

# Intercontinental Press

Africa

Asia

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## Fidel Castro's July 26 Speech

Vallejo, Campa, Nieto  
Released from Lecumberri

Andrew Pulley  
Tours Far East

35,000 Women March  
in New York City



TEODORO PETKOFF. Criticizes Venezuelan CP for supporting "national bourgeoisie." See p. 733.

Venezuela:

## Stalinists in Crisis over Petkoff Book

# Appeal for Dubcek

More than 100 "socialists, communists and progressives" have signed an appeal on behalf of Alexander Dubcek circulated, primarily in England, by the Bertrand Russell Foundation.

The appeal was placed in the August 14 *Tribune*, a weekly published in London, after *The Morning Star*, the newspaper of the Communist party, refused to accept it as a paid advertisement.

Signers included several Labour members of Parliament; Professor Noam Chomsky; Ken Coates, editor of *The Spokesman*; writer and economist Maurice Dobb; Chris Farley, director of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation; historian C. L. R. James; novelist Doris Lessing; playwright Conor Cruise O'Brien; and critic Kenneth Tynan.

The text of the appeal is as follows:

"We, the undersigned socialists, communists and progressives, alarmed at continuing reports from Prague of possible preparations for the trial of Alexander Dubcek, First Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party during the 'Spring' of 1968, regard the continuing threat to this courageous and unrepentant socialist as a threat to all supporters of socialism everywhere.

"Accordingly, without commenting on the merits or demerits of the political position which he has adopted, we shall defend by all means at our disposal his right to maintain that position free from persecution and harassment.

"We further express our solidarity with the Czechoslovak people and with all socialists of different tendencies who support the struggle to build a socialist society free from the gross abuses and crimes which have marred so much that has been done in the name of socialism in the past."

## Keeping Things Quiet in Czechoslovakia

Some 6,217 Czechoslovak citizens were arrested throughout Czechoslovakia in the days preceding August 21, the second anniversary of the Soviet invasion of that country. According to Reuters, the government press agency said that those arrested "wanted to disrupt the quiet lives of our citizens."

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## How Can Strain on Cuba's Economy Be Relieved?

By Les Evans

Fidel Castro's July 26 speech in Havana on the economic difficulties currently faced by the Cuban revolution has been met with smug satisfaction by the revolution's enemies and with consternation by some of its friends. How severe are the problems? To what extent can they be remedied or to what extent are they caused by factors beyond the control of the Cuban leadership? What course of action does Castro propose to take?

The problems include low productivity, growing absenteeism, shortages of parts and machinery, inadequate transportation facilities, and in some cases a drop in the quality of finished goods. Production in many important industries has declined in the last year or failed to keep pace with population growth—in part as a result of the labor mobilizations for the 1970 sugar harvest.

Castro declared frankly: "Our enemies say we have problems, and in this our enemies are right. . . . They say there is discontent, and in reality our enemies are right. They say there is irritation, and in reality our enemies are right."\*

The Cuban premier revealed for the first time detailed statistics from "a highly secret economic report" giving a picture of those areas of the economy that have experienced the most serious difficulties. He did not dwell at length on the many real and important economic successes such as those in the fishing industry, improvements in beef and dairy cattle stock, and substantial increases in some agricultural sectors such as rice production.

The difficulties are of two general kinds: (1) those flowing from objective conditions such as the U. S. economic blockade, lack of natural resources, the smallness of the island, and the

limited size of the available labor force; and (2) those caused by poor planning, lack of morale, administrative failure, etc.

Cuba today has a population of 8,256,000—slightly more than New York City. This small island does not have the resources to duplicate the industry and technology of a country like the United States. As Castro pointed out, "Let us not forget that we must import more than five million tons of fuel, a product we must import because oil exploration and discovery and putting oil wells into operation requires detailed study which can't be carried out from one day to the next. We are a country without coal, and practically without hydraulic energy. . . .

"We import all the energy for the lights we use, for every lathe that moves, for every machine and motor of every kind."

Cuba has sought to escape the one-crop economy imposed on it during the period of imperialist rule. The aim has been to make the island agriculturally self-sufficient by stepping up production of a variety of crops while developing light industry to satisfy local needs without having to pay the cost of importing goods that could just as well be made in Cuba.

The American trade embargo has distorted this process, however, making it necessary to either produce many goods that could be much more cheaply imported from the United States, or else use the limited amount of foreign exchange available to import consumer goods—mainly from the Soviet Union, halfway around the world.

Even to build a substantial light industry requires large outlays of convertible foreign exchange, which for Cuba at this time can only be secured by the sale of sugar on the world market.

Moreover, the very agricultural diversification and beginnings of industrialization make the production of sugar more difficult. An immense la-

bor force is required during the three-month harvest season to cut and process the cane. Under Batista a cheap supply of labor was guaranteed by keeping the workers unemployed the other nine months of the year. In 1958, for example, unemployment hit 686,000 persons.

The Cuban revolution has succeeded in eliminating unemployment. There is, in fact, a severe labor shortage. This becomes excruciating during the sugar harvest because tens of thousands of workers must be freed from their regular jobs in order to cut cane. Other sectors of the economy are disrupted and disorganized. So long as sugar remains the main cash crop of the economy, which will be the case for some years to come, this state of affairs will remain. The 1970 harvest was more dislocating than any previous one because of the sheer size of the crop and the extended time spent in cutting and processing it.

Opponents of the regime have made much of the fact that the projected 10,000,000-ton goal was not realized despite a nearly six-month mobilization of the entire work force. This is in reality more a failure of expectations than of achieved results. This year's harvest, at 8,500,000 tons, was the largest in Cuban history. The original quota was set five years ago and could only be tentative. It should be plain that if it had been set at eight million rather than ten million tons, the harvest would have been regarded by everyone as a great victory.

### A Relative Labor Shortage

A serious short-range problem is the high percentage of the Cuban population composed of either youth or people over sixty years old. According to Castro, ". . . only 32 percent of the population is engaged in activities related to our economy. That is, less than a third of the population is engaged in furnishing goods or services. And that third includes those who are furnishing services that constitute in-

\* All quotes in this article are from the English translation of Castro's July 26 speech in the August 2 issue of *Granma Weekly Review*, the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Cuba.

vestments for the future, such as public health services and education, and those engaged in services that are absolutely necessary to the defense of the Revolution and the homeland."

In the industrially advanced countries of Europe, which already have the advantage of immensely higher labor productivity, about 45 percent of the total population is employed directly in the work force.

The very advances of the revolution in the fields of health, education, and social security, ensure that this situation will continue for at least five more years. By providing scholarships and free education, essential to producing a literate and technically capable generation of workers, youths spend years in school that previously would have been spent on jobs or looking for jobs.

Before the revolution the old were left to starve when they could no longer work. Now a substantial part of the social product is used to provide pensions for the elderly. Castro gave a few figures:

"The outlay for social security services increased from 114.7 million pesos [1 peso equals US\$1] in 1958 to 320 million in 1970.

"Public health services: In 1958 there were 8,209 workers in public health services. In 1969 the number increased to 87,646—87,646! Outlay for public health services, which in 1958 was 22.7 million pesos, increased to 236.1 million in 1969.

"Outlay in education or in general services in education: In 1958 there were 936,723 people enrolled in schools throughout the country. A total of 2,289,464 enrolled in the 1969-70 school year—1,560,193 of them in primary education. . . .

"The number of scholarships—15,698 in 1958—is now 277,505. This figure does not include the children in day-care centers and semiboarding schools.

"In 1958 the outlay for public education was 77 million pesos. This figure rose to 290.6 million in 1969. . . .

"Outlay for social security, public health and education—three sectors—which was 213.8 million pesos in 1958, amounts to no less than 850 million for 1970. If we add the outlay for defense to these three sectors, the total comes close to 1,200 million pesos a year."

These outlays, which must and should be continued for the welfare

of the Cuban people and for the future development of the Cuban workers state, are extremely costly in the short run. To these objective demands on the economy, Castro added "one more reality—one that weighs rather heavily—which is our own inefficiency, our inefficiency in the general work of the Revolution."

### Some Statistics on the Economy

A great deal of production for immediate consumption was sacrificed during the 1970 sugar harvest in order to accumulate the desperately needed foreign exchange that the sugar would bring, to finance the next stage of industrialization. This was made worse by administrative malfunctions. Castro cited some of the figures:

"Fresh milk output from January through May is 71.3 million quarts, 25 percent decrease compared to the same period in 1969, which was 95.1 million quarts. . . .

"Cement. The amount of available cement as of July is slightly over that for 1969, and 23 percent less than the figure for the same period in 1968 due to difficulties in the transportation of sand and movement of the finished product.

"Steel bars. Deliveries as of June were 38 percent under the figure for 1969 due to lack of transportation. . . .

"Fertilizers. This refers to the fertilizer that is mixed here. The production plan shows a 32 percent delay, that is, 130,000 tons, originated mainly by limitations in transportation of the finished product. . . .

"Electric power. Electric power output as of May was approximately 11 percent above that for the same period last year; at the same time, there was a high increase of roughly 17 percent in maximum demand. . . .

"Rayon. In view of the critical manpower situation it has been necessary to cut down production plans, a measure which has principally affected the manufacture of tires. . . .

"Tires and batteries. The tire production plan will fall short by 216,000 units, that is 50 percent of the plan."

Many of the setbacks were directly or indirectly related to transportation difficulties. Much of the available truck fleet was mobilized to transport sugarcane. Factories would fill all storage facilities and when their products were

not picked up, would be forced to shut down. Shutdowns in one sector would lead to shortages of raw materials or semifinished products elsewhere, resulting in further shutdowns. The uncertainty of production, combined with sharp reductions in many consumer goods and even some types of food and beverages, led to an increase in absenteeism, although Castro said that on the whole morale was good.

The manpower shortage has meant that the existing work force is spread very thin. There are not the necessary squads of repairmen to keep equipment running; breakdowns hence have a more crippling effect on production, often shutting down a plant for hours or days.

Under the circumstances, administrative errors are more difficult to correct and any loss of morale directly affects labor productivity.

### Fixing the Responsibility

Castro did not attempt to blame objective conditions for mistakes of the leadership. "There are objective difficulties," he said. "Some of them have been pointed out. But we aren't here to discuss the objective difficulties. We must discuss the concrete problem, and man must contribute what nature or our means and resources have not been able to provide. . . .

"We are going to begin, in the first place, by pointing out the responsibility which all of us, and I in particular, have for these problems. I am in no way trying to pin the blame on anyone not in the revolutionary leadership and myself. (APPLAUSE) Unfortunately, this self-criticism cannot be accompanied by other logical solutions. It would be better to tell the people to look for somebody else. (SHOUTS OF: 'NO!') It would be better, but it would be hypocritical on our part.

"I believe that we, the leaders of this Revolution, have cost the people too much in our process of learning. . . . the people can replace us whenever they wish—right now if you so desire!"

The gigantic crowd in Havana's Plaza de la Revolucion shouted its support for Fidel. But it was plain to everyone that this kind of yes or no plebiscite was a wholly inadequate expression for differences of opinion among the Cuban masses. Castro in advancing proposals to restructure the economy made it clear that the Cuban

leadership was seriously grappling with the question of workers' participation in making the decisions that affect their lives. At this stage, however, the leadership's proposals remain tentative and have yet to be fully spelled out.

## What Castro Proposed

Castro said that major changes would be made in a number of areas. These ranged from purely administrative shifts in personnel to important innovations in the factories pointing toward the formation of some kind of workers committees that would have a say in the operation of the plants.

On the administrative side, Castro criticized "our lack of cadres, of men with a high enough level of training and intelligence who are capable of carrying out the complex tasks of production."

He said that "it has been necessary to remove some ministers and that it will be necessary to make some other changes." These were people, he said, who had "burned themselves out." He made no attempt to represent these personnel replacements as adequate in themselves to deal with the problem.

Castro suggested two forms: (1) workers committees to regulate distribution of goods and services outside of the factories, and (2) workers representation in the management of production itself.

Some of the proposals in the sphere of social distribution were aimed at alleviating the labor shortage. These would allow groups of workers as individuals or through community meetings to requisition building materials for the construction of homes or schools by volunteer labor. This system would have the merit of giving workers an alternative to the ordinary administrative channels if regular construction were delayed too long.

