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THIRTY YEARS AFTER

Leon Trotsky and the New Rise of World Revolution

Jordan War Costs

In addition to replacing the military equipment used up by King Hussein in his attempt to liquidate the Palestinian resistance movement, Nixon is apparently planning to pick up the tab for the damage to the Jordanian economy as well.

John L. Hess reported from Amman in the October 24 *New York Times* that "The United States has asked the Jordanian Government for an estimate of the financial costs arising from last month's civil war, evidently to determine how much Washington may be called upon to meet. The bill will be high."

Hess wrote that the civil war had caused a decrease of \$140,000,000 in the Jordanian gross national product, which in the best of times is only \$500,000,000. In addition, indemnities for damage caused by the fighting will total \$70,000,000—"if the Government decides to pay them."

Hussein's government estimates that it must raise \$130,000,000 or more during the next fourteen months merely to cover nonmilitary expenses.

In the past, Hussein received subsidies from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Libya. Both Kuwait and Libya stopped these donations during the civil war and are not considered likely to resume them in the near future.

Since Hussein's position is too unstable to make him a good credit risk, he naturally becomes a "client" of the American government.

However much is finally shelled out for Hussein's civil budget, the amount is certain to be surpassed by the value of the military equipment being rushed into the country.

"The military cost is a secret but not a problem," Hess wrote. "The United States is committed to replace all the losses and to continue a program of military aid, whose scope has not been disclosed. An airlift of arms has been under way since the end of the war and at least two shipments of arms have been delivered to Aqaba, Jordan's only port."

Rats Couldn't Take It

Test rats fed on "enriched" bread widely sold in the U.S. died of malnutrition after ninety days, a medical researcher reported October 21.

In This Issue

		FEATURES
Joseph Hansen	928	Leon Trotsky and the New Rise of World Revolution
Peng Pi-lan	936	Looking Back Over My Years with Peng Shu-tse
Ernest Mandel	940	The Role of the Universities in the West
		JORDAN
	914	Hussein Presents Tab for Civil War
	926	Interview with Dr. Marcel-Francis Kahn: In the Liberated Zone in Jordan
		CANADA
Allen Myers	915	"End Police Rule!" Say Students, Labor
	916	"Resist the Repression," Says Montreal Daily
		CHILE
Les Evans	917	Chilean Congress Approves Allende
		POLAND
	918	Shoppers Angered over Food Shortages
		BOLIVIA
	919	A Cuban Analysis: "A Struggle That Has Not Yet Been Concluded"
	922	"Chato" Peredo Reported Captured
		CZECHOSLOVAKIA
	923	Trial of Political Dissidents Postponed
		SOVIET UNION
George Saunders	924	Soviet Scientists Rally to Pimenov's Defense
	933	Vladimir Bukovsky's Open Letter to Theodorakis
		GREAT BRITAIN
	925	Founding Conference of Irish Solidarity Campaign
		ISRAEL
	927	Red Cross Condemns Israeli Repression
		IRELAND
	931	"Gun Plot" Defendants Found Not Guilty
		BRAZIL
	932	Yes, There Is Torture in Brazil
		PHILIPPINES
	932	Huk Commander Pedro Taruc Killed
		REVIEWS
Allen Myers	934	Back to Dynamite or Forward to Mass Action?
		DOCUMENTS
	935	Psaradelles's Speech to Athens Military Court
		PHOTOS
Joseph Hansen	929	View from Watch Tower at Coyoacan
		DRAWINGS
Copain	918	Salvador Allende Gossens; 920, Juan Lechin; 931, Charles Haughey; 932, Emilio Medici

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'End Police Rule in Canada!' Say Students, Labor

By Allen Myers

"Justice Minister John Turner said yesterday [October 21] the evidence which persuaded the government to invoke the War Measures Act may never be made public," the *Montreal Star* reported in its October 22 issue.

The paper continued: "... he declined to undertake that this evidence would be published before the next general election, expected in 1972—or ever."

