are not alone and will never be alone in their struggle."

Ghioldi's "commemoration" appeared in the October 25 Pravda; on October 27 a similar article, this time by Corvalán, came hot on its heels. But the main drift of Corvalán's piece was not so much to attack OLAS as to defend the Latin-American CPs from the type of criticisms OLAS supporters make.

After the routine genuflections in the direction of the memory of October -- his theme is how revolutionary workers throughout the world have and should keep close links with "the party of Lenin." Apparently he notices no change in character or line, from those early days of the Communist International, days he describes in telling how Recabarren first started the Chilean CP. The most interesting part of his apology for the "peaceful coexistence" line of most Latin CPs comes in the latter two-thirds of the article. It begins as follows:

"In 1918-1922 Communist parties were created in Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Uruguay, and Chile. The proletariat of these lands approached the historic year, 1917, with a certain degree of class consciousness already. Its ranks were growing in number. Marxism by that time had acquired considerable dissemination in Latin America. On this foundation the process of the formation of revolutionary parties of the proletariat had already begun. The October Revolution strengthened the positions of the revolutionaries in the labor movement of all countries and actively aided the development of the proletarian Communist parties then being born.

"One may say with full accuracy that these parties are the offspring of their own people, the consequence of the social development of their respective countries. But at the same time these parties are the fruit of the October Revolution, the consequence of the victory of Leninism over reformism, and of Marxism over revisionism.

"IN SOME LATIN-AMERICAN CIRCLES TODAY IT IS CUSTOMARY TO SPEAK OF THESE PARTIES AS TRADITIONALIST, ORTHODOX, AND MODERATE. And that is only because they

are loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, loyal to the indeed traditional friendship with the party of Lenin, and because they have long since discarded revolutionary phrasemongering. These parties arouse the hatred of their enemies and cause them great fear. For these parties constitute in any situation the most reliable detachment of the revolutionary movement on the continent.

"All political movements and parties, including bourgeois ones, to one degree or another get caught up with various currents which, arising first in a particular country or in a few countries with similar levels of development, afterward spread throughout the world. On the scale of an individual country the degree of influence of such tendencies depends on the degree to which they reflect the interests of particular classes at the corresponding phase of their development.

"In this respect Communism is distinguished by the fact that it is the most universal, most international of all political movements of the past or present. This is the scientific nature of the character of development in nature, society, and thought, and the scope of Communism is unlimited. It is the ideology and politics of the working class, the most advanced class, the most developed, united by general international interests.

"The struggle of the Communists for the liberation of humanity from all forms of oppression, for the liquidation of social and racial inequality, will be realized through consistent struggle for the liberation of the working class in each country, the struggle for independence, economic progress, and the flowering of the culture of all peoples.

"In none of its manifestations does Communism appear as an exotic growth or an alien force, as the enemies of Communism like to assert, continuing to stir up slander with obdurate stubbornness. Communism poses and solves national problems in all their completeness. In the theory and practice of Communists, patriotism and internationalism are combined, the interests of the workers of each country and those of the proletariat of the whole world, the interests of each people and those of all humanity.

"The national and international tasks of the Communists are most closely interconnected. The continuing possibility for new countries and peoples to find the path to the future depends both on the struggle of the working class of these countries and on international solidarity, on the international unity of Communists; on the joint action of the proletariat and progressive people of all countries against the interventionist and aggressive

policies of imperialism. In this regard the unwavering strengthening and expansion of solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam, Cuba, the Arab countries, suffering Greece, with all people subjected to aggression and attacks by imperialism -- this line corresponds to the interests of our whole movement, to those of all peoples and each separate people.

"To the militaristic and interventionist policies of imperialism, and above all, that of American imperialism, the Soviet Union opposes a consistent struggle for peace, for nonintervention in the internal affairs of the peoples, for the right of nations to self-determination.