Castro proposed that buses be made available to factories to be used by the workers for outings or to take workers home after the night shift when regular transportation was unreliable. More significant: "The problem of housing distribution can be handled through the factories, as well. And the workers should be the ones to make the decisions. They, better than anyone else, know which worker needs a home most, or if he has a home. . . . He would speak about it. This problem



—Prensa Latina

**HARVESTING SUGARCANE:** One of Cuba's 200 Henderson cane harvesters, most promising of several machines. The Cubans hope to have 600 of these machines in time for 1971 harvest. But Cuba's giant 1970 sugar crop was cut almost entirely by hand.

should never be solved through administrative channels."

Directly on the question of workers control of production Castro had this to say:

"Take the problem of plant management. Last time we spoke of the work of the Party, of how we had to revive the work of the mass organizations and give them a broader field. But that is not enough. New problems come up, and we must delve deeper into the matter. We don't believe that the problems of managing a plant should fall exclusively to the manager. It would really be worthwhile to begin introducing a number of new ideas. There should be a manager, naturally—for there must always be someone accountable—but we must begin to establish a collective body in the management of each plant. A collective body! It should be headed by one man, but it should also be made up of representatives of the advance workers' movement, the Young Communist League, the Party and the women's front—if such a front can be organized within the plant."

Castro suggested a separation between the Communist party and the plant management. "We must remember that, in a factory, we cannot appoint the Party Secretary to the post of manager . . . nor can we appoint

the manager as Party Secretary." It remains to be seen in practice the effect of such a separation. The freeing of plant management from party control could have serious consequences in the strengthening of a new technocratic layer of specialists unless control is transferred to rank-and-file workers' bodies. Castro made comments that left open both possibilities although he appeared to lean toward workers control.

The party, he said, ". . . should not be held responsible for the management of the plan. The Party's responsibility should be an indirect rather than a direct one. It is the Party that must immediately call the attention of the superior administrative body to any deficiency, any error of an administrative nature, but the Party should never tell the manager what to do."

He added, however, a series of rhetorical questions:

"Why should a manager have to be absolutely in charge? Why shouldn't we begin to introduce representatives of the factory's workers into its management? Why not have confidence? Why not put our trust in that tremendous proletarian spirit of men who, at times in torn shoes and clothes, nevertheless keep up production?"

The creation of real institutions of

workers' self-management would be an important step forward for the Cuban revolution.

The Cuban leaders have yet to announce any final plans for the reorganization of the economy, but some preliminary observations can be made on the basis of what Fidel Castro said and did not say.

It appears that the Cubans are moving toward a concept of workers' self-management similar in some ways to that presently in use in Yugoslavia, without some of the more glaring deficiencies of the Yugoslav system. Castro pointedly made no reference to the use of material incentives for more productive workers, or "profit sharing" among the workers of particular plants—practices that in Yugoslavia (and in the Soviet Union) have created a privileged technocratic crust within the working class. Nor did he propose the kind of economic autonomy that permits Yugoslav plants to jeopardize the planned economy and even to enter into private agreements with foreign capitalist corporations to the detriment of the monopoly of foreign trade.

Castro's proposals emphasize steps toward equalizing incomes and benefits rather than toward the growth of special privilege.

It is still unclear how much power the Cuban factory committees will have. Will they be allowed to meet on a regional and national level as well as on a factory level? Will the delegates be selected by election and be subject to recall? Will such committees deal with questions of economic and political policy as well as administrative detail?

Castro did not propose such functions for the rank-and-file workers' bodies he envisages, although he did not exclude them either.

Many questions need to be resolved. How will information and experience be shared between workers in one factory and another? A logical way would be the publication of reports and discussion articles by the workers' bodies in the Cuban press. This should include public discussion and debate, with the right to seek support for all viewpoints that stand within the framework of unconditional defense of the revolution.

The outcome of such a process would be the creation of permanent institutions of proletarian democracy

that would forge deep bonds between the masses and the revolutionary leadership while at the same time providing for constant correction of the leadership by the masses.

As long as the workers cannot effectively participate in making decisions, the risk remains that they will not feel responsible for carrying them out either. This raises the very real danger of isolation of the revolutionary leadership and its degeneration under the pressure of special interest groups—of privileged or would-be

privileged layers within the workers state.

The Cuban leaders take these dangers seriously. In the context of the very complex Cuban reality, living under the guns of American imperialism, they are struggling to find a workable solution to the problems. We must agree with Fidel Castro's assessment of the period ahead: "We really believe the Revolution is faced by a challenge greater than any it has ever faced before, one of its most difficult tasks."

## And How Many Others?

# Kennedy Weighed Assassinating Castro

Even before his victory in the 1960 presidential election, John F. Kennedy had begun considering ways to overturn the revolutionary government of Cuba, including such means as having Fidel Castro assassinated and creating incidents at the Guantánamo Bay naval base as a pretext for invading the country.

This was revealed in August when the John F. Kennedy Memorial Library opened to the public its collection of "oral history" interviews with persons who knew Kennedy.

According to the August 17 *New York Times*, "The reference to the assassination plot against Premier Castro . . . was contained in a 165-page transcript of a series of interviews with Mr. Smathers [George Smathers, a Democratic party senator from Florida], who frequently accompanied Mr. Kennedy on trips to Florida. Although the transcript has been heavily edited, deleting passages apparently dealing with the Bay of Pigs and the United States-Soviet missile crisis of 1962, it gave a detailed account of conversations with the President from the period just before his election victory."

In an interview on March 31, 1964, Smathers stated: "I don't know whether he brought it up or I brought it up. We had further conversation on assassination of Fidel Castro, what would be the reaction, how would the people react, would the people be gratified."

"As I recollect," Smathers continued,

"he was just throwing out a great barrage of questions—he was certain it could be accomplished—I remember that—it would be no great problem. But the question was whether or not it would accomplish that which he wanted it to, whether or not the reaction throughout South America would be good or bad.

"And I talked with him about it, and, frankly, at this particular time I felt and later on learned that he did, that I wasn't so much for the idea of assassination, particularly where it could be pinned to the U.S."

Kennedy and Smathers then went on to consider the possibility of provoking an incident at the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo Bay to provide a pretext for an invasion of Cuba. In the interview, Smathers said:

"I did talk to him about a plan of having a false attack made on Guantánamo Bay which would give us the excuse of actually fomenting a fight which would then give us the excuse to go in and do the job.

"He asked me to write him something about it. And I think I did."

When Kennedy became president, he discovered that plans for the Bay of Pigs invasion were already developed, and he presumably decided that these plans were superior to those he had discussed with Smathers.

The Smathers interview, of course, raises some interesting questions about the activities of the U.S. government. Have there been any other occasions when phoney attacks were



arranged in order to create a pretext for military strikes—for example, the Gulf of Tonkin incident in August, 1964?

And if one of the duties of the president of the United States is to con-

sider assassinating Fidel Castro, does he also plot—and perhaps carry out—the assassination of other foreign leaders, particularly when it can't "be pinned to the U. S."? What about Congolese premier Patrice Lumumba?

Finally, is assassination utilized only abroad, or do domestic opponents also rate the attention of the president? Was Malcolm X less of a threat to American capitalism than Fidel Castro?

## New Stage of Women's Liberation Movement

# 35,000 in Militant New York March

By Eva Chertov and Ruth Cheney

Tens of thousands of women took to the streets in cities throughout the United States August 26 to demonstrate their anger at thousands of years of forced confinement in the home and their oppressive degradation as workers and as sex objects. The largest turnout was in New York City, where some 35,000-40,000 women of all ages and from every sector of American society emerged from their silence and anonymity to march down Fifth Avenue for a massive rally in New York's Bryant Park.

The day was officially titled the August 26 Strike for Women's Equality by a coalition of women's liberation organizations. Initiated in New York, the action was national in scale, with demonstrations called by local coalitions in Washington, D. C., San Francisco, Chicago, San Diego, Los Angeles, Boston, Cleveland, and Austin, Texas.

(The majority of people who worked on and organized the Women's Strike for Equality never expected it to be an actual nationwide work stoppage, but rather a day of demonstrations to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of women having won the right to vote.)

The Women's Strike had three central demands: (1) free twenty-four-hour child-care centers under community control; (2) free abortion on demand; and (3) equal job and educational opportunities. These demands have won virtually universal support among women nationally. They provided a focus for the actions of the day and their radical character was chiefly responsible for the militant tone of many of the demonstrations.

The New York demonstration and rally were the most militant as well as being the largest. The march was called to begin at 5:30 p.m., after

working hours, so that working women could take part. The size of the turnout clearly established the women's liberation movement as a mass movement and not a "creation of the press," or a bunch of small, middle-class discussion groups as the bourgeois communications media have alleged. The myth of the middle-class character of the movement was exploded by the large contingents of Black and Puerto Rican women, women workers, and high school youth.

The ages of the women ran from three to ninety and in outlook they ranged from bourgeois women in revolt to socialist feminists.

New York's Mayor John Lindsay evidently believed, as did many of the demonstration's chief organizers, that the march would be small enough to be confined to one lane of Fifth Avenue for which official permission was granted, although the coalition had requested the entire street. But as 5:30 approached, the area was overflowing with thousands of women, as well as an unexpectedly large number of male supporters.

Neither the police nor the demonstration's organizers could even begin to clear the allotted one lane for the march to begin, and as 6:00 p.m. arrived the milling thousands of women were demanding to move, not realizing that their sheer numbers prevented it.

Finally the police were forced to remove the barricades set up to restrict the march. The women's front line moved out into the entire width of the avenue as the police scurried to reorganize themselves and stop traffic on the side streets and on the main route of the march. The press swarmed out into the street ahead of the march; mounted police began to move the

onlookers—who were five and six deep along the entire route—back on to the sidewalks.

Women marshals moved into formation on the front line with arms linked, spreading from curb to curb in a solid front as the women began to move down the street behind them. The press were there by the hundreds, from many European countries as well as the entire political spectrum of the U. S. bourgeois and radical media.

The dominant feeling among the women marchers was buoyant. Militant pride was coupled with an awed amazement at their own numbers and the realization that they had emerged as a powerful independent mass movement. Even the most militant feminists were surprised at the size of the demonstration, inasmuch as the women's liberation movement in the U. S. is barely a year old and has had only one previous demonstration in New York—the People to Abolish Abortion Laws march and rally in March, 1970, that drew 5,000 women.

The speakers at the rally in New York included writer Gloria Steinem; Nancy Stearns, a lawyer specializing in abortion cases; Eleanor Holmes Norton, chairman of the Human Rights Commission; a woman from the Third World Women's Alliance; Kate Millet, author of the book *Sexual Politics*; Bella Abzug, Democratic party congressional candidate; Ruthann Miller, Socialist Workers party candidate for comptroller in New York City; Betty Friedan, former president of the National Organization of Women; and a woman from the Radical Lesbians.

Jo O'Brien, an editor of *Socialist Woman*, a British women's liberation magazine, brought greetings to the rally from the international women's movement. She was featured in live

television and radio news broadcasts that night.

The tone for the rally was set by the radical speakers, who were cheered by the giant crowd. The more conservative representatives were forced to adopt an unusually militant posture in order to maintain the sympathy of the audience.

Perhaps one of the greatest testimonies to how far-reaching the women's liberation movement has become in the short year since it surfaced was the sudden about-face done by the bourgeois press the week before the demonstration. Feature articles on the strike appeared in all of New York's main newspapers. There were banner headlines for days in all the big papers. The *Daily News*, the city's most reactionary tabloid, surprised everyone by the comparatively fair tone it adopted toward the movement. They culminated their week of almost-honest reporting with an August 26 headline, "Woman Power Strikes Today."

Reports from other areas of the country indicate that this type of coverage was the norm.

The foreign press was also in and out of the strike headquarters almost constantly during the week.

The important factor here is not just the quantity of coverage but the generally serious, and often militant tone of the articles. This was not because of a change of heart on the part of some sophisticated publishers. It was evidence of the massive pressure of one of the fastest growing social movements in U.S. history—a movement that is independent of both capitalist parties.

Another reason for the favorable press coverage was the growing support for the demonstration's three demands among women employees of the communications media. This support by a privileged section of women workers is another indication of the powerful growth of feminist consciousness throughout the country in the last year.

The Washington correspondent of the *Daily News* in his article "Male Supremacy Has One Foot in the Grave" (August 26) clearly showed the impact that the demonstration has had in official circles:

"It should dawn on leaders of the Republican and Democratic parties that women are no longer funny or pliable with the techniques of 'old politics.' They are not suckers any longer

for the blarney about home and motherhood, nor taken in by sweeping campaign year promises about their future significant role in the affairs of the nation."

The *Daily News* reporter also pointed to the lack of response on the part of the Nixon administration to the militant demands of the movement.

