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THE ARMY TAKES OVER IN PAKISTAN

General Mohammad Ayub Khan ended his ten-year rule in Pakistan March 25 by turning the government over to his friend and protégé, General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan. In announcing his decision, Ayub testified to the power of the mass revolutionary mobilization that forced him to resign. Conditions, he said, "are now beyond the power of the Government. All Government organs are victims of fear and pressure....Every problem of the country is now being solved in the streets and on corners."

General Yahya moved immediately to impose the military straitjacket on the country. He issued a series of decrees outlawing all criticism of the government and prohibiting strikes. Persons accused of promoting "despondency" or "dissatisfaction toward the armed forces" may receive sentences of up to ten years in prison. Strikers are subject to fourteen years in prison, and anyone convicted of damaging public property may be hanged. All trials are to be conducted by military tribunals. Censorship was imposed on the press.

The military take-over represents a last-ditch attempt to turn back the popular mass movement, which in East Pakistan had virtually demolished the ruling government structure. Demands for autonomy have sparked a revolt in East Pakistan against domination by the West Pakistani capitalists. The army take-over has only accentuated the semicolonial relationship between the two regions. Yahya Khan and all five of his appointed martial law administrators are from the West.

As the New York Times put it March 28, "For the small élite of military men, civil servants and wealthy industrialists that has been running the country for the last 10 years, things were indeed normal again: They were still running it.

"'It's just what we needed,' a businessman declared happily, 'but then there are only 5,000 of us.'"

The effects of the changing of the guard have yet to be felt. Although troops were deployed in major cities, there were no clashes. A number of schools reopened and many workers returned to their jobs, but a state of high tension continued that could spark a mass explosion if the regime tries to carry out its repressive threats.

The greatest weakness of the popular movement is its lack of organization. The Democratic Action Committee, the bourgeois opposition bloc of eight parties, dissolved shortly before Ayub's resigna-

tion. According to the March 22 London Economist, Sheik Mujibur Rahman, the leader of the East Pakistan Awami League, is trying to construct a new coalition, ranging from the right-wing Jamaat-i-Islami and the Muslim League to the pro-Moscow wing of the National Awami party. Sheik Mujib has a reputation for being as strongly pro-American as Ayub and has called for the suppression of "antisocial" demonstrations.

Maulana Bashani, the 82-year-old leader of the pro-Peking section of the National Awami party, has taken a more militant tone. But Peking itself is practicing "peaceful coexistence" with the military dictatorship. Chinese-supplied tanks rolled through the streets of Pakistani cities as martial law went into effect. The Chinese press has never even reported the mass strikes and demonstrations against the Ayub regime that have been going on since last November.

On March 23, only two days before Ayub was forced to resign by the near-revolution, China's Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Hsieh Fu-chih praised Ayub at a reception in Peking given by the Pakistani ambassador.

"His excellency the ambassador," Hsieh Fu-chih declared, "has just said that the friendship between China and Pakistan is not based on expediency. This is indeed true....We have sympathized with and supported each other in our common struggle against imperialism and expansionism. In our mutual relations we both firmly abide by the five principles of peaceful coexistence....The development of the friendly relations and cooperation between China and Pakistan is the result of the joint efforts made by our two governments and peoples, it is also inseparable from the active endeavours of President Ayub Khan. The people of both countries are pleased about this." (Hsinhua, March 24, 1969, p. 13.)

The Pakistani masses have made it clear how "pleased" they are with Ayub. Even his decision to call in the army may not save the Pakistani ruling class from being overthrown. The New York Times, which would like to see a stable capitalist regime in Pakistan, expressed fears that the army will not succeed in derailing the mass movement. In a March 28 editorial the Times said, "It is doubtful that military rule can slow the drift apart of the country's two 'wings' or regions, which are separated by 1,000 miles of India."

It is not merely secession, but socialist revolution that has the pundits of capitalism worried.

THE ABM DEBATE AND THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

By George Novack

Next to the president, the secretary of defense is the most powerful person in Washington. His decisions also have the greatest impact upon the U.S. economy. He spends more than any other official in the federal government and has more funds under his direct jurisdiction than any other man in the world.

Directly or indirectly, he is by far the biggest employer in the country. He is the boss of an armed force of about 3.5 million plus a million civilians in the military establishment. There are 6,000 military bases in the United States alone and 27,000 people at work under the brass-hat bureaucracy in the Pentagon. The United States is the world's largest exporter of munitions.

The Defense Department annually grants contracts worth between \$24 billion and \$34 billion to private industry. Ten percent of the U.S. labor force is involved in either military or defense-related employment. Some 22,000 of the biggest manufacturers are prime military contractors, while more than 100,000 firms contribute some type of output to war production. More people work for military contractors than in the steel and automobile industries combined.

In the eight years that McNamara presided over the Pentagon the total expenditures for "defense" came to more than \$500 billion or half-a-trillion dollars! Of this sum, \$68 billion went for the strategic weaponry of the vast nuclear arsenal deployed by the military machine.

These facts and figures indicate the magnitude of the stakes involved in Nixon's decision to go ahead with a modified Sentinel antiballistic missile system which his defense secretary, Melvin R. Laird, had to justify in two days of hearings, March 20-21, before the Senate Armed Services Committee and the disarmament subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

The first body, which is crowded with some of the fiercest war hawks in Washington, was much friendlier to Nixon's proposal than the second, which speaks for the critics in Congress. But even there Senator Symington, former secretary of the air force, was able to expose some of the double-talk being used to put over the Sentinel, which the Pentagon has repackaged as the "Safeguard" system.

Thus Laird acknowledged that the Soviet Union had not deployed a "third



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generation" antimissile system around Moscow, as he had previously stated, but rather was only testing such an improved system.

The biggest bombshell in Laird's testimony was his statement that he would "seriously question" whether the American Polaris submarine fleet could provide an adequate nuclear deterrent after 1972. Up to now these nuclear-powered submarines were considered the most invulnerable part of the weapons system. When Symington challenged the implication of Laird's testimony -- that a vast new system was required -- the secretary took refuge in classified intelligence information which he promised to disclose to the senators in secret session.

In protest against this procedure, the New York Times editors stated March 22 that "Americans will be deeply disturbed at the haste with which a new Defense Secretary, in his zeal to promote a new nuclear weapons system, has departed from evaluations made by his predecessor only two months ago on largely the same information. They are bound to suspect that the Pentagon is up to a familiar game of declassifying only the military information that supports its demand for another round in the nuclear arms race."

The day before, Chairman Fulbright of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee

had accused the administration of exploiting a "technique of fear" to stampede Congress and sell the people on the necessity for this highly questionable and enormously costly project.

Senator Albert Gore of Tennessee itemized the contradictory arguments that have been advanced on behalf of the antiballistic shield by its successive proponents in the Johnson and Nixon administrations. He noted that attempts were made to justify the ABM first as a defense against Chinese missiles, then as retaliation for an ABM system around Moscow, then as a response to a nationwide ABM system in the Soviet Union, and finally as a means of protecting American cities.

The Tennessee senator argued that in view of the devastating retaliatory power of the present nuclear arsenal -- 656 Polaris missiles, 1,000 Minutemen missiles and more than 7,000 tactical nuclear weapons abroad -- it would be "utter madness" for anyone to attack the U.S. He maintained that no antiballistic missile system was needed to protect that deterrent or make it "credible" to the Soviet Union.

Both the advocates and opponents of Nixon's ABM proposal conducted their debate on the lofty plane of what, in their opinion, is the best military and diplomatic posture for U.S. imperialism to take at the present juncture in relation to Moscow and Peking. None of them made reference to the highly powerful financial interests which have been operating to get the Sentinel system adopted by the White House and stand to gain immense wealth if Congress approves it.

Senator Gore stated that "this ABM system is a defense in search of a mission." This may be true of its dubious military effectiveness. But its function in the world of American big business is plain. Its "mission" is to guarantee continued subsidies to the voracious corporations that will build the system.

The estimated initial expenditure is from \$5 billion to \$10 billion. This already places it among the most expensive military undertakings in American history. However, Senator Symington has estimated that its ultimate cost may run as high as \$400 billion. Rich pickings, indeed, for the aerospace magnates! That kind of argument has an irresistible appeal to the sponsors of the Sentinel.

On January 17, 1961, President Eisenhower startled Americans by warning them of the danger of a "military-industrial complex." "This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in American experience," he said. Its "total influ-



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ence, economic, political, even spiritual, is felt in every city, statehouse, every office of the federal government."

The March 21, 1969, Christian Science Monitor portrays the dimensions of this octopus whose tentacles reach into the most vital areas of American life. The principal military contractors exercise dominant influence in the economy of many parts of the nation.

In 1967 alone, the McDonnell Douglas Corporation (with key plants in St. Louis, Missouri, and the Santa Monica-Long Beach regions of California) accounted for more than \$2.1 billion in defense contracts; General Dynamics (which in part manufactures nuclear-powered attack submarines at Groton, Connecticut, and the new F-111 fighter-bomber aircraft at Fort Worth, Texas) accounted for more than \$1.8 billion; Lockheed (which manufactures the C-5A and the C-141 Starlifter aircraft and has plants in Marietta, Georgia; Burbank, California; and Seattle, Washington) accounted for \$1.8 billion in defense contracts.

In the Atlanta, Georgia, area alone, some 26,000 employees receive more than \$200 million annually from the Lockheed programs. In booming Fort Worth, four-fifths of all industrial manufacturing is connected with defense.

"What this pervasive economic influence means, say many authorities, is the establishment of powerful 'coalitions of interest' to maintain specific government defense programs, whether those programs are needed or not," comments the Christian Science Monitor. "Thus, congressmen become allies of giant defense industries, while unions turn 'hawkish' and universities establish 'research ties'

to specific plants. 'Even our local ministers have become champions of our aviation industry,' charges one disgruntled Fort Worth, Texas, clergyman."

Backing the defense industries and congressional leaders in seeking defense programs are the powerful military lobbies, including the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Association of the United States Army, the Air Force Association, and the Navy League.

The Association of the United States Army, for example, supports the ABM program, and the Navy League has been repeatedly vocal in seeking additional nuclear-powered ships. Many of the major defense firms, including General Dynamics, Bell Helicopter, and Boeing, employ former high-ranking officers who have close contacts in the Pentagon.

According to a report issued by Senator William Proxmire on March 22, the number of retired high-ranking military officers working for defense industry has tripled in the last ten years. His study showed that 2,072 former military men of the rank of colonel or navy captain or higher were employed by the ninety-five leading military contractors.