"It resolutely takes the side of the peoples who in their striving for liberation become victims of imperialist aggression. The activity of the Soviet Union in this area leads to the isolation of reaction and imperialism on a world scale and country by country; it leads to the broadening of the paths to the winning of independence, democracy and socialism throughout the world.

"At a time when imperialism uses economic and trade relations with Latin-American countries, just as with other regions of the world, the Soviet Union strives to establish conditions that will aid independent development of the national economy.

"Between Chile and the Soviet Union agreements have been signed according to which the Chilean economy receives significant assistance toward getting the full value of its national product.

"The fact that Cuba was able to free itself from imperialist oppression and begin the construction of socialism clearly shows the peoples of our continent how the world has changed in the last fifty years, and it underlines the decisive role that the Soviet Union plays in this world. The existence of the land of the Soviets, its policies of peace, friendship and economic cooperation, the intransigence of its position in relation to imperialist intervention assures the Latin-American peoples of the groundless-

ness of the thesis of geographic fatality. These peoples are assured of the fact that they are by no means fated to remain throughout their lives in the backyard of imperialism. But rather they have powerful friends and may enter the path of independence. For this reason the fiftieth anniversary of the great October Socialist revolution is a holiday not only of the proletariat but of the broadest progressive social forces of our countries.

"The fifty years that have passed since the memorable days of the uprising in Petrograd have demonstrated with full clarity that the fighters made no mistake in ascribing the greatest revolutionary significance to the closest alliance of the proletarians of all countries, the importance of unity in the ranks of the world Communist movement and friendship of all Communists with the party of Lenin, sincere friendship, heartfelt of a class character, the friendship of comrades in ideals and struggle, friendship forged in the common struggle for peace, democracy, and socialism."

Pravda's attack on OIAS constitutes, of course, nothing but the first salvo. A series of Communist parties, particularly in Latin America, can be expected to follow. They will name names and reach for the mud bucket.

It can be expected that not even Che Guevara will remain immune to these smear artists; in fact it is quite safe to bet that they will try to turn the murder of Guevara to factional advantage.

It is equally certain, however, that revolutionists throughout the world will rally in defense of OIAS and its projection of the need to make the revolution. And they will rally in defense of the Vietnamese people in the way proposed by Che Guevara, creating "two, three... many Vietnams."

Not even the conservative Soviet bureaucracy, with all the resources at its disposal, can long maintain the status quo in face of the revolutionary potential existing throughout the "third world," a potential that is finding such channels of expression as the Organization of Latin-American Solidarity.

#### JOHNSON KEEPS UP THE PRESSURE

Thirty-one schoolchildren, aged 14 to 16, together with their teacher, were killed October 10 when their school in a tiny village, 55 miles southeast of Hanoi, was bombed by the U.S. air force.

The class was part of a school containing about 1,000 students which had been moved from Hanoi to the countryside to provide better protection to the chil-

dren from the American raiders.

According to the correspondent of Agence France-Presse there was no military or strategic target whatever in the hamlet which is surrounded by rice paddies. The tragedy followed a similar incident in the province of Than-Hoa September 27 when 33 schoolchildren and two teachers were killed by bombs.

REPORT OF A PARTICIPANT ON THE KOLAKOWSKI CASE

A year ago, on October 21, 1966, the noted philosopher Leszek Kolakowski made a speech on the tenth anniversary of the Polish October at a meeting under the auspices of the Socialist Youth Union at Warsaw University. In it he expressed the bitter disillusionment of many Communist intellectuals with the policies and performance of Gomulka's regime.

Kolakowski, who had long been a bone in the throat of the bureaucracy, was immediately expelled from the party for his outspoken criticism. His exclusion provoked a series of confrontations between the authorities and dissident professors, students and writers which continue to reverberate in Polish cultural circles.

Kolakowski's ouster was linked with the cases of Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, two young Communist scholars and well-known members of the Socialist Youth Union, who were imprisoned in July 1965 for their revolutionary oppositional views. Kuron was freed this May and Modzelewski in August.