Virtually the entire organized left in the United States with the exception of the American Trotskyists—the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance—found themselves on the sidelines during the women's strike. The SWP and YSA have been the only tendency to enthusiastically support the three central demands of the strike and to take part in the building of the independent women's movement.

From the Maoist Progressive Labor party to the pro-Moscow Communist party USA, the other "traditional" radical organizations have been distrustful of women's liberation because of its alleged "middle-class character" or because it would supposedly "divide the working class" along sex lines. Although couched in very leftist phrases, these criticisms usually boil

down to fears of the *independent* dynamic of the movement, which in the case of the Communist party endangers its program of reforms within the Democratic party. While the SWP was able to play a prominent role in organizing the activities of August 26, the other tendencies were notable for their invisibility.

In focusing on demands that go to the heart of the oppression embodied in the family itself, the women's liberation movement is involving tens of thousands of women in struggles that have a transitional character, pitting them face-to-face against the defenders of this key pillar of bourgeois society.

The women who came together on August 26 are now armed with a clear program around which to continue to build a nationwide struggle.

The size, breadth of support, and the militancy of the demonstrations left no doubt that the women's liberation movement has established itself on U.S. soil as one of the most significant components of the deepening radicalization that is bringing one sector after another into the struggle for fundamental social change.

## Jo O'Brien's Speech to Women's Rally

[The remarks below were delivered by Jo O'Brien at a rally of more than 35,000 women, demonstrating for equality in New York on August 26.

[Jo O'Brien is an editor of *Socialist Woman*, a British women's liberation journal published by the Nottingham Socialist Women's Committee. On August 27 she completed a tour of ten cities in the U.S. and Canada in which she reported on the growth of the women's liberation movement in England.]  
American Sisters,

I bring you greetings and solidarity from the Nottingham Socialist Women's Committee which is a women's liberation group in England.

Women's liberation movements in many countries are demanding equal job and education opportunities, free child-care facilities, and free abortion on demand. These demands are universal because the oppression of women is worldwide.

All societies function as they do be-

cause women work in the labor force for insufficient wages, and in the home for no pay at all. But we shall be robbed no longer. We demand the state provision all facilities which will improve our lives.

We reject the tyranny of unwanted pregnancy, and demand freely available contraception and abortion. We demand child-care facilities that will ease the burden of the working mother, and give all women an alternative to confinement in the home. We deny the female stereotype which for so long has been projected by our society so that our labor can go unrewarded, our minds can be crippled, and our bodies used.

The women's liberation movement is international because the social injustices that cause our oppression are universal. We are taking hold of our future; and in unity there is strength. In spirit we are an international movement, and soon we shall become one in action too.

Female liberation now!



# Ovando Regime Survives New Crisis

By Gerry Foley

The Ovando regime in Bolivia faced an acute crisis in late July and early August.

The most spectacular incident was the guerrilla raid July 19 on the mining town of Teoponte, 100 miles north of La Paz.

About thirty guerrillas, reportedly members of the ELN (Ejército de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Army, the guerrilla force led by Che Guevara in 1967), occupied the town at dawn.

Before withdrawing, the guerrillas burned the offices of the U.S. gold-mining company South American Placers, sabotaged radio installations, seized the company funds, and took about fifteen hostages. The commando group was led by Osvaldo Peredo, the brother of Inti Peredo, according to a London *Times* dispatch August 2.

Shortly after the raid, the guerrillas released thirteen of their captives. They held two German technicians, Eugen Schulhauser and Günther Lerch, to be exchanged for imprisoned revolutionists.

On July 22 the Ovando government accepted the guerrillas' demand. The following ten political prisoners were released: Loyola Guzmán, Enrique Ortega (Victor Guerra), Gerardo Burmúdez, Julio Melgar Antelo, Victor Córdoba (Huascar), Roberto Moreira, Rodolfo Saldaña, Juan Sánchez, and Benigno Coronado.

*Le Monde* commented on the exchange in a front-page editorial July 24: "Of course the Bolivian leaders have presented the release of ten political prisoners in exchange for the lives of two German technicians as a 'humanitarian measure.' La Paz, whose nationalism is no less touchy than that of Brasilia, Buenos Aires, or Guatemala, no doubt had to take account of very strong recommendations by the government of the German Federal Republic, whose interests in Bolivia are considerable."

The Teoponte raid was played up in the press as the first major guerrilla operation since Che Guevara's column



—By David, in "Direct from Cuba"

General Alfredo Ovando Candia

was crushed in 1967. The papers claimed that the intent of the attack was to launch a new "foco" in the tropical jungle of Alto Beni to the north of La Paz.

On July 21 the Ovando regime declared a state of siege. Three provinces were designated as a "military zone."

Ovando's son Marcelo was killed July 26 when his fighter plane crashed in the area of Teoponte. The Bolivian government announced that eight guerrillas and one army corporal were killed in a clash in the same area July 30.

Arrests of left-wing leaders followed within three days of the declaration of a state of siege. Those jailed included Juan Lechín, the executive secretary

of the COB (Central Obrero Boliviano—Bolivian Labor Federation); Nuflo Chávez Ortiz, former vice-president of the country and a leader of the old ruling party, the MNR (Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario—Revolutionary Nationalist Movement); José Morales Guillén, the general secretary of PRIN (Partido Revolucionario de Izquierda Nacionalista—Revolutionary party of the Nationalist left); Raúl Gonzáles, general secretary of the pro-Peking Communist party; Jorge Ríos Dalence, leader of the Revolutionary Christian Democratic party; Carlos Serrat Reich of the MNR; and José María Palacio, a leader of the Revolutionary Workers Front, a group of PRIN dissidents.

The COB, of which Lechín is the official head, adopted very militant positions May 9 on workers power and independence of the workers movement from the military regime.

Several student leaders were reported to have been arrested at the same time as the leftist political and trade-union leaders.

A rapid radicalization of the students was already evident in the mass protests that followed the burial June 15 of the murdered leftist student leader Jenny Koeller and her husband Elmo Catalán, a Chilean journalist. Rightist attacks on the universities had begun before the imposition of the state of siege.

The occupation of the Gabriel René Moreno campus in Santa Cruz by a rightist gang was discussed in the July 15-31 issue of *Combate*, the clandestine organ of the POR (Partido Obrero Revolucionario—Revolutionary Workers party, the Bolivian section of the Fourth International).

*Combate* called for a popular mobilization to drive the rightists off the campus: "The problem at the University of Santa Cruz is an expression of the class struggle. Therefore we must bring the weight of the working class, the peasantry, and the poor sectors of the middle class to bear in this conflict."

The same issue of the POR paper

carried a declaration by the student federation at the University of Cochabamba in support of Bolivia's political prisoners. The students called on the "entire people to deal another blow to imperialism and the CIA by freeing the patriots who are confined in the San Pedro prison, the women's penitentiary, and the military prison of Camiri."

The statement denounced the treatment of the jailed revolutionists, who, "accused of being guerrillas, are subjected to corporal punishment and to actual torture in the jails called 'La Muralla' [The Wall] and 'La Plancha' [The Gangplank]. As a result of such treatment the student José Moreno Villegas is gravely ill. The lives of the prisoners are in constant danger."

The students ended their statement with this affirmation: "We are not terrified by the vile and monstrous murder of our comrades Jenny and Elmo. To the contrary, this act arouses us and steels us to the struggle."

"Glory to Jenny Koeller! Glory to Elmo Catalán!

"Freedom for Rodolfo Saldaña, who is now being tortured in the DIC [Dirección de Investigaciones Criminales — Criminal Investigation Bureau, the political police].

"Stop the persecution of revolutionists! Hands off Dr. Hugo González Moscoso. Glory to Inti Peredo! Glory to Che Guevara!"

Minister of Information Alberto Bailey resigned July 27, accusing reactionary elements in the government and the armed forces of protecting the rightist gang occupying the University of La Paz.

A united front of students and workers called a mass demonstration for Wednesday, July 29, in defense of university autonomy.

Ovando, however, was able to head off a confrontation.

He assured a delegation of miners that he would use force if necessary to remove the rightists. He appealed to the Catholic hierarchy to persuade the occupiers to leave. The church officials were apparently successful, although it was reported that the rightists roughed up the archbishop of La Paz, Jorge Manrique, calling him "an ally of the Communists."

The crisis increased the dissension in the military government. This surfaced in June when General Juan José Torres was dismissed from the cab-

inet. Torres was the minister most closely identified with the Ovando regime's "nationalist" course.

Commenting on the ouster of Torres in its July 15-31 issue, *Combate* described the junta's differences as "tactical." The POR paper noted that in his press conference of July 7 General Torres argued that "revolutionary nationalism" was the "only barrier to the advance of Communism."

The commanders of the three armed services responded sharply to Bailey's accusations of reactionary influence in the military, denouncing the minister of information for "perfidious calumny," "demagoguery," and "incompetence." The commanders accused Bailey of wanting to "break the unity of the armed forces."

On August 3 *Prensa*, the weekly of the journalists' union, accused General Rogelio Miranda, the commander of the army, and Colonel Juan Ayoroa, the minister of the interior, of plotting to overthrow the government. The paper claimed that the next forty-eight hours would be decisive and appealed to the people to "come into the streets" to forestall any coup.

On the same day, General Torres's

bodyguards beat off six policemen who came to arrest him on the express orders of the minister of the interior. Torres reportedly took refuge in the home of the president. Bailey again offered his resignation, which this time was accepted.

A group of officers demanded the resignation of all the cabinet ministers and the three top military commanders, according to an August 5 Agence France-Presse dispatch. All members of the government except Ovando resigned August 4.

On August 8 General Miranda made a violent speech, apparently aimed at his opponents in the government. "Demagogues," he declared, "are our perpetual enemy. They want to replace our tricolor with the red emblem of hatred."

On August 10 Minister of the Interior Ayoroa banned the journalists' union paper.

Ovando formed a new cabinet August 11 which was reportedly quite similar in composition to the previous one. The post of minister of information was again given to a liberal, Carlos Carrasco, a former MNR deputy.

## Greece

### Trotskyist Given Harsh Prison Term

Among the thirty-seven antidictatorial fighters tried before the Athens military tribunal in the first half of July was the Trotskyist worker Theologos Psaradelles, who was sentenced to twelve years and three months in prison. The twenty-eight-year-old revolutionist was arrested in April 1969, charged with breaking into a military depot and stealing explosive materials.

After his arrest Psaradelles succeeded in escaping from the Mytilene prison and crossing to Turkey by boat. From there he went to Bulgaria but the bureaucratic authorities refused to grant him political asylum. While trying to make his way back to Turkey he was captured in Ebros by the junta's police.

In his speech to the court, Psaradelles said: "I confess in the name of all workers. I struggle together with all of the oppressed people of

the earth. I am a militant of the Fourth International."

When the presiding judge asked him why he had been turned back from Bulgaria, Psaradelles answered: "That concerns only me, the Bulgarian bureaucracy, and the Bulgarian proletariat."

#### Yuyitung Brothers Sentenced in Taiwan

Rizal and Quintin Yuyitung were sentenced to three and two years' imprisonment respectively by a military court in Taiwan August 14. The two brothers had been flown to Taiwan from their home in the Philippines on the order of President Ferdinand Marcos May 5 while their appeal of a deportation order was still pending before the Philippine Supreme Court.

The "crime" of which the Yuyitungs were convicted by Chiang Kai-shek's court was the printing of material favorable to China in the newspaper which they published in Manila. Their paper had also criticized Marcos.

## Dispute in Swedish CP over 'Trotzki im Exil'

[Peter Weiss's play *Trotzki im Exil* remains a highly controversial subject in the Communist party press of Sweden where the renowned playwright lives.

[Gösta Kempe, writing in the ultra-Stalinist paper *Norrskensflamman*, resorted to slandering Trotsky and Weiss.

[In the June 7-9 issue of the official party newspaper *Ny Dag*, Sam Johanson replied with an ambivalent defense of Peter Weiss.

[Kempe responded with an article in the June 24-30 issue of *Ny Dag* in which he sought to refute Johanson's arguments.

[Peter Weiss then intervened in the dispute with a short article in the July 8-14 issue of *Ny Dag*.

[The following is our translation of this article.]

\* \* \*

To illustrate the scandalous method of falsification used by Gösta Kempe, it is sufficient to point out the following formulation which is to be found in his contribution in the June 24-30 issue of *Ny Dag*.

Referring to Lenin's Letter to the Congress, his so-called Testament, Kempe says: "Lenin noted Trotsky's non-Bolshevik past, thereby warning the party of his dangerous backsliding into Menshevism. Lenin recalled Kamenev's and Zinoviev's strike-breaking at the time of the October Revolution . . . etc."

