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INDIA'S RULING PARTY DEFEATED IN KEY AREA

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's Congress party received a stunning blow February 12 with the landslide victory of the twelve-party United Front in West Bengal, dominated by the Communist party of India (Marxist) [CPI(M)]. The crushing defeat of the ruling Congress party in India's most industrialized state creates grave difficulties for the country's capitalist government.

With almost all the returns in, the United Front had swept three-fourths of the seats in the state assembly -- 181 seats, against 50 for the Congress party. The CPI(M) emerged as the strongest component of the coalition, holding 69 seats. This put the CPI(M) and its bourgeois coalition partners in control of two state governments: West Bengal and Kerala.

The outcome of the "little general election" was a surprise to Indira Gandhi. The center in New Delhi called the special vote in four of India's most populous states -- West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and the Punjab, with a combined population of more than 200 million -- because state governments elected in nationwide elections in 1967 had proved unstable or had been dismissed by the center. These states form a vast contiguous area in northern India. West Bengal in particular shares a common border with East Pakistan where unrest has been running deep for several months.

The Congress party hoped to make substantial gains in the election, but failed to win a majority in any of the four states.

The government is in trouble in several other states as well. The Congress party lost its majority in the Hariana state assembly December 9. The army took control of several strategic cities in the state of Andhra January 30 -- including the capital of Hyderabad -- after widespread riots and demonstrations backing the demand for the creation of a separate state for Telangana.

In Bombay, the capital of Maharashtra, forty-three persons had been killed by police and 200 others hospitalized with gunshot wounds as of February 11 in what the New York Times described as "the worst rioting in a major Indian city...in recent years." The riots were reportedly led by the Shiv Sena, a right-wing Marathi revivalist movement.

The defeat in West Bengal remains the most serious long-term political disaster for the Congress party. Some Congress leaders have called for scrapping the legally held election and forcibly removing the United Front from power.

West Bengal, in addition to having the country's largest concentration of industry, also boasts the highest proportion of university students. Stagnation of the economy in recent years has led to a sharp rise in unemployed college graduates. These youth have acted as a catalyst for the masses condemned to the grinding poverty of the dismal slums of Calcutta.

One reason for the stagnation has been a sharp decline in the foreign aid that formerly served to prop up India's anemic capitalist economy. In the last two years the annual commitment of new aid by the United States and Western Europe has been cut by more than a third. At the same time India's debt to imperialist creditors has been rising steadily. The five-year plan, drawn up four years ago along guidelines suggested by Washington, had to be abandoned in 1967 "because," as the New York Times put it (November 22, 1968), "its goals no longer bore any useful resemblance to real economic conditions."

Speaking for an important sector of the American capitalist class, the New York Times expressed its dismay at the electoral setback for the Indian bourgeoisie in a February 13 editorial, entitled "Trouble Ahead for India."

Describing the election results in West Bengal as a "rout" for the Congress party, the Times declared: "The triumphant United Front...is certain to create new crises in India's leading industrial state. Similarly uncertain coalitions are also in store for Bihar and Punjab. The state elections, as a whole, demonstrate the failure of Mrs. Gandhi and Congress to heed the lessons of the 1967 general election debacle by revitalizing the party and reinspiring the nation." Beyond these metaphysical commonplaces, the Times had little to suggest.

If the victory of the United Front is a symptom of the crisis of Indian capitalism, it is also a decisive test for the CPI(M). Its 1967 ministry lasted only nine months before it was deposed by the center. Nevertheless, the CPI(M) leaders demonstrated in that time that they were prepared to subordinate their professed socialist aim to the immediate preservation of capitalist "law and order" for the sake of their bourgeois coalition partners. They even went so far as to use military means to suppress the peasant uprising in Naxalbari. Given the decisive weight of the CPI(M) in the new United Front ministry, it will be more difficult for the party leaders to blame other groups in the United Front for their own readiness to defend capitalist property.

GENERAL STRIKE IN PAKISTAN FORCES AYUB KHAN TO MAKE CONCESSIONS

Workers and students pressed their campaign against dictator Ayub Khan in a massive general strike February 14 that opened a new stage in the popular upsurge. The February 15 New York Times reported, "Economic life came to a virtual standstill throughout much of the country. There was no public transportation in the major cities."

Police and troops attacked demonstrations that took place throughout the country. By the end of the day the number of dead since the student demonstrations began in November had risen to more than fifty.

Ayub Khan, faced with the general strike and the rising wave of violent demonstrations, made two major concessions to the demands raised by the opposition. He freed a number of political prisoners, including former Foreign Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who had been transferred from prison to house arrest the week before. He also announced that the state of emergency imposed in 1965 during the war with India would be lifted February 17.

The general has thus far refused to grant the third major demand of the opposition, the restoration of civil liberties. It remains to be seen how he will fulfill his first two promises.

The general strike was called by the Central Democratic Action Committee, a coalition of eight parties, ranging from right-wing religious groups to the pro-Moscow National Awami party. The committee has been invited to meet with Ayub in Rawalpindi, the federal capital, on February 17. The three demands were announced as preconditions for the meeting where broader reforms would be discussed.

Armed bands of Ayub's supporters joined police and troops in attacks on demonstrators February 14. In Karachi,

one person was killed and twelve were injured by shots reportedly fired by civilians. The local administration outlawed all gatherings of five or more people for the next month.

In Lahore one person was killed by gunfire. Authorities denied that police were involved. Troops were called out in the city after police were unable to break up mass demonstrations. The police used tear gas and clubs on women marchers who carried signs demanding the restoration of civil liberties and, significantly, the "stepping aside" of Ayub Khan.

One youth was killed by a stone in Lyallpur, near Lahore.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, at his home in Larkana, told the press that Ayub's concessions might be "just a trick." As a long-time member of Ayub's entourage and a skilled practitioner of his methods, Ali Bhutto added: "The Government does not stick to its words and I have had experience of such things while I was a minister."

The "respectable" opposition, however, seems close to being outflanked to the left by the mass of students and young workers. A meeting of nearly 50,000 youths in Dacca, the capital of East Pakistan, February 9, urged the Central Democratic Action Committee not to meet with Ayub unless the dictator released all political prisoners, including all the arrested students; dropped all indictments against demonstrators; and announced a new electoral system.

The students declared that if the opposition leaders met with Ayub before all the above demands had been won, they would withdraw their support from the Central Democratic Action Committee and continue the struggle without them.

MORE STUDENTS SENTENCED IN POLAND -- IS ANTI-SEMITISM A FACTOR IN THE TRIALS?

A Warsaw court on February 8 sentenced four more students to long prison terms for having taken part in demonstrations in Poland in March 1968. Adam Michnik was sentenced to three years in jail, Henrik Szlajfer and Barbara Toruńczyk received two-year sentences, and Wiktor Górecki was condemned to twenty months. The court agreed to deduct the eleven months of "preventive detention" served by the students while awaiting trial.

The Warsaw correspondent for Le Monde reported in the February 11 is-

sue of the Paris daily: "One was struck by the dignity, the idealism, the eager search for a better socialism of Adam Michnik."

The official announcement of the conviction said, "the evidence compiled at the hearing, such as affidavits, documents, and explanations by the accused themselves, clearly showed that the group in which they actively participated was of a character hostile to Poland." It added that the accused had not denied "their participation in a series of il-

legal actions." The court imposed a lighter sentence than that demanded by the prosecution, "in consideration of the youth of the defendants and their lack of experience." A second charge against Michnik and Szlajfer -- that they had transmitted information abroad on the socio-political situation in Poland -- was dropped. The details of this charge are not known, but in the recent trial of Jacek Kuroń and Karol Modzelewski a similar charge had claimed the recipient of the "information" was the Fourth International. The charge was dropped in their case also.

K.S. Karol, the well-known left-wing journalist, writing in the February 7 New Statesman, denounced the current series of student trials in Poland, tying them to an anti-Semitic campaign being carried out by the Gomulka regime. The students, falsely accused of being "Zionists," are a left Communist opposition, concerned with issues such as the invasion of Czechoslovakia, and socialist democracy in Poland itself. Karol described a dramatic incident of solidarity with the embattled Czechoslovak people that took place in Warsaw:

"What the world does not know is that one day last autumn, in the Warsaw Stadium, in full view of thousands of football spectators, a young Pole set himself on fire at half-time as a protest against the occupation of Czechoslovakia. No Polish paper mentioned the incident; the doctors who tried to save him were never interviewed on television; no official body made any comment.... The young Pole, an engineer from the town of Przemysl, was buried secretly."

Gomulka has divided the student prisoners into small groups for trial, with their cases being heard behind closed doors. The fact that the defendants are practically all Communists is embarrassing to the regime, and it fears that a new wave of student protests may be touched off. Karol reports that at the trial of Kuroń and Modzelewski, "Their friends demonstrated at the trial and sang the Internationale as in the days of the Pilsudsky colonels' dictatorship before the war."

The student trials are only part of a broader "anti-Zionist" purge. Karol writes, "...when Andrzej Werblan, the Polish party's theoretician, declares that a national minority can be represented in the leadership of the party only in proportion to its numerical strength in the population, he is not merely reviving the numerous clausus rule for the Jews, but in fact is barring them from every responsible post. For he knows that in Poland today there are no more than 30,000 Jews in a nation of 30 million. But his theory follows the deed, for the great 'anti-Zionist' purge had already eliminated

practically every Jew from leading positions in the party, in the state administration, and from university chairs. Those who are left can be counted on the fingers of one hand..."

Karol attributes the purge to a fear on the part of the bureaucrats of a renewal of the 1956 revolt that might this time sweep beyond them. Anti-Semitism, he says, is being used as an appeal to the most backward layers of the peasantry, Roman Catholic by tradition, to win their backing for the regime. This social strata controls 80 percent of the land. "Round the individual peasants have grown up groups of private merchants, private doctors -- a whole 'third sector' opposed to the discipline of planning."

Because of the absence of any socialist democracy, the working class shows itself disinterested in improving the process of production. Industrial growth is too slow to offset the power of the privileged layers grouped around the middle peasantry.

"The impact of the Czech affair," Karol writes, "on this state of national stagnation threatened to upset the precarious balance of Polish society. The students who went into the streets last March to press their limited claims plunged the leadership into a desperate panic. The spectre of the 1956 revolt still haunts the communist hierarchy. They rushed the army into position round the Zeran car factory where, a dozen years before, the workers had been particularly militant. At Wroclaw the workers at the big Pafawag engineering plant fraternised with the striking students and the troops were placed in a state of alert. A vast opposition front began to form...."