It is estimated that up to 3,000 firms might participate in the proposed new ABM program. But it is the big boys who wield the most influence in Washington.

The prime contractor for the Sentinel is Bell Telephone Laboratories, part of American Telephone and Telegraph, the

country's largest corporate entity. The columnists Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson reported March 17 that the lobbyists of Bell and fourteen other major contractors have been busy backstage, lining up support for the project while the spotlight is on the debate between the administration and its congressional critics.

The appetite of this military-industrial complex is huge and insatiable. It lives on escalating the arms race. It doesn't give a hoot how wasteful, costly or ineffective the system may be. It doesn't care that the total expenditure for welfare, education and poverty programs is far less than the amount spent for the arms budget.

It is aware, however, that the average return of a defense plant is about 18 percent of net worth, compared to about 11 percent for a similar firm serving civilian needs -- according to the calculations of Prof. Murray L. Weidenbaum, head of the economics department at Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri.

The urge of the military-industrial complex to maintain and ensure the maximum profitability of its death-dealing enterprises is the main propellant of the Sentinel program.

The system may not, as many technical and scientific experts have testified, succeed in bringing incoming missiles down. But it is certainly contrived to keep the profits of the military contractors up.

THE SINO-SOVIET BORDER DISPUTE

By Pierre Gousset

1. The Historical Background

In the second half of the nineteenth century, imperial China, a semi-colonial power, found itself subjected to constant aggressions and humiliations by the big capitalist states, who carved up the outlying regions of its empire. Great Britain seized Hong Kong; France took Vietnam; Japan, Formosa; and czarist Russia, successively, the right bank of the Amur (1845), the regions along the Ussuri and Sung-Cha rivers (1860), parts of Mongolia (1864), the west bank of the Ili (1881), a part of the Chinese Pamirs (1893), and the peninsula of Liaotung, with Port Arthur (which was later lost to Japan).

Marxists and the revolutionary anti-imperialist movements have never recognized as eternal the dictated treaties

by which the imperialist powers carved up the flesh of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Oceania. When the Bolsheviks came to power in Russia, Lenin and Trotsky officially disavowed all dictated treaties.

On September 27, 1920, the Soviet government published a note which stated the following: "It [the Soviet government] declares null and void all treaties which the former Russian government concluded with China. It renounces claim to all the territory taken from China and restores to China unconditionally and forever everything that the czarist government and the Russian bourgeoisie rapaciously took from it."

The execution of this promise was postponed until such time as a government enjoying the confidence of the working masses ruled over China. But after the

proclamation of the People's Republic of China, Stalin failed to respect the promise made by Lenin and Trotsky. There is where the main responsibility lies for the conflict in the Far East between the two workers states. Of course, nineteenth-century imperial China was an empire oppressing many nationalities in the same way as czarist Russia or the European imperialist powers. The ultimate fate of the territories Lenin and Trotsky promised to return to China was to depend on the application of the right of nationalities to self-determination. It is quite possible that, after a symbolic cession of these territories to China, the populations of some of the areas would have opted in favor of autonomy within the USSR, or of independence, or of a Sino-Soviet condominium. The same principle would no doubt have applied to not a few national minorities living on the territory of the People's Republic of China.

Why were Lenin and Trotsky correct nonetheless to pose this question the way they did in 1920? Because they recognized that "internationalism on the part of oppressors or 'great' nations, as they are called (though they are great only in their violence, only great as Derzhimordas*), must consist not only in the observance of the formal equality of nations but even in an inequality of the oppressor nation, the great nation, that must make up for the inequality which obtains in actual practice. Anybody who does not understand this has not grasped the real proletarian attitude on the national question....What is important to the proletarian? To the proletarian it is not only important, it is absolutely essential, that he should be assured that the non-Russians place the greatest possible trust in the proletarian class struggle. What is needed to ensure this? Not merely formal equality. In one way or another, by one's attitude or concessions, it is necessary to compensate the non-Russians for the lack of trust, suspicion, and insults to which the government of the 'dominant' nation has subjected them in the past." ("The Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomisation,'" in Lenin's Last Letters and Articles, Progress Publishers, Moscow, undated, p. 19.)

2. Two Culprits -- A Doctrine and a Social Layer

The Mao Tse-tung group that came to power in the People's Republic of China did not immediately demand a revision of the frontiers with the USSR. Nor did it seek to modify these borders by force. For eight years, both under Stalin

and Khrushchev, it practiced "peaceful co-existence" with the Soviet government in return for substantial economic and military aid.

But even during this period, the two governments began, or continued, to put entirely different plans on the drawing board for the industrialization, agricultural improvement, and demographic development (colonization) of the Central Asian and Far Eastern regions. The application of the doctrine of "building socialism in one country" led first to absurdities -- that is, considerable waste -- and finally to truly perverse results.

This policy was contrary to Marxist and Leninist theory. In The ABC of Communism, which was the Bolshevik party's theoretical manual under Lenin, it says the following: "A second task concerns the mutual economic relationships between Russia and those countries in which the proletariat gains the upper hand. We must aim, not merely at economic exchanges with such countries, but if possible we must collaborate with them in accordance with a common economic plan....The economic proletarian centralisation of production upon an international scale -- such is our goal." (N. Bukharin and E. Preobrazhensky, The ABC of Communism, University of Michigan Press, 1966, pp. 272-273. Emphasis in original.)

These principles were not put into practice in 1949, either by the Soviet government or the Chinese. Both were inspired by narrow economic nationalism. Both sought to "build socialism" in isolation, within the bounds of a national economy.

This nationalist policy corresponded neither to the interests of the Soviet workers nor of the Chinese workers. Its social roots lay in the special interests of a bureaucratic layer that sought to maintain a monopoly of political and economic power in each workers state. There is abundant data on the existence of such a bureaucracy in the USSR. As for the People's Republic of China, Mao himself has confirmed its existence. He justified the launching of the "cultural revolution" precisely on the basis of the existence of such a privileged stratum against which a "political revolution" had to be led.

3. From an Ideological Conflict to a Conflict Among States

After 1957, an ideological conflict broke out between the Soviet and Chinese leaders. I will not review the stages of this dispute here. I would only reiterate that while on many questions the Chinese leaders remained committed to theses of Stalinist origin that represent a revision of Marxism, on a series of

* The name of a policeman in Gogol's Inspector General, a boorish, insolent oppressor, a man of violence.

burning questions of the world revolution they have upheld positions more progressive than those of the Kremlin chiefs. Thus, the Chinese continue to believe in socialism in one country, in the sharpening of the class struggle under socialism, and in alliance with the so-called national bourgeoisie in the anti-imperialist revolution. They refuse to recognize that the anti-imperialist revolution must go over into a socialist revolution in order to be victorious, or to recognize Stalin's role in the process of bureaucratic degeneration in the USSR.

However, the Peking leadership holds positions superior to those of the Kremlin, especially on the questions of "peaceful coexistence," "peaceful roads to socialism," the defense of the Leninist theory of the state in regard to the Western countries, opposition to the neo-reformism of the mass Communist parties, etc. The polemic the Chinese have mounted has unquestionably weakened the underpinnings of Khrushchevism and neo-Stalinism in the international labor and revolutionary movement, above all among the youth and the Communist militants in the colonial and semicolonial countries.

Starting in the 1960s, this ideological conflict began to be transformed into a conflict between states, a conflict which has done grave harm to the cause of anti-imperialist and anticapitalist struggle in the world. There is no doubt that the main responsibility for the breakup of the Sino-Soviet alliance rests with the Soviet bureaucracy. At most it might be said that the language used by the Chinese leaders has made the Kremlin's work easier.

The alliance was broken when the USSR abruptly halted its economic aid to the People's Republic of China at a time when China was experiencing grave economic difficulties. It was broken when the USSR refused to help China build defensive nuclear weapons in the face of the nuclear threat of American imperialism. It was broken when Moscow adopted a policy of diplomatic rapprochement with American imperialism without demanding a halt in the American blockade of China and settlement of the Sino-American conflict (the military occupation of Formosa, the blocking of Chinese membership in the UN, etc.) as a precondition for a detente.

4. The Implications of the Theory of "Limited Sovereignty of Socialist Countries"

The Kremlin leaders have set great store lately by the theory of a "socialist commonwealth." Moscow is supposed to have not only the right but the duty to intervene militarily everywhere it claims that the foundations of socialism are being endangered by the "plots" of the im-

perialists or their agents.

Of course, in theory, the concept that an "unlimited national sovereignty" should exist in an international society that is building socialism through a fraternal alliance of the working masses is indefensible. In such a society, which would be based on internationally planned economic development (and would involve eliminating by stages the differences in development and living standards between poor peoples and so-called rich peoples), there would be no reasons for nations to jealously protect "their" resources. But such a community would have to be founded on voluntary cooperation by all peoples, on the broadest socialist democracy which would carefully safeguard the rights of minorities, on governments that would clearly and unquestionably emanate from the freely expressed will of the majority of the workers.

None of these principles have been applied in the relations between the USSR and its allies and the other workers states. In regard to all these countries, the Soviet bureaucracy at various stages has practiced policies of economic robbery and national oppression. Thus, the proposition of "limited sovereignty of socialist countries" which the Kremlin applies to the other workers states by no means represents the statement of an internationalist principle. It is merely a cynical affirmation of the Soviet bureaucracy's right to impose its writ on the other nations that have abolished capitalism. Can anyone be surprised, under these circumstances, that these nations totally reject this "limited sovereignty"? Can anyone be surprised that they are distrustful and fear that Moscow may act tomorrow against Yugoslavia, Rumania, or China in the same way that it already has against Czechoslovakia?

Is this suspicion unfounded? The Soviet leaders have only themselves to blame for this mistrust. They failed to heed this prophetic warning by Lenin:

"It would be unpardonable opportunism if we, on the eve of the debut of the East, just as it is awakening, undermined our authority with its peoples, even if only by the slightest crudity or injustice toward our own non-Russian nationalities. The necessity to rally against the imperialists of the West who are defending the capitalist world is one thing. There can be no doubt about that and it would be superfluous for me to speak about my unconditional approval of it. It is another thing when we ourselves lapse, even if only in trifles, into imperialist attitudes toward oppressed nationalities, thus undermining all our principled sincerity, all our defense on principle of

the struggle against imperialism." (Ibid., p. 21-22.)