It is hardly surprising that the government of Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau is unable to produce its "evidence" of the "apprehended insurrection," which happens to be the official justification for the imposition of police rule in Canada. The truth is that democracy was suppressed in Québec in an attempt to stifle the growing nationalist sentiment of the Québécois, a fact that has even managed to creep into the capitalist press. Writing from Montréal in the October 23 *Washington Post*, Ronald Koven reported:

"Privately, the explanation responsible government spokesmen are giving for use of the War Measures Act is that Quebec Prime Minister Robert Bourassa had information that Montreal University and high school students were about to stage a major demonstration along Saint Catherine Street, Montreal's Broadway, and that he feared it might turn into a Kent State-like bloodbath."

The slaying of Pierre Laporte by the Front de Libération du Québec [FLQ] inevitably muted for a time the public outrage at the police-state tactics of the Trudeau government. In the October 30 issue of the revolutionary-socialist weekly *The Militant*, published in New York, Mary-Alice Waters wrote from Montreal: "On the Montreal campuses the mood shifted sharply from elation and stepped-up political activity to a kind of subdued caution."

Trudeau and Bourassa used the powers of the War Measures Act to keep student protest at this temporarily low level. The October 22 issue of the Toronto *Globe and Mail* re-

ported on some of the censorship difficulties met by student newspapers.

The Daily of McGill University of Montreal was under "close scrutiny" by police after being warned by police that its coverage of protest activities was "illegal." Editors of the paper at Lethbridge University in Alberta were threatened with expulsion for reprinting the "Manifesto" of the FLQ. At St. Mary's University in Halifax, Nova Scotia, printers refused to print the student newspaper because it criticized the government for implementing the War Measures Act. At the University of Guelph, in Ontario, printers turned material intended for the paper over to the police. The *Globe and Mail* said this dangerous material consisted of "a copy of the FLQ manifesto, the War Measures Act and editorial comment."

But although generally restrained in expression, student opposition to the War Measures Act was clear. The *Globe and Mail* reported October 22, for example:

"The executive of the students council at the Ecole Polytechnique, a body of the University of Montreal that has the reputation of being politically and socially conservative, passed a resolution yesterday expressing its fear that the various levels of government would use the War Measures Act 'to eliminate all left-wing political action which could ensure a sound democracy.'"

The same article said that "Students from reputedly conservative faculties such as law and science at the University of Montreal voted in favor of the [FLQ] manifesto (but against a strike). So did the students of the province's largest CEGEP (junior college), the 6,238-student College du Vieux-Montreal."

Students and faculty at the University of Montreal took the initiative in organizing a Québec Committee for the Defense of Liberty. In a communiqué issued October 21, the committee directly challenged the government's attempts to use FLQ activities as a justification for police rule:

"A military and police regime would in no way furnish a barrier against terrorism, nor would it solve the problems of Québec society. The Committee wishes to underline the importance of restoring democratic institutions in Québec: in particular, the National Assembly of Québec must be summoned as soon as possible."

The committee has scheduled a large teach-in at the University of Montreal on October 28. A similar committee is in the process of formation at the University of Quebec.

At the English-language McGill University in Montréal, 500 students attended a teach-in on October 22 and expressed overwhelming opposition to the War Measures Act. It was decided to establish a liaison with the Québec Committee for the Defense of Liberty.

The October 24 issue of the *New York Times* reported opposition to Trudeau surfacing as far from Québec as Vancouver, British Columbia:

"'The greatest danger,' said a speaker at a campus rally attended by nearly a thousand students and faculty, 'is that the result of the Quebec crisis six months from now will be Canada's first experience with McCarthyism.'"

Even more significant than the student protest was the opposition of the Québec labor movement.

On October 21, representatives of Québec's three largest unions—Fédération des Travailleurs du Québec [FTQ—Québec Federation of Labor], Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux [CSN—Confederation of National Trade Unions, CNTU], and Corporation des Enseignants Québécois [CEQ—Québec Teachers Corporation]—met in Québec City and adopted five resolutions:

1. Condemnation of the FLQ and its terroristic methods, and a call on the government to negotiate for the release of the kidnapped British trade commissioner, James Cross.

2. A call for "the immediate withdrawal of war measures which are threatening democracy and civil liberties."

3. Support for the establishment of

a "legal committee" which would "obtain a complete list of those held [by the police], correct the erroneous communique of the anti-terrorist squad concerning the illegality of distributing political literature, obtain by legal procedures if necessary the immediate liberation of innocent persons, assure by all legitimate means necessary obedience to law in treatment of prisoners."