In fact, in his Testament Lenin singled out Trotsky as perhaps the most capable member of the Central Committee, noting at the same time that he was dominated by excessive self-confidence and overly concerned with the purely administrative side of things.

In the Testament Lenin goes on to say: "I shall just recall that the October episode with Zinoviev and Kamenev was, of course, no accident, but neither can the blame for it be laid on them personally, any more than non-Bolshevism can on Trotsky" (page 752 in volume 5 of the Swedish

translation of Lenin's selected works published in Moscow in 1956).

As a dialectician Lenin stressed the positive qualities of his closest collaborators. When Kempe offers a list of attacks by Lenin on Trotsky, he covers up the fact that naturally a corresponding list could be made up of positive assessments—and that goes not only for Trotsky but all those with whom Lenin had disputes. I need only mention Rosa Luxemburg!

The kind of partisan selection indulged in by Kempe is absurd and reactionary—worthy of petty-bourgeois scribblers.

The whole problem that appears here in connection with the criticism

of my play about Trotsky, it seems to me, lies in a new struggle between *dialectical thought* and *dogmatic ossification*!

The Stalinist clinging to an irrational misrepresentation of "Trotskyism" is an expression of a bottomless fear of change and renewal.

In my view people like Kempe are the gravediggers of the Communist party.

Those who cannot accept the living process of thesis and antithesis, who shrink from controversial questions, from sharp discussion, who entrench themselves behind prejudices and lies have nothing in common with Marxism and still less with Leninism!

## Why Nixon Keeps Up the War

### Oil—the Big Prize in Vietnam?

Vast undersea oil reserves in Southeast Asia may help provide an explanation for the American involvement in Vietnam, according to Joachim Joesten, writing in the May 22 issue of the Zurich weekly, *Die Weltwoche*.

Joesten, author of the book *Who Owns the Ocean?*, says that the "off-shore oil regions of Southeast Asia, that is, the underwater deposits which lie within the coastal waters of the adjoining states, according to statements of experts are three times as large as all the hitherto known off-shore production regions of the entire world taken together."

One of the experts is an American geologist with fifteen years' experience of prospecting in the region, who "believes things can go so far that in five years the offshore oil fields on the coasts of Thailand, Cambodia, Malaysia, South Vietnam, and Indonesia will produce 400,000,000 barrels of oil daily—far more than today is produced in the entire western world."

Western oil companies have been quick to lay claim to these huge reserves: "Already the Gulf of Siam is crossed by a thick net of squares which

separate from each other the concessions obtained by Amoco, Gulf, Conoco, the Union Oil Company, Tenneco, BP [British Petroleum], and Esso.

"Almost all these concessions stretch from the coast of Thailand and Malaysia up to 400 kilometers or even more into the Gulf. . . . On the northern end of the Gulf, Amoco and the Gulf Oil Corporation have divided concessions which embrace the entire width of the Gulf. Esso and Continental Oil (Conoco) have already begun test drillings in water sixty meters deep, 130 to 200 kilometers from the coast of Malaysia. More than forty oil companies from nine countries are taking part in the massive oil search, and most of them are either completely American or work with capital, a decisive part of which comes from the USA. . . ."

Joesten believes these facts are behind the determination of Johnson and Nixon to maintain friendly dictators in power in Southeast Asia. "The American engagement in Indochina, which must appear to most observers—not only in foreign countries but

also in the USA—as completely incomprehensible, becomes more understandable from this point of view. Like his predecessor Lyndon B. Johnson, President Nixon has for decades had

the closest connections with the oil industry, not only as a politician, but also as a lawyer. . . .

"If hostile powers were to succeed in occupying the coast of Cambodia

and penetrating beyond that to Thailand or even Malaysia, the entire gigantic concession region in the Gulf of Siam would be in extreme danger, if not irreparably lost."

## Socialist Candidate on Far East Tour

# Andrew Pulley Well Received in Ceylon, Australia

Andrew Pulley, a leading activist in the Black liberation and antiwar struggles and the Socialist Workers party candidate for Congress from San Francisco, has completed a highly successful tour of the Far East. [For reports on earlier portions of Pulley's tour, see the July 20 and July 27 issues of *Intercontinental Press*, pages 679 and 704.]

In Colombo, where Pulley spoke to a meeting of more than 500 sponsored by the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary) [LSSP(R)—the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International] and the Revolutionary Socialist League, the Ceylon *Daily News* reported that he "held the local revolutionaries spellbound." He described both the Black liberation movement and the fight against the Indochina war in the United States, and criticized the Soviet Union and China for failing to provide sufficient aid to the Vietnamese revolutionaries.

The *Daily News* quoted him in its July 7 issue as saying, "Russia and China attack each other but want peaceful co-existence with the capitalist world. . . . The capitalists are not like that. The American capitalists go to the aid of the British imperialists and likewise, when Ceylonese capitalists are in trouble the American capitalists will come to their aid."

Members of the LSSP(R) were able to arrange for Pulley to speak over Radio Ceylon, the state radio station. In a letter to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, the secretary of the LSSP(R), Bala Tampoe, said: "Since the United Front Government has declared its solidarity with and support for all national liberation struggles against imperialism and colonialism, I trust that your Ministry will avail itself of this opportunity to enable the people of Ceylon to hear

an authentic voice of the people in the United States who are actively opposing the U.S. war in Indo-China."

When he arrived at the station for his interview, Pulley was greeted enthusiastically by some eighty of the station's employees.

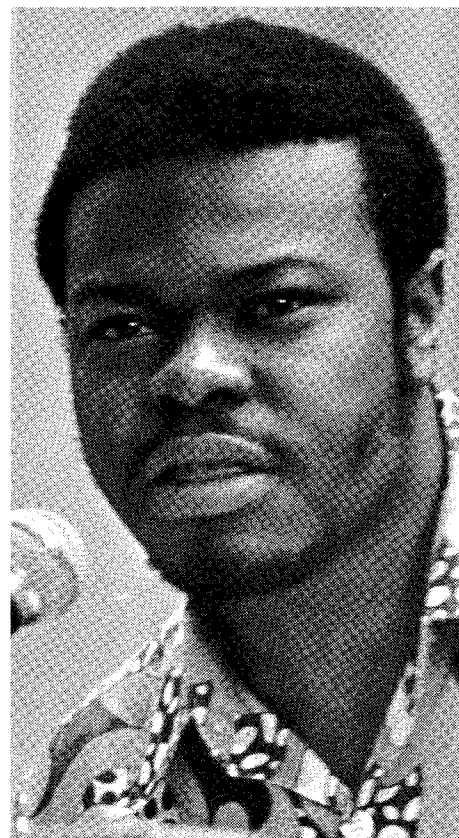
On July 10 Pulley flew from Ceylon to Australia where the Resistance, a revolutionary socialist youth organization, had organized meetings for him in Sydney, Adelaide, Melbourne, and Canberra.

His tour received a good deal of attention from the Australian press, articles appearing in such papers as *The Age* (Melbourne), the *Canberra Australian*, and the *Melbourne Sun*.

A columnist in the July 14 issue of *The Age* noted that Pulley was able to provide many people who heard him with new information about the antiwar movement in the United States:

"Mr. Pulley explained . . . that the best way to fight war was from within [the army]."

"This came as a shock to many of the students who had banked mainly on draft resistance, as the only way to end fighting."



Andrew Pulley

## Thousands Hear Pulley in New Zealand

By George Fyson

Wellington

Thousands of New Zealanders heard Andrew Pulley during his visit to this country. He spoke at eight meetings during his week-long stay beginning July 16. Everywhere he spoke his reception was most enthusiastic. Pulley is the first Black militant from the U.S. ever to visit New Zealand, whose original inhabitants, the

Maoris, and other Polynesians in the country, find themselves in a very similar position to that of Black people in the United States.

The press gave reasonable coverage to his views. They were especially interested in his analysis of the revolutionary anticapitalist thrust of the Black liberation and antiwar movements. Pulley appeared on the most

popular current affairs programme on nationwide television, answering questions on the "Fort Jackson Eight" [Pulley and seven other GIs who in 1969 were imprisoned and threatened with courts-martial because of their participation in an antiwar meeting on a military base] and the antiwar movement.

In Wellington on July 17 Pulley spoke at an antiwar teach-in of about 500 students at Victoria University, and again at an antiwar rally of about 900 people outside the Town Hall that night. The next day 600 students from Palmerston North heard him speak, and the day after that 600 more in Auckland's liberated free speech area, Albert Park, were present to hear him.

On July 20 about 200 students at Waikato University heard him on the topic of the antiwar movement and the world revolution. Pulley explained the importance of an independent mass antiwar movement, and the danger of the capitalist "peace" politicians, who draw forces away from the struggle into "safe" channels. He emphasised the significance of the recent influx of trade unionists in the U.S. into the antiwar movement, because eventually it was the labour movement which would be able to force the imperialists out of Indochina.

That evening 250 at another Auckland meeting heard Pulley on Black nationalism. Questioners suggested that Black liberation divides the working class, but Pulley explained that capitalism divided the working class long ago, and that the Black libera-

tion movement reflects this division. The important thing was to unite the working class on the basis of struggle, and the unity of Black and white workers during the recent postal strike in the U.S. is an example of this.

In Christchurch 550 people heard Pulley speak on Black nationalism and the antiwar movement, and at a Militant Forum of the Socialist Action League on the final day of his tour, 120 people heard him speak on Black nationalism.

At this meeting some Maoists, supported by a member of New Zealand's Spartacist League, fiercely attacked the concept of self-determination as divisive and counterrevolutionary. The Progressive Labor party [PL] in the U.S. was held up by these Maoists as a shining example of the correct stand on the Black struggle.

Pulley explained that PL completely misunderstands the revolutionary process. PL opposes self-determination because it cannot be obtained under capitalism, and instead says Black workers should unite with white workers to "fight capitalism." Pulley explained that transitional demands link the present struggle with the anticapitalist revolution, and when workers fight for them they then realize capitalism must be abolished. If, as PL suggests, Blacks should limit themselves to demands which can be granted under capitalism, why would they ever want to overthrow capitalism at all?

Throughout his tour Pulley also explained many other questions of Trotskyist theory and practice to a considerable section of the newly radicalizing youth of New Zealand.

## Bunker Bars Pulley from Vietnam

On July 26 Pulley landed at Saigon's Tan Son Nhut airport. His intention was to talk to American servicemen stationed in Vietnam. As he had told the press in Australia: "I'm a candidate for Congress and some of my constituents are fighting in Vietnam. I want to speak to them—they may want to vote for me."

Pulley, however, was not permitted to enter the country. Vietnamese immigration officials told him they had been given strict orders by U.S. Am-

bassador Ellsworth Bunker to keep him out. Pulley was forced to board a plane for Bangkok.

The Socialist Workers party California Campaign Committee immediately denounced this action by the U.S. government, pointing out that figures like California senator George Murphy, who supports Nixon's war policy, are allowed to visit Vietnam. The Campaign Committee charged that Pulley's opposition to the war was the sole reason for excluding him.

## Japan

# Kansai Rally Acclaims Foreign Antiwar Activists

By Wataru Yakushiji

### Osaka

On August 11 more than 1,000 militant workers, students, and citizens participated in the "Kansai Rally Against the War and War Machines and for Solidarity Between the U.S. and Japanese Peoples." [Kansai is the urban area which includes Osaka, Kobe, and Kyoto.] The meeting was sponsored by Deigo-no-Kai [Osaka Association for Solidarity with Okinawa], the Osaka chapter of Fujin-

Minshu-Kurabu [Women's Association for Democracy], and Kansai-Beheiren [Kansai District Association of Citizens' Movements for Peace in Vietnam], with the cooperation of forty workers, citizens, and political organizations such as the All-Osaka Antiwar Workers Front, Zengakurens [Student Self-Government Associations], the Osaka Chapter of Gensuikin [Council Against A- and H-Bombs], Kansai chapter of the Japan Revolutionary Communist

League [Japanese section of the Fourth International], and many other militant antiwar organizations.

The organization of the rally was itself of great significance, since in the past the sectarianism of "New Left" tendencies has interfered with such efforts. The success of the meeting also indicated that militant revolutionaries now realize the necessity for true internationalism. As the *Mainichi*, one of Japan's three largest newspapers, put

it in its August 12 issue: "The rally appealed for massive antiwar actions on both sides of national borders."

While various ultraleft, spontanéist, and new-left tendencies have lost their support after two years of mass explosions and have now begun to disappear under severe repression by the regime, revolutionary groups and organizations have taken the initiative in building a united front for the common goal of socialist revolution.