5. The Historical Record of the Border Conflict

In 1951, during the Sino-Soviet honeymoon, the two governments set up a joint commission to regulate river traffic and fishing in the Amur and Ussuri region, where the islands near the junction of the two rivers were disputed. In December 1957, a new Sino-Soviet treaty was concluded on this question. In April 1966, when the Sino-Soviet conflict was already in full flower, the Chinese Ministry of Communications limited the rights previously accorded to the Soviets. The fourteenth session of the joint commission met in August 1967. After that, it no longer met.

In 1963, the first border incidents occurred. The Soviet government drew attention to the fact that the Chinese authorities had instructed Chinese fishermen to treat the disputed islands in the Amur and Ussuri rivers as if they were Chinese territory.

It seems certain that dozens of incidents have already occurred in this region in recent years. The question that must be asked, then, is not so much who provoked the last two incidents on March 2 and March 15 as why these incidents have been deliberately inflated by both sides.

It is impossible to give an objective opinion about sovereignty over Daman-sky Island on the basis of the 1949 frontier. The Far Eastern Economic Review, a Hong Kong bourgeois journal not generally indulgent toward the Mao regime, wrote in its March 13 issue that Chinese maps drawn up before Mao took power asserted Chinese sovereignty over the Ussuri islands. But it immediately added that this did not constitute absolute proof, since the Chiang Kai-shek regime also raised territorial claims against the USSR. Old atlases, however, seem to confirm the Chinese view.

Moreover, the Soviet communiqués have been contradictory. Sometimes they have spoken of "200 Chinese soldiers," other times of "a mob of civilians including militiamen in plain clothes," who are supposed to have opened fire from the Chinese side on March 2. The Chinese press long ago pointed out and protested against concentrations of Soviet troops along the Far Eastern border. The Soviet press itself admitted that tanks and heavy airplanes participated in these incidents on the Soviet side (cf. the Krasnaya Zvezda article cited in Le Monde March 21). But no such accusation has been made against the Chinese, even by the Soviets.

6. In Whose Interest Is It to Inflate These Incidents?

But even if all these facts are correct and if they prove that the Kremlin chose to employ inadmissible military pressure to settle a minor difference, it is no less true that the Chinese response also was out of proportion to the importance of the question.

It is understandable when bourgeois or feudal generals thoughtlessly sacrifice soldiers' lives for scraps of land which are supposed to furnish mineral or agricultural wealth for the possessing classes. It is inadmissible for the military commands of workers states and leaderships that claim to speak in the name of the workers and the popular masses to behave in the same manner.

Even if there were a "provocation" by one side or the other, an uninhabited island covered by ice part of the year and by water another part is not worth the lives of hundreds of Chinese or Soviet soldiers. These soldiers do not have to die to show the "firmness" of some leader or to increase the prestige of some bureaucratic group.

The Soviets have invoked the "inviolability" of their territory. But experience has shown that when the Soviet government wants to establish a "peaceful coexistence" or "good neighbor" relationship with any bourgeois or even reactionary or semifascist government (e.g., Iran, Afghanistan, Turkey, Pakistan), it manages perfectly well to settle its border disputes amiably. In these cases, it does not see every mountain top or river bank as a matter of honor justifying an armed conflict.

The same applies to the Chinese leaders. They are making a great issue of defending "every blade of grass of the socialist fatherland" against the USSR, "which has restored capitalism." But the Chinese leaders were perfectly capable of concluding a treaty providing for peaceful settlement of border disputes with Pakistan, where capitalism not only still reigned but did so in the form of a military dictatorship that brutalized and ferociously exploited the people. Point five of this treaty (cf. Peking Review, March 5, 1963) stipulates:

"The two Parties have agreed that any dispute concerning the boundary which may arise after the delimitation of the boundary line actually existing between the two countries shall be settled peacefully by the two Parties through friendly consultations."

The artificial inflation of the border incident on the Ussuri -- to the great joy of the capitalists and reaction-

aries throughout the entire world -- is therefore contrary to the interests of the Soviet and Chinese peoples and contrary to the interests of socialism. It is explained by narrow and sectarian calculation on the part of both bureaucracies. The Moscow bureaucracy hopes to use the "Chinese aggression" to strengthen the "unity" of the pro-Soviet parties in the upcoming international conference of CPs. The Peking bureaucracy, on the eve of the Eleventh Congress of the Chinese Communist party, hopes to reunite the Chinese Communists in opposition to the "Soviet aggressor."

7. Enough Hypocrisy!

When the Soviet press and the press of certain Western CPs who follow in its train (above all the French CP) shed crocodile tears over "the division in the anti-imperialist forces" provoked by the "Mao clique," one cannot help but be nauseated at the sight of so much hypocrisy.

American imperialism has repeatedly threatened the People's Republic of China. American military chiefs have openly threatened to use nuclear weapons against the Chinese (to "nuke the Chinks," as the Pentagon brass express themselves). The Kremlin has not once reaffirmed its nuclear guarantee of China. And the Chinese are supposed to be the ones who have "divided the anti-imperialist forces"?

Imperialism has been able to send its armies to intervene against revolutions at many points around the globe; and the USSR, which is the world's second greatest power, has not raised a finger. The imperialists have intervened from the Congo to the Dominican Republic and from Malaysia to Bolivia with impunity. And the Chinese are supposed to be the ones who have "divided the anti-imperialist forces"?

Imperialism has been able to attack and violate the territory of the People's Republic of Vietnam, although it is a "part of the great family of socialist nations." There has been no response by the Kremlin, either there or at any other spot on the globe. And the Chinese are supposed to have been the ones who have "divided the anti-imperialist forces"?

The only places where Moscow has intervened in force recently have not been fronts of anti-imperialist struggle. It has intervened in Czechoslovakia and on the frontiers of China, where no imperialist force existed and where it dealt blows not against capitalism but against countries which have overthrown capitalism.

The Soviet press talks about "dividing the anti-imperialist forces." But

at the same time, Soviet diplomats have approached bourgeois governments, including Washington and Bonn, to "inform" them about the conflict with China -- an unheard-of act which not even Stalin committed at the time of his conflict with Yugoslavia.

The Soviet press talks about "dividing the anti-imperialist forces." But it published Yevtushenko's disgusting poem, which employed outright racist language in regard to China. This poem speaks about the peril of an invasion by the "new Mongol khans" (when everyone knows that the Soviets have military superiority), raising visions of the so-called barbaric yellow peril -- that favorite bugaboo of reactionaries in all countries.

Blinded by their subjectivism, the Chinese leaders are making the Kremlin chiefs' task easier for them. By talking about "fascism" in power in Moscow, they are solidifying the mass of the Soviet people around a bureaucratic regime which is challenged more than is generally supposed.

In the face of the melancholy orgies of frenzied bureaucrats, real Marxists and real communists must raise their voices with all their strength. Their slogans for the Kremlin must be these: "Hands Off the Chinese Revolution!" "Stop Your Shady Maneuvering with Taiwan and Washington!" "Withdraw Your Heavy Arms from the Border of the Chinese People's Republic!" "Send Your Tanks and Planes to Vietnam Instead of to Prague and the Ussuri!"

And to Peking, revolutionary Marxists must say: "Stop Your Irresponsible Chatter about a 'Restoration of Fascist Capitalism' in the USSR!" "Stop Your Policy of Adventurism and Prestige-Seeking!" "Settle Your Border Conflict with the USSR Amicably the Way You Did with Pakistan!" The Chinese leaders should propose an anti-imperialist united front to the Soviet leaders, take them at their word and challenge them to carry out a series of urgent measures to reinforce the anti-imperialist struggle immediately on several fronts.

To both parties, revolutionists will repeat: "Your acts, which are causing considerable harm to the cause of socialism throughout the world, will ultimately discredit you and discredit every bureaucratic regime in the workers states. The day will come when the Soviet workers and the Chinese workers will take the fate of their countries into their own hands. On that day peace will be established forever on the Sino-Soviet frontier!"

March 24, 1969

HOW THE U.S. INTERVENED IN BOLIVIA AGAINST CHE

The April issue of True magazine, whose editorial offices are in New York, carries an article by Andrew St. George entitled "How the U.S. Got Che." The author claims to have "lived, marched, camped, played chess with Che and Castro for nearly two months" in 1957 in Oriente during the guerrilla period in Cuba. He was there as a representative of the CBS television chain and Fawcett Publications (which puts out True).

More importantly for his current article, he was able to have "long talks," presumably in Washington, with "intelligence people and Special Forces men" who were directly involved in the counterrevolutionary operation against Che Guevara. His account contains a number of surprising assertions that could only be checked if the files of the CIA, the State Department, or the Pentagon were opened up, but which nonetheless bear the ring of authenticity.

St. George claims that Washington knew more about Che Guevara's whereabouts after he dropped out of sight in Cuba in 1965 than was ever admitted. This was partly due to the maintenance of a spy ship off Havana harbor which monitors all radio communications in and out of Cuba.

However that may be, the "first solid clue" the CIA got to Che Guevara's presence in Bolivia was from three Bolivian recruits to the guerrilla band who deserted March 11, 1967 -- while Che was absent from the base camp exploring the area of intended operations -- and who turned informer.

Their stories were still being evaluated in Washington when a contingent of the Bolivian army, sent as a probe, ran into an ambush set by the guerrillas. This was on March 23.

The news was flashed to General Ovando and from him to President Barrientos, who in turn got the U.S. ambassador on the phone. The ambassador in turn called Washington. In Washington the message went directly to Johnson's top trouble shooter Walt W. Rostow.

In the last week of March and the first part of April a series of secret meetings were held by top officials of the U.S. government. One of the first actions was to put discreet pressure on certain publications that might otherwise have released or uncovered information which the State Department, CIA, Pentagon, and White House did not want made public.

St. George quotes a "high Washington intelligence" source as reminiscing: "None of this story is apt to sound very

creditable or sensible unless it is remembered that the government acted as if it were under attack because it was under attack, and dangerously so. Che Guevara's strategy called for setting up a guerrilla stronghold, starting a small jungle war, and then internationalizing the conflict. The key to Che's plan turned on involving other Latin-American countries and, above all, the United States. Once foreign intervention had been loosed in Bolivia, Che had the makings of his primary objective -- a second Viet Nam."

This strategy was considered in Washington to be "far from stupid." And, in fact, the Argentinian government of Gen. Juan Carlos Onganía began to prepare for open military intervention. The Argentinian foreign minister told the U.S. State Department that his government had decided to use force.

Washington sought, successfully, to block such a turn of events.

Barrientos had his own ideas on how to handle the situation. His ambassador in Washington sought to sell Dean Rusk on giving the Bolivian armed forces the means to "handle" Che Guevara.