"Panicked by the events of March, Gomulka took Moczar's advice and launched a large-scale purge...."

"Suddenly the Party came to life. The prospect of big changes in personnel sharpened the appetites of those apparatchiks who had been waiting for the right moment to cut themselves a bigger slice of the power cake.... a campaign against the old communists of Jewish origin offered an ideal battleground for all the factions competing for vacant jobs. This campaign both appealed to the anti-communist feelings of the peasants and the nouveaux riches of the third sector and aroused the anti-intellectual prejudices of the working class. Instead of debating the economic crisis, the Party spent six months discussing the 'national cadres policy'."

Meanwhile, the trials of the Polish students continue.

Toward the Congress of the Chinese CP

THE CONTRADICTIONARY COMPONENTS OF THE MAOIST LINE

By Livio Maitan

The congress of the Chinese Communist party to be held this year will provide a useful opportunity to take general stock of the last three years' vicissitudes in China. However, on the basis of the documents made available in the official publications over the past two or three months we can already grasp a series of significant elements in the overall balance sheet.\* Let me try to sum these up a bit schematically:

(1) The movement which began in November 1965 and which shortly thereafter adopted the name "cultural revolution" seems now, after a succession of often dramatic turns, to have reached its concluding phase. Its essential achievements have been to shake the entire party and state apparatus from top to bottom and defeat various groups or tendencies that did not accept the Mao-Lin Piao line.

It is clear that the opposition to the Mao line did not come from a single tendency, or even perhaps one dominant tendency, but manifold tendencies which were directly counterposed to each other in certain respects. On various occasions, in particular, men who had played a leading role in the first phase of the cultural revolution and who had become spokesmen for extreme positions or demands that arose from sectors of the masses whose mobilization had assumed its own dynamic, going beyond the objectives of the Mao tendency, were attacked or ousted. Liu Shao-chi himself was accused of both right and left deviations.\*\*

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\* It should be said again that analysis of the Chinese situation is made difficult by the scarcity of direct information and by the grossly propagandistic and apologetic character of the official sources.

\*\* The way in which the polemic against Liu Shao-chi is continuing must constitute an important indication. In imitation of the all too well-known schema, Liu is presented as a "supertraitor," an agent of the Kuomintang and imperialism from the start of his political activity. Liu is blamed for attitudes adopted by the party and by Mao himself which the Chinese leaders now consider it opportune to criticize. And he is still being denied all opportunity to make known his point of view and his version of the events. I might add that an article on the incoming year cast fresh light on the methods used during the cultural revolution. A paragraph includes a recommen-

With the shattering of the old apparatus and the defeat of the tendency which presumably most represented its demands -- that is Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping (who was removed without much stir and without his expulsion even being announced so far) -- Mao and Lin Piao have begun rebuilding. The scheduled congress is supposed to mark the culmination of this work.

Controverting all the fanciful interpretations of some Maoists -- which were at times not unlike those of certain bourgeois journalists -- Mao intends to reestablish fully the central role of the party. It is significant in this regard that in a recent polemic Liu was accused of spontaneity-worshipping tendencies. These accusations were in contradiction to preceding ones and to his real orientation which was that of an apparatus man.\* It is significant, moreover, that an important article defined the cultural revolution as "a movement to consolidate the party."\*\* This formula is difficult to reconcile with the other theses of the last two years.

Simultaneous with the restoration of the party, rigorous centralization of the leadership has been reaffirmed which, besides the party, is supposed to embrace the army, the state, and the mass movement. This leadership in turn identifies with Mao and his thought, which are being presented more than ever as the fundamental element of unity in the system and as the first and indisputable source of ideology. As a further element of stability, Lin Piao has now been designated as Mao's successor and this will be confirmed even in the new party statutes.\*\*\*

Judging from the indications that have appeared up till now, it does not seem that substantial changes will be in-

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duction not "to extort confessions."

\* Liu is supposed to have said "it is necessary and fundamental to depend on spontaneous movement of the masses." (See Hsinhua Daily News Release, January 16, p. 10.)

\*\* See Pékin Information [the French edition of the Chinese monthly news bulletin], No. 45, 1968, p. 4.

\*\*\* A version of the draft statutes was published by the New York Times on January 4. It must naturally be regarded with caution.

troduced in the structures of the party itself. For example, it does not seem that there will be more frequent congresses, which would facilitate the circulation of ideas and criticisms and turnover in party personnel.

If we can give a strict interpretation to an article published last October, it would have to be assumed that the elective system itself will be challenged and that cadres will be appointed by the leadership, although after discussions among the "revolutionary masses."\* I can agree with the authors of this article that we must not have "a blind faith in elections." However, for a party that wants to be revolutionary, I confess that I still prefer elections to appointment from the top.

The new apparatus which emerged in the country out of the long struggles is embodied at the present stage in the revolutionary committees. As is known, these have been instituted in about thirty provinces and include about 4,000 members. Their composition corresponds to what has been demanded ad infinitum -- spokesmen of the revolutionary masses, of the cadres, and of the army.

The first category is supposed to be the most numerous (about 2,000 or half the total). But that does not automatically mean that it has the greater specific weight. If we consider the developments of the first months of 1967 and certain events of last year, as reported by the official sources themselves, we must assume that the army instead has the decisive weight. Since the crisis of late 1965 and the first months of 1966, it has acted as a cohesive force. It has intervened decisively both to settle accounts with the non-Maoist currents and to counter all the centrifugal tendencies developing among the masses and among Mao's supporters themselves.

Also in line with the stabilization is the apparent elimination of the Red Guards (which are not even mentioned in the most recent major documents and articles). The dismissal of the Red Guards has been accompanied by a campaign of disciplining the students. Entrusted to the workers according to official statements, this campaign has, more concretely, been in the hands of elements trusted by the Mao-Lin Piao leading group.

I do not propose to examine the perspectives of the reorganization of the regime that has been carried out or is

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\* See Peking Review, No. 43, p. 7. According to some, for example, Robert Guilain in Le Monde of January 12-13, the delegates to the congress will also be appointed.

being carried out in China. It is sufficient to say here that in my opinion definite factors of instability are present, beginning with the central element of the authority and thought of Mao. In a vast society caught up in the whirlwind of the international crisis of our times, resorting to invoking a charismatic leader will reveal all its limitations.

And this is all the more true because Mao's thought is mostly summed up in very general formulas, or interpreted in varying, if not contradictory ways, in accordance with narrowly immediate needs. Already during the cultural revolution the common general appeal to Mao's thought did not prevent continual struggles in the ranks of the Maoists themselves and the formation of differing groups both among the Red Guards and among the workers. Moreover, these differences are far from having been overcome. Otherwise, there would be no explanation for the appeals and admonitions to unity and discipline and against anarchy which still frequently occur.

In the more or less long run, the problems which Maoism raised in its own fashion and for which it now claims to have found the solution will reemerge in acute forms, creating new crises. It is quite probable that this will occur in the context of a relationship of forces between the masses and the bureaucratic apparatuses more favorable to the former than ever before.

(2) The Chinese leadership finds itself now and will continue to find itself faced with a series of economic and social problems. Among the fundamental themes in the cultural revolution was the Maoist group's refusal to try to solve the crucial problems of the transitional phase -- which have been enormously aggravated by bureaucratic management -- in the manner adopted by the USSR after Khrushchev and, although with notable variations, by the people's democracies, especially in recent years. But up to now the Maoists have not counterposed any real alternative to the "reformist," technocratic right-wing bureaucratic solution. Their response has been primarily polemical and moralistic-propagandistic. In practice, this has been expressed in their attempt to contain some strata and some groups in which they claimed to perceive the seeds of Khrushchevite revisionism.

It is difficult if not impossible to get a clear idea of the situation of the Chinese economy and the real Chinese economic growth rates, since for more than a decade the indispensable general indexes have not been supplied. And the more recent reports, which boast of successes in certain sectors, remain extremely fragmentary.

It may be that a rather regular process of growth is starting up again. How-

ever, especially if we keep in mind the rate of increase of the population, it is obvious that the objective of industrializing and modernizing China and substantially rising the stand of living of the people is still remote. It is obvious that there will not fail to be a whole series of contradictions and difficulties which must have major political repercussions.

A statement by Mao which has been popularized recently gives a clear idea of at least one of these difficulties, which was certainly among the objective factors contributing to the cultural revolution. And it is clear that after three years this difficulty still persists and retains its full importance. "It is very necessary," Mao said (see Peking Review, No. 1, January 3, 1969, p. 14) "for educated young people to go to the countryside to be reeducated by the poor and lower-middle peasants. Cadres and other people in the cities should be persuaded to send their sons and daughters who have finished junior or senior middle school, college or university to the countryside. Let us mobilize. Comrades throughout the countryside should welcome them."\*

Above and beyond its political and propagandistic aspects, the meaning of the campaign promoted by this quotation from Mao is that the industrial economy and the urban economy in general cannot provide the needed jobs. It cannot meet the demand for jobs created by the entry of mounting numbers of youth into the work force, an exodus from the countryside, and the general increase in education.

To judge from Mao's own statement, the problem must be particularly acute with regard to placing educated and trained youth. In accordance with a phenomenon present more or less everywhere, although taking different forms, these youth tend to enter the urban economy. Moreover, certain tendencies have appeared among the peasants not to welcome newcomers or those returning to the countryside. This is all the more understandable since the population engaged in agriculture is still quite high and inasmuch as the regime has tried to utilize underemployed manpower more rationally.\*\*

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\* The seriousness of the problem is highlighted by the propagandistic hyperbole that Mao's instruction will be of fundamental importance for preventing the restoration of capitalism "for a period of a hundred if not a thousand years." (See the publication already cited.)

\*\* Especially in their initial phase the people's communes were supposed, among other things, to meet this need, which is a vital one in all the economically

(3) The line on international policy reveals the pull of contradictory elements. The violent polemic against the Soviet leaders, who are now accused of having completed a full restoration of capitalism and of systematic collusion with the United States; the tactical demands of the factional struggle in the Communist movement; and the real necessity, in a country which continues to face direct threats, for an unceasing campaign of anti-imperialist propaganda impel the Chinese to continually denounce the American leaders. Nixon himself was made the target of violent attacks as he assumed office.