University students incensed by their repression vigorously expressed their protest in front of the Communist dignitaries on the platform during the 1966 May Day procession in Warsaw by shouting: "Socialist democracy" and "power to the workers' councils." [See "Polish Intellectuals Agitated by Kolakowski's Expulsion" by George Novack, World Outlook, December 23, 1966, and "Kuron Released -- Modzelewski Still in Prison," World Outlook, June 30, 1967.]

A first-hand report on the events in the Kolakowski case was published in the Austrian magazine Neues Forum by Dr. P.K. Raina, an Indian historian who worked at the University of Warsaw's Institute for Contemporary History on a fellowship from the Polish Ministry of Higher Education. It has been translated into English by I.A. Langnas and appeared, in a slightly condensed version, in the September-October 1967 Dissent, a New York bimonthly of Social-Democratic collaboration.

Dr. Raina was expelled from Poland for "antistate activities" -- for his contact with Kolakowski. The Polish police confiscated two of his completed manuscripts, a biography of Gomulka and a study of Poland's political parties during the period 1939-1944.

Dr. Raina vividly portrays the meeting at which Kolakowski spoke. It "was due to start at 6:00 P.M. By 5:30 it was impossible to enter the hall, which normally holds 100 people; several

hundred stood outside the door. Students stood on chairs, desks, windowsills, and on each other, their feet on the shoulders of their fellow students, their backs against the wall. Men who found a place to sit had women on their knees, who, in turn, supported other women on their laps. No one complained. Everyone was excited and expectant."

Kolakowski started by asking: "Why are we here? Oh, yes, it is the tenth anniversary of our October Revolution. On October 21, 1956, the Central Committee of the United Polish Workers Party (CP) met to give formal recognition to Gomulka's leadership; Stalinism was condemned.... A new Poland was to arise -- sovereign, free, liberal. Poland's road to socialism had begun. But that was 10 years ago. What have we got to celebrate today? Nothing, absolutely nothing."

Amidst extreme tension and complete silence, Kolakowski reviewed the landmarks that led up to the Polish October and the events associated with it: Stalin's death, Beria's liquidation, the East Berlin uprising, the Twentieth Congress, the Hungarian revolt and the Soviet intervention.

He concluded: "There is no genuine democracy in this country; there is very little chance for the people to choose their leaders. The leadership which is not really elected becomes arrogant and supercilious. There is no opposition; hence, there is no confrontation between those who have power and those who do not. And so our political system is ridden with incompetence and bureaucracy.

"The government does not feel responsible to the people. A system of privilege prevails for a few people who are above and outside the law....

"There is no public criticism. There is no freedom of assembly. The censorship is extremely severe. The situation, if possible, is worse in literary criticism, modern sociology, and contemporary history; for here the consequences are even more deadly.

"All this has weakened our society, there is no prospect, no hope. The state, the Party and society all have become victims of this stagnation.

"There is nothing to celebrate."

There was tumultuous applause from everyone but fifty party members of orthodox opinion who were busy writing everything down.

The next speaker, Pomian, also a philosopher, condemned the Association of

Socialist Youth for its deadly bureaucratic spirit. Dr. Raina himself opened the discussion by praising Kolakowski as a great thinker and moralist. He criticized the absurd censorship and low level of the books on contemporary history.

Then a mathematics student, Duracz, proposed a resolution for adoption demanding the freeing of Kuron and Modzelewski. During the explosive discussion another student challenged orthodox members to "come up and explain to us why Kuron and Modzelewski were jailed."

The chairman, a young historian, declined to accept the resolution because it was not on the agenda. Whereupon a physics student, Sawicki, submitted another resolution consisting of quotations from Gomulka in 1956 emphasizing that Marxists in the party could hold different opinions.

Although expressing sympathy for the resolutions, the dean of the faculty prevailed upon the audience not to press for a vote on them then and there, warning that innocent people would suffer.