Finally, the rally was also a clear expression of the working masses denying the leadership of the Sohyo [General Council of Japanese Trade Unions] bureaucrats and the Socialist party, which is moving to the right.

Speakers at the rally included Andrew Pulley, who described the antiwar movement in the U.S. and his experiences in the American army; Sabine Dotar of the Communist League [French section of the Fourth International], who described her experiences in the struggles in France; and Makoto Konishi, who initiated an antimilitary struggle inside the Air Defense Corps of Japan and who now faces trial for violation of the totalitarian Defense Corps Law.

Saneaki Towaka, vice-chairman of the Public Service Workers Union of Okinawa, asked for a massive soli-

darity struggle of workers and students on the mainland with the struggle of Okinawans for the return of their island to Japan and demilitarization of the island.

Massive applause greeted Nguyen Gok Dzuan, a South Vietnamese studying in Japan, when he appealed for international solidarity with the Vietnamese struggle for socialist revolution.

The participants in the rally completely isolated the sectarian and ultraleft tendencies, approving wholeheartedly Pulley's and Konishi's insistence that the USSR and China should have offered far greater aid to the struggle against U.S. imperialism and that the common goal of the mass movements in the imperialist countries is the immediate unconditional withdrawal of imperialist troops from Vietnam, Okinawa, and all of Asia.

Solidarity messages from the Student Mobilization Committee and the Socialist Workers party in the U.S. and the Communist League in France were greeted with loud applause. After the rally, the participants marched through the center of Osaka with the speakers leading the demonstration.

With the participation of the women's liberation movement, the rally marked the beginning of a new stage in the antiwar movement in this country.

dead," "Gowon should not go to Britain," and "Nigerian Youths sympathize with Southern Africa Youths."

At the end of the three-and-a-half-hour march, which sent the British High Commission in Lagos panicking, Mr. Edward Heath, the British prime minister, was burnt in effigy, along with the Union Jack.

In their address, the leaders demanded that only a total liberation of the Black majority in Southern Africa from white minority rule could satisfy the people of Africa, and that Nigeria should lead other African states out of the British Commonwealth with a view to setting up an African High Command.

The mass protest is but the beginning of regular campaigns to be jointly organized throughout Nigeria against the British sales of arms to Vorster, one leader said. A resolution urging the head of state, Major-General Yakubu Gowon, not to go to Britain on the invitation of the new Tory regime was unanimously adopted.

The Kano demonstration, led by Alhaji Amino Kano, federal government commissioner for communications, was equally successful. A mock coffin, signifying the death of the British Commonwealth of Nations, was forwarded to the offices of the British High Commission, together with petitions against the decision of the British Tory government to supply arms to the minority regime in South Africa for the subjection and annihilation of the African majority in their homeland.

## Nigeria

### Protests Score Heath-Vorster Arms Deal

By Woki Woka

#### Lagos

Thousands of Nigerians, especially members of the Nigerian Solidarity Youth Council, Nigerian Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization (NAASO), Nigerian Trade Union Congress, Nigerian Youth Thinkers Club and the Black Renaissance Movement staged mammoth, peaceful protest demonstrations in Lagos and Kano on Saturday, August 1, against the British government's move to sell arms to the apartheid South African regime of Prime Minister Vorster.

The Lagos march was more than three miles long, and held up traffic for several hours in various parts of Lagos Island as surging, chanting

demonstrators hit the road with slogans denouncing British criminal intentions in Africa. Commencing from Row Park in Yaba, the irate but peaceful demonstrators with leaders of NAASO and Nigerian Solidarity Youth Council in the forefront headed for Oyingbo through Sabo. They were joined by ever more agitated citizens on the way. Two South Africans, Dev. Galada and I. Rammopo, both tutors in the Western State of Nigeria, joined the demonstrators.

There were scores of placards and banners, some of which read "External arms is offensive to Africa," "Arms to South Africa is a total war against black Africa," "The Commonwealth is

#### Cambodian "Freedom Fighters"

"Apparently the smell of death — and money — has lured some of the more notorious white mercenaries to Cambodia. Wearing bush shirts, and various souvenirs of Vietnam, Biafra and the Congo, they sat in the bars of the Monorom and Royal hotels waiting, like actors, or expensive call-girls, for someone to come up with the right offer. They met Cambodian generals by day, and by night reminisced about the good old days when 'we were paid a clean \$20 a head.' A famous German (an ex-Nazi, perhaps) who had flown MIGs for the Nigerians during the Biafra war was seen at Phnom Penh's Pochentong airport. One disappeared to Saigon for a few days and then returned, saying: 'The talks have gone well. The only question now is whether our activities can be financed out of US aid funds.'" — *Far Eastern Economic Review*, July 9, 1970.



## The New Regime's First Year in Power

By Ali El Fezzan

Tripoli

As the overturn of September 1, 1969, approaches its first anniversary, it is timely to make an assessment of its achievements and failures.

Taking place in what was, politically, one of the most backward of the Arab states, the September 1 revolt undoubtedly gave a tremendous impetus to the cause of the Arab revolution. Led by men from the lower echelons of the officer corps, the new regime inevitably displayed characteristic petty-bourgeois weaknesses and waverings. But, as they began to grapple with the tasks confronting them, they found themselves compelled along a more radical road than they had at first anticipated.

This found expression in the emergence of Colonel Mu'amar El-Quathafi as the principal spokesman. Quathafi is a devout Moslem and a declared opponent of Marxism. Within the limitations of this framework, however, he is completely dedicated to the Arab national revolution.

From the first he conceived that his tasks could only be accomplished on an Arab scale and not within the confines of the national frontiers of Libya. He has consistently pursued his goals on these lines, leading him into the closest collaboration with Egypt's Nasser and the Gaafar al-Nimeiry regime in the Sudan. This will find its first practical expression in the customs union which comes into force on January 1.

Any policy that aims at the greater cohesion of the Arab people and that threatens the Zionist outpost of imperialism in the Middle East must reckon with the hostility of the imperialist powers. Imperialism held powerful positions within Libya. The oil fields, source of the country's vast wealth, were being exploited by the great oil combines of the capitalist world; all the commercial banks were foreign-owned; the United States and Britain maintained large military bases. All this posed a direct threat to the declared aims of the September 1 leaders.

As a first blow at the forces of imperialism, the Revolutionary Command

Council, by decree, took over a controlling interest in all foreign banks, with the state-owned Bank of Libya having an overriding control of all financial transactions.

Then came the demand that the United States and Britain vacate the military bases which they occupied by agreement with the old regime. The British moved out of Tobruk last March and the Americans left their huge air-force bastion at Wheelus at the end of June.

Of course, imperialism does not depend only on its own military capacity and there have been at least two attempts from the right to overthrow the September regime, the last only a few weeks ago in the Fezzan.

In July, the internal marketing of all petroleum products was nationalized. This was till now the monopoly of three giant oil corporations: Standard Oil (Esso), Shell, and the Italian AGIP.

Libya, though among the world's biggest exporters of crude oil, has only very limited refining capacities. The Esso Standard Libya refinery at Brega has a capacity of only 8,000 barrels a day, while the Oasis Refinery at Dahra, with its mere 3,200 barrels a day, serves only the company's own internal needs. This is, of course, deliberate policy on the part of the oil consortiums, to keep the country where the oil is extracted dependent on the foreign-owned companies for its own fuel requirements.

Thus two-thirds of the oil consumed in Libya has to be imported. Last year Libya consumed petroleum products worth £L19,708,000 [a Libyan £1 = US\$2.80] compared with £L16,400,000 in 1968. Consumption is rapidly increasing and is now running at 24,000 barrels a day, of which 16,000 are imported. This means enormous profits to the importers in addition to those from sales and distribution, all going to the same oil companies. With the large-scale program for industrialization and agriculture, just launched by the government, there is bound to be an enormous increase in petroleum products consumption.

Oil importation, sales and distribu-

tion in the hands of foreign companies would have meant higher profits for these companies at the expense of the Libyan people and greater dependence on foreign imperialism in carrying out the development plans projected.

Profits from this source were by no means negligible. Shell's 111 distribution stations had a turnover of £L2,500,000 annually, producing £L500,000 net profit, and Shell was only one of the three major oil-marketing companies. Taking 20 percent profit as an indication for the rest, it is easy to calculate that the sum of £L4,000,000 out of a total turnover of over £L20,000,000 annually went into the pockets of foreign companies.

The nationalization of the oil distributive trade has freed an important branch of the economy from foreign domination and given the state control over this vital commodity. It also means that the enormous profits will remain in Libya instead of being filched by the imperialist vultures abroad.

One of the declared aims of the new regime was to eliminate from the country all relics of the colonial past. Italy was the colonial power here, since it conquered the country in bitter and bloody conflict in 1911. In the years of fascism, the Libyan people were treated with unbridled cruelty. Lands were confiscated. The Libyans became people without rights in their own country.

When Libya became independent after World War II, the Italians remained in a privileged economic position. They continued to farm the large estates seized during the colonial regime; commerce and trade were largely in Italian hands. The Italian community kept themselves isolated from the "natives." Though many of them have been here for two and three generations, few of them could speak Arabic. Their children went to Italian schools and were brought up as Italians, never mixing socially with the Libyan people.

Now retribution has caught up with them. All Italian property has been nationalized and soon the days of Italian domination will be only a memory.

These are among the positive gains. On the negative side: government has been from the top.

No institutions of popular control

have been set up or even projected. Colonel Quathafi "meets the people" in a series of seminars. There have been meetings with workers, intellectuals and women's organizations. But these are no substitute for genuine organs of popular control.

In foreign policy, Colonel Quathafi has hitched his star to Nasser. As Nasser, under Soviet pressure, prepares to compromise on the Palestine issue, Quathafi gives him his unqualified support.

Another negative feature is the "per-

sonality cult" which is being built up round the colonel. His picture is everywhere. Every pronouncement of policy is in his name.

The left-wing forces in Libya are small and as far as they exist are mainly Maoist in tendency. The government has shown itself increasingly hostile to Marxism, and the handful of Marxists are closely watched and hamstrung in their activities.

Although the Revolutionary Command Council has pronounced in favor of the emancipation of women

"within the limits imposed by the Islamic religion," there has been little progress in this direction. The majority of Moslem women still appear in public covered from head to foot in the medieval *barraican* and there is little social mixing of the sexes. Young girls are still contracted for marriage by their parents—often to men they have never even seen. With the development of industry, however, and with Libya's acute shortage of manpower, this situation is bound to change in the near future. Economic law will prevail over that of the Koran.

## India

# Three Left Parties Form Revolutionary Front

By Kailas Chandra

### Bombay

A meeting of about 200 activists of the Lal Nishan party (LNP), the Revolutionary Socialist party (RSP), and the Socialist Workers party (SWP—the Indian section of the Fourth International) held at Podar College here July 19 decided that the three parties would work jointly in various fronts including trade unions, and youth and student organizations.

The meeting set up a seven-member committee with Comrade Yeshwant Chavan (LNP) as convener to coordinate the activities of the three parties on the following agreed principles:

(1) Acceptance of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism; (2) acceptance of the need for an immediate overthrow of the present capitalist social structure in India; and (3) acceptance of the fact that a fundamental social transformation can be achieved only through revolutionary mass action and not through bourgeois parliamentary means.

Members of the committee are: Pushpa Mehta and J. R. Shetty (RSP); Sitaram Kolpe and S. Amarnath (SWP); Yeshwant Chavan and D. S. Kulkarni (LNP); and Thangappan (nonparty).

The meeting condemned the arrests of prominent trade unionists and political workers in Bombay and other parts of Maharashtra on fabricated charges and in the name of their be-

ing "Naxalites" as a deliberate attempt to divert public attention from the threat posed by reactionary organizations like the Shiv Sena, and demanded their unconditional release.

The meeting also resolved to mobilize united workers action against the fascist hooliganism of Shiv Sena which has been aided and abetted by the state government. It named the Shiv Sena as directly responsible for the murder of Communist party of India [CPI—the pro-Moscow CP] legislator Krishna Desai.

As a part of the campaign, a public meeting was held under the joint auspices of the three parties on July 26 at Delisle Road where the political implications of the alliance were explained to a 3,000-strong rally of workers. Comrade Datta Deshmukh of the LNP, who presided, said that the alliance would have its own impact on the working-class movement throughout Maharashtra because all three parties stood for revolutionary mass action against the capitalist state headed by the Congress, while the traditional left parties pursued a policy of opportunist electoral alliance and class-collaboration.