This included a down payment of \$6,000,000, two-thirds of it to be used in military supplies, one-third in cash. In addition, Barrientos asked for sufficient aid to stabilize the budget and give some benefits to the tin miners. The cost might run around \$150,000,000 a year. Rusk thought that the proposal sounded reasonable and brought it into a top strategy meeting called to work out plans on what to do about Guevara and to submit them to Johnson himself.

"This was a top-level meeting, crackling with urgency, in the Pentagon's Joint-Chiefs-of-Staff conference room," reports St. George. "It was attended by Army Chief of Staff General Johnson; Gen. Robert W. Porter, Jr., four-star boss of SouthComm (Southern Command), the joint U.S. Defense Headquarters for Latin America, based in the Canal Zone; Maj. Gen. James D. Alger, SouthComm's field forces commander, lean and hawk-faced; Air Force Brig. Gen. William K. Skaer, the J-2 (joint intelligence chief) of SouthComm; Secretary Rusk; Assistant Secretary of State (for Latin America) Covey T. Oliver, a patient, portly trouble shooter; CIA Director Richard Helms, flanked by two assistant deputy directors and several case officers; Presidential Security Assistant Walt W. Rostow and White House Hemisphere Adviser William Bowdler."

Rusk placed his proposal before this assemblage. CIA Director Helms op-

posed it. His grounds were simple. The clients in Bolivia "could not be trusted with large sums...." He went into detail, citing one instance after another to prove that the regime was hopelessly corrupt and inefficient.

General Johnson proposed immediate use of U.S. counterinsurgency forces. "One of the most important lessons we have learned in Viet Nam," he is quoted as saying, "is that guerrilla flare-ups must be smothered immediately, without a moment's delay."

Rusk objected to such open intervention. He announced that an order had even been sent to withdraw all U.S. military advisory personnel from the zone in which Che Guevara was operating.

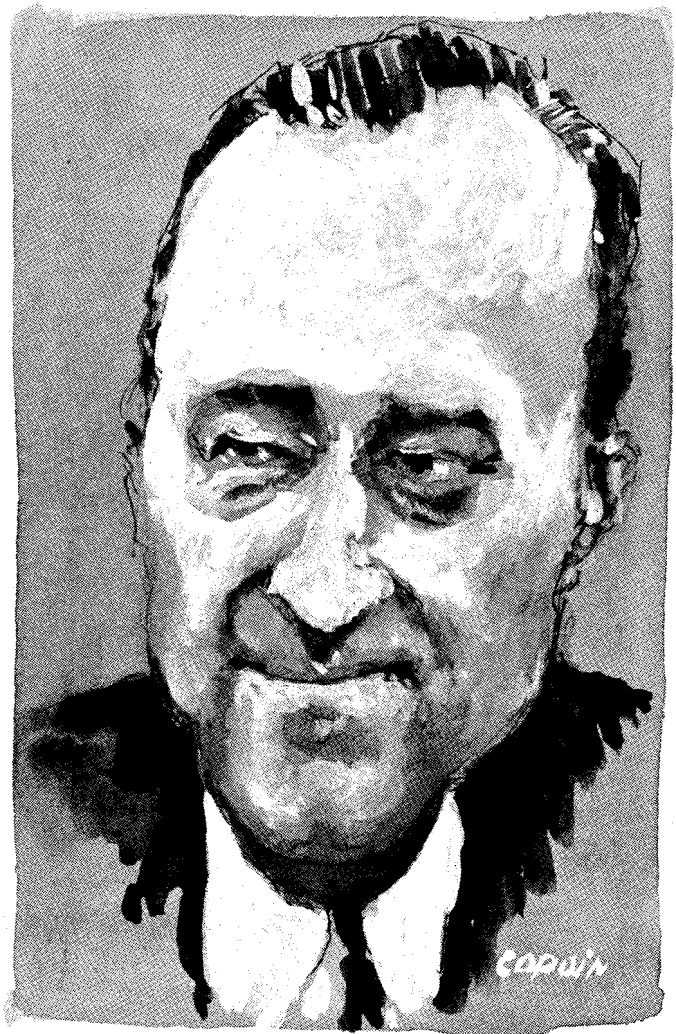
The CIA men showed huge enlargements of photographs taken at the base camp of the guerrillas. In one of them could be seen a round-bellied cooking device developed by the Vietnamese guerrillas that gives off virtually no smoke. The CIA also reported that they had learned from the defectors that Guevara's group took their meals at night.

"For a minute or so we just looked at each other, because that was it," one of the participants at the meeting recalled. "We were all thinking, 'God, now we can find him. No matter what sort of jungle, no matter how fast he's moving -- now we can really find Che Guevara.'"

The guerrilla leader was evidently unaware that the U.S. had developed heat-seeking aerial reconnaissance techniques so sensitive "that a picture of a man chewing on a warm cigar stub in a pitch-black jungle clearing, taken from as high as 1,500 feet altitude, will give the photo-evaluator a good guess about how recently the man's face has been shaved." In short, the cooking pots and shortwave radio sets used by the guerrillas could be converted into "telltale liabilities."

Thus one of the outcomes of the top-level, top-secret meeting in Washington was a decision to begin reconnaissance of this kind. Night survey missions began covering the guerrilla zone on two levels. From the Canal Zone, giant RB-57's flew to Bolivia and over the corridor from Santa Cruz south to the Argentine border; while miles underneath them, small planes resembling the ones used by the oil companies flew back and forth. Each night miles of infrared superfilm were taken, pinpointing every single heat source in the area.

This was only part of the plan. The Washington meeting decided to train a special force of Bolivians to track down the guerrillas. The Bolivian government opposed this, but the objections



CIA DIRECTOR RICHARD HELMS

were brushed aside.

On April 29, four officers and twelve enlisted members of the U.S. Special Forces, all of them veterans, took off for Bolivia. Their assignment was to train some 600 Quechuas within nineteen weeks.

The details of this are not without interest. One of the objectives of the Special Forces experts was to win the loyalty of the Indian draftees. The decisive move was to intervene in a resettlement plan being carried out by the Barrientos government that would have ousted thousands of Quechua squatters from their lands. The resettlement program was under the auspices of USAID. It was thus relatively easy to arrange a little drama in which the Special Forces officers publicly told the USAID men, "No," and thus saved the land of the squatters.

Naturally, no dollars were spared in training and equipping the "Rangers" and in lining up people in the area.

Special intelligence platoons were trained by "a cinnamon-colored Puerto Rican spymaster," a full platoon for every company of Rangers. Their job was to fan out into the local population when action began in order to bring together every possible scrap of information from that source.

The counterrevolutionary force was considered ready for combat duty on September 17.

Meanwhile things were becoming more and more difficult for Che Guevara's small heroic band. Part of them had become separated. Outside contacts had been cut off save for the radio, as Guevara notes repeatedly in his diary.

Régis Debray had been picked up within hours after leaving the guerrilla camp. "A few hours after that," says St. George, "Debray was reeling under the fists and boots of raging Bolivian officers. Next he found himself in a small plane where, time and again, his Bolivian escort opened the door in midair and kicked and wrestled him halfway out into the sky, to demonstrate that unless he talked rapidly and convincingly, he would return to the Red Zone as the guerrillas' first live air-drop."

From the defectors, and possibly from a guerrilla or two who broke under torture after being captured, the Bolivian army discovered all the caches where the guerrillas had stored arms and other supplies.

Guevara himself ran out of medicine for his asthma and had to carry on in agony.

The wonder was that he and the guerrillas he headed were able to last as long as they did under such conditions.

"Che was in trouble and on the run," says St. George. "But whatever history's judgment may be on the indomitable guerrilla general, he was a man. His

small force exhausted, his radio silent, he circled his jungle killing ground without attempting to escape."

Castro has revealed that when Che was finally caught in the encirclement, "they were moving to a peasant zone with greater political development." Perhaps if Guevara had succeeded in this, he could have continued the struggle much longer, and perhaps with a different outcome.

According to St. George, what was finally decisive on October 8 was the newly trained force of Rangers, who by sheer force of numbers, equipment, and superior information were able finally to deal a shattering blow to the guerrillas. Che's gun was put out of commission and he was captured.

"Che, who had several noncritical wounds at the time of his capture, was shot to death a day afterward on the personal directive of Bolivian Commander-in-Chief Alfredo Ovando. The decision to kill him -- and thus convert him into a legend -- ran counter to all the U.S. advice to General Ovando. Ironically, the CIA -- one of whose field agents was permitted to talk to Che shortly before his execution -- was most urgently interested in keeping Che alive, if only for professional reasons...."

"Thus what looked like a crowning credit for the U.S. counterinsurgency corps turned into a political liability."

The account of the U.S. role in the battle with Che is intended, of course, to put the counterrevolutionists in Washington in the best possible light. Despite this, they do not emerge with much credit. They had at their disposal the resources of the mightiest military power on earth. This was turned on a man armed with not much more than a sling.

That is why Che Guevara's name is imperishable. Humanity remembers the prowess of its Davids and not its Goliaths.

STUDENTS FACE TRIAL IN ETHIOPIA

Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie announced March 21 that his government intends to bring charges against the youths arrested when the armed forces and police suppressed student protests early in the month. After the repressive forces attacked dissident students, killing several, the university and secondary schools were closed. Heavy police and army patrols were instituted in the capital city of Addis Ababa. However, the student revolt continued and the headquarters of the U.S. Peace Corps in Addis

Ababa was fire-bombed to protest the presence of American imperialism.

The following student organizations in Europe have issued a declaration of joint protest against the repression in Ethiopia: UNEF [Union Nationale des Etudiants Français -- National Union of French Students], Association des Etudiants Musulmans Nord-Africains [the Association of Muslim North African Students], and the Union of Ethiopian Students in Europe.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN ITALY

By Livio Maitan

[In this section of his report, which is continued from our last issue, Livio Maitan deals with positions advanced by tendencies in the Gruppi dei Comunisti Rivoluzionari (Revolutionary Communist Groups -- the Italian section of the Fourth International) that came under the influence of anti-Trotskyist currents in the Italian student and labor movements. These tendencies, which appeared in the organization on a local scale, left the GCR. The report was adopted by the delegates with no opposing votes and but one abstention.]

* * *

Let us come to the problem of building a revolutionary party. We need not repeat things here that we are all convinced of. However, we must defend the Leninist concept of the party against arguments which essentially are not new even if they are sometimes presented in new forms or derived from new situations.