4. Agreement on a united front of the three unions "in a group with non-union associations having the same objectives" to conduct educational campaigns about the War Measures Act and the background of the crisis.

5. "The union front should draw up speedily, if possible, an emergency political program with groups pursuing democratic objectives, containing priorities for a return to political and social health."

Louis Laberge, president of the QFL, told the meeting: "Nobody in Quebec is at war and yet there are arrests with no notice and raids with no warrants. Families do not even know what is happening to those arrested."

The head of the CSN, Marcel Pepin, warned: "The government is using repressive and what threatens to become fascist means to fight the FLQ."

What might be the most significant aspect of the meeting was noted by the *Montreal Star* October 22:

"The president of the Confederation of National Trade Unions yesterday gave the first hint that his organization may back the formation of a labor party to enter Quebec politics."

The paper pointed out that in the past Pepin has opposed the building of a labor party and concluded:

"In a sense, the QFL, CNTU and the teachers' group, took the first giant step yesterday by forming what they call a cartel which will push for enactment of common goals and plans."

In response to the mounting opposition, the Trudeau government thought it prudent to release some of the more than 300 persons arrested.

Among those released on October 22 were Arthur Young and Penny Simpson, respectively publicity agent and treasurer for the Montréal mayoralty campaign of Manon Léger, the candidate of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière [LSO—Socialist Workers League, the Québec Trotskyist organization].

The Montréal daily *Le Devoir* inter-

viewed Young after his release and reported in its October 23 issue:

"According to Arthur Young, chairman of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, . . . immediately after the proclamation of the law, the police first picked up the 'more or less traditional left,' but not those who supported the FLQ and even engaged in terrorist activities. . . .

"'They asked me,' Young said, 'what socialism meant, if I was in favor of violence and what violence meant for me, if I approved of the FLQ, etc.' Mr. Young concluded by saying that he considered himself entirely a political prisoner."

Also released October 22 were the two arrested city council candidates of the Front d'Action Politique [FRAP—Political Action Front], a new political party backed by a number of trade unions.

FRAP was considered the chief challenge to Montréal mayor Jean Drapeau's control of the city council in the October 25 election. (The organization did not have a mayoral candidate.)

Regional Economic Expansion Minister Jean Marchand, considered the most powerful man in the cabinet after Trudeau, attempted to aid Drapeau October 21 by launching a witch-hunt against the FRAP. In a radio interview, he described it as a "front" for the FLQ.

This accusation met a demand for retraction from the CSN and vocal criticism in Parliament, and Marchand the next day watered down his remarks.

Drapeau himself went even further than Marchand, saying that "blood

would run in the streets" if FRAP won the election.

Commenting on the slanderous charges against FRAP and the military rule of Montréal, *Le Devoir* said in an October 23 editorial: ". . . democratic procedure has, for the moment, lost all meaning. The emergency measures inevitably favor those who presently hold power in Montreal. It would be a mockery of democracy to open the polls Sunday."

The associate editor of the *Montreal Star*, Evelyn Dumas, wrote October 22: "Nothing Mr. Marchand will say now can repair the damage in time for the election. It would have been just as well if our government, as an extension of the War Measures Act, had declared Mayor Drapeau and his 52 candidates to council elected by decree."

Dumas's estimation of the election turned out to be quite accurate: all of Drapeau's candidates won. It seems hardly likely, however, that this will guarantee Mayor Drapeau a calm administration for the next four years. In a special issue one week earlier, *La Lutte Ouvrière*, the paper of the LSO, commented:

"To combat terrorism . . . the federal government has seized the opportunity to launch, with the vast resources it has, its own wave of terror—not only against the Quebec people but also against the English speakers of English Canada."

The reaction of both students and the labor movements indicates that large sections of the population are becoming aware of this fact—and this growing realization is a threat to both Jean Drapeau and Pierre Trudeau.

In Occupied Quebec

'Resist the Repression,' Says Montreal Daily

[The following editorial statement was published in the October 18 issue of the Montréal daily *Québec-Press* under the title "Résister à la répression."]