On the other hand, it is quite clear that the leading group wants to maneuver to prevent the materialization of new agreements between the USSR and the USA from increasing China's military and diplomatic problems. This is probably how we should interpret the note published in November on the resumption of Chinese-American talks in Warsaw (which evoked the theme of coexistence) that caught the attention of the American leaders and the international press commentators.\*

It should not be forgotten that the Chinese are not entirely indifferent to the question of trade with the capitalist countries. Such trade has in fact increased in the course of the last years and the terms of trade have tended to improve.

The Maoist leaders' position in regard to the Vietnam negotiations is another manifestation of their difficulty in establishing a consistent line of international policy. Their silences, reticence, their only fugitive allusions to the problem indicate a clearly critical attitude (which is further promoted by the needs of their factional polemic against the USSR).

But, on the other hand, they hesitate to take an open position and not only because this would lead to a direct polemic with the Vietnamese themselves. Their hesitations probably stem also from the fact that in order not to seem empty propaganda, a declaration that the war must be continued to a complete military victory would have to be accompanied by a series of concrete steps which would increase the danger of imperialist attacks on China itself.

(4) In the struggle within the international Communist and revolutionary movement, the Chinese have been able to

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underdeveloped countries.

\* The note affirmed, among other things, that China still offered the United States an agreement based on the two principles of the withdrawal of American forces from Formosa and "recognition of the five principles of peaceful coexistence." (See Peking Review, No. 48, p. 30.)

score points in their favor by their support of guerrilla movements in various Asian countries, by their condemnation of the occupation of Czechoslovakia, and by the favorable attitudes they have adopted toward the movements in the capitalist countries -- most of all during the revolutionary May in France. But here also there are two sides to the coin.

The stimulus that movements such as those in Thailand, Burma, and Indonesia have gotten from China must not make us forget that Peking's attitude toward the national bourgeoisies, as expressed both in its statements and in its acts, has not been entirely forthright and free from concessions. And this despite the fact that in the present phase of world politics these classes -- necessarily from their point of view -- have become linked tighter than ever to imperialism.

So while the Chinese criticized the attitude of the Indonesian CP toward Sukarno after the fact,\* they still look with favor on the perspective of collaboration with the national bourgeoisie -- or sectors of it -- in Thailand. Secondly, they continue to maintain good relations with Pakistan, granting interest-free loans precisely at a time when the Ayub Khan regime has unmistakably revealed its reactionary character by resorting to the most massive repressions.\*\*

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\* The Chinese policy toward Sukarno is now attributed to the unfortunate Liu Shao-chi, the No. 1 scapegoat. Among other things, he is accused of having had his picture displayed too much during his trip to Indonesia. (See Pékin Information [the French edition of the Chinese monthly news bulletin], No. 4, 1969, p. 12.)

\*\* The agreement was signed on December 28, 1968. On the attitude of the Maoist movement in Pakistan, which has stressed the "anti-imperialist nature" of the Ayub Khan regime, and on the silence of the Chinese press regarding the repressions, see the article "Pakistan: The Crisis and Its Origins" by Ghilam

Regardless of the analysis and arguments which accompanied it, the Chinese condemnation of the invasion of Czechoslovakia has unquestionably opened up possibilities for a certain spread of Maoist influence in Eastern Europe (such an influence was already present, moreover, in some groups of the Czechoslovak anti-Stalinist left). But their persistent attitude of defending Stalin and their links with discredited groups of old Stalinists both in the USSR and in some people's democracies (e.g., Poland) who identify with Stalin and his period, still constitute an essentially insurmountable obstacle.

In the USSR today those who want to rehabilitate Stalin line up with Brezhnev. But the forces which oppose the present leading group are certainly not favorable to a return to a past, whose tragic portent they experienced directly.

Finally, Maoism unquestionably has a considerable influence among the new vanguard in the advanced capitalist countries. And in certain cases this influence is on the upswing. But in France the strongest Maoist group has been, in fact, shattered by the real experience of revolutionary struggle. And in other countries, the most prominent phenomenon is a diffuse influence of Maoism, which includes not a few elements of spontaneity worship (and mythmaking) -- not the consolidation of orthodox pro-Chinese parties. (In Italy the Peking-backed party has recently suffered a serious split).

If it wants to face the real problems and not content itself with extolling Mao's thought, the congress of the Chinese CP will have abundant food for thought. In any case, it is certain that dramatic new events lie in store for China in the coming years.

February 5, 1969

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Hussein in Intercontinental Press, January 13, 1969, p. 18.

#### WOMEN WIN EQUAL PAY AT BRITISH FORD -- WITH A FEW STRINGS ATTACHED

The British subsidiary of the Ford Motor Company signed the first contract in British history February 11 granting equal pay to women employed in industry. The concession was the result of a long struggle by women workers against discriminatory pay scales. Last summer women sewing-machine operators at a Ford plant in Essex struck over this demand.

The hitch comes in a provision that to collect the equal pay, "equal

work" must be performed, which management has announced means night work and overtime. Both have been illegal since Marx's time under the Factory Acts, passed to protect women from superexploitation in industrial sweatshops. The labor movement has long called for the prohibition of the right of the bosses to make night work and overtime mandatory for men. Instead, the Labour government is expected to grant exemptions from the Factory Acts that bar such work for women.



From Czechoslovakia

FREEDOM FOR MARXISM, TOO

[The January 2 issue of the Cuban weekly magazine Bohemia gave a capsule analysis of the developments in Czechoslovakia in reviewing the main news stories of 1968. Bohemia's analysis was quite concise and offered little new. In the context of the events, however, its rigid and one-sided interpretation of the dictatorship of the proletariat was worth noting as well as its assertion that an independent press and a free play of ideas are dangerous to workers power.

[Bohemia placed major blame on freedom of the press for what it viewed as a rightward and counterrevolutionary trend in Czechoslovakia after January 1968. "The press, at first using the pretext of criticizing the wrong methods of the old leadership headed by Novotny, moved into a position of almost complete independence from the political leadership. It opened its pages to the most diverse criticisms and tendencies, including some of a frankly counterrevolutionary stripe. From criticisms of the government's bureaucratic methods it went to criticisms, in many cases openly expressed, of the very foundations of people's power and the socialist state."

[Three things are lumped together here for condemnation -- that the Czechoslovak press spoke independently of the party leadership, that it published diverse views, and that it voiced counterrevolutionary ideas. Of these, the accusation that the press propagated counterrevolutionary ideas is the most serious.

[However, Bohemia's analysis offers no specific examples of such counterrevolutionary expressions, nor has the Cuban press in general offered any. Spokesmen for the Kremlin, who of course have a much greater stake in proving this allegation than the Cubans, have attempted to cite evidence of counterrevolutionary activity and statements, but not very credibly.\* Apparently the Cubans have not wanted to compromise the good name of their revolution by repeating these crude slanders.

[On the other hand, Bohemia implies that in principle an independent press and the freedom to express different views tend to undermine workers power. This is a much more complex and far-reaching argument.

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\* See for example the following articles in Intercontinental Press: "Who's Pulling Whose Leg?" by Alexander Kliment, October 14, 1968, p. 865; and "A Czech Answer to Moscow's White Book," January 27, 1969, p. 74.

[The leaders of the Russian revolution, for example, held a quite different view. Not only was a variety of opinion permitted in the press in the early days of the Russian revolution but the journals of the Bolsheviks' opponents in the workers movement were subsidized by the state. Only the onset of the civil war forced the Bolsheviks to impose tight controls on the press and opinion.

[An exchange of views between honest Czech Marxists and the Cuban revolutionists on this point might have been beneficial for the world socialist movement. Unfortunately, the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia unleashed a wave of repression that has made such a discussion impossible. Nonetheless, the following article is interesting as an indication of how the Czechs might have answered objections from the Cubans like the ones raised in Bohemia's January 2 analysis.

[The article, entitled "Freedom for Marxism, Too," is by Lubomir Sochor. It was published in the May 1968 issue of Plamen, the monthly magazine of the Czechoslovak writers union. The translation is by Intercontinental Press.]

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For the first time, the idea of combining socialism with freedom has taken the form of a concrete political demand in the spring of 1968. And this demand has begun to be realized.

Of course, the supporters of views and theories suppressed for long years, smothered by administrative restrictions, denied expression, or forcibly expelled from the mainstream of society are demanding freedom.

However, since all other views were suppressed in the name of Marxism, which seemed to enjoy full rights, it may seem paradoxical that we must also demand freedom for the development of Marxism. This is all the more paradoxical because Marxism was not suppressed by anti-Marxists but by a system that claimed to be Marxist and whose leading representatives considered themselves supporters and accredited spokesmen of Marxism. But more than this, the limitations on the freedom of Marxist thought were rooted in the Marxist school itself -- in the authoritarian traditions which had been developed within it by the system of conscious bureaucratic prohibitions and automatic taboos which dominated it.

At first glance it might seem that in the past period the only ones sup-

pressed were non-Marxists -- Christians, philosophical idealists, ideological followers of Masaryk, Freudians, surrealists, etc. It might seem that the completely open field provided by the total monopoly which Marxism enjoyed as a state ideology and virtually a state religion offered great opportunities to Marxist thinkers. But did Marxism's monopolistic position mean greater freedom for Marxist thought? Did it increase the scope for its development as a scientific and philosophical theory? Far from it.

I am not thinking here merely of the crude attacks which have been made on individual Marxist works (e.g., against Kosík's Dialektice Konkretního [Dialectic of the Concrete]). I am not thinking just of the proclamations and high-powered campaigns against the most varied "isms" -- cosmopolitanism, nationalism, objectivism, revisionism, the Yugoslav theory of socialism, etc.

The case of Kosík's Dialektice Konkretního is symptomatic of the predicament of Marxism in our country. It was symptomatic that such a distinguished Marxist philosophical work and one which aroused so much international interest did not receive the prize for which it was nominated. It did not even get an official imprimatur.

And it was clearly a good thing that this was so. As a result it was not compromised. It was not caught in the mechanism which at once glorified and debased cultural values, which often glorified them by damning them and vice versa. Because Kosík's book was not swallowed by this machinery it was not denatured. It remained an affirmation of Marxism and a criticism of the baneful reality that transforms Marxism into a kind of false consciousness with all its essential implications.