If we take some of Sofri's speeches for Italy* or Cohn-Bendit's book for France or other attempts at theory building, we see that there are at least two forms of spontaneity worship. One might be defined as neoanarchism. Another poses as a kind of new Leninism, the Leninism of 1969, in distinction to that of 1903. Cohn-Bendit, for his part, repeats the traditional anarchist arguments against Leninism and Trotskyism -- Kronstadt, Machno, etc. He generally backs up his arguments with abundantly quoted sources that are anything but new. In other words, his book is a rejection of the party along classical anarchist lines. The other form is one that, in its extreme formulation, goes so far as to say that the proletariat already has hegemony on the world scale and therefore the spontaneous mechanisms ultimately operate in its favor. A substantially similar conclusion is reached by those who more cautiously stress the fact that a higher level of consciousness exists today than at the time What Is To Be Done was written. These people advance the thesis of an internal vanguard which would tend to predominate over the external vanguard.

Generally speaking, there is no doubt that the workers' level of consciousness is clearly higher than in 1903. However, we must not overlook the fact that not only is capitalist influence still preponderant but there is the

vast phenomenon of bureaucracy, which in its Social Democratic and Communist forms remains the dominant force in the international workers movement. This is the reality we have to start from. We must not let ourselves be diverted by a tendency to forget too quickly -- especially after the French events -- ten years of theoretical writing on the integration of the proletariat into the system in the developed capitalist countries. While we always disputed the idea that such tendencies were all-powerful, we never overlooked their temporary strength. And we are by no means inclined to underestimate the means the bourgeoisie still has at its disposal for maintaining its political and ideological hegemony.

Another argument which has been advanced in polemics is that the revolutionary party can only be built in conjunction with the mass movement. What a great discovery! Need it be repeated that the concept of entrism -- whether it was correct or incorrect -- was also based precisely on the assumption that we would risk sterility if we did not seek contacts with the mass movement and that no revolutionary party could be built outside the mass movement?

One formula which has gained a certain resonance was put forward, among others, by Della Mea: Lenin plus Mao.* But even disregarding the fact that the widely adored Mao has had little to do with the episodes of the cultural revolution, what is Mao's specific contribution supposed to be as against Lenin's? Is it his pointing out the need to proceed from the masses in order to return to the masses and the necessity of the party's having constant links with the masses through bodies of various types? But was not such a line -- and one in practice, not just in propagandistic assertions -- the basis of the work of the Bolshevik party as early as the 1905 revolution? Where, then, is Mao's theoretical innovation?

We do not polemicize on these questions because we are fanatics about theoretical perfection or because we train ourselves to pick out every little "deviation." We argue these questions because of the practical consequences spontaneity-worshipping concepts have had and continue to have in the student movement and could have tomorrow for the workers movement. (Let us not forget that the cult of spon-

* Sofri is the spokesman of the spontaneist majority in the Pouvoir Ouvrier group in Pisa.

* Della Mea is the spokesman of the spontaneist minority in the Pouvoir Ouvrier group in Pisa.

taneity is also a disease of the workers movement and not just of the student movement.) If the student movement has gone into a decline and a crisis, one of the reasons is the predominance of spontaneity worship within it and its total lack of leadership bodies or mechanisms -- if not of all forms of organization. In the long run this lack, and the practice of a mythical direct democracy, paralyzes and destroys the movement, when it does not put it at the mercy of individual personalities or personal cliques. This has been the experience not only in Italy. In France, for example, the student movement finds itself in grave difficulties today, among other things, precisely because of the appearance of these tendencies and these phenomena.

But let me pose a question here. Is it still true that a revolutionary party -- although of course no group can call itself a revolutionary party unless it is deeply rooted in the masses -- is still, to use an almost provocative formulation, an a priori principle in regard to the mass movement? I believe that revolutionary theory and an organized vanguard represent an a priori necessity. The Bolshevik party came before the Russian revolution; the Yugoslav Communist party came before the Yugoslav revolution; the Chinese Communist party before the Chinese revolution. For us, revolutionary theory and the program of the party are not an ideology, which Marx considered false consciousness. Theory, rather, is a scientific synthesis of analyses made on the basis of a scientific method. Thus, the planning of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, seen on a world scale, is in reality a science. To reach scientific conclusions about the nature of capitalism, the nature of socialism, the character of the transitional phase from capitalism to socialism, etc., it is necessary to learn a whole body of scientific concepts which cannot be generated spontaneously by any mass movement, as they never have been in the past. But it need hardly be added that, especially in the phase we have reached in the historic experience of the proletariat, the concept of a priori is still a relative one. The revolutionary party in Italy will be a priori with respect to the Italian revolution but it will be a posteriori with respect to the Russian revolution, the Chinese revolution, the Cuban revolution and even the French May, that is, it will base itself on syntheses of the experience of the entire preceding historical period. The idea that these syntheses are just a kind of ideological dead weight obstructing real involvement in the mass movement is a deception. In reality, this notion represents a capitulation to forces that worship spontaneity.

We remain convinced that the primary condition -- which by no means sig-

nifies that it is enough in itself -- for the formation of a revolutionary party is convergence on the basis of a comprehensive political theory, on an overall political program. This is a point which must be given primary stress, this is the Leninist and the Marxist conception of the party. The starting point for those who want to succeed in building a revolutionary party is agreement in their basic political positions, on certain basic analyses of contemporary society.

Once this is clarified and confirmed, the fundamental question remaining is that of how to form links with the mass movement. The answers given to this question must be adequate for the new situation. In the past, our basic conception was entrust work in the traditional organizations, with the perspective of promoting divisions between the ranks and the leadership. In the past year we made a radical turn in this regard, which I think was a fundamentally correct one. The whole experience of 1968 demonstrates that there are considerable forces today -- even though they still represent minorities with respect to the working masses -- that are in motion outside the orbit of the apparatuses and with which we must link up. Moreover, the experience of 1968 also shows that differences subsisting or sharpening in the traditional organizations do not justify any perspective of wide splits developing between the leadership and the ranks. This means that our basic field of work must be in areas where these forces operate or converge -- i.e., the student movement, factory caucuses, etc. But can we replace the general perspective of building a revolutionary party, which we followed in the past, with any other perspective?

No such possibility exists or is conceivable. And I do not think that this reflects any theoretical or political incapacity on our part. It may be that we have not yet understood certain tendencies or certain phenomena. But I think that in the last analysis this subjective failing is a reflection of the objective situation. The difficulties have arisen from the fact that no broad tendencies have emerged in the workers movement showing development toward a revolutionary party. In this area, experimentation is essential and we must follow closely, with the greatest attention, all the processes developing in the mass movements. The essential thing is to have pipelines to all the new ferment that already exists or is developing, in order not to be cut off from any of the possibilities that are developing.

The impossibility thus far of formulating any general perspective other than that of building a revolutionary party is confirmed negatively by the fact that the comrades who left have not been able to formulate any real alternative.

Actually, they have aired various perspectives -- some totally lacking in realism, others already having been proved wrong (like the one based on a projected split of the Rome section of PSIUP [Partito Socialista Italiana d'Unità Proletaria -- Italian Socialist party of Proletarian Unity -- a left Social Democratic party]).

One view that might be credited today is the idea that the factory caucuses already represent the nuclei of the revolutionary party. This view is sometimes openly expressed; other times it is logically implicit in a whole series of attitudes. This is a false perspective, in my opinion, which loses sight of the nature of these groupings and ignores or underestimates certain basic tendencies which operate even in these groups. The experience of the Milan caucus whose bulletin is Avanguardia Operaia [Workers' Vanguard] is significant inasmuch as this formation attained a certain scope and participated in a real way in the ATM struggles [Azienda Tranviaria Municipale -- Municipal Streetcar Company] and in those at Pirelli. Precisely for this reason it is a better example for showing the limitations of this kind of work. First of all, for instance, the rank-and-file committee at Pirelli never adhered to Avanguardia Operaia or even established any ties with it, nor did it do so with any of the other groups that were active around the factory. A particularly noteworthy fact, inasmuch as it exposes a demagogic campaign some comrades conducted at our preceding conference, is that some of the most representative elements in the caucus are still members of the Communist party. In the second place, we should not overlook the damage caused by the most motley assortment of groups and grouplets flocking in as soon as the news about the special situation at Pirelli got around. This episode has broader significance. When workers who have escaped from the pattern imposed by the bureaucratic organizations and are beginning to act in a critical spirit find themselves inundated with dozens of little manifestoes from divergent groups which say diverse -- and not infrequently, absurd -- things, their development is far from promoted. It can be set back or even endangered. The result is that the union is more easily able to regain control of the situation. In the third place, once the struggle was over, the rank-and-file committee began to be emptied of content. No one should be surprised at this. Rank-and-file committees or similar bodies must, of course, be extended and supported. They are vital experiences in this phase. But we absolutely must not overlook their intrinsic limits. They are intimately bound up with the dynamic of the struggle. Once the struggle is over, they change in character. (The experience of the Action Committees in France points in precisely this direction, as can be seen from cer-

tain analyses by the French comrades which have appeared in Rouge.) In fact, if they do not fade away, they inevitably get caught up in petty trade unionism because they begin to do what the shop committee or the union fails to do. I am not saying that they should not. Of course, in some cases it is useful for them to do so. But let us make no mistake -- these bodies carry out certain elementary functions of caring for the interests of the working class, but they are clearly not the nuclei of a future revolutionary party.

As for the caucuses, they are not identical per se with the rank-and-file committees. But inasmuch as they tend to become like these committees, they become enmeshed in the same logic. To the extent that the caucuses differ from the rank-and-file committees and tend to act according to the logic of new organizations or political groups, they are affected by different kinds of processes -- that is, by the political differentiation which has afflicted and continues to afflict the revolutionary left and which has deep objective roots. It is illusory to think that there is some kind of magic formula or "new" solution which would make it possible to escape this logic and these processes, which, I repeat, have profound objective causes both at the national and international levels. Maoism, for example, is a powerful factor introduced by the international situation, and it is absurd to think that we can avoid dealing with it. We must either suffer political attacks from it or wage a political battle against it. No other positions are possible besides Maoist, Trotskyist, or Castroist ones, or those of a new cult of spontaneity. There is no objective basis for positions of any other kind. Alternative positions could emerge only in the form of short-lived, eclectic or opportunist trial balloons. As people develop politically they take a stand on the great national and international questions. There is not an unlimited gamut of solutions to these questions. There are only certain solutions represented by the great currents in the workers movement and you must choose among them.