* * *

Repression is on the march—political repression.

The list of citizens under arrest, including Gérald Godin, a member of the editorial board of *Québec-Press*, reveals a lot about the kind of operation in progress.

We have no news of the citizens imprisoned. We do not even have official confirmation that they have been arrested. The population is completely

in the dark. Under these conditions, there is a threat of panic.

Jean Marchand, the federal minister, publicly declared that the government was astonished because the Québécois have not unanimously condemned the action of the FLQ, and condemned it with all their might. The attitude of Québec and the Québécois shook the government in Ottawa and it was frightened.

It had, therefore, to take harsh action against the obvious agreement of part of the population with the FLQ. It had to act firmly. Hence the war measures and the arrival of the army in force. Hence the clearly political repression.

The second phase of the operation is a campaign of brainwashing.

This phase was launched from Ottawa. It was Pierre Elliott Trudeau who fired the first shot. Friday evening he went on radio and television. He was frightened and he wanted to

frighten others. In fact, he was terrifying in more ways than one. After the violence of arms and the soldiers, came the violence of the lie.

Very quietly, as if telling a secret, Trudeau told the population that the next victims of the terrorists might will be "a credit-union teller, a farmer, or a child." And even "you or me."

Trudeau told lies and did it deliberately. He could not help knowing his "you or me" was demagogic baloney. Between the "you" and "me" stands the power of the government.

Yesterday already in Hull, sadists no doubt wanted to justify Trudeau's prophecies. A young woman was mutilated by these maniacs, supposedly in the name of the FLQ.

But it is clear that the FLQ does not attack the population at random. As it itself has said, it attacks the representatives of the forces which control Québec. That is quite different.

To prove this, you have only to look at where the soldiers are stationed in the Montréal region. There are few in the French-speaking east but there are many, very many in Westmount. It is the minority of possessors who must be protected.

The army is not in Québec to protect the population. It is in Québec to protect the possessors. Everybody knows this, and Trudeau and Bourassa first of all.

Therefore, the repression striking everywhere in Québec must be resisted, resisted by every imaginable peaceful means. *We agree then with the citizens who in our "points of view" page appealed for passive resistance.*

It is up to the popular movements, to the citizens' committees, to all the associations, and most of all the trade unions, to organize this resistance in a concerted common effort.

No 'Spectacular Upsets' Expected

Chilean Congress Approves Allende

By Les Evans

"There's no reason at all to be uneasy. We have never claimed that we would form a socialist government November 4. Allende himself has said: People's Unity is composed of six different groups including the Radicals who have largely dominated Chilean political life for the last thirty years."
— Pablo Neruda, the best-known member of the Chilean Communist party, in the October 23 *Le Monde*.

* * *

Salvador Allende Gossens passed his last legal obstacle to inauguration as Chile's president when the long-awaited special session of congress October 24 voted 153 to 35 to abide by the September 4 election results and ratify his victory. The vote was a mere formality inasmuch as the Christian Democrats had pledged to support Allende. Even Jorge Alessandri Rodriguez, candidate of the right-wing National party and the only other contender, withdrew in Allende's

favor on the eve of the congressional runoff.

The assassination of army commander in chief René Schneider Chereau, apparently by right-wing terrorists, did not affect the outcome of the election. Schneider was gunned down in his automobile October 22 by a well-organized group of assailants. He died three days later. The lame-duck regime of Eduardo Frei Montalva proclaimed a state of emergency—amounting to martial law—threatening to shoot civilians caught on the streets between midnight and 6:00 a.m. Press censorship was imposed.

Although virtually all of the 150 suspects who were arrested were identified as supporters of extreme right-wing organizations, the left-wing press bore the brunt of the censorship. General Camilo Valenzuela, the military commander of Santiago de Chile, warned three radical newspapers October 23 to cease publishing articles speculating on the origin of the terrorist attack. One of the papers in-

volved, the Communist party's *El Siglo*, charged that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency was responsible for the crime. Columnist Eduardo Labarca wrote in *El Siglo*:

"There is no doubt that the group of right-wing extremist commandos that attacked General Schneider belongs to a network of terrorist cells operating in the country under the guidance and control of the North American CIA."