Another example of the working of this mechanism which denatures Marxist thought was provided last September. At the same time that a large section of the intelligentsia had gone on a sort of unorganized journalistic "strike" after the attack on Literární Noviny a number of cultural and academic figures eagerly accepted pretentious titles and medals from the hands of men who personified bondage both for Marxists and non-Marxists.

I do not know if anyone can be found who refused these honors in protest. I doubt it. But what is in question is not merely accepting titles and decorations. The very existence of such distinctions is highly questionable from a socialist standpoint. They express the principle of hierarchy and impress the bearer with the idea that he is distinguished basically as the "holder of a rank." Is not the inner motivation in bestowing and accepting such awards always homage to the state authority or the hierarchical principle? Are these

titles and medals an encouragement to intellectual freedom or are they gilded fetters for the mind? But such reflections wander far from my theme.

The freedom of Marxist thought has been and continues to be restricted not only by the bureaucratic blend of censorship and pretentious honors, which are the outward forms of the bureaucratic system. The freedom of Marxist thought is also inhibited by a more subtle internalization of hierarchical authority through Marxist forms, through hidden impediments to the development of critical analysis.

In this, a dialectic of cause and effect, of thought and the social system, takes place. It is hard to say which comes first -- the authoritarianism of the system or the authoritarianism of thought. It is hard to find the first cause which set Marxism, which began as a theory of freedom, onto the road leading to its own bondage.

It is evident, however, that the denial of freedom to other viewpoints and the bureaucratic monopoly of Marxism projected themselves into limitation of the inner freedom of Marxist thought. And it is evident on the other hand that this suppression of Marxism's inner freedom, that is of its critical and free-ranging spirit, had as an inevitable result the suppression of other philosophies. In any case, these were reciprocal effects.

Marxist theory appeared to reign and non-Marxist views were suppressed. But in reality both Marxism and its opponent theories were straitjacketed by an official ideology which had nothing of Marxism but the name. It is symptomatic of this state of affairs that until recently whenever Marxists discussed freedom they immediately began stressing its historical and social limitations, not the potential for advancing it. From a Marxist standpoint, there is no question that freedom is historically and socially conditioned.

But this general formula once again conceals a bureaucratic amalgam. The historically inevitable limitations on freedom are lumped together with unnecessary restrictions and added repression which do not flow from the lack of material preconditions for freedom but which are generated automatically by the ossified bureaucratic system, help to preserve it, and promote its "reproduction on an extended scale." No one can overreach himself and utopian terms are only readily applicable to a state of material and cultural abundance.

However, there are two things which distinguish a freedom-loving and free-thinking person from a bureaucrat. Those who are concerned about freedom strive to remove the historical and social con-

straints which narrow liberty. They want to surmount these limitations through creative activity. While they know that they cannot overcome all these limitations at once and throughout the society, they want to sweep away immediately the outworn -- and thus only apparently objective -- restrictions imposed on freedom by added bureaucratic "super repression."

This repression is by no means historically necessary. It is required only by the needs of the bureaucratic system, which is the greatest obstacle to the intellectual freedom of Marxists and non-Marxists alike.

The question arises as to how much the political victory of the Marxists in our country and their assumption of state power promoted the inner inhibitions of Marxist thought. Certainly it reinforced them and increased them. But we must realize that when Marxism attained its dominant position it was already fettered by inhibitions. It was the Stalinist form of Marxism, encumbered by myths, by a series of taboos applied to both persons and their works, both questions and answers. For decades, Marxism was weighed down by irrational effluvia, irrational aversions, and arbitrary departures from logical thought.

A series of logical categories were replaced by labels, which were signals to produce an automatic stand, to arouse conditioned reflexes. These labels -- Social Fascism, Trotskyism, Bukharinism, revisionism, cosmopolitanism, Titoism, and Zionism -- represented only straw men, pretended and not real ideological positions. More of these labels arose than I have mentioned and more may yet arise unless the source of such notions -- the archaic system of dogmatic thought, the confused mixture of reason and unreason which developed in the decades of Stalinism's ascendancy over Marxism -- is removed.

With the death of Stalin, the authority who most personified the dogmatic principle left the scene. However, dogmatism, the archaic heritage which Marxist theory has carried over from the Stalin era, the assortment of taboos and prejudices belonging to Stalinism, has not disappeared. The dead still bind the living and today's thought is bound by the grip of the past.

The liberation of Marxism understandably has its institutional aspects, which derive from the fact that it is at once a scientific theory and the philosophy of an organized international political and social movement. This presents problems. But while they are complex and difficult, these problems can be solved by institutional arrangements and guarantees within the political organization itself, within the Communist party. This

can be done by establishing relationships between theoretical work and politics which assure autonomous development of Marxism as a scientific theory.

But this outward independence would not mean much if Marxism did not emancipate itself inwardly, if it did not rid itself of this antiquated heritage I have mentioned. Concretely, this means in the first place that we must recognize that behind the façade of ideological monolithism there are a number of theoretical currents, of different interpretations of Marxism. Recognition of this fact is the first step toward facing reality.

Secondly, we must abolish the irrational taboos that inhibit discussion not only of present reality but also of the historical development of Marxism. Today our Marxist historians have already cast out schema, which assigned notable representatives of the revolutionary movement and exponents of Marxist theory to the role of "diaboli ex machina." Our historians already write objectively about these figures' real historical role and acts. But they bypass their theoretical views or refer to them only reticently.

By way of illustration, let me mention my feelings as one who devotes himself to the study of the history of theoretical Marxism. When I criticize Bukharin's philosophical writings in discussing Gramsci or Lukacs, for example, I feel uncomfortable and embarrassed. I am not a proponent of his philosophical views. I try to raise rational arguments against his views, which he, of course, developed on a Marxist basis. But even making the greatest effort to be objective I feel uneasy. I feel uneasy because the object of my criticism cannot defend himself against false interpretations which anyone, even with the best intentions, can fall into owing to bias for another view. Or rather his work is not available to stand on its own merits, as other works are.

The public does not have the opportunity -- which is and must be a self-evident right for scholars -- to go to the sources and measure the criticism and commentary against the work itself. Bukharin's writings, like the theoretical writings of Trotsky, Preobrazhensky, Zinoviev, some writings of Rosa Luxemburg, the works of W. Reich, etc., are not in the libraries. A large part of the theoretical literature that developed on a Marxist basis is taboo, anathematized, and veiled in irrational myths.

If Marxists want to strive to win intellectual freedom not only for others but for themselves they must cast off their outworn past. An uninhibited view of our own history is a prerequisite to free theoretical thought.

THE "ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS" -- BETWEEN THE SHARK AND THE SARDINE

The Alliance for Progress, initiated by President Kennedy in 1961 as an "alternative" to the Cuban revolution, has hit hard times in recent years, despite occasional attempts to refurbish its image. The Christian Science Monitor, for example, in a February 4 dispatch from Rio de Janeiro by James Nelson Goodsell, voiced little optimism on the project's future.

"Problems in relations between the U.S. and its southern neighbors have been multiplying," Goodsell said. "Despite the heady enthusiasm over the Alliance for Progress when it was first announced... the alliance, in Latin-American eyes, has not lived up to its promise. In fact, there is a widespread feeling that the alliance has failed to inspire significant hemisphere development. Moreover, many people in Latin America feel that the United States in recent years has tended to downplay the area -- due, in part, to the Vietnam war and monetary and other crises."

The same day, the New York Times struck a more optimistic note in a front-page story headlined, "Latin Economy Advances In Alliance for Progress." The "advance," however, on close inspection, appeared a little meager.

The region as a whole -- excluding Cuba -- registered a 5.5 percent increase of the gross national product in 1968, up from 4.3 percent in the two previous years (which the Times referred to as "relative doldrums"). The report, based on findings of the Inter-American Committee of the Alliance for Progress, added that because of a 6 percent rise in population since 1966 the per capita rise in the gross national product was only 2.5 percent in 1968.

Even this minimal real growth, the committee said, was largely due to accidental factors in the world market that increased exports during 1968 but might not be repeated in the future. The Times noted that "there are many uncertainties over sustaining last year's level of growth... The economic upturn last year was attributed to higher prices for the region's major export commodities, notably copper, meat, cotton and coffee, and to new exports through nontraditional products promoted by diversification programs. These efforts, however, are encountering obstacles due to discriminatory trade practices by the major industrial countries and protectionist trends...."

The uncertainty of continued exports at the 1968 level is compounded by a decline in foreign aid, particularly from the United States.

"The Inter-American committee," the Times added, "indicated a growing concern of Latin-American countries over possible reductions in aid, which has averaged about \$650-million a year from all alliance sources since the program began. United States appropriations for Latin-American nations through the Agency for International Development have declined annually since 1965 under the pressure of anti-inflation fiscal policies and balance-of-payments considerations."

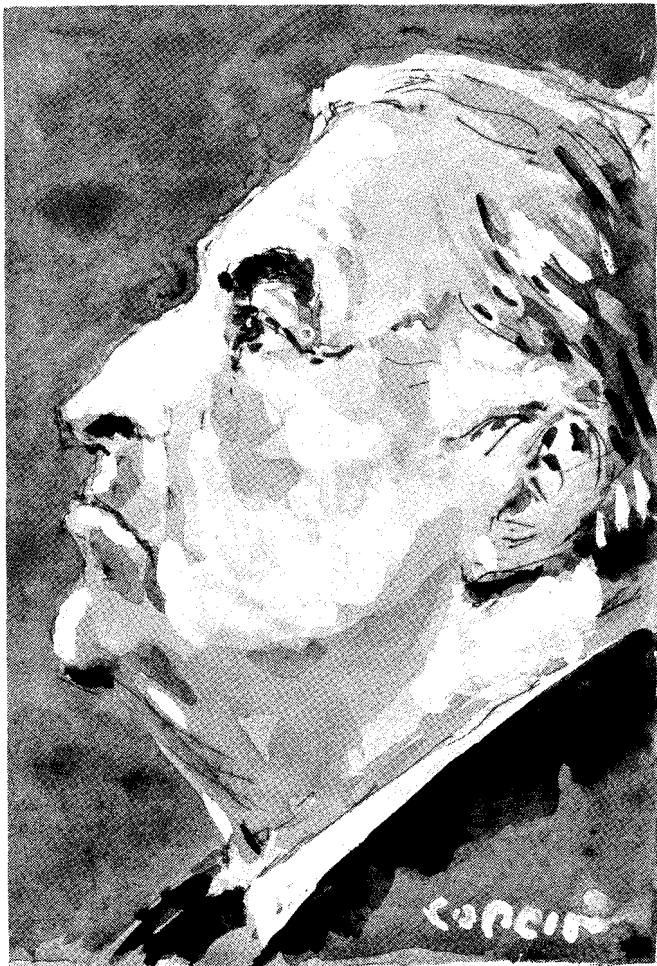
The picture, as can be seen, is much gloomier than the headline suggests. On February 6, however, the New York Times published a case study of U.S. aid to Bolivia that shows the reality to be even darker.