To sum up, the factory caucuses can be transitional forms serving to bring together new revolutionary cadres and advance their consciousness. However, it is an error to suppose that they can be the nuclei of a developing revolutionary party.

Here is a final consideration. The difficulties, the vacillations, and the contradictions of these groups have not only become a rather consistent phenomenon; these failings also have objective roots which must be thoroughly understood. In substance, these bodies -- with varying success but always in an incipient way -- seek to fill three roles which in themselves are quite distinct. At a lower

level, so to speak, they not infrequently fulfill the function of a factory trade-union local. That is, in the absence of an effective union, they play a trade-union role. By setting more well-defined and advanced objectives, they succeed in promoting limited mobilizations. I repeat, in order to prevent any possibility of ambiguity, that this job must be done; but no confusion should be fostered about what is being done. In the second place, in more positive cases -- for example, in the case of the Action Committees during the French May -- these bodies tend to play the role of soviets. That is, they unite various tendencies that express themselves politically in different ways but that, in mass action, find a common ground in these committees. In the third place, there is a tendency for these groups to act like the nuclei of a revolutionary party, inasmuch as they say certain things or take certain initiatives that the bureaucratic parties do not. These three functions are basic objective functions which must be carried out in a phase of profound social and political crisis such as the one we are passing through. Since these tasks are not done or are done in a totally distorted way by the traditional organizations, the incipient new groupings try to carry them out. But they are unable to do this except in a very incomplete, embryonic, and contradictory way. If we fail to recognize the objective basis of all this, we will find ourselves carrying on Byzantine debates and quarreling over unreal problems.

In conclusion, we are convinced of the need to foster and strengthen the workers' caucuses. But we must clarify what character these groups can have in this period and what they can do. They can and must, first of all, be forces promoting anticapitalist and antibureaucratic workers struggles. Secondly, they can and must serve as meeting places and training grounds for revolutionary cadres. This means that political and theoretical confrontation is not excluded. But such a confrontation of views must be carried on in such a way as to avoid endangering these groups' function of giving impetus to working-class social forces, which is an essential function in this phase. It is clear that as these caucuses increase in strength and numbers, they will create more favorable conditions for the construction of a revolutionary party.

We must orient our work along the lines that have been indicated. We must participate in the student movement on the basis and with the objectives that have been described. We must involve ourselves in the factory caucuses on the basis of the criteria expressed. We must not take a sectarian attitude toward any forces nor reject a priori political confrontation or collaboration with anyone.

After what I have said, I hope that I will not be accused of underestimating the developments in 1968, which are precisely the basis of this report. This should not lead us, however, to forget that the Communist party and the trade unions controlled by it still exist and have ample room for maneuver. (In the student movement, in particular, the PCI [Partito Comunista Italiano -- Italian Communist party] has more room for maneuver today than a year ago.) In a period of social crisis and an upswing in the struggle, the traditional organizations may even gain members (like the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail -- General Confederation of Labor -- the CP-controlled union] in France, for example). This occurs because new strata are entering into the struggle, and the initial phase of their developing political consciousness and becoming active involves joining the traditional organizations. (Even the FGCI [Federazione Giovanile Comunista d'Italia -- Young Communist Federation of Italy] has undergone expansions at times, although purely ephemeral ones.) At the same time, these organizations are undergoing processes of differentiation, and centrifugal forces are manifesting themselves in them more strongly than in the past. I repeat, I do not at all believe in the possibility of real national tendencies appearing in the PCI or that any prospects will arise for splits between the leadership and the ranks. (As for the meaning of the congress of Bologna, I refer you to the article published in the February issue of Bandiera Rossa [see "The Italian Communist Party Congress" by Livio Maitain, Intercontinental Press, March 10, 1968, p. 243].) However, among the ranks and at the intermediate level there nonetheless exists an important area of differentiation, primarily because the great objective surges also affect sectors still under PCI influence. Therefore, while developments at these levels in the PCI or in the organizations under its sway can no longer be the prime consideration in our tactics, they are still not a negligible factor in the formulation of tactics. The essential difference, of course, lies in the fact that there is no longer any sense at all in adjusting to the pattern in the big organizations. Our point of reference must be what is happening among the social forces outside this pattern. Our goal must always be to promote the objective processes and contribute to the struggle of the antibureaucratic forces on the general social level.

There is no need to repeat again, finally, that the primary factor for us is that we belong to an international organization. We are not unaware of its limitations, but we consider its particular function indispensable in this phase. Furthermore, there is no real possibility today for building a revolutionary party which would not be a part of a wide internation-

al tendency. Once again, it is illusory to think that this question can be side-stepped and still worse to ignore it. The problem is to make clear choices in a

given context, as opposed to all kinds of maneuverism and vague formulas.

[End.]

YAKHIMOVICH ARRESTED IN LATVIA FOR CRITICISM OF CZECH INVASION

The Kremlin bureaucracy has reportedly arrested Ivan Antonovich Yakhimovich, a well-known figure in Soviet dissident circles, at his home outside Riga in the Latvian Soviet republic March 25. Yakhimovich, a former collective farm chairman, had joined former Major General Pyotr Grigorenko in circulating a statement calling for withdrawal of Soviet forces from Czechoslovakia. [For the text, see Intercontinental Press, March 31, 1969, p. 312.]

Yakhimovich is apparently being charged with spreading "anti-Soviet fabrications." The move against him is doubly ominous because it may presage similar action against Grigorenko.

A man of about 40, Yakhimovich first emerged as an oppositionist spokesman a year ago when he wrote a protest letter to Mikhail Suslov, chief Politburo ideologist. In it he criticized the January 1968 trial of young dissenters in Moscow and called for freedom of opinion and the publication of suppressed writings such as those of Solzhenitsyn.

It was in reprisal for that letter that Yakhimovich was ousted from his farm post, an action that he protested in an open letter last November. (Whether he has yet been expelled from the Communist party, of which he became a member in 1960, is not known.) In his letter to Suslov, Yakhimovich declared, in part:

"I believe that the persecution of young dissenters in a country where more than fifty percent of the population is younger than thirty years of age is an extremely dangerous line -- adventurism. It is not toadies, not a public of yes-men (O Lord, how they have multiplied!), not mama's boys who will determine the future, but rather those very rebels, as the most energetic, brave, and high-principled members of our young generation.

"It is stupid to see in them the enemies of Soviet power, and more than stupid to let them rot in prisons and make mock of them. For the party, such a line is equivalent to self-strangulation. Too bad for us if we are not capable of reaching an understanding with these young people. They will create, inevitably they will create, a new party. Ideas cannot be murdered with bullets, prisons, or exile. He who does not understand this is no politician, no Marxist."

In the weeks of tension preceding the invasion of Czechoslovakia he further irritated the Brezhnev-Kosygin regime by going with Grigorenko to the Czechoslovak embassy in Moscow to express solidarity with the democratization process.

Before he moved into open opposition Yakhimovich was regarded as an exceptionally dedicated and able farm manager. Komsomolskaya Pravda, the organ of the Young Communist League, printed a feature article on him in its October 30, 1964, issue which said the workers at his kolkhoz [collective farm] regarded him as "hard-working, honest and fair, a man who worries more about the kolkhoz than about himself."

Both Ivan Antonovich and his wife graduated from the Latvian State University, he in 1956 and she in 1960. He was a rural schoolteacher and inspector before becoming kolkhoz chairman. Komsomolskaya Pravda printed some excerpts from his diary, part of which are as follows:

[August 3, 1961] "Serving the people is a heavy responsibility, but an honorable one. It's horrible when bureaucracy interferes. How tired you get of petty supervision! They figure it out, chew it over, and shove it under your nose: how many hectares to plant with what, what kind of harvest to get, and when. This is called planning from below..."

[March 4, 1963] "Again and again we go back to Lenin, not out of duty like the schoolboy or student, but out of the natural need for advice, ideas, and moral purity."

[April 4, 1963] "It's all very well to be humble, but not in all situations. To be humble where the truth is concerned is to be a scoundrel."

[June 14, 1963] "There's no doubt that talent has been uncovered and put to work for human society by material incentives. But moral incentives will predominate in the future and will so eclipse the former that any comparison of the two will seem an absurd joke."

[April 16, 1963] "Khikmet [a Soviet poet] is a thousand times right in saying that in the twentieth century only a genuine Communist can be the happiest of men. I want to be that happy."

Capitalist Europe in Crisis

FOR A SOCIALIST EUROPE!

[The following appeal to the workers and students of Europe was issued January 15 by the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International.]

* * *

Capitalist Europe is again in crisis. The revolutionary upsurge in France in May 1968 was the clearest expression of this, but other unmistakable signs show that new explosions are inevitable.

In Italy one strike wave after another leads to increasingly sharp confrontations with the repressive forces of the bourgeois state, with parliamentary "democracy" near paralysis, and with the university and high-school students on the march.

In Spain the harsh repression employed by the decaying Franco regime no longer blocks the workers, students and oppressed nationalities from adopting increasingly radical forms of struggle, but even stirs them up.

In France neither concessions nor repressive measures have been able to break the militancy of the radical youth, while the economic policy of the Gaullist regime is paving the way for a new upsurge of workers' struggles.

In Britain the contradictions between capital and labor are becoming sharper and sharper. They are expressed in the growing opposition to the various antiunion projects of the Wilson government, the growing antagonism between the unions and the leadership of the Labour party, and an increasing tendency to raise new demands such as workers control and to resort to new forms of struggle (large militant mass demonstrations) which threaten the very basis of traditional and reformist policies in the country where traditional parliamentarism was born.

Even in West Germany, the most stable of the big capitalist countries in Europe, the radicalization of the students and the economic recession of 1966-67 have engendered social unrest.

Effect of the Social Crisis on Class Relations

This crisis of capitalist Europe must be viewed in historical perspective and in the framework of world developments. It is but a new manifestation of the decline of the world capitalist system that set in with the first world war and that has led three times to large-

scale revolutionary upsurges on this continent: in 1918-23, 1932-37, and 1944-48.

Capitalist property and the bourgeois national state increasingly hamper the development of the productive forces, leading periodically to wars, revolutions, and counterrevolutions. The historical crisis of European capitalism was exacerbated by the victory of the October 1917 Revolution, by the victory of the Yugoslav Revolution in 1945, by the elimination of capitalism through bureaucratic-military means in Eastern Europe after World War II, by the victory of the Chinese Revolution in 1949, by the victory of the Cuban Revolution in 1959, and by the tendency of the colonial revolution to become converted into a permanent revolution, breaking with capitalism and thus reducing the role once played by the colonial and semicolonial countries in assuring vast markets for the products of European capitalism.