Allende's Socialist party took the same stand. In an October 25 statement to the press, Senator Aniceto Rodríguez, secretary-general of the Socialist party, said: "All these people have been trained by the CIA."

Outgoing President Frei invited representatives of Allende's popular front coalition to help administer the state of emergency. José Toah, a colleague of Allende, was appointed acting undersecretary of the interior, a post closely associated with the functioning of the police.

The chief suspect in the murder of

General Schneider is Roberto Viaux, a retired brigadier general who led an abortive military revolt in Santiago in October 1969. The revolt was put down when General Schneider was appointed commander in chief of the army.

Schneider's assassination was evidently intended to provoke the army into a coup that would prevent Allende from assuming office. Thus far the army has refrained from doing so. Allende was received with full military honors at the military academy in Santiago where the slain general lay in state.

The press in the United States has consistently depicted Allende as a fire-breathing Marxist, set on expropriating Chilean capitalists, lock, stock, and barrel. The fears of the privileged sectors in Chile itself are even more extreme. Marcel Niedergang, writing from Santiago in the October 22 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, reported a few of the extravagant rumors that have been circulating in monied circles since the September 4 elections:

"They're going to move the workers and the homeless into our houses," "They're going to requisition all the private cars," "They're going to freeze all the bank accounts," "They'll stop us from going abroad."

There have been demonstrations in front of the presidential palace with people brandishing signs demanding: "Eduardo Frei, Save Us from Communism."

If Allende were in fact the revolutionary he is represented to be, the army's ambivalence would be difficult to fathom. There is, however, a great disparity between rumor and reality.

Communist party Senator Volodia Teitelboim told Marcel Niedergang (October 23 *Le Monde*) not to expect any "spectacular upsets" in the first months of the Allende government.

"We certainly have no intention of provoking useless confrontations with the United States," Teitelboim said. "We will carefully study all the problems as they come up. We have experts in our ranks—economists, financiers—and we strongly hope that the Christian Democratic technicians who have had the experience of power will give us a helping hand. . . . We hope to lay the basis for something that could later make possible the development of a socialist regime."

The Communist party spokesman

also expressed the wish that his party's popular front alliance with the bourgeois Radical party would help the latter recoup its sagging fortunes. "We hope that the new situation will allow them [the Radicals] to win back



SALVADOR ALLENDE: "We are not going to set up a Marxist government."

some of the strength which made them the top Chilean formation for a long time."

It was the Radical party government of President Gabriel González Videla

that outlawed the Communist party in 1948. González's election campaign had received heavy CP backing as an outgrowth of the Popular Front coalition that came to power in 1938.

Of the current election, Allende told Niedergang:

"The American press immediately labeled me a Marxist. The barb is plain, as is the poison. Of course, the Socialists adhere to Marxism. They are not the only ones. We are not going to set up a Marxist government. That is senseless. We will have a government in which the six formations of the People's Unity are represented—the Communists, Socialists, Radicals, MAPU [a split from the Christian Democrats], Social Democrats, and Independent People's Action. That is the truth."

Niedergang indicated that Allende's promise not to topple Chilean capitalism had the ring of authenticity:

"The new Chilean chief of state has at least as many friends in the Christian Democratic ranks as in those of the left. While some of his daughters, who are also his collaborators, are considered to have 'leftist' sympathies, he himself is not loath to frequent Santiago high society. Throughout his long career he has always strictly respected the rules of the democratic game, and this 'detail' has certainly helped to temper the fears of some right and center leaders."

Poland

Shoppers Angered over Food Shortages

Angry shoppers demonstrated over food shortages in Katowice, Poland, in August of this year, Alan Dean of the Copley News Service wrote from that city October 8.

"The Katowice housewives' rebellion," he said, "began as far back as last May when a government-controlled supermarket was destroyed by angry shoppers because of constant meat shortages. Local officials responsible for the store openly complain that truckers from the state-owned slaughterhouses often drive up with empty wagons and offer a wad of money to checking clerks. The consignment of meat already has been sold at five times the official price

to black marketeers in the main cities."

In August, Dean said, troops were sent into Katowice to protect government offices after food rioters broke windows and forced officials to barricade themselves in their offices.