Bolivia has long been an American "client" state, having received \$250 million in aid since 1961. Today the "aid" has come to a "virtual standstill." The reason is very simple. Most American aid is in the form of long-term loans. Loan contracts carry a clause that all equipment purchased to complete a project must be bought in the United States. Thus even before a loan is repaid, half or more of the cash advanced is returned immediately to American corporations in direct purchases from the "aid" recipient.

Under this arrangement an indirect government subsidy to U.S. businesses passes under the heading of "foreign aid." Even this system became burdensome to Washington with the maturing of the international monetary crisis in the last two years. The portion of the "aid" spent locally on labor and raw materials constituted a steady outflow of dollars and hence a drain on the U.S. balance-of-payments.

Last year Washington added an "additionality" clause to all aid contracts. This clause requires that recipients of "aid" must spend the entire amount in the United States. That is, they must spend an amount on American goods equal to any part of a U.S. loan that is spent locally on labor or materials. Even this gimmick does not exhaust the ingenuity of imperialist fiscal planners. The Times added that the extra goods purchased under the "additionality" clause, "...must come from a list of United States products that are doing badly in international commerce. Generally, the reason the products are doing badly is that they are more expensive than similar Japanese or European items."

In the case of Bolivia, the Times said, "as a prerequisite for receiving a \$4.5-million budget-support loan, the United States was urging the state-owned



GALO PLAZA

businesses here to buy American ore carts costing three times as much as a similar Belgian product and to buy American oil-well casing, costing 60 per cent more than Argentine pipe."

Other examples include equipment of comparable cost that must be bought for cash from the U.S. but could be had on credit from European suppliers.

The Times lists a few of the gross inequities in the system:

"First, the United States has lent more than \$50-million to the money-losing state enterprises here in an effort to make them profitable by better management

and cost control. The United States is now asking the same enterprises to forget about cost control and buy American machinery.

"Second, the provision gives an advantage to private business over the state-owned companies. The Gulf Oil Company subsidiary here, for example, buys its equipment from the lowest bidder. The state-owned oil company, if it were to observe additionality, would be forced to buy higher-priced American equipment.

"Third, for the purposes of balance of payments, the United States is really getting two dollars back for every one lent -- one immediately with the purchase of American goods and another when the loan is repaid."

Thus the real recipient of "foreign aid" is U.S. big business.

We now come to the part where insult is added to injury.

The State Department sponsored a luncheon in Washington February 13. The main speaker was Galo Plaza, the former president of Ecuador who is today serving U.S. imperialism as secretary general of the Organization of Latin American States. Noting that all is not honey and milk in Latin America he called for something to be done -- by the countries south of the Rio Grande.

"The time to plan for action in the Second Development Decade is now. I call upon the Latin-American governments to take three basic steps:

"First, evaluate objectively what they have accomplished in the Alliance for Progress; second, redefine their own objectives for the seventies; third, take the initiative in directing the cooperative action that is called for."

If the "recipient" countries were really to evaluate objectively what they have accomplished in the Alliance for Progress, it would call for some very basic "redefining" of objectives. And the "cooperative action" would undoubtedly prove highly unpalatable to the eminent ex-president of Ecuador and his counter-revolutionary imperialist bosses.

#### WINS AWARD TO STUDY AMERICAN TROTSKYISM

One of the 200 annual awards of the Woodrow Wilson National Dissertation Fellowship went to Jack Alan Robbins of Mount Vernon, New York, to enable him to devote full time to his doctoral dissertation, "American Trotskyism, 1928-41."

Mr. Robbins has collaborated with Daniel Aaron, Granville Hicks, and Max Eastman on literary projects and has written a book Problems of Marxism in the Third World. He gave up a teaching fellowship at Fordham University to accept the award.

THE HEALYITES BEGIN TO UNRAVEL THEIR "TROTSKYISM"

By Joseph Hansen

For specialists in such questions, it may be of interest to note that the Healyites\* have begun to admit that they have their differences with Leon Trotsky. Previously they had exempted him from open criticism and held him up as a shield against their opponents. Much of their writing is devoted to "exposing" all others who claim adherence to Trotskyism as being nothing but fake Trotskyists.

The issue on which the Healyites have decided to take their distance from Leon Trotsky is Black Power.

The Healyites have opposed this rallying cry of wide sectors of the working class and other layers of the oppressed masses since it first arose in the struggle for black liberation. In the Healyite lexicon, those who support Black Power are fake lefts, betrayers, and class enemies.

A special target of the Healyites on this question has been the Socialist Workers party, the first grouping in the radical movement in the United States to call attention to the political significance of the upsurge of black nationalist sentiments and to point out the progressive nature and revolutionary implications of these sentiments in the struggle against capitalism and for socialism.

The SWP was able to do this because of the clarity of its theory on this question, a theory that was worked out in its fundamentals with the direct collaboration of Leon Trotsky.

While the Healyites have vociferously denounced the SWP for hailing the rise of black nationalism as a revolutionary development in the United States, they remained silent until just recently about Trotsky's views on this subject.

Their hesitation about attacking Trotsky's position is understandable, if not exactly commendable.

It now appears that they -- or some of them -- have screwed up sufficient courage to begin to say publicly what they have been whispering among

themselves privately.

Trotsky Attacked  
as Source of SWP "Adaptation"

The first sally was not taken by the top command in London, although they most likely inspired it. Healy's American disciples held a conference of the "Workers League" in New York on November 22-24, 1968, where the question of Black Power was put on the agenda. Thus the December 16 issue of the Bulletin, which they publish, said in an editorial note:

"An extensive discussion was also held on the Negro question -- particularly in relation to the misconceptions put forward by Trotsky in his 1939 discussions and the attempts of the SWP to turn these misconceptions into a reactionary adaptation to black nationalism. The article on this page by Lucy St. John reflects this discussion and marks the beginning of our theoretical work on this critical question."

Lucy St. John argues that the "Negroes today do not exist in relation to the capitalist class as a separate nation but rather as a part of the class society, doubly burdened not only with class oppression but racial discrimination so that they share more proportionally in unemployment, unskilled jobs, etc."

This is revealed, Miss St. John argues, "in the struggles of the Negro people not historically for a separate nation but for political, economic and social equality. The nationalist movements in this country beginning with Garvey have never been supported by the Negro working class and are not today. The petty bourgeoisie have been the mentors of the demand for a separate nation."

She then gets down to Leon Trotsky and his position:

"We say that the demand for self determination for the Negro people is a reactionary demand -- that it legitimizes the racial divisions, the 'ghetto' and aids the bourgeoisie in maintaining racism, that it divides the working class.

"It is within the context of the discussions of the national question within the Marxist movement and the historical political conditions of the United States and from the standpoint of the class struggle, that we approach Trotsky's discussion on the Negro question. The Workers League contends today that Trotsky's conclusions in this discussion were basically incorrect. Trotsky was indeed a

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\* Gerry Healy of the Socialist Labour League [SLL], an ultraleft sectarian British grouping which claims to be "Trotskyist" although it is bitterly hostile to the Fourth International founded by Leon Trotsky. Internationally, the tendency has adherents in France ("Organisation Communiste Internationaliste") and in the U.S. (the "Workers League").

genius but not a god.

"Trotsky in this discussion contended that the SWP should support the demand for self determination 'if the Negroes themselves want it.' At the same time he stated that the Negroes are 'a race and not a nation.' He said the SWP should 'not obligate the Negroes to become a nation; if they are, then that is a question of their consciousness, that is what they desire and what they strive for.' He saw the demand for a black state as a 'sign of moral and political awakening' and as a 'tremendous revolutionary step.' In his approach to the question of whether the Negroes are a nation, Trotsky appears to be relying on a totally subjective and psychological basis of analysis as he puts it 'their feelings and their impulses', rather than an objective analysis.

"Trotsky at the time admitted that he had very little information on the Negro in the United States. His statements are far from definitive on the question and often contradictory. Trotsky at the time was concerned primarily with turning the SWP around and forcing it to take up the struggle for the Negro people which they had literally ignored. Trotsky's conclusions appear to be based solely on the need for the SWP to turn to the Negro masses without a clear analysis of the historical, political, and social role of the Negro in the U.S.

"We believe that Trotsky was wrong in seeing this demand as a revolutionary step; in that period as well as today it meant the dividing of the working class. Trotsky realized that the demand could have this effect if black and white workers had been united in struggle. Nowhere, nowhere, we repeat, does Trotsky call for black nationalism or in any way advocate cultural nationalism."

Miss St. John contends that the SWP has developed Trotsky's error into something truly monstrous: "Today the SWP has taken every ambiguity and incorrect conclusion in this pamphlet\* and is using it to give a cover to the most reaction-

ary ideas which serve one purpose and one purpose only and that is to divide the working class and thus aid the capitalist class."

Do Healyites Today  
Know Better than Trotsky?

As was to be expected, one of Miss St. John's stronger arguments is drawn on the level of the most vulgar empiricism. Trotsky "admitted that he had very little information on the Negro in the United States." The Healyite "Workers League," on the other hand, being in the USA in 1968 knows all about it.

Trotsky customarily made such remarks in discussing tactical questions raised by comrades who came to visit him from various parts of the world. This was an invitation to such comrades to contribute factual material to make the discussion more concrete. Miss St. John avoids saying anything about the knowledge of the other participants in the discussion.

But we can leave such points aside. Whatever his store of information -- and theoretical capacity to assess that information -- it is not hard to show that Trotsky thirty years ago saw the potentialities of the American scene more clearly than some self-proclaimed "Trotskyists" of today, who, while modestly conceding that they are not up to the level of correcting "a god," do claim to have what it takes to cut "a genius" down to size.

On another point, Miss St. John is simply in error. "Trotsky at the time," she says, "was concerned primarily with turning the SWP around and forcing it to take up the struggle for the Negro people which they had literally ignored."