Kolakowski's summary remarks were brief. "Socialists," he said, "must be rationalists. Reason and democracy are inseparable. Socialists despise demagogues."

The speeches were tape-recorded by agents of the Ministry of the Interior. Some days later Kolakowski was expelled from the party on order of the Central Committee without consultation with the party organization of the university. The Rector expelled six students from the university for "indecent behavior," that is, speaking in defense of Kuron and Modzelewski.

The party organization of the university was convoked on November 15, 1966, to hear the official reasons for Kolakowski's expulsion. This was its first meeting in about two years. Attendance was compulsory. The session lasted from 5 p.m. to 1:30 a.m., with short breaks. The minister of education and five other Politburo members were present.

Kliszko, the secretary of the Central Committee, Gomulka's number two man and chief ideologist, presented the party's case against the iconoclastic philosopher. He chided the weak party organization at the university for tolerating his transgressions for so long. "The difference between the Party's thinking and Kolakowski's lies in the attitude toward socialist and proletarian democracy," he said. "This difference produced a crisis when Kolakowski defended Kuron and Modzelewski in court...."

"The PUWP [Polish CP] is no Social

Democratic party. It has no independent factions or groups with separate policies. We will not tolerate such groups: Party discipline is compulsory. The PUWP is a party in which there is no stagnation."

His report did not silence criticism. In fact, remarks Raina: "...for the first time the members came not to listen to a Party leader but to tell him what they thought -- with new candor and courage. It was the most open discussion in the 22 years since the restoration of Poland. Never before had the Party leadership been so violently challenged by the intellectuals; never before did it have to defend its bureaucratic position with so much rhetoric, demagoguery, and cynicism."

Some examples: Holzer, a young assistant history professor: This "was the only meeting in the whole city to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution...The freeing of Kuron and Modzelewski is not a bad thing; they must be freed. The Small Penal Code of 1945 is a bad thing that must be abolished."

Mme. Zakrzewska, professor of the law faculty: "Kolakowski is a great humanist. [Sustained applause.] He was not given the opportunity to defend himself. [Applause.] Kolakowski is a great representative of socialist thinking. [Stormy applause.] I support him and his ideas. [Violent applause.]"

"The students want more freedom; they have not lived through the period before 1956 and so have no standard of comparison."

Myzner, dean of the faculty of journalism: "The Party is on the defensive. The meeting in the Historical Institute was a confrontation of opinions. Party members had a chance then to proclaim their opinions; they did not take it. Discussions should be held without fear."

"The University has inherited a new feudal bureaucracy. This structure must undergo a fundamental change. The University must become the center of political thinking."

Lesnodorski, dean of the faculty of law: "...youth is skeptical; it lacks confidence. It may be undisciplined, but it is not bad. In capitalist countries youth adapts itself to the existing conditions; under socialism it is always active. There is great hope for the future of socialism because of the skepticism of our youth."

There were other pro-Kolakowski speakers, including the dean of the philosophy faculty, Morawski.

A brutal reply came from Stanislaw Kociolek, first secretary of the Warsaw

Party Committee: "I am against discussions, dialogues, seminars. Party unity is the supreme goal, the supreme law in the life of the Party.

"Modzelewski's ideas are spreading; his ideology is impure. He has adherents not only among the youth. We cannot remain indifferent to this group. Modzelewski's followers are not immature. Their policy is cold and calculating. They organize demonstrations and meetings; they print political pamphlets. Their aim is to discredit the Party....

"Intellectuals can become as useless as the plague; it is the Party's duty to discipline them. They must submit to that discipline for the Party will not tolerate sectarianism. Whoever shows these tendencies will be destroyed."

In his summary Kliszko admitted there were two distinct groups in the audience: for and against the party; and he repeated the warning that sectarianism would not be tolerated.

During late November and December every party member at the university, students and faculty alike, had to appear before a McCarthyite investigation commission to be interrogated on their attitude toward Kolakowski. Only a few professors stood firm on their convictions.