Polish agriculture was severely hit by a drought in 1969, followed by a hard winter and floods in the spring.

Dean wrote that the government is expected to pass a new law with stiff penalties for "hooliganism"—i.e., demonstrating.

Taiwan Poll

"Some 90-95% of Taiwan young men and women who . . . get abroad never return."—*Far Eastern Economic Review*, September 26, 1970.

Bolivia: a Struggle that Has Not Yet Been Concluded

[The October 16 issue of the Havana weekly *Bohemia* published an extensive account of the events in Bolivia leading up to the formation of the new government headed by General Juan José Torres. The report includes information not carried by the capitalist wire services. Moreover, this long, unsigned article in one of the most important news organs in Cuba also offers an analysis that is of special interest because of its reservations on the role of the "progressive" military officers in Bolivia. Our translation of this article in *Bohemia* follows.]

* * *

A new and profound crisis in the political development of Bolivia began on the morning of October 6 with the unexpected collapse of the Ovando government and the constitution of two rival military power centers disputing control of the country.

Twelve months ago, General Ovando attained power, as a result in the last analysis of the death of President Barrientos, his partner in the business of "gorilla" rule. Barrientos was killed in a suspicious accident. Until this latest crisis, Ovando had been staging a monumental comedy, with profuse promises of "structural reform." He succeeded only in deepening his unpopularity, adding new names to the already long list of murdered students and workers; attacking nonconformist priests; and, in the case of the so-called nationalization of Gulf Oil, mocking the country.

As abruptly as he came to power, Ovando Candia left it. The international wire services reported Wednesday [October 7] that the military demagogue had left the Quemado palace, taking refuge in the Argentine embassy. At the same time, it was made public that the official stopgap of setting up a triumvirate to replace Ovando had run into opposition from General Juan José Torres, the former head of the Bolivian army ousted by Ovando in July. Torres was supposed to be acting on his own.

The ousted army chief went to the

El Alto air force base, from which he broadcast an appeal to the country for support, promising "an anti-imperialist revolutionary government of soldiers, workers, and students." Before this, he had made contact with leaders of the Central Obrera Boliviana [COB—Bolivian Workers Federation] and the Confederación Universitaria Boliviana [CUB—Bolivian Student Confederation], apparently assuring himself of their cooperation.

Thus, two centers took form in La Paz. One was represented by the triumvirate composed of generals Efraín Guachalla, head of the joint chiefs of staff; Fernando Sattori, commander of the air force; and Rear Admiral Alberto Abarracín, of the navy. The other, whose components were more civilian than military, was headed by General Torres. But it was an open secret in Bolivia that the triumvirate was only a facade behind which operated another of the biggest "gorillas"—General Rodolfo Miranda, who was too threatening a figure to show his face for the time being.

The weakness of the triumvirate began to show up clearly in less than twenty-four hours, when General Sattori himself resigned and went over to General Torres. It was at the El Alto base, in fact, that Sattori resigned from the rival "government."

At the same time, the Central Obrera Boliviana, the CUB, and the Federación de Profesionales [Federation of Professionals] declared a general strike against the triumvirate, calling this step "the beginning of a popular struggle that will not be halted until the military coup is totally defeated." In the midst of the tension and uncertainty prevailing in the country, General Torres's proclamation coincided with these statements. It was reported to contain phrases like the following:

"The struggle has begun . . . We must resist the triumvirate formed behind the backs of the people with every weapon at our command."

In turn the triumvirate, installed in the Quemado palace, claimed to be in control of the country and decreed a curfew. But the list of ministers that

it vaunted was uncertain. New shifts occurred. Colonel Antonio Arnez Camacho, who up to then had presumably been minister of agriculture and peasant affairs, resigned, going over to the nucleus around Torres.

Although control of the state was still being disputed, the people began to develop illusions that a revolutionary renewal had taken place. Linked to the worst excesses of the repression over the past three years, the inhabitants of the Quemado palace struggled to contain the rising wave of popular mobilization.

On Wednesday, October 7, General Juan José Torres took the oath of office before an enthusiastic multitude, which some estimated as high as 40,000 persons. They had gathered spontaneously in the Plaza Murillo.