She offers no explanation as to what connection this presumed concern of his at the time could conceivably have with the possibility of a rise of black nationalism at some future time.

Not the First  
to "Correct" Trotsky

Trotsky in 1938 and the early part of 1939, insofar as the matter came up, was concerned about the social composition and political and theoretical level of a certain sector of the membership of the SWP. In relation to the number of proletarian cadres, who constituted the stable core of the American Trotskyist movement, he saw a danger in the large proportion of petty-bourgeois youth who had recently been won away from the Social Democracy. They were well-intentioned -- say, like the petty-bourgeois members of the "Workers League" today -- but he feared that, unless they became integrated into the working class, unless they seriously stud-

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\* The reference is to Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination, a pamphlet containing transcripts of discussions with Trotsky in Frinkipo and Coyoacan, plus two resolutions adopted by the Socialist Workers party in 1939 and excerpts from writings by Trotsky in which he touches on the question of national oppression and the struggle of the colored races for emancipation. The pamphlet is available from Merit Publishers, 873 Broadway, New York 10003, for \$.95. In Britain, it can be obtained from Pioneer Book Service, 8 Toynbee St., London, E.1. -- J.H.

ied the history of the movement and its theory, they could become lost.

Trotsky's fears about this sector were, unfortunately, later borne out. Under the political banners of Shachtman and Burnham, many of the youth from the Social Democracy, whom the party had not yet had time to assimilate, set out to "correct" Trotsky's "misconceptions" on such items as the validity and usefulness of dialectical materialism, the class nature of the degenerated workers state, and the need to defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack. They ended up with Shachtman and Burnham, splitting from the SWP in 1940.

Some of them drifted out of politics; some followed Shachtman in the retrogression that finally put him in the camp of the Social Democracy. (If Miss St. John would like more details about this, she has a ready source of information available in her leader Tim Wohlforth, who was recruited by the Shachtmanites, and who never recovered from the basic training he received from them. For those who like dishes with a gamey flavor, Wohlforth's versions of the history of American Trotskyism should be put on the "must try" list.)

Neither Original,  
Fresh, nor Timely

But let us return to Lucy St. John's attempt to "correct" Trotsky's "misconceptions" on the question which the Healyites find especially vexing.

The editors of the Bulletin say that her article "marks the beginning of our theoretical work on this critical question."

If beginnings were to be judged by originality, freshness, or timeliness, this one would take few prizes.

The best that can be said for the theoretical kernel to be found inside the factional husk is that it is essentially nothing more than the position held by the American Trotskyist movement before 1939; i.e., before Trotsky called attention to a possibly more complex development of the anticapitalist struggle in the United States than had been anticipated in the party's outlook.

Up to 1939, in addressing itself to what was then called the Negro struggle, the Trotskyist movement had simply presented the long-range historic goal of a world brotherhood, a classless society of complete equality, in which racism and a series of other evils of increasing virulence under capitalism would be completely eliminated.

In accordance with this world out-

look, the American Trotskyist movement had stressed the need for unity regardless of race, color, sex, or nationality as absolutely requisite in the struggle to achieve this goal. The party itself must be constructed in accordance with these principles.

It was clearly recognized that the black community had many special problems, but these would be handled through the widening influence and power of the anti-capitalist movement and the revolutionary-socialist party and would be eventually solved when the workers had won power and established a planned economy and a socialist society. No especially difficult tactical problems were envisaged. The slogan of integration made things relatively simple.

What Trotsky  
Actually Proposed

Trotsky did not propose to change any of the basic revolutionary-socialist concepts at all. He insisted on these principles as he always had.

What he did raise was the possibility of a rise of nationalist feelings among the black people in the United States in a situation beyond the control of the revolutionary-socialist party, a complex situation that would demand great tactical flexibility.

He suggested that the SWP should not be dogmatic or sectarian in considering this but should leave open the possibility of such a turn of events. Should this occur, the correct way to meet the problems that would arise could be worked out under the general concept of the right of an oppressed people to self-determination, a democratic demand contained in every Marxist-Leninist program, although Miss St. John, we see, considers it to be "reactionary."

The majority of the SWP thought that Trotsky's advice was good and this was registered in the official party positions in 1939.

It should be added that a minority in the SWP remained dubious. Those who held these doubts argued with increasing conviction that events had proved Trotsky to be wrong. The course of the struggle itself showed that the black community, they contended, had closed the door on any alternative other than integration.

For some twenty-five years the question came up at virtually every convention as this minority grouping -- which consisted of very good comrades -- sought to have the SWP take a public position excluding the possibility of any rise of nationalism among the black people in the United States. The party reso-



lutely refused to shut the door in a dogmatic manner against this variant of development.

This perennial difference was finally settled in practice by the rise of the Black Muslims, the development of a wing that began to turn toward political action under the leadership of Malcolm X, the development of Malcolm X's own thinking in a revolutionary-socialist direction, and ultimately the explosive development of the current Black Power movement with its strong anticapitalist bent.

It would seem impossible to deny that Trotsky's political prescience was given extraordinary confirmation. But people can be found, it must be admitted, who do find it possible to deny it.

#### Where Healy Was During the Discussion

Healy himself was not in the Fourth International when the Transitional Program and the possibility of the rise of black nationalism in the United States was under intensive discussion. His first political experiences were in the Communist party in its ultraleft "third period" phase. He was further shaped by some years in a small group which proclaimed itself to be Trotskyist but which was ridden with poisonous factionalism. After he joined the Fourth International, he never questioned Trotsky's contribution in this area. Not once. Not even by a whisper in the corridors.

Now that Trotsky's view has been confirmed, however, Healy has apparently decided it is time to "correct" Trotsky. Eventually this will no doubt become part of his rationalization for refusing to go along with the majority in the world Trotskyist movement in 1963 in healing a split that had occurred some ten years before.

#### What to Look for in Studying Trotsky

The Healyite editors of the Bulletin say that Miss St. John's attack on Trotsky's position on black nationalism is only the beginning and they promise more "theoretical work on this critical question."

It is to be hoped that they will do their utmost to deliver on their courageous promise. To facilitate the task, I should like to suggest a line of inquiry that might save them needless floundering and bring them directly to the heart of the question.

Trotsky was a dialectician. He did not take up subjects as if each of them was sealed off from everything else. He looked for processes and for the connec-

tions between processes. Thus, unless we are to maintain that on this question Trotsky was no dialectician but only a bungler and dogmatist, like the leaders of the SLL, then it would be fruitful to examine his approach on other closely related questions at the time.

It does not require much research to turn up something that ought to make the heart of every Healyite beat quicker.

Trotsky suggested the advisability of taking a flexible attitude toward the potential forms of the black liberation struggle in February 1939. This was less than a year after his conversations with the American Trotskyists that led to his working out the Transitional Program. And it was during the period immediately following the adoption of the Transitional Program, when sections of the Fourth International everywhere were trying to apply it concretely and to work out new variants on slogans.

Could it be that, in discussing the possibility of the appearance of black nationalism and what attitude to take toward it, Trotsky had in mind the same method to be found at the heart of the Transitional Program?

What is this method, the method that has made the Transitional Program of such extraordinary importance in the world Trotskyist movement? It is to continually try to find bridges between the program of revolutionary socialism and whatever the current level of political understanding of the oppressed and exploited masses may be.

Consider the way in which Trotsky expressed his concern about a correct approach to the oppressed black people in the United States. What Trotsky said in essence to the revolutionary socialists was, Watch the development of the consciousness of the black people as it actually occurs -- and not as you may preconceive it or prefer it to be. Then find a way of meeting that development with a positive tactic. Especially, he warned, do not make the sectarian mistake of rejecting the development of black nationalism. In the United States its appearance would be a "tremendous revolutionary step."

In reality, as the context shows, the discussion with Trotsky on this subject was an extension of his previous discussions on such subjects as the trade unions, the youth, women, military training, and so on, covered in the Transitional Program. If the topic is not included in the Transitional Program, this is mainly because it remained to be seen what would develop in this field.

The method to be followed in meeting such a contingency was provided for in

the general approach of the Transitional Program. It need only be applied in a concrete way -- which was what the SWP did, without paying any attention to the flut-tering this caused in the Healyite dove-cote.

Black Power and a Labor Party  
-- Two Interrelated Slogans

Trotsky's approach on the possibil-ity that the black people in the United States might go through a phase of revolu-tionary nationalism is not at all differ-ent in principle from his approach on the possibility of a great rise in political consciousness among the American workers before the revolutionary-socialist party achieves a mass base, which led him to suggest advocating a labor party as a transitional slogan.

Trotsky's stand on the labor party slogan also met with doubts and opposi-tion in 1938 and 1939 among some of his followers; and, of course, cries of "be-trayal" from such dyed-in-the-wool sec-tarians as the followers of Daniel De Leon. But there was considerable empiri-cal justification for that slogan owing to the widespread sentiment in those years among the militants in the American labor movement who favored breaking with the Democratic machine and organizing labor's own party. The experience in Brit-ain could also be cited as a precedent.

It is because of this empirical background to the question that the Healy-ites have found the labor party slogan ac-ceptable and, in fact, have converted it into their central slogan in the United States.

Indeed, Trotsky's proposal for a labor party based on the unions in the United States, which is endorsed by Healy's followers, is symmetrical with the idea put forward by the Socialist Workers party for an independent black political party, which they condemn. The grounds for both political proposals are similar. They would provide a vehicle to detach the workers in the one case and the Afro-Americans in the other from subservience to the capitalist parties and to promote their mobilization for struggle in their own interests.

As George Breitman has indicated in numerous articles and pamphlets, the formation of a political party by the black masses would shake and shatter the established structure of capitalist rule in the U.S.A. and even set an example of independent political organization that the organized workers might follow. Thus the emergence of a labor party itself could be stimulated by the polit-ical initiative of the most progressive

black nationalists.\*

Analysis of Mass Moods  
Is Required, Too

Lucy St. John, who, naturally pro-pagandizes for a labor party in the United States, struggles to understand what might have been going on in Trotsky's mind to cause him to commit such a bad error with regard to the black people organizing along independent lines! "In his approach to the question of whether the Negroes are a nation, Trotsky appears to be relying on a totally subjective and psychological ba-sis of analysis..."