Comrade D. S. Kulkarni, also of the LNP, dwelt at length on the menace posed by the Shiv Sena against the entire working-class movement in the city, which was once a stronghold of the left movement. He also stressed

the need for building a militant leadership of the textile workers (numbering two lakhs [200,000]) constituting the hard core of the city's labour force, within whose ranks Shiv Sena had made a big dent. Kulkarni said that the constituents of the alliance would devote their attention to the problem of building a united and militant textile-workers movement in the coming period.

Speaking on behalf of the SWP, Comrade Kolpe said that although the three Marxist parties that had come together were small, they were the only force which provided a revolutionary alternative to the opportunist policies of the traditional left parties. He was sure that they would influence the militant ranks of the bigger working-class parties like the CPI and the CPI(M) [Communist party of India (Marxist)—the erstwhile pro-Peking CP] and help rally the entire working class together in common action against the capitalist class and its state.

Comrade Pushpa Mehta, who spoke on behalf of the RSP, said that the alliance had been formed not with any intention of fighting legislative elections, but mainly to unify the militant working-class movement in Bombay and the rest of Maharashtra.

Representatives of the three parties have held several meetings to discuss their future programme. A joint meeting of about 250 cadres of the LNP,

RSP, and the SWP among students and youth was held at the Shirodkar hall on August 1, and proposals to build a youth wing of the alliance were discussed. This was followed by a meeting of the militants among textile workers on August 12.

It has been decided that the three

parties would work together in the Mumbai Kapad Kamgar Sangathan, a textile-workers union founded by the LNP in 1967—after its break with the Girni Kamgar Union led by the CPI—with a view to building a militant and united organization of the textile workers.

left parties on the plea that such action would only be partial. The CPI went further to scuttle all proposals to organize common action such as meetings, demonstrations, etc., with the CPI(M), LNP, SWP, and RSP. Thus all prospects of united action of Bombay's working class were destroyed completely by the opportunist policies of the traditional left parties, in spite of a favourable atmosphere created after the murder of Comrade Desai, which produced a revival of militant working-class sentiment.

It is no surprise that the PSP and the SSP, as middle-class reformist parties, are mortally afraid of united action of the working class. The PSP's reluctance to fight the Shiv Sena can be understood from the fact that it was at one stage compromised with the semifascist organization in an electoral pact in 1968 to fight the civic elections in Bombay city.

The CPI which is pursuing a line of conditional support to the Indira Gandhi government at the centre and to the policies of the Congress (R) is also not anxious to develop a militant working-class challenge to the Congress government at the present juncture. As far as the CPI(M) is concerned, it must be said that it stood for united action of the left parties, but was not prepared to take any initiative in organizing it.

At this stage the LNP, SWP, and RSP came together to moot the idea of an alliance among themselves. The LNP, which has a sizable trade-union base in Bombay and several industrial centres of Maharashtra as well as in the rural areas, readily responded to the idea and took the initiative in organizing informal discussions among the leaders of the three parties and ultimately the idea of an alliance was evolved.

At a meeting of the activists of the three parties held on July 19 it was found that there was a considerable degree of agreement among the three parties on the basic issues confronting the revolutionary movement. All of them are committed to the ideology of Marxism-Leninism; they stand for the immediate overthrow of the capitalist state by means of a socialist revolution led by the working class. They do not believe in any progressive section of the Indian bourgeoisie (as is claimed by the CPI and the CPI(M)) with which the working class

## India

# Behind the LNP-SWP-RSP Alliance

By S. B. Kolpe

### Bombay

The alliance formed among three Marxist parties in Bombay—the Lal Nishan [Red Flag] party, the Revolutionary Socialist party, and the Socialist Workers party—with a view to activating the working-class movement on a militant basis has made an impact on left politics in Maharashtra. The rank and file of the different traditional left parties have welcomed the move, although the three parties in themselves do not represent a major force in the left movement. But they expect that the alliance can act as a pressure group to activate others by its own example.

The alliance came after a series of attempts to forge common action of the left parties in Bombay city (following the June 6 murder of CPI legislator Krishna Desai by supporters of Shiv Sena) to combat the threat posed by communal and regional chauvinist reaction aided and abetted by the Naik government of Maharashtra and the big capitalists of Bombay.

Several meetings of the left parties, including the PSP [Praja Socialist party], SSP [Samyukta Socialist party], CPI, CPI(M), PWP, LNP, SWP, and RSP were held to discuss common action leading to a general strike. The PSP participated in the talks initially, but insisted that common action would be possible only if all other constituents of the united front would condemn individual terrorism as practised by the so-called Naxalites [Maoists] as well as the hoodlum tactics of the Shiv Sena. This demand was supported by the SSP.

In the beginning all the Marxist parties, including the CPI and CPI(M) along with the LNP, SWP, and RSP,

firmly opposed the idea of equating the Maoist groups with the Shiv Sena, although they said they did not subscribe to individual terrorism. Comrades of the SWP, RSP, and LNP stressed that while the "Naxalites" belong to the revolutionary camp, though pursuing a wrong tactic, organizations like the Shiv Sena were openly the enemies of the working class.

After several abortive attempts to reach an agreement, the CPI and the CPI(M) agreed to accommodate the PSP point of view on the condition that all parties should agree to a common working-class action to protest the murder of Krishna Desai and the anti-working-class policies of the Maharashtra government. The SWP, however, dissociated itself from the part condemning the so-called "Naxalite violence" although it agreed to participate in common action against the Shiv Sena and its protector, the state government.

Having won a concession, the PSP leaders, true to their middle-class character, went back on their word and later announced their decision not to enter into a common action even with parties like the CPI(M) and LNP, whom they consider to be "antinational" along with the Maoists. The SSP, which has been engaged in hitherto unsuccessful merger talks with the PSP on a national scale, also kept out of the move for united action. The SSP leaders, however, were not opposed to any common action with the CPI(M) and the LNP. The PWP did not play any significant role in the talks.

The CPI used the PSP's sabotage tactic to oppose united action by other

can collaborate at the present historical juncture; they accept that a social transformation can be brought about only by revolutionary mass action and not by bourgeois parliamentary means, and they also reject the tactic of individual terrorism.

Indeed there are differences among the three parties on their evaluation of the national and international situation but they have decided to evolve a consensus on the basis of joint discussions. But the agreement reached among the LNP, SWP, and RSP provides the necessary basis to forge a revolutionary Marxist front not only on a regional scale but also on a national scale. The alliance has gone quickly into the problem of pooling the resources and cadre power of the three parties in the trade-union and

youth movements in Bombay. As a first step they have decided to work together among the city's cotton textile workers, numbering about 200,000, who once constituted the backbone of the working-class movement of the entire country. It is among the young textile workers that the Shiv Sena has made an impact by neutralizing the influence of the left parties.

A joint campaign is being initiated. Public meetings organized jointly by the three parties are having very good response. Steps are also being taken to organize the students and the youth under the influence of the constituents of the alliance. The LNP with its rich experience among the rural poor in different districts, is today emerging as a well-organized cadre party of the

left in Maharashtra. It is prepared to share its experience with its allies.

If the experiment that has been initiated in Bombay under the compulsion of the changed situation succeeds, and there is no reason why it should not, there is every hope that it would serve as an example to the revolutionary Marxist parties in other parts of the country.

The main task is to build a genuine revolutionary front of workers parties as opposed to the opportunist electoral politics of the traditional left parties. If the crisis-ridden capitalism in India is to be liquidated to usher in a new socialist society the most important weapon needed to achieve the objective is a strong nationwide party of the working class to lead the coming socialist revolution.

## Mexico

# Vallejo, Campa, Nieto Released from Lecumberri

In face of the pressure of world public opinion and repudiation at the polls (insofar as this is possible in the existing one-party system), the new regime in Mexico moved July 27 to try to "clean up its image." The congress repealed articles 145 and 145a of the penal code which permitted the courts to sentence political opponents and recalcitrant trade-union leaders to long prison terms for "social dissolution."

One week after the repeal of these articles, the most prominent victims of this legislation, Valentín Campa and Demetrio Vallejo, were released. These two railway workers' union leaders were jailed, along with many other persons, when the Mexico government used troops to break the 1959 train strike.

Vallejo and Campa had come to symbolize the dozens of political prisoners who accumulated in Mexico's jails in the period of reaction that followed the 1959 defeat.

Thousands of pictures of Vallejo were carried during the demonstration of August 27, 1968, in which 500,000 people demanded an end to political repression.

In releasing these two unionists, the Mexican government bowed to one of

the most important demands of the 1968 student and popular movement which it crushed by shooting down 500 persons in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas. One of the political prisoners jailed as a result of the 1968 movement, Adán Nieto, was charged under the "social dissolution" articles. He was released along with Campa and Vallejo.

Mexico's reputation as an example of democracy and progress in Latin America was severely damaged by the massacre of October 2, 1968, and the repression that followed it. The reaction to the government's savage crackdown produced fissures in the ruling party itself.

The July 5 elections this year indicated that the official party was seriously discredited. One-third of the voters abstained. In the more radical states of the north, Sonora, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Durango, over 50 percent of the registered voters stayed away from the polls.

Numerous votes were also cast for "unofficial candidates," ranging from the Beatles and Cantinflas to Leon Trotsky, Mao, and Fidel Castro. Demetrio Vallejo was among the most popular.

Threatened with dangerous isolation, the party of the Mexican bourgeoisie apparently had to revise its strategy. It made a concession in releasing Vallejo and Campa, thereby recognizing in a shame-faced way the justice of one of the key demands of the 1968 movement.

Indications are, however, that the new government headed by Luis Echeverría does not intend to relax the repression but simply to bolster its legal position by replacing the indefensible "social dissolution" articles with better defined laws against political crimes.

A series of provisions have been added to the criminal code dealing with "crimes against national security" which formerly came under articles 145 and 145a.

Moreover, at the same time as repealing the most obnoxious articles of the penal code, the Mexican government refused asylum to two of the Bolivian political prisoners released July 22 in exchange for two German technicians captured by a guerrilla unit.

The South African government has acknowledged that Blacks comprise 95 percent of the inmates in its prisons, according to the August 9 *New York Times*.

## Tariq Ali Interviews Korean Government Official

[The interview and introduction below, by Tariq Ali, are reprinted from the July issue of the *Red Mole*, published in London.]

\* \* \*

### Introduction

I have just returned from a visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, where I spent over two weeks as a guest of the Korean Association of Journalists. The division of Korea by United States imperialism and the refusal of the latter to withdraw its troops from the southern part of the country have increased tensions still further and the possibility of a new war erupting in the area is fairly high.

In later issues of *The Red Mole*, we will write in detail about developments in the occupied section of Korea and the concrete measures to end this situation and reunify the country which have been proposed by the Korean premier, Kim Il Sung.

It was felt that it was extremely important to publish immediately the interview this correspondent had with the Korean Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister, Pak Sung Cheul. Comrade Cheul is also a leading member of the Politbureau and the Standing Committee of the Korean Workers party.

Before answering the questions I put to him, Pak Sung Cheul explained that what irritated the imperialists the most was the fact that the northern part of Korea had risen from the ashes of the 1950-53 war. That they had completely rebuilt the country, developed its industry (according to UN statistics the standard of living in North Korea is the highest in Asia excluding Japan), and completely wiped out rural poverty. I can confirm, having traveled widely, that however hard one looks it is impossible to find a single slum in Korea. The housing of the workers and the co-operative farmers in the countryside is extremely impressive. In fact one of the facts we will highlight in later articles is that the North Korean government has offered to give jobs to

all the unemployed in South Korea; to provide free school and university education for all the children in South Korea who are not able to go to school and to relieve poverty by special shipments of rice. Needless to add, the Chung Hee Park puppet clique has refused this aid, but it testifies to the economic successes achieved by the North. The United States fears this example almost more than anything else.

In case the United States provoked a war with Korea the task of revolutionaries would be clear. To give unconditional support to the Korean government and the Korean people and to immediately extend the solidarity movement in the imperialist countries to embrace Korea. As imperialism in South Korea masquerades as a "United Nations force," a war in this region could also involve British troops. The duty of revolutionaries in this country would therefore be clear-cut and simple.