The last act in this dramatic confrontation took place on December 12, 1966, when the party members of Warsaw University met to elect a new executive

committee. Several professors made passionate speeches against the party's unjustified actions. The participants were sharply divided between hard-liners and liberals. Adam Schaff, the foremost Polish Communist philosopher and member of the Central Committee, had been absent from the country on November 15. His views were tensely awaited since his vote could tip the scale to one side or the other.

Schaff himself had been under fire in the leadership for some unorthodox opinions published in his recent book, Marxism and the Human Individual. But Schaff had been disarmed. Before the December 12 meeting he had been called into party headquarters where Kliszko told him: "Either you march with us, or you take the consequences."

Schaff buckled. He attacked Kolakowski sharply and said he wanted to damage the party. It would be absurd to maintain that there was no free discussion in the party; there was such discussion in the Central Committee! He himself discussed matters freely in the Central Committee; he was just writing another book on Marxism and would discuss it -- in the Central Committee.

Schaff's ignominious role in bringing victory to the bureaucracy has seriously damaged his prestige. Students call him "opportunistic" and "insincere."

Now, a year after Kolakowski's expulsion, relations between Gomulka's regime and the dissident intellectuals simmer with hostility.

#### SWP SENDS FRATERNAL MESSAGE TO CUBANS ON DEATH OF CHE

[The following is the text of a message sent from New York, October 31, by Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers party, to Fidel Castro.]

\* \* \*

The delegates to the twenty-second national convention of the Socialist Workers Party wish to extend to the Communist Party of Cuba and to the Cuban people our heartfelt condolences on the death of Che Guevara. Revolutionaries everywhere mourn his death, as do millions of the oppressed. But we know that for the Cuban people the loss is particularly painful.

We share your conviction that even in death Che will prove to be a powerful example and that the struggle against capitalism and imperialism will be inten-

sified. As revolutionaries functioning in the heartland of imperialism, we recognize our special responsibility in this regard and pledge a redoubling of our efforts.

In his magnificent message, published in the Tricontinental magazine, Che declared that revolutionary struggles such as that of the Vietnamese people "continue to provoke repercussions within the United States; it is going to arouse a factor that was attenuated in the days of the full vigor of imperialism -- the class struggle inside its own territory."

The swift growth in both the size and militancy of the movement against the Vietnam war, as well as the rebellions in the black ghettos confirm Che's analysis. For our part we will do everything in our power to accelerate this process.

FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM OF OCTOBER!

[The following is the text of a declaration issued November 6 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938.]

\* \* \*

This year marks the fiftieth anniversary of the October revolution -- an immensely important historical event that continues as a powerful impulse to this very day. The Russian proletariat, led by its revolutionary party, the Bolshevik party, took power and established the first workers state in the history of mankind. A new chapter opened in the struggle to end the exploitation of man by man.

For the world revolutionary movement the celebration of this event goes far beyond any formal ceremony or tribute to the material progress of the USSR. We can neither hide nor ignore the confrontation that exists between most of humanity and the forces of a still dominant imperialism today. While the domain of capitalism has been considerably narrowed since October 1917, it has succeeded in developing in compensation ever more deadly instruments of mass destruction and ever more subtle means to demoralize and neutralize its opponents. To say that these will not succeed against the ever-growing army of resistance is not to say that they cannot make this struggle more costly and more protracted than it need be.

And for this reason above all, this year's celebration of October must begin with an appreciation of things as they are -- the actual world battleground on which the great gains of the October revolution are not the least of the stakes. We find nothing in common with those who mount the commemorative platform to pay ritual homage to a revolution fifty years ago and mouth meaningless pacifist prayers to "peaceful coexistence," in their eyes the alpha and omega of all wisdom. It is fitting that they share the platform with the declared and undeclared enemies of October.