She rejects such subjectivism. How could Trotsky have fallen into such an er-roneous pattern of thought -- such a de-parture from the dialectical method as she conceives and practices it? She offers a subjective and psychological explanation: Trotsky was "no god." He was capable of errors every bit as bad as those committed any day of the week by the geniuses who hold high the great red banner of Healy's thought.

It does not occur to her that she fails to understand Trotsky politically. Still less does it occur to her that by her failure she shows that she does not understand the political thinking in the Transitional Program.

Trotsky's approach on the tactical level is precisely to determine the cur-rent subjective and psychological level of the masses and try to meet that level by raising slogans that objectively (because they correspond to the objective needs of the masses) lead them toward socialism, the only system that can actually satisfy their needs. The party avoids opportunism by advancing slogans that correspond with its program -- they can be realized only under socialism. It avoids sectarianism by breaking them into transitional steps that gear into the current subjective and psy-chological level of the masses.

The Transitional Program offers a superb example of the use of the dialec-tical method in the political field. Anal-ysis of the changing and fluctuating mood of the masses is counterposed to the long-range historical objectives of the prolet-ariat as embodied in the program of so-cialism. This makes possible a dynamic synthesis in the form of a transitional slogan, or, on the organizational level,

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\* For a consideration of this question by a writer who agrees with Trotsky and who has followed the Afro-American struggle for more than three decades, see How a Minority Can Change Society by George Breitman. Available for \$.35 from Merit Publishers in New York and Pioneer Book Service in London.

a transitional measure, that opens the way to a still higher synthesis and higher level of struggle along the road of revolution and the winning of state power.

While we are on the point, it is worth noting that the Healyites provide a good example of how sectarians fail to grasp the dialectical method and confine their politics to parrot-like repetition of statements on basic principles. Opportunists, it should be added, reveal the same methodological defect by pushing basic principles aside and adapting themselves to passing phases of the mass mood.

Because the methodological flaw is the same in both instances -- a one-sided mechanical categorizing that is incapable of bridging the phases in a process -- sectarians not infrequently become opportunists. And cases can be found of the opposite, where opportunists become sectarians, even of the ultraleft variety.

After the First Olive  
the Rest Comes Easy

If Lucy St. John and the editors of the Bulletin and Trotsky's challengers in London are to be consistent, they have no choice. Having rejected Trotsky's ap-

proach in the black liberation struggle, logically they must reject his entire approach in the Transitional Program.

Of course, they may prefer to be illogical. Many precedents and examples of this can be cited in the record of the SLL and its two satellites.

Not the least of these is the fact that in practice they do reject Trotsky's approach in the Transitional Program. This is one of the main sources of their ultraleft sectarianism.

But as yet they have not reached the point of recognizing that their approach really has little in common with Trotsky's. They have achieved this measure of self-understanding only in the particular question of black nationalism.

Give them time. When they have finished "correcting" Trotsky's "misconceptions" on the importance of an upsurge of black nationalism in the United States, they may feel bold enough to correct him on other critical issues of the day.

It's like prying olives out of a bottle. After the first one, the rest come easy.

NOT THE STALIN PEACE PRIZE AFTER ALL

In last week's issue, we carried a brief item reporting that Todor Pavlov, a member of the Political Bureau of the Bulgarian Communist party, had proposed that a world peace prize be awarded to the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, East Germany, and Bulgaria for staging their blitzkrieg invasion of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. We assumed that what he had in mind was the Stalin peace prize.

We were mistaken. That wasn't what Todor Pavlov had in mind.

According to Agence France-Presse, the Bulgarian academician made the suggestion about a world peace prize in an article in Otetchestveni Front [Patriotic Front] attacking Bertrand Russell and Jean-Paul Sartre for wanting to convoke a tribunal to hold hearings on the violation of Czechoslovakia's sovereignty.

Pavlov wrote that Bertrand Russell "is either unwilling or unable to understand that it was precisely the five socialist countries, headed by the USSR, that ought to be awarded the Nobel peace prize for having correctly and successfully blocked the imperialist aggression in central Europe."

Taking a couple of swipes at the two main sponsors of the proposed tribunal, who were also the two main sponsors of the International War Crimes Tribunal

that found the U.S. government guilty of aggression, genocide, and other war crimes in Vietnam, Pavlov continued: "It is not necessary to be a great mathematician and philosopher like Bertrand Russell, nor an existentialist, that is, a subjective idealist and politician like Sartre...to understand that peace in Europe was saved by the brother socialist armies entering Czechoslovakia."

In addition to this, Bertrand Russell, in Pavlov's opinion, is a "typical representative of abstract humanism, of abstract freedom, and abstract democracy."

While not a few people, particularly in Czechoslovakia, appear to hold reservations as to the attractiveness of the concrete "humanism," concrete "freedom," and concrete "democracy" which the Soviet tanks carried into Czechoslovakia, they may agree that if Brezhnev and Kosygin don't want the Stalin peace prize it ought not to be foisted on them; let them have the coveted Nobel trophy.

One must note, nonetheless, how times have changed. It seems only yesterday that a Nobel prize, when awarded to Boris Pasternak, was considered in Moscow to be almost equivalent to a decoration from the CIA.

What miracles the policy of "peaceful coexistence" is capable of working if ardently enough pursued!

Solzhenitsyn's New Novel

OLEG FILIMONOVICH KOSTOGLOTOV, THE REBEL

By George Saunders

[Continued from last issue.]

"The bureaucracy taken as a whole is concerned not so much with its function as with the tribute which this function brings in. The commanding caste tries to strengthen and perpetuate the organs of compulsion. To make sure of its power and income, it spares nothing and nobody. The more the course of development goes against it, the more ruthless it becomes toward the advanced elements of the population."

This description by Trotsky in Revolution Betrayed not only fits the chief bureaucratic figure in Cancer Ward, Pavel Nikolayevich Rusanov, to a T. It also describes aptly the way the regime of the Rusanovs relates to those such as Oleg Filimonovich Kostoglotov, the other chief figure in the book, who may be termed precisely an "advanced element of the population."

Kostoglotov is the opposite of Rusanov in career as well as character. Rusanov, a "hereditary proletarian," left factory work to become a successful functionary, sparing "nothing and nobody" along the way; Kostoglotov, though from a merchant family, remained a rank-and-filer all his life.

Before the war, while all his friends became officers, Kostoglotov remained in the ranks. ("But it doesn't matter so much when you're young. And I felt justice was more important.")

Throughout his life he got into trouble with the higher-ups "for supporting democracy," as he puts it. "I tried to make the army democratic," he relates jokingly, "that is, I talked back to officers. So instead of being sent to officers' training school in '39 I remained a private. In 1940 I got to officers' training school, but I was insolent again, so they threw me out. It wasn't until 1941 that I completed a course for non-coms in the Far East."

Kostoglotov fought through the entire war, whereas Rusanov was never sent to the front, "being a valuable and experienced functionary." Although only a non-com, Kostoglotov actually led his platoon, owing to the incompetence of regular officers.

After the war, he entered a university in Leningrad. His description of how he happened to be condemned to prison

camp and exile, as told to the young nurse Zoya, is doubly ironic because of the naïve way Zoya reacts.

He was one of a group of first-year students, girls and boys, who used to get together socially. "But the boys also talked about politics. And about HIM [Stalin]. We weren't satisfied with what we saw around us, if you know what I mean. We weren't exactly delighted, so to speak.

"Two of us had fought at the front and had expected something else after the war. In May, just before the examinations, we were all arrested, the girls too."

Zoya doesn't understand. Was it a gang?

Kostoglotov is amused: "Just like my prosecutor, you weren't satisfied with the word 'group.' He also liked to call us a gang."

Here Solzhenitsyn touches on the psychology of those who accept the status quo and unquestioningly trust the authorities, an attitude that helped make the purges possible and that persists after Stalin. Several times in the book, various characters make remarks to the effect that "the authorities must have a reason if they arrest somebody."

Zoya cannot believe that, as Kostoglotov tells her, "anyone [who] draws less than eight years, you can be sure...has done nothing at all; believe me, his case was simply made up of thin air."

"What did you do, actually?" she keeps insisting.

"I told you, we were studying. Sometimes we had a few drinks, if we could manage it on our scholarship allowances. We went to parties. And they arrested the girls along with us, gave them five years each...Can you imagine this happening to you," he says to Zoya, herself a student, "being grabbed just before second-semester exams, and shoved into the poke?"

Zoya's response is: "But you boys, what did you want to do it for?...being dissatisfied, expecting something to be different after the war, and all that."

She has again unwittingly echoed Kostoglotov's prosecutor.

The case of Kostoglotov and his "gang" has been duplicated countless times, not only under Stalin but today as well.

Quite a few trials of groups of students and others have received publicity in recent years, and many more are surely disposed of unpublicized.

This regime of catch-all arrests, aimed at any proto-political activity or utterance, is meant to maintain an atmosphere of intimidation necessary to the bureaucracy. Having no class base in the means of production, this parasitic caste is ever on the defensive.

What Trotsky wrote in 1937 is dramatized in Kostoglotov's case as well as in more recent round-ups:

"The continual purgations of the party and the Soviet organizations have the object of preventing the discontent of the masses from finding a coherent political expression. But repressions do not kill thought; they merely drive it underground. Wide circles of communists, as well as nonparty citizens, keep up two systems of thought, one official and one secret....The bureaucracy unfailingly represents its enemies as the enemies of socialism. With the help of judicial forgeries, which have become the normal thing, it imputes to them any crime it finds convenient."

This artificial lid, however, does not remove the conditions that constantly renew opposition from below, at first in half-conscious form, as with Kostoglotov's group. And when the attitude of society shifts, when the dissatisfied troublemakers begin to be viewed with extensive sympathy as expressing justified grievances, then the bureaucracy's days are numbered.

Such a shift in public opinion is beginning to occur, as can be seen in the cases of Sinyavsky and Daniel, Ginzburg and Galanskov, Bukovsky, Litvinov and Mrs. Daniel as well as in the controversy around Solzhenitsyn himself. More and more, oppositional-minded layers of Soviet society are gathering around such figures, making an issue of their treatment, viewing them as spokesmen for a cause.

In discussing why Cancer Ward should not be printed, one Writers Union bureaucrat indicated precisely what such "literary" cases and controversies mean. He called on Solzhenitsyn to renounce his role as "leader of the political opposition."