\* \* \*

*Red Mole: Only a few days ago the Korean People's Army destroyed yet another spy boat sent into Korean territorial waters by the United States. This seems to be simply another incident in the chain of increasing military provocations which the United States has unleashed against your country. What in your view is the significance of these provocations and do you seriously believe that the United States can afford another war in Asia at this particular moment, keeping in mind the resistance of the Indochinese and the American peoples?*

*Pak Sung Cheul:* It is well known to us that the United States imperialists are preparing a new war against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The military policy advanced by Comrade Kim Il Sung is to turn the army into an army of cadres and to arm the whole people to fortify the country. We are prepared to deal blows against the enemy whenever it comes to attack us. Whether or not war

breaks out depends entirely on the imperialists. On the Nixon administration. The government of our country has advanced a concrete solution to solve the Korean question. That is to leave the settlement of the Korean question to the Korean people themselves on a democratic basis and peacefully. But the United States has answered all these proposals with military provocations. They don't even bother to make counterproposals. Even now their slogan is "Unify the country by victory over Communism."

At present, there are 60,000 U.S. troops in South Korea. There are 700,000 puppet troops, which means that the puppet army has doubled in size since the armistice. There are more than 300,000 policemen in South Korea and the "Homeland Reserve Army" consists of two million people. So if you add all this it amounts to an enormous repressive force. In order to arm the Chung Hee Park puppets the United States is spending between 200 and 300 million dollars every year. Apart from this they have introduced nuclear weapons and guided missiles. And then they say in their propaganda that it is the North which is trying to provoke a war. They blame us for their own military provocations.

The *Pueblo* is an excellent example of this. This was a spy ship which intruded into our territorial waters. It was clear. But they say we captured the ship on the high seas. On the 5th June we sank a U.S. spy ship because it was in our territorial waters. But they say that our force crossed the military demarcation line and captured the ship from the south. There were 50mm guns on the ship, and how come a small group of North Koreans could take it back? When the ship intruded into our territorial waters our patrol boats asked them to stop, but they opened fire on us and tried to escape. There then followed a sea battle inside our territorial waters and we sank the ship. But the Americans say that we have captured the ship and urge us to re-

lease the crew. How can we? They are dead at the bottom of the sea. The U.S. should ask us for permission to recover the bodies from the sea bed.

The reason the United States is increasing military provocations against us is for war propaganda. They want a pretext to attack us and they present their military provocations as defensive measures. To explain to their people that the new war is a defensive war. That is why they make provocations. So we say that the situation is fraught with danger of war breaking out in our country.

As you saw for yourself when you visited Panmunjom, we are in a state of armistice. The United States has put South Korea on a war footing. And we too are prepared if they attack us.

At the time of the *Pueblo* the U.S. said that there would be reprisals and they mobilized their Pacific fleet. The situation was extremely tense. Can you say that the tension has been removed? We say no. If the United States makes reprisals then we will make reprisals as well.

On both sides of the demarcation lines there are troops. They're in a state of war footing. And the enemy makes surprise attacks against our side every day. Sometimes these last an entire day. And we must repulse them. We cannot sit back with folded arms. These incidents could well develop into a large battle involving divisions and battalions.

*Red Mole: And the internal dynamic of the class forces in South Korea: what effect could they have?*

*Pak Sung Cheul:* As Comrade Kim Il Sung has taught us: wherever there is oppression there is always revolution. The rule of the Chung Hee Park clique in South Korea is military-fascist rule. There is no democracy at all in South Korea. In these circumstances there have been many antipuppet manifestations in South Korea. Revolutionary parties and revolutionary organizations exist in South Korea. Since 1960 when the people rose and overthrew the Syngman Rhee puppet regime, there have been many manifestations of revolt. So fighting between the people and the puppets could break out at any time. When a people's uprising takes place in South Korea the United

States will try and crush it. The South Korean people will ask us to help them. We are of the same nation. We have struggled together before. We will help them. It is our revolutionary duty as proletarian internationalists. And so the danger of war exists all the time.

In a word, as long as there are United States forces in Korea the danger of war exists. That is why if the United States were interested in peace it must withdraw its troops from South Korea. And if war breaks out it will not be the same as in Vietnam. Here we have the Korean People's Army which is a very strong *regular* army and if we need help we will ask both China and the Soviet Union with whom we have treaties of alliance.

Do you know what the imperialists say? They say that it is thanks to the stationing of UN forces that peace is maintained. Who are these UN forces? U.S. troops. They say that the puppet army in the South is very large and if the UN were not present it might attack the North. This is the logic of robbers and we know the realities. There can only be peace if the U.S. troops withdraw and allow the Korean people the right of self-determination.

We Koreans are not afraid of imperialism. We have some experience. We fought it for three hard years and defeated it and are prepared to do so again, but we don't want another war. That is why we ask our friends throughout the world to urge a U.S. withdrawal from South Korea and to put pressure on the imperialists.

*Red Mole: Many revolutionaries in the imperialist countries underestimate the new rise of militarism in Japan, yet in Asia it is seen as an extremely serious development as the recent Pyongyang meeting between Kim Il Sung and Chou En-lai shows. What role do you think Japan will play in helping U.S. imperialism in Asia and do you think that Japanese troops could be used in Asia again?*

*Pak Sung Cheul:* Revolutionaries in Europe obviously don't understand the present situation in Asia clearly. You know that before World War II Japan was one of the three great imperialist powers. Though it was defeated during the war the productive forces in Japan were not destroyed. It is twenty-five years since the last

war ended and since then the Japanese economy and productive forces have developed phenomenally. Particularly at the time of the three-year war in Korea, Japan was enriched by supplying war materials; and since the beginning of the war in Vietnam Japan has virtually become a supply base and a base of attack. In the capitalist world the productive capacity of Japan is second only to the United States. Japanese imperialism today is therefore busy seeking markets.

The Japanese imperialists say that they have no army. But what they have is a self-defense corps and that is an army . . . a modern-equipped army. According to the Japanese its strength is 300,000, but its real strength is much greater. All its senior officers were commanders during the second world war.

The Japanese have a treaty of alliance with South Korea. South Korea has a treaty with the United States and the United States has a treaty with Japan. It is a triangle of imperialism. Sato (Japanese prime minister) has declared publicly that the "38th parallel is our frontier." They have already prepared operation plans for Asia and particularly for our part of the world. The Japanese imperialists are once again dreaming of a "Greater Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere," etc. The United States on its part is interested in building up Japanese militarism as the new shock brigade for Asia. The Japanese Army has started learning Korean and we have information that they are undergoing extensive training in terrain similar to ours. We regard it as an extremely dangerous development, and of course the dog Chung Hee Park is pleased. He has served as a Japanese puppet before. When a war breaks out in Korea the Japanese Army will participate in it.

*Red Mole: Has your position on the Sino-Soviet dispute changed and what are your relations with Cuba and Vietnam at the moment?*

*Pak Sung Cheul:* No. There is no change in our position. We want to unite these countries in order to accelerate the process of world revolution. As for the Cubans and the Vietnamese peoples, we regard their struggle as our own and are in complete solidarity with them.



# Venezuelan Stalinists in Crisis over Petkoff Book

By Alfonso Ramirez

## Introduction

If Teodoro Petkoff's first book, *Checoslovaquia — el socialismo como problema*,\* faced the conservative leadership of the Partido Comunista Venezolano [PCV — the Venezuelan Communist party] with a real problem, his second one *Socialismo para Venezuela?* (Editorial Domingo Fuentes, Caracas, June 1970), constitutes irrefutable proof of the gravity of the crisis rending the organization.

Although it is written without rancor, in a tone that seeks not to wound sacred reputations, this small book is shaking the old structure of the PCV like an earthquake. Petkoff is an anti-Stalinist not only in his ideas but in his literary style which has nothing in common with the ponderous repetitiousness of Stalin that put the patient reader to sleep and which the Communists trained in that school still find worthy of imitating decades later.

The author's first categorical statement, characterizing the economic system in Venezuela as capitalist, might seem like a mere commonplace to the ordinary person. Not so for the official view of the PCV, which fundamentally envisages seeking to lift the country out of its underdevelopment along the capitalist road, since the course it advocates is to struggle against imperialism, against feudalism, against the monopolies. If Petkoff's thesis were to be accepted, the logical conclusion is very clear—the only way Venezuela can emerge from its backwardness is by combating capitalism, or as he puts it: "... in this epoch, the revolution becomes socialist or there simply is no revolution." [Page 59.]

## The National Bourgeoisie

Traditionally the Communist parties of Latin America have maintained that the national bourgeoisie constitutes an

ally that should be sought out by the revolutionists in their struggle against subordination to imperialism. Haven't they said that so far as they are concerned capitalism in and of itself is not an enemy? Consequently, in accordance with this thesis, there is an indigenous bourgeoisie inclined to battle imperialism, to defeat it, and to develop among these nations an autonomous (and, at the same time, liberating) capitalism. What is not explained is how, if the bourgeoisie can play such an important role, one can say that in this enterprise the proletariat will exercise hegemony.

So much for that. Petkoff maintains in his book that objectively such a national or progressive bourgeoisie does not exist, because the bourgeois sectors whose own interests are injured by imperialism and who could oppose imperialism take advantage in reality of the colonial economic tie-up. And subjectively, it is false that the so-called national bourgeoisie have a nationalist consciousness. If the bourgeoisie are conscious of anything, it is that their capital derives from alienated labor, from the workers, and thus we must ask ourselves: if the Latin-American bourgeoisie succeed, as the Stalinists hope, in breaking with imperialism and developing these nations along the capitalist road, what freedom would this bring the millions of workers in the cities and countryside? Only the native bourgeoisie would be freed.

The author informs us that the theses of the third congress of the PCV, held in 1961, which talked about the revolutionary potentialities of the national bourgeoisie, have been given a new twist—it is now held that this class can be *neutralized*. And he adds, to indicate what has been conquered through such politics: "Up to now 'operation national bourgeoisie' has not enabled us to win either this bourgeoisie... or the working class." [Page 75.]

## "Stages" of the Revolution

Inasmuch as, in the opinion of the old Venezuelan and Latin-American Communists in general, capitalism and the so-called national bourgeoisie still are called upon to play a progressive role, it is natural for them to maintain that the road to socialism passes through a preliminary stage, that is, the bourgeois democratic revolution. The principal tasks of this stage are to carry out the agrarian reform and the democratic transformation of the state, which will break our dependency on foreign capitalism. Socialism will come later, as a second stage of the revolutionary process.

This old Menshevik idea was combated by Lenin in 1905 when he scored the incapacity of the bourgeoisie to lead the bourgeois democratic revolution and proposed instead an alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry to head the revolution. Lenin made the content of this alliance specific in 1917 when he convinced his party of the necessity to take power in the name of the dictatorship of the proletariat, carrying behind it the peasant masses. By the very fact that power was held by the proletariat, its mission could not be limited to mere democratic tasks; it was compelled simultaneously to undertake extensive curtailments of the right to private property or suffer derailment of the entire revolutionary process. And by doing this, the proletariat took the first steps toward the installation of socialism.

With these two documents by Lenin in hand, Petkoff confronts the old Menshevism, which was revived by Stalin after the experience of the October revolution refuted in practice the absurd theory of the revolution going through such stages. Along with this, the author is able to cite other historic examples. Some of them are positive, like the Cuban revolution, which speedily expropriated the banks, ranches and industries held by the foreign capitalists, and had to do the same with the

\* See review in *Intercontinental Press*, May 18, page 469.

native capitalists and continue to completion the uninterrupted course of a revolution which turned out to be socialist. Other examples are negative, like the Guatemalan and Indonesian revolutions in which the attempt to halt at the democratic "stage" led to illusions among the masses, enabling the counterrevolution to crush them.

It should be remembered that the discussion on the stages of the revolutionary process was more understandable in the Russia of 1905—where an autocratic regime was in power, the land was in the hands of big landlords, and the most elementary bourgeois freedoms were nonexistent—than in the Venezuela of our ineffable representative democracy, which after all permits us to write in the newspapers and has distributed 1,600,000 hectares of land among about 100,000 peasants.

His party's application of the theory of stages to the fluid situation of the year 1958 in Venezuela leads Petkoff to ask: "What does this conception of 'national unity,' of which the leadership of our party was the most outspoken champion in 1958, have in common with Marxism?" [Page 93.]

And on the following page he states his opinion: "The policy of 'national unity,' after January 23, 1958, was nothing but a new formulation of the policy of *class collaboration*, belonging to the time of Browder during the years of the Medina government, the traces of which have been so difficult to erase in the leadership of the party. This demon of class collaboration, which has reappeared with such persistence again and again in our political activities (the Medina epoch, 1958; and now some disquieting signs of similar conduct with regard to the Caldera regime), is so difficult to exorcise because its theoretical basis lies in the bourgeois-democratic conceptions that the Stalinist Third International planted in the Communist parties of the backward countries. In the final analysis, Browderism was only the reduction to an absurdity of the policy of the popular fronts and alliances with the ineffable national bourgeoisie in the dependent, colonial countries." [Page 94.]