In part of his speech, Torres said: "So that there will be no more betrayals, so that crime will never again face us in any institution of our country, we will promote an alliance of the armed forces with the Bolivian people. We will build our nationality on four pillars—the workers, the students, the peasants, and the soldiers."

In another part, he added: "We are going to have, we already have, a people's government, because a man of the people is already in the Quemado palace. We have signed a pact of honor with the COB and the universities to build a truly Bolivian and popular government."

In fact, supported by vast popular forces, General Torres made his entry into the Palacio de Gobierno [government palace], as the generals Guachalla and Abarracín, the two remaining legs of the "gorilla" tripod, were leaving.

Torres took office October 7. Other developments seemed to guarantee something new. In simultaneous moves, General Rogelio Miranda took asylum in the Paraguayan embassy and General Alfredo Ovando, the ex-chief of the military regime, left the Argentine embassy for an unknown destination. And from Washington—the watchful eye and mailed fist of imperialism on this continent—came



JUAN LECHIN: "The threat of fascism is a permanent one . . . but the pressure . . .

has disappeared. . . . In the meantime, we give full support to General Torres."

the first indications of concern over the Bolivian events.

According to the French wire service Agence France-Presse: "It is said in Washington political circles that the attempted coup d'etat of the right-wing faction of the Bolivian army was not at all unexpected in the United States, while the victory of General Juan José Torres was a complete surprise."

Was the Nixon government losing its grip on the guide wires? While this disturbing turn "caused acute embarrassment" on the banks of the Potomac, according to AFP, other significant facts of the same kind began to accumulate.

A political command composed of workers, students, and political figures called for the new government to expel the foreign military missions and profascist representatives. Leaflets from a "People's Parliament" began to circulate. The political command demanded repeal of the unpopular measure decreed by the defunct Ovan-

do government committing the country to pay \$100,000,000 in compensation to the Gulf Oil Company. The "command" called for establishing relations with the socialist countries, currency control, and a state monopoly of foreign trade.

Invoking a "Mando de las Fuerza Populares" ["Mandate of the Popular Forces"], the Central Obrera Boliviana supported similar measures.

From Cochabamba it was reported that groups of unknown persons had raided the offices of the United States Information Service (USIS), removed its equipment, and burned the American flag.

Radio Altiplano announced that in the morning hours of Wednesday, October 7, armed civilians attacked the jail in La Paz, freeing several political prisoners. The broadcast added that the attackers "exchanged shots with the guards."

The general strike initiated the same day at the call of the workers and

students was an important factor in the development of the events. The last attempt of the profascist officers to consolidate themselves in power was a state-of-siege decree issued to prevent this strike. The officers were not able to achieve their objective.

Likewise the same day [October 7] university students attacked the headquarters of various ultraright organizations and the homes of officers hated by the people.

Tempestuous demonstrations swept through the streets of the capital. One group attacked the offices of the Los Marqueses organization used by the ex-minister of the interior Colonel Juan Ayoroa, whose whereabouts was unknown. The homes of General Fernando Sattori—who resigned at the last minute, going over to the ranks of Torres's supporters in a desperate attempt to survive—and of the leaders of the Liga Anticomunista [Anti-Communist League], Alfredo Candia and Roberto Lemaitre, suffered the same fate.

A group of students occupied the offices of the Dirección de Investigaciones Criminales (DIC) [Criminal Investigation Bureau], the political police, and burned its files.

At the same time, leaders of the Comando de las Fuerzas Trabajadoras y el Pueblo [Command of the Working-Class Forces and the People]* formally demanded the release of the French intellectual Régis Debray, who was sentenced to thirty years in prison in 1967 by a military tribunal, along with the Argentinian Roque Bustos.

On Wednesday the popular forces demanded a place in the government Torres was trying to organize. But on Thursday there was a new turn-about in the situation when the Comando Obrero Popular [Popular and Workers Command] published a communiqué during the night announcing that it "dropped all demands for participating in the cabinet of General Torres" and that "this decision does not mean a break with the antifascist armed forces." "To the contrary," the statement added, "we will go into the streets to fight to the last against

* The name of the leadership of the popular forces appears in a variety of forms in the *Bohemia* article, all of them having the same meaning. — IP

the fascist beast, to crush it wherever it rears its head."