The Bolshevik leadership of October were men of a different caliber -- they were revolutionists. They had no illusion about the task they began. They said that oppressed humanity must take the road of armed revolt against their oppressors. Having said this they took the responsibility to lead the armed workers and peasants and establish the Soviet power. The word and deed were in perfect harmony. This was the essence of October's lessons. The Bolsheviks understood the reality of our time and recog-

nized that either humanity took the road of permanent revolution or there would be a permanent slaughter of humanity. Is there any doubt that the balance sheet of the past fifty years has proved them right? Need we recapitulate the heavy losses in life, the agony and suffering that were paid for the mistakes and betrayals of the bureaucracy that usurped October and their counterparts in the West? Cannot this be considered the true payment for the illusion of accommodation with imperialism? In our time the emergence of the workers state of Cuba, led by a revolutionary leadership that took the road of armed struggle, shows most dramatically that the fundamental lessons of the October revolution live on in an increasing number of revolutionists.

For us today the celebration of October has two aspects. In the first place it consists of real and actual participation in the confrontation between the American imperialist colossus and the Vietnamese liberation fighters, in the struggle between the gathering forces of revolt in the western hemisphere and the Pentagon. This mortal combat has direct bearing on the fate of the already established workers states, including the Soviet Union itself. Can any but the most blind "peaceful coexistence" worshipper doubt that an imperialist victory in Vietnam today would pose an immediate threat to the Chinese workers state, to Cuba and eventually to the Soviet Union itself? In face of this we must say again and again: the failure of the Soviet leadership to make an unambiguous declaration of solidarity with China in the event of an attack constitutes the greatest encouragement to the American counterrevolutionary strategy. True heirs of Stalin, they are moved by the same fears, the same myopia, the same narrow and conservative self-interest. They constitute a source of great danger to the world revolutionary struggle as well as the future of the Soviet Union itself.

The second aspect of our appreciation of October on its fiftieth anniversary is an increased vigor in the struggle for the defense of the ideological and political heritage of the October pioneers against all bureaucratic and opportunistic deformation and betrayal. A new generation of Soviet workers and intellectuals are pressing to bring this bureaucracy to account. We need only note the intense interest shown in the new literature that seeks to "tell it how it is." The response of the bureaucracy in tightening the censorship and repression of writers like Alexander Solzhenitsyn mocks the fiftieth anniversary of October. The new spirit of independence and unquenchable thirst for the truth is making its

way inside the Soviet Union and the other bureaucratized workers states. Above all on this anniversary the demand must be raised to restore the writings of the Bolshevik pioneers to the new generation. Down with the censorship. Lift the ban on the rich heritage of October contained in the speeches and writings of Leon Trotsky, Zinoviev, Bukharin, etc.

The hateful police controls that weigh so heavily upon the Soviet people are the ugly heritage of the Stalin epoch. Together with all the other filth of bureaucratic oppression and privilege, they must be swept away by a political revolution. The time is at hand to restore the Soviet democracy that marked the early years of the Soviet power. In its place must come an even higher level of proletarian democracy that puts the planned economy and the state under workers management. This will release a great surge of creative energy and genuine enthusiasm that will in its effect be a decisive blow to the domination of world imperialism. It will remove the demoralizing taint of Stalinist thought and practice that has been used so effectively in the West to discredit the program of October

in the eyes of the Western working class. It will, at one blow, rob the treacherous labor bureaucracy of the West of its single most important weapon and mark the end of its influence and control. It will mark the forging of an invincible alliance between the Soviet masses and their power with the overwhelming majority of mankind. This bright prospect is on the horizon. Its realization is within the grasp of this generation.

The Fourth International makes this appeal to the Soviet masses and to the world proletariat in order that the celebration of October may be used as a revolutionary weapon to assist in the building and strengthening of revolutionary leadership throughout the world.

Long live the October revolution!

Long live the revolutionary fighters of all the world!

Long live the revolutionary program of Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolshevik team of October!

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