\* \* \*

What effect did seven years in prison camps and time in exile in Soviet Central Asia have on Kostoglotov? Did this break his will? No, in the cancer ward under special permission as a political exile, he remains as "insolent" as

ever -- a more formidable, hardened, clear-eyed opponent of the bureaucracy than when he was first jailed.

Life in the camps was a school in which he learned much, both from the often exceptional and knowledgeable men he met there and from the experience of having to live by his wits to survive. He has learned a myriad ways to fight the bureaucrats with their perennial red tape and arbitrariness -- mostly defensive ways, avoidance tactics, trickery, passive resistance, but he is ready for frontal assault as soon as the opportunity arises.

The experience of injustice under a "Communist" regime has not turned him against socialism, as it might have; but he has become an extremely skeptical observer of the Soviet scene, ready for a thorough remaking of the status quo.

Semiconsciously, he has become a capable agitator for such change, trained in the debates that raged among camp inmates, who often settled differences by the fist, not the vote. Allowed to mix in the hospital with elements of the public at large, his role is like that of yeast in the ripe, ready dough of post-Stalin Soviet society.

The former camp inmate bears with him -- besides cancer as a result of calculated mistreatment -- an unusual carry-over from his prison experience. He feels a powerful bond of solidarity with all who likewise have suffered persecution at the hands of the bureaucracy.

"There were people in the ward who immediately recognized one another for what they were -- the 'repressed.' Though they were not distinguished by epaulettes or uniforms or armbands, they identified one another without difficulty: as though they carried lighted signs on their brows or marks on their palms or ankles. (Actually there was a host of clues: a word dropped here or there, the tone of the word, the way the lips tightened between words, a smile while others were serious or gravity while others laughed)...so it was with all who had ever lived in the shadow of barbed wire."

Among the numerous characters in the book, several are members of minority nationalities exiled to Central Asia, particularly Crimean Tatars and Russians of German descent. Like the political exiles, they have been treated with total arbitrariness, and Kostoglotov makes frequent comment linking their fate with his own.

Solzhenitsyn's readers in the Soviet Union must get a strong note of irony from the passage where Kostoglotov tries to encourage the aged Tatar Sibgatov with good news: "Sharaf! There are strong rumors that all exiles will be released. Special

and administrative exiles, both...do you hear? You and us, both. It's definite."

The irony that the author is subtly pointing to is that the exiled Tatars were not rehabilitated in Khrushchev's time, although some restrictions were lifted. Many dissident intellectuals joined in the effort to overturn the absurd charge that this entire people collaborated with the Nazis. In 1967 the Tatars were formally "rehabilitated," but they were still not allowed to return to their homeland. Their treatment has become a cause célèbre among the antibureaucratic dissidents.

By deft and ironic allusions here and there Solzhenitsyn identifies himself with this struggle. "There must have been something. We don't exile a people for nothing," he has one character say. The Stalinist bureaucrat approves "this correct remark"; to him it shows "wisdom and firmness."

The bond among the "repressed," among both "special and administrative" victims, is a significant factor in Soviet life today. Evidence was seen in the case of the late Aleksei Kosterin, a Bolshevik since 1916, sent to Stalin's camps in 1937, and rehabilitated in 1953.

Like Kostoglotov, Kosterin came out of the camps fighting. Former General Pyotr Grigorenko has indicated that Kosterin, a constant agitator, recruited him, too, to a lifelong struggle against the bureaucratic machine. A cause to which Kosterin devoted special efforts was that

of the exiled Tatars.

At Kosterin's recent funeral, one may recall, the "bond of the repressed" was dramatically manifested. The messages on the burial wreaths read: "For his struggle against Stalinism"; and "From his comrades in the prisons and camps." Prominent among the 300 mourners were a large group of Crimean Tatars.

The ties among these veterans are not yet organizational, or if so, only in embryonic form. But the growing dissident movement in the Soviet Union points toward formation of an organization on a program of Soviet democracy and revolutionary internationalism. The veterans of the camps, whose prototype Solzhenitsyn has immortalized in Kostoglotov, will be a key source of cadres for this movement, although the drive and power will undoubtedly come from the youth.

"How much significance can twenty or thirty thousand Oppositionists have for a party of two million?" Trotsky asked some thirty years ago. "On such a question a mere juxtaposition of figures means nothing. Ten revolutionists in a regiment is enough to bring it over, in a red-hot political atmosphere, to the side of the people. Not for nothing does the staff mortally fear tiny underground circles, or even single individuals."

The significance of the Kostoglotovs and Kosterins, to whom Solzhenitsyn has devoted his pen, is no different today.

[To be continued.]

#### MERGER BETWEEN DOW CHEMICAL AND NAZI GAS MANUFACTURER

American big business has always claimed to be in favor of international cooperation for economic advancement. A curious example of capitalist internationalism was reported in the November 1968 issue of The Independent, edited by New York publisher Lyle Stuart.

Dow Chemical Company, manufacturer of napalm used to slaughter the peasants in Vietnam, has gone into partnership with the German firm which sold Zyklon B poison gas to the Nazis for use in the concentration camps.

The deadly gas was developed by I.G. Farben, the huge chemical trust that was supposedly broken up at the end of the war.

One of the major components of the complex survived intact, the Badische Anilin & Soda Fabrik, today the largest chemical company in West Germany. The chairman of Badische Anilin today is Carl

Wurster, who, according to The Independent, is a former chairman of I.G. Farben, and also "ran the I.G. Farben Division which included the slave labor synthetic rubber plant at Auschwitz...."

"Moreover, I.G. Farben owned 42.5% of a retail and wholesale distributor called Degesch. This was the firm that sold the gas to the camp at Auschwitz. The ubiquitous Mr. Wurster was also on the administrative council of Degesch."

Today Wurster's firm is in partnership with Dow for its American operations. They own a joint chemical company in Freeport, Texas, called the Dow Badische Chemical Co.

No information was available on what products are manufactured at the Texas plant, whether they are wholesale or retail, or which of the two partners made the greater contribution in applying free enterprise to the field of chemistry.

DOWN WITH FRANCO'S "STATE OF EMERGENCY"!

[The following statement was issued February 7 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky.]

\* \* \*

The "state of emergency" ["estado de excepción"] decreed by the Franco regime January 22 is the culmination of an increasing tendency toward repression that was already very marked throughout 1968. It is a sign of the bankruptcy of the so-called "liberalization" of the regime which aroused some illusions among reformist layers of the workers movement.

Because of the deterioration of the economic situation, owing to the recession in Germany in 1966-67, and because of the radicalization of considerable sectors in opposition to Franco, the dictatorship's narrowing margin of maneuver became so thin that it had to take back even the paltry concessions it had granted in the preceding years.

In the period immediately prior to the "emergency" decree, the main sectors that had become radicalized were as follows: The Basque masses who combined their struggle for national self-determination with a stubborn defense of the workers' rights in the plants. The Asturian miners, whose jobs and means of livelihood are becoming more and more threatened by the crisis in the coal industry. The squads of students in Madrid, Barcelona, and other cities with universities, who carried their turbulent agitation into the streets. The workers commissions (the illegal bodies elected by the workers in the plants) which have been raising more and more political demands. The wives of political prisoners, who occupied the churches to demonstrate for the release of their husbands. Large numbers of lawyers and intellectuals, who have been protesting against the use of torture by the police against political prisoners. The agricultural workers, who are becoming increasingly restless in the southern part of the country.

Afraid that all these movements would gain momentum, the Franco regime intensified the repression as a desperate means of containing the spreading movement. The decision to do this probably came out of discussions and debates within the ruling circles, some of the officers and "hard-line" fascists overcoming those favoring continuation of a policy of "liberalization." But these squabbles are not the main feature of the crisis. This is much more an expression of the deterioration in the relationship of forces between the ruling group as a whole and the toiling masses than of a

modification in the relationship of forces among the various cliques participating in the Franco government.

The magnificent rejoinder to the "emergency" decree by the workers of Bilbao, who went on strike not only for a wage increase, but also specifically for abrogation of the "emergency" decree and release of the political prisoners, met with a response by the workers throughout all of Spain. As this statement is being written, more than 150,000 Spanish workers are on strike. Far from having reduced the forces operating toward creating a prerevolutionary situation in Spain, the intensified repression undertaken by the Franco regime seems to have accelerated the process objectively.

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International sends fraternal greetings to all the revolutionary workers and students of Spain and expresses its complete solidarity with them. By courageously pursuing their struggle against Franco, they can now hit one of the weakest links of European capitalism and thus weaken the entire system. The toppling of Franco, which they must seek to achieve, will constitute the prelude to the socialist revolution against the capitalist system and its bourgeois state. The attempts to unite all the revolutionists in a revolutionary Marxist party struggling for this perspective must be stepped up in view of the objective ripeness of the situation.

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International appeals to the revolutionary workers and students of all of Europe, the international workers movement and the anti-imperialist movements of the entire world to actively express their solidarity toward the Spanish workers, students, intellectuals and peasants, who have so courageously broadened and deepened their struggle against the Franco regime. Demonstrations, meetings, and militant actions should be organized everywhere against the dictatorship and its representatives in the different countries. A big protest movement should be launched to bring about the liberation of the political prisoners in Spain, to deny aid or assistance of any kind from the capitalist powers or the bureaucracies of the workers states to the Franco government.

Down with the "state of emergency"!

Down with the Franco dictatorship!

Full and complete solidarity with the Spanish workers and students!

Forward to the socialist revolution in Spain!

NEW GENERATION LEARNS QUICKLY

Under the headline "Children invade council chambers," the January 28 London Guardian reported that about eighty "schoolchildren" staged a sitdown inside the Glasgow City Chambers the previous day.

The children blocked the main stairway to the room where the education committee was discussing a proposal to dismiss 265 of the city's 6,695 teachers.

The children were demonstrating solidarity with teachers who have refused to comply with an order to register with the General Teaching Council of Scotland.

Showing how well they had done their homework, they slipped in through a side door while the cops guarded the front door.

When the adults, including cops and clergymen, tried to persuade them to leave, they gave a demonstration of how well they had absorbed their music lessons by singing, "We shall not be moved."

Finally the adults decided to resort to the old tradition of imposing their will in a corporal way -- with the modern refinements that go with handling a campus rebellion.

But the children did not meekly take to the rod. They threw flour bombs, firecrackers, and eggs at the cops.

As one boy was being led away to a police car, reports the Guardian, the other children surrounded the police, shouting: "Fascist, Fascist!"

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