The delay in the European socialist revolution does not offset the historical crisis of capitalism. The responsibility for this delay lies with the traditional leaderships of the working class that failed to seize the opportunities for a victorious socialist revolution. In 1918-23, it was the Social Democracy; in 1932-37, 1944-48, and recently in France, it was Stalinism aided and abetted by the Social Democracy.

In the industrially advanced countries there are no hopeless economic situations for the monopolistic bourgeoisie. Even the most acute crisis, whether it be social (as in Germany in 1923) or economic (as in the big depression of 1929-33), can be followed by a new upsurge in the economy, even a new large-scale development of the productive forces (as in the past fifteen years), if the working class does not utilize these opportunities to overthrow the system.

But each of these periods of economic revival have carried more and more contradictions that have engendered new and sharper class conflicts, because of the general downward trend of world capitalism.

The crisis of European capitalism -- like that of the crisis of the world capitalist system as a whole -- is an overall social crisis. It is a crisis in the fundamental relations of production between capital and labor, and not only, or merely, an economic crisis of overproduction in the narrowest sense of the term. Both the long-range and more immediate general tendencies of the capital-

ist economic system unquestionably influence the behavior of all social classes in a profound way, beginning with the bourgeoisie and the working class. The new crisis that has appeared in capitalist Europe today is unquestionably linked to the slowdown in economic growth of the past few years, to the increase in productive capacity; the rise in structural unemployment, particularly among the youth; to the crisis in the world monetary system; and to the pressure which all these factors exercise on the capitalists in all countries, leading them to resort to deflationary policies and to antiunion legislation in order to counteract the falling rate of profit and the decline in their share of exports on the world market.

But it is to be noted that the present deepening crisis of European capitalism does not coincide with a severe slump of the 1929-33 type, nor even with a generalized recession, although one may well break out in the coming years.

However, far from testifying to any greater stability of the system, the absence of a severe crisis of overproduction and unemployment on a pre-World War II scale only underlines the incapacity of the system to resolve its basic contradictions. For the fact is that even under such relatively "favorable" conditions of economic development, the elements of social crisis and social revolution have come to the surface; and the fundamental contradiction of capitalism, the contradiction arising out of private property and wage labor, has been posed with a sharpness beyond anything previously seen in the West.

The current crisis is appearing precisely as an overall crisis of the decaying social system, and not just a struggle between the capitalists and workers over division of the national income. More is involved than the growing revolt of the working class against the way capitalism mismanages the economy, squanders wealth, diverts resources, maintains poverty and unemployment, increases inequality and exploitation, while the tremendous advances of science and technology have created all the material requisites for eliminating these social evils. What is involved in this crisis is a growing revolt of the workers against the basic nature of capitalism -- against the right of capital to command the machines and the men in the factories and in the economy, against the class structure of society as such. That is why the crisis is spreading inexorably in all fields of social activity.

The state and its repressive forces, the manipulation of the mass media by big business, the class nature of law and justice, the subjection of

science and education to the needs of the capitalists, and the commercialization of art -- all are being brought under question.

All over Europe today, radical working-class and student youth are challenging every one of these aspects of bourgeois class rule and bourgeois society. Nothing expresses more clearly the historical crisis of European capitalism than the fact that the bourgeoisie has been cut off from the majority of the youth, including a considerable sector of its own youth as well.

The Crisis of European Capitalist "Unification"

In this context, the crisis of "European unification," of the trend towards economic integration of capitalist Europe, takes on a highly symbolic meaning. The betrayal of the post-World War II revolutionary possibilities by the Stalinist and Social Democratic leaderships, plus the massive help from American imperialism, assured the capitalist class in the fifties and early sixties of a period of more rapid economic growth and a temporary decline in the political militancy of the working class.

Capitalism then set in motion a process of capitalist unification of Europe designed to overcome at least the sharpest contradictions between the operations of big business and the anachronistic existence of the bourgeois national state. Following the experiment with the European Coal and Steel Community [ECSC], this process gained momentum, leading to the signing of the Rome Treaty, which aimed at creating a West European Common Market after a transition period of ten years. Reacting strongly against nationalism after 1945, European youth pinned many hopes on the unification of Europe in the absence of the perspective of an immediate socialist victory.

This transition period is now over and the Common Market is a reality. But the momentum of the capitalist unification of Europe has definitely declined if not disappeared. The bourgeois states are showing no intention of setting up a "European government" with real powers, political authority and a common currency. And this despite the fact that a more effective competitive setup against U.S. imperialism and a more effective policy against economic crises and cycles make this common authority and common currency an urgent need -- something understood by many of the big monopolies.

The extension of the Common Market to include Britain and other capitalist powers that want to join is for the time being out of the question. One of the "communities" created in the fifties, the

ECSC, is bankrupt, completely unable to meet the structural crisis which first hit the coal and then the steel industry. Another one, "Euratom," is now moribund. Where, ten years ago, there were high hopes and great expectations among bourgeois and petty-bourgeois circles for a "United Europe," the prevailing mood today is one of disillusionment, frustration, and cynicism.

The fundamental cause of this change lies in the growing social crisis and the slowing down of economic growth. When international competition becomes more severe, when social tensions increase in each major imperialist country, when the margin of concessions and negotiations becomes much smaller -- then the possibility for the different capitalist classes of Western Europe to forego the advantages of separate monetary maneuvers and periodic use of protectionist measures declines precipitously.

The political aspect of the crisis at present shaking European capitalism is particularly marked. It is above all a crisis of leadership, and it is notable that this crisis affects the bourgeois camp as strongly as it does the camp of the labor movement.

The traditional bourgeois leaderships in many countries of capitalist Europe are being eroded, becoming caught up in the throes of fierce factional struggles that threaten them with disintegration. But at the same time, the lack of alternative leaderships is so pronounced that even when the existing political setup is worn out and no longer enjoys the confidence of influential sectors of big business -- as is, for example, the case with de Gaulle in France, Franco in Spain, and partially with the Conservatives in Britain -- they remain in place for want of anything better.

This tends more and more to give each successive government crisis the character of a crisis of the regime -- as is obvious in Italy and Belgium -- which begins to call into question the existence of the parliamentary system itself, including in Britain. In the last analysis, what deters the ruling class from attempting a coup like the one in Greece in several other European countries is only the relationship of forces between the workers and the capitalists, and the opinion in big business circles that an attempt to set up a "strong state" would be met by a massive counter-move from the working class.

The Old Working-Class Leaderships Lose Control of the Youth

The crisis of the traditional leadership of the working class is most graphically expressed in the nearly complete

loss, by both the traditional Social Democratic and Communist parties, of their hold on the working-class and student youth. Among the adult workers, the bureaucracies of the Labour party in Britain and the CP-CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail -- General Confederation of Labor -- the CP-led union federation] in France were able to play a strikingly treacherous role last year, deliberately propping up decaying capitalism in Britain, and the Gaullist regime and decaying bourgeois class rule in France.

But the loss of control of these bureaucracies over the youth is shown in the small membership of their youth organizations and in the large-scale youth mobilizations which have occurred several times outside these traditional organizations. Besides this loss of control over large sectors of the youth, the bankruptcy of the reformism and neoreformism of the Communist parties, especially in a period of growing crisis of the capitalist system, deepens the inner contradictions of the bureaucratized working-class organizations, as is shown in the crisis between the unions and the Labour party in Britain and between the CGT and the CGIL [Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro -- Italian General Confederation of Labor] leaderships in France and Italy and a growing sector of a more militant working class which rejects the bureaucracy's stranglehold on the mass movement.

All these developments indicate the ripening of objective and subjective conditions for a new revolutionary upsurge throughout Europe. Between this new upsurge, the colonial revolution, and the slow maturing of conditions building up to a political revolution against the bureaucratic dictatorship in Eastern Europe and the USSR, there is a growing interaction, each of the three sectors of the world revolution following its own internal logic but also increasingly affecting the consciousness of the vanguard forces in the other sectors.

This growing interaction is to be seen in the way the colonial revolution has helped the new youth vanguard to emerge in the imperialist countries, the profound influence of the May 1968 revolution in France in bringing to maturity the youth vanguard of the coming political revolution in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, as well as its influence on the resurgence of revolutionary student forces in semi-colonial countries like Mexico.

A Socialist United States of Europe -- the Only Alternative

The basic message that revolutionary Marxists must tirelessly proclaim and translate into a program of action understandable to the broadest layers of the

working people is that a fundamental solution to the crisis gripping capitalist Europe can be found only through a socialist revolution on a continental scale. A Socialist United States of Europe is not only a historic possibility. It is the only realistic alternative to all the attempts at solving the crisis of European capitalism without overthrowing the capitalist mode of production.

Realism does not call for new exercises in gradualism; for adding a few more nationalized industries to the "public sector" of the economy; for increasing the scope of capitalist "economic programming"; for speeding up the process of integrating capitalist Europe economically; for a more vigorous answer to the American "challenge" today and the Japanese challenge tomorrow. Unless the framework of the profit-oriented capitalist economy and the bourgeois state is broken, all these reforms will only deepen and exacerbate the existing contradictions, and big business will try all the harder to shift the burden of the reforms onto the working class itself.

Realism demands a radical break with the old decaying system of private property in the means of production, of investments guided by the aims of the monopolies, of priorities dictated by the needs of capital instead of the satisfaction of human needs. Realism demands a radical break with the bourgeois state, as both an oppressive and a narrowly national mechanism in Europe. The program calling for a Socialist United States of Europe embodies these truly realistic alternatives to capitalist crisis.

The Real Perspective of a Socialist Europe

It is still necessary today to point out to an already broad vanguard as well as to the broadest masses what a socialist Europe would be like. Under conditions of profound social unrest and an overall social crisis, the "maximum" program acquires an agitational value such as it never had in the past. It is especially important to do this in view of the fact that while the trend toward political revolution in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic greatly stimulated interest and sympathy for a socialist revolution in Western Europe, the brutal and oppressive military intervention of the Soviet bureaucracy again aroused skepticism and doubt concerning socialism in many circles of the advanced workers and the youth.

Socialism in the advanced industrial countries of Western Europe will have a completely different physiognomy from that of the rule of a parasitic and privileged bureaucracy such as exists at present in the Soviet Union. It will en-

tail social planning on a continental scale, thereby permitting rapid growth of the productive forces through the elimination of large-scale duplication and waste. Social planning above all will mean full use of existing resources, the end of unemployment of men and underemployment of equipment, the rapid dissemination of technological progress and scientific knowledge throughout the whole economy.