## The Motor Forces

At the beginning of the final chapter of this book, the author makes a statement, the honesty of which stands in

contrast to the hypocritical way the leadership of the Venezuelan Communist party has regarded possible political alliances in the political struggle, its approach to other groups or individuals interested in advancing the revolution. "Whoever does not regard himself as a sincere revolutionist [on reading this, one wonders if Petkoff considers this the source of such hypocrisy], will regard others as only passing allies, fellow travelers along the road a certain way, persons who can be manipulated, used. And even if that is not the intention, objectively he treats these 'allies' as 'useful fools.'" [Page 106.]

After dedicating a few pages to the working class in the U. S., whose contribution to the advent of world socialism is not so distant as Comrade Petkoff believes, he reviews the role played by the Venezuelan workers in the political struggles of recent years. Actually they have not played a role of the first order, and the author explains this not only by the outlook and formation of our working class, of very recent peasant origin, with a high percentage of immigrants who arrive with the dream of becoming rich, with an industrial reserve army that is almost larger than the employed one; but by the truly nefarious role played by our reformist trade-union leadership.

He does not exempt the unionists of the Venezuelan Communist party, although he does not place all the blame on them. And with good reason: Can the trade-union leaders be asked to follow a more militant line than that officially followed by their party? "Attempting to attract a part of the bourgeoisie necessarily involves attenuating—or eliminating—references in opposition to the system of exploitation which the bourgeoisie incarnate." [Page 126.]

Petkoff concludes by stating that in addition to the working class, there are three social sectors pushing Venezuela toward socialism: the middle and poor petty bourgeoisie, the marginal populace, and the poor peasants. In principal one can agree with this formulation so long as a cautious view is taken of the middle class composed of small proprietors and due regard is given to the new middle class, the white-collar workers. On the populace living in the margins of our cities, he correctly observes that they are not

unemployed but merely *not employed*; that they have never been employed and have no hope of being employed unless a revolution should open a way out. The poor peasantry, although declining in number in the Venezuelan society of today, must be won over by the working class to its cause, otherwise defeat is risked.

Two observations need be made to dispel any current doubt as to the motor forces of the revolution. The first is that it is more correct to say that the revolution must be led by the working class, which is intrinsically the most revolutionary in society, and that it will attract the petty bourgeoisie, without the support of which it is illusory to think of victory, before proclaiming the imprecise formula of an alliance between these two classes, forgetting to emphasize the predominance of the workers. [See page 130.]

It is true that the students (the most salient sector of the radical petty bourgeoisie) have performed the work of a vanguard in Latin America; but the only way they can guarantee that their participation will not give way to adventurism, as happened in Venezuela with the MIR [Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left], is to identify their struggle fully with the interests of the proletariat, as happened in Cuba with the revolutionary leadership.

The leaders of the Venezuelan revolution may be of petty-bourgeois social origin, as has happened in almost all parts of the world; but they enter the stream of history not because of their class origin but only to the degree they become leaders of the working class. Owing to this, when Petkoff proclaims that in Venezuela "a confrontation is shaping up between the *poor* and the *rich*, between the *haves* and the *have-nots*" [page 136], this slogan with its resounding popular appeal must be understood as meaning that only those who have nothing outside of their wages are capable of leading into the realm of freedom those who have something more than wages.

The second observation refers to the political instrument required to guide the revolutionary process to its culmination in the taking of power. The failure of all the forces that have gone into action in Latin America since the victory of the Cuban revolution is due mainly to the fact that instead of un-

dertaking militant, durable organization of the masses into a political party, fundamentally working class in character, they have sought to substitute heterogeneous movements in the cities or countryside—very militant ones perhaps, but without real roots in the rural or urban population.

The involvement of the masses in pure and simple action can lead to dissipation of the movement, as occurred in January 1958, if no party exists to guide them. The armed detachments that took the field as guerrillas have felt, even when headed by a Che Guevara, the absence of an organization immersed in the masses. And the reformist generals, imitators of Nasser or of the Peruvian stamp, are only that—reformists; and neither in Egypt nor in Peru can one properly speak of socialism.

## Internationalism and Trotskyism

That a member of the Venezuelan Communist party could advance such ideas for internal and public debate shows that some members of the party have evolved from the darkest Stalinism toward the best traditions of revolutionary Marxism, since Petkoff has clearly discovered truths of the past that apply to the present. And the fact that he can state these in a book without having suffered the fate as yet of so many who have been excommunicated by the pontiffs of the party, means not that "a spirit of tolerance" or "a certain sense of fair play" reigns in the party but that these ideas have appeared in many minds and Teodoro Petkoff is not alone.

The author has announced that he is planning to write an essay on the international politics of the revolutionary movement. It is to be hoped that he does this soon, since his opposition to the theory of stages remains inconclusive if he does not conceive of the revolution as of international scope. Douglas Bravo has stated that the current struggle for socialism can draw much inspiration from the struggle waged by Bolívar, San Martín, O'Higgins, Artigas, "because this continent, cut up into more than twenty republics, is only one nation which was divided . . . the better to exploit it." And the *April Theses* of Lenin, which Petkoff cites, concludes with more or less the following words: We are beginning the international revolu-

tion; only its victory will assure our victory, and guarantee the transition to a socialist system.

In the opening part of Petkoff's book, the following strange statement appears: "This world crisis is the crisis of Stalinism, whose rigid ideological, political, organizational, and even moral hulk is being battered today by ever stronger, more lucid, and important currents rising in the Communist parties, which have come to understand that from a certain moment Stalinism not only blocked the development of the societies where the Communist parties are in power but, on a par with Trotskyism—which sought to be its negation at one time—no longer provided the answers required by a revolutionary force struggling for power." [Pages 8 and 9.]

The Stalinists have killed Trotskyism various times. Is it because of the absolute failure of these violent attempts that an anti-Stalinist has decided to deny them and issue an assurance that Trotskyism died a natural death? But the truth is that Trotskyism has remained very much alive—above all on the level of theory.

Let us recall that the uninterrupted process of revolution culminating in socialism was expounded by Trotsky as early as 1905, and to designate it he utilized the name already given by Marx himself—permanent revolution. If it had not been for Trotskyism, which first began fighting Stalinism side by side with Lenin and continued the struggle in Stalin's jails, the bureaucratic regime would not have been explained scientifically; timely warnings would not have been issued against the rise of fascism; and the criminal policies of the Communist International in China, Spain, Yugoslavia, France, and Indonesia, among other countries, would not have been denounced as the betrayals they were, and the history of the Soviet Union would have continued to remain buried under the weight of the worst slanders.

If it had not been for Trotskyism, democratic centralism as the organizational principle to be followed by Communist parties would have been forgotten, along with the right to form tendencies, proletarian internationalism, and so many other Leninist principles which Stalinism, taking advantage of the ebb in the world revolu-

tionary tide, was able to obscure with its crimes.

And Trotskyism was the first to characterize the Cuban system as a workers state, a year before Fidel Castro recognized its socialist nature; and the best analyses of the colonial revolution and the crises faced by the workers states and world capitalism have come from the camp of Trotskyism.

But Trotskyism is also alive in the field of practice. It emerged greatly strengthened from the May 1968 upheaval in France. In the United States it stands in the forefront of the defense of socialist Cuba and in the mobilization of millions of people against the war in Vietnam. And, to mention Latin America, in Peru the Trotskyist Hugo Blanco stands as a model revolutionist.

The fact is that Trotskyism, despite Petkoff's assertion to the contrary, continues to be the most conscious force in opposition to Stalinism.

After the invasion of Czechoslovakia, Stalin's heirs again killed Trotskyism. But this phoenix of the revolution is not going to die, it would seem, until the last of the socialist revolutions in the world has been won. Would it not have been more appropriate for Petkoff and the other genuine anti-Stalinists to throw into the faces of the Stalinists these lines from *Don Juan Tenorio*: "Los muertos que vos matasteis gozan de buena salud"? [Those you killed are very much alive.]

## Right and Center Wings

In opposition to Petkoff's leftist view stands a right wing in the PCV that defends the same position the party has upheld since 1936. Let us consider a few sentences from a statement made by a representative of the right wing, Dr. Pedro Ortega Diaz, and published in *Deslinde* (the last fortnight of October 1969):

"It has been said that our revolution is anti-imperialist and anticapitalist. Concretely this is maintained by Comrade T. Petkoff. I want to call the attention of my readers to this problem. To adopt as the immediate aim of our revolution a combat against imperialism and against any kind of capitalism would be such a grave error with such deleterious consequences that it could be compared only with the one we committed

in approving and practicing the line of insurrection and armed struggle in the years 1960-67."

For the right wing in the PCV, the struggle must be anti-imperialist and antifeudal, but not anticapitalist. Consequently, not against the bourgeoisie in general either. This is what he says:

"Speaking in the most rigorously scientific way, we can say that this domination is expressed in the contradiction: the Venezuelan nation against the foreign monopolies. The corresponding social forces are on the one hand a part of the U.S. monopolies and a very narrow sector of our bourgeoisie associated with these monopolies, on whom they are at the same time dependent. We have denominated this layer as the 'dependent, associated bourgeoisie'; the most typical figures are the Vollmers, Eugenio Mendoza and his group, the Boultons, the other Mendoza group, the Phelps, the Zuloaga group — Machado and others. The big landlords are bound to these groups by a thousand interlocking and dependent ties. On the other side stands the Venezuelan nation, which is a victim of the Americans and their partners."

Here we have the reason justifying "not posing the immediate liquidation of capitalism." "To hand allies over to the U.S. imperialist enemies is the worst business possible, and for us to pose the anticapitalist revolution today means recruiting allies for our main enemies."

Finally let us take a look at how this faction relegates socialism to a dim and distant future: "... all our liberation revolutions have a socialist character in the sense that they strike at U.S. imperialism, which is the principal force maintaining capitalism."

As can be seen, the Venezuelan Communist right wing has not gone beyond the Menshevik phase. But there is also a centrist tendency, headed by Pompeyo Márquez, proponent of the Programmatic Theses now being discussed in the party. He affirms the following: "Venezuela has ceased being a country in which capitalism is predominant." (This and additional quotations taken from statements made by Márquez, or from the draft Theses, appear in the special supplement to *Tribuna Popular*, June 25, 1970.)

Apparently Márquez agrees with Petkoff concerning the need to confront capitalism and the bourgeoisie, to whom he denies the adjective "national": "In rejecting the road of capitalist development, in saying that capitalism as a system for our country leads to a reinforcement of dependency and leads to aggravating the economic problems and the problems faced by the masses, we must present an alternative opposed to this road of capitalist development. The alternative we propose is breaking the dependency and opening up for the country the perspective of constructing a socialist society."

But we note that Petkoff specifically calls for a socialist revolution as the only possible means, while Márquez speaks first of breaking the dependency, and then "opening up for the country the perspective of constructing a socialist society." Or, as he says elsewhere: "... what we pose is an independent development which has to evolve in an uninterrupted way toward socialism." Despite the term "uninterrupted," a synonym for permanent, Márquez speaks of evolution, at the end of which we will be hoping for socialism; while Petkoff is very categorical—the way to break the dependency is to break capitalism. What system is offered as the alternative? Socialism. Thus, to work.

Finally, Márquez stands much closer to Ortega Díaz than to Petkoff. As a result, the right and center wings have reached agreement on excluding Petkoff from the Political Bureau and

are projecting expelling him definitively from the party.

On other items, Márquez stands still further from revolutionary Marxism, as in posing the necessity for "a democratic-popular revolution." This definition, from the very fact that it defines nothing from the class point of view, is eminently Stalinist. But where Márquez shows most clearly that he has not been able to break from his Stalinist past is in his resistance to properly characterizing the bureaucracy ruling Russia.

To him, criticisms of the bureaucracy, picturing it as the oppressor of the Russian people and its intellectuals, as enjoying special privileges, as the hangman of the political revolutions in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, as compromising with capitalism through peaceful coexistence, as the falsifier of the most glorious revolutionary history—all this to Márquez signifies bandying "anti-Communist, antisocialist, and anti-Soviet theses."

With a patron saint such as Márquez has, whom he can trust to hear his allegedly revolutionary prayers, it is understandable that his centrist position can quite quickly shift to the right, above all as the right continues to erode. And this erosion (including the biological one) began some time ago.

The crisis in the Venezuelan Communist party is the Venezuelan reflection of the mortal decay of Stalinism. It is logical that the youth should complete the process of bringing it to an end.

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