It will also mean that priorities in utilizing resources and orienting investments, which are determined in the West by the profit aims of a small group of monopolists and the blind forces of the market, and in the USSR and the countries of Eastern Europe by the arbitrary choices, preferences, and narrow interests of the ruling bureaucracy, will be democratically determined by the mass of workers organized in democratically elected self-management workers councils in the plants and on a local, regional, national, and international level.

It will mean that a democratically elected congress of workers councils will be the highest organ of orientation of the economy, and that the alternative to capitalist waste will not be sought in bureaucratic planning, any more than the alternative to bureaucratic overcentralization will be sought in a return to the market.

A socialist revolution in Western Europe will mean that top priority will be given to the three key processes in the emancipation of labor: a rapid reduction of the work week; a radical transformation of the structure of the enterprise; and a radical modification of the structure of consumption and the mode of distribution.

Only a rapid reduction of the work week, together with a rapid increase in the level of skill and knowledge, will enable the mass of workers to participate in a real way -- and not just formally -- in the administration of the economy and the state, thereby destroying the main objective root of bureaucracy.

Only a radical transformation of the structure of the enterprise and the very nature of work can reintroduce freedom and creative activity in the main realm of human life up to now, that of production.

Only a radical modification of the structure of consumption and the mode of distribution -- the rapid growth of the sector of goods and services distributed without exchange or money, on the basis of full satisfaction of rational needs -- can make the social revolution penetrate into the consciousness of the broad masses and give birth to socialist man, something

that subjective, educational, and voluntarist efforts, whatever their value and necessity, can never achieve by themselves.

In other words, the program of a Socialist United States of Europe is the program of socialism for broadening the realm of human freedom, not only for the workers as a class but for everyone who works, far beyond anything achieved by bourgeois democracy in its heyday.

Precisely in a period when the trend towards authoritarianism and a technocratic outlook becomes more and more pronounced in bourgeois society, it is all the more necessary to stress these basic aspects of the socialist revolution in the advanced industrial countries. The concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat must once again be interpreted in the sense of Marx and Lenin (see State and Revolution) as a dictatorship only against the overthrown ruling class, the harshness of which will depend exclusively on the degree and form of the resistance offered by the former rulers, but also, simultaneously, as the widest possible extension of all the basic democratic freedoms for the mass of workers.

Full power to elected representative bodies where the working-class parties and tendencies can struggle for leadership by political means but not by violence or repression. The right to organize any party which the laboring masses care to within the framework of the socialist constitution. Freedom in all the workers' parties to organize tendencies. Independence of the trade unions from the state and the parties. Full freedom for scientific research and cultural and artistic creation without restrictions by the state. Full equality between men and women. That is the image of socialism which revolutionary Marxists must uphold ceaselessly.

Take Advantage of Every Favorable Situation

The slogan of a Socialist United States of Europe does not at all imply that it is impossible for the working class to begin by overthrowing capitalist domination in a single country at first. On the contrary, we urge all the militants of the vanguard to prepare themselves and to educate the masses in the idea that they must utilize any favorable situation like the one created in May 1968 in France to carry out a victorious socialist revolution in their country.

But we are convinced that owing to the growing interpenetration of capital and of labor in Western Europe, such a victory will be rapidly converted into a test of strength between capital and labor in several European countries, and

that the spread of the revolution, whether in defense of the revolutionary country against counterrevolutionary intervention from the outside or through the workers in other countries following the revolutionary example, will be much quicker than in the past.

Is it possible to bring socialist democracy, as described, to full flower in Western Europe notwithstanding all the enemies that will threaten it internationally? It would be irresponsible to promise the workers and students of Europe that they will be left in peace to build their socialist society without interference from either U.S. imperialism or from the Soviet bureaucracy, the world's two main military powers. And it would be still more irresponsible to advocate a policy of "nonintervention" in the rest of the world in order to buy "peace" at the expense of the exploited and oppressed in the rest of the world.

In any case, the alternative to a socialist Europe is not peaceful evolution and peaceful coexistence but the triumph of reaction which could lead eventually to fascism and new wars.

It will be impossible to build a Socialist United States of Europe without projecting on a world scale a struggle for the same objectives which the toiling masses of Europe would be beginning to realize on their continent. The victory of a socialist revolution in Western Europe would greatly stimulate both the struggle for socialism in North America and the struggle for socialist democracy in the USSR and Eastern Europe. A victorious socialist revolution in Europe would extend the greatest fraternal help, politically, economically, and technically, to the freedom struggle of the oppressed peoples of the colonial and semicolonial countries, towards whom the European workers owe a debt inasmuch as part of the standard of living which they enjoy is a result of the superexploitation to which two-thirds of mankind outside the continent has been subjected by European imperialism.

In the course of the general acceleration of the world revolution which the creation of a Socialist United States of Europe would stimulate, confrontations, including armed ones, would be unavoidable with the imperialist rulers in the rest of the world. But the political impact of the victory of socialism in Europe would be of such order as to greatly weaken the capacity of U.S. imperialism for military struggle, including nuclear destruction.

If two small and backward countries, Cuba and Vietnam, could successfully withstand the intervention of U.S. imperialism, and if this intervention triggered massive

opposition within the USA, how much greater would be the capacity of Western Europe to resist, a continent whose productive capacity would quickly catch up with that of the USA and surpass it! How much greater would be the resistance of the American working masses to their rulers' attempts to prevent the people of Europe from freely choosing the kind of social regime they want!

A Socialist United States
of Europe -- an Early Concrete Perspective

We appeal to the vanguard militants and organizations to boldly project in their propaganda and agitation the socialist alternative to the present capitalist crisis in Europe -- a Socialist United States of Europe, the creation of a Federation of Socialist Republics with genuinely equal rights, open to all the nations of Europe, including those of Central and Eastern Europe, the only means capable of reuniting Germany.

We appeal to them to stress the frankly anticapitalist aim of all their struggles, whether it concerns struggles for immediate economic demands, for the defense of the civil liberties of the labor movement, for transitional demands in the economic or educational systems, or whether it involves anti-imperialist struggles.

We stress the fact that defense of the workers' standard of living against the mounting assault of the employers through the mechanism of alternating inflation and deflation, through rising prices and increased taxes; the defense of trade-union rights against the growing tendency of the capitalists to limit or eliminate free bargaining over wages; the struggle for key transitional demands like the sliding scale of wages, workers control over production, investments, and employment; nationalization without compensation of the banks, insurance companies, and key monopolies, and placing them under workers control; the introduction of comprehensive planning under workers control; the struggle against the bourgeois universities and high schools and for "student power"; the struggle against imperialist wars and crimes in Vietnam, Rhodesia, South Africa, the Arab countries, etc., and for the support of the just armed struggle of the oppressed peoples in Southeast Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Palestine -- this whole series of actions and movements, good in themselves and worthy of full support by all revolutionists, do not gain their full progressive significance until they become coordinated in a vast and variegated mass movement for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Socialist United States of Europe.

The growing internationalization

of capital also calls for increased contacts, collaboration, and coordination of struggles among the workers of the different European countries working for the same international companies, in the same branches of industry, and in the economy as a whole.

But this trend, which the French workers initiated spontaneously in May 1968, cannot yield all that is possible until the struggle is raised to the level of challenging and overthrowing capitalism as a system. Otherwise, the growing internationalization of capital will, for a whole period, proceed in advance of the spontaneous, groping cooperation on a trade-union level among the workers on an international scale, and the relationship of forces will shift to the advantage of capitalism at the expense of the workers.

To project the socialist revolution and a Socialist United States of Europe concretely as a short-term perspective is all the more necessary in view of the fact that the present state of crisis and increasing social and political tension cannot continue for a long period in Europe. If the repeated mobilizations of the workers and students do not lead to victory, owing to the lack of consciousness, organization, or leadership, the balance will tilt the other way. Growing disillusionment, demoralization, and apathy will again arise among the working masses and the newly politicized youth. The monopolists will then try to resolve the crisis in their way by installing a "strong state" and dealing violent blows to the workers movement.

We revolutionary Marxists are convinced that the strikes, demonstrations, and movements for immediate and transitional demands, now carried on by the workers, students, intellectuals, and progressive artists, cannot be combined into a powerful mobilization for the overthrow of capitalism without building revolutionary parties and a revolutionary international to provide the necessary coordination and centralization of the workers in opposition to the intensified centralization of the capitalist economy and state machine.

Such a party will enable the masses to develop their understanding and accumulate cadres in each successive wave of struggle. Without such a revolutionary party, the understanding and the activity of the masses are doomed to remain tied to the ups and downs of the mobilizations themselves, starting each time from the same level.

But we do not counterpose the need to build a revolutionary party against the struggles which the vanguard workers and students are conducting today all over Europe. We attempt, on the contrary, to

participate in these struggles as the best militants in order to convince the vanguard through their own experience of the need to bring together the most militant and most conscious forces into such a party.

Forward to a Socialist United

States of Europe!

Down with capitalism and imperialism!

Long live the socialist world revolution!

POLICE ATTACK DEMONSTRATION OF 10,000 IN MONTREAL

Hundreds of police attacked and dispersed a demonstration of more than 10,000 students in front of McGill University in Montréal, Canada, March 28. The students were demanding that McGill be converted to a French-language institution. Although the majority of the population of Montréal speaks French, there is only one French-language university. McGill is one of several schools where classes are conducted in English.

The students assembled at St. Louis Park about 7 p.m. and marched to the university, less than a mile away. The Toronto Globe and Mail reported March 29: "When the marchers arrived at the campus gates at 9 p.m., they found that the university was a police camp. It was surrounded by police in riot gear."

At 10:30 the police attacked the crowd. "Three waves of police waded into the crowd in front of the university gates," the Globe and Mail said. "They had been waiting just inside. Squads of motorcycle police gunned their engines

and charged directly at the crowd. It retreated quickly as a wave of police on foot bore down behind the motorcycles."

At least twenty persons were arrested and a number injured, including a television reporter who was cut on the face and leg.

The demonstrators carried Québec flags, red flags, and portraits of Che Guevara. One banner declared, "Go Somewhere Else, British." Another said, "McGill Belongs to the Natives."

Organizations participating in the demonstration included the Ligue pour l'Intégration Scolaire [League for Scholastic Integration -- which wants all education in Québec to be carried on in French]; the Front de Libération Populaire [People's Liberation Front]; the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes; the Québec Communist party; and action committees from seven French-language junior colleges in the Montréal area.

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