"We consider," the communiqué explained, "that it is our revolutionary duty to leave the president of the republic full freedom to choose his collaborators and use all means and powers possible so that, together with us, he can eliminate the enemies of the Bolivian people and the workers once and for all."

They continued that "in making this decision the workers and people's political command calls on all forces throughout the country to go on an emergency alert and mobilize. It calls on Bolivians to return to the streets tomorrow in an imposing demonstration that will be the first step in smashing fascism."

The most objective observers concur in surmising that obstacles had risen in the path of the newly inaugurated government. Coinciding with this retreat by the Comando Popular, it was reported that the Ingavi regiment in the capital, under the command of Colonel Miguel Ayoroa, had rebelled against General Torres and had the backing of the general staff of the armed forces.

It is significant that Ayoroa was the chief of the Ranger troops who murdered Comandante Ernesto Guevara in 1967 and of the Nuanchahuazú secret society that organized attacks on oppositionists.

In a pompous declaration, full of phrases about "the difficult time the republic is going through," and "our desire to achieve a solution by the paths of dignity and constitutional unity," and "the interests of the fatherland now seriously threatened by irresponsible extremism," the chief of the Ingavi regiment showed the traditional fangs of an ordinary "gorilla."

At the same time, Ayoroa sent out a feeler to General Torres, who was still in apparent possession of power: "Taking advantage of a situation of anarchy, irresponsible extremists are pressing hard to raise themselves to power, using part of the armed institution that in good faith is backing an extremist scheme which has already won the support of the Bolivian people."

It began to appear clearly that Torres had had no real base in the main military forces, or that he had lost it in the last hours. When journalists asked Colonel Luis Roque Terán, whom Torres had shortly before ap-

pointed commander of the army and who was in the Miraflores headquarters, about Ayoroa's declaration, the new army chief claimed that the lieutenant colonel's words had been "misinterpreted and in no way constituted a pronouncement against General Torres."

Of course, Roque Terán was a prominent figure in the counterinsurgency operations of 1967. He was the commander of the fourth division based in Camiri and it fell to him to arrest the French intellectual Régis Debray.

This evidence indicated that the figures bearing the greatest guilt for the system of "gorilla" rule in Bolivia were regrouping for a grand stroke. The American diplomatic and military representatives, who had all been completely out of sight for several days, cannot have been uninvolved in this game.

There were still signs of combativity in the Quemado palace Thursday, October 8. Leaders of the Comando Político Popular, including the head of the COB, Juan Lechín, and the rector of the University of La Paz, Oscar Prudencio, met with General Torres. Out of this meeting came an emphatic warning: "If an armed confrontation occurs between the conflicting sectors of the military, the workers and students will go into the streets and fight arms in hand."

It was reported that General Torres had ordered the "Colorados" battalion to "quell the rebels of the Ingavi regiment immediately, by arms if necessary." He was also supposed to have ordered troops belonging to the Sucre regime, who were being deployed in the capital, to oppose any new seditious attempt. The forces of the Centro de Instrucción de Tropas Especiales [Special Forces Training Center] got orders to attack the Miraflores barracks. But when General Roque Terán was asked about this matter, he answered that there had been no conflict with the Ingavi regiment.

It was beginning to appear that there was no correspondence between words and actions. After the ostentatious threats and proclamations October 8 about "quelling . . . the rebels . . . by arms," no military movements actually took place the next day. The intriguers had resolved the situation in their favor without firing a shot, by simple contacts among unit chiefs.

Lieutenant Colonel Miguel Ayoroa,

who was supposed to be in grave danger of being attacked by the "Colorados" battalion a few hours before, met with General Rogelio Miranda. Miranda left his refuge in the Paraguayan embassy, which he no longer needed, to resume leading positions. And Ovando, whose whereabouts had been unknown for the last seventy-two hours, suddenly appeared at the El Alto air base, which Tuesday had seemed to be the stronghold of Torres's supporters. He met with Heberto Olmos, a colonel in the air force and one of his loyal followers.

The maneuver to neutralize Torres, isolating him from the popular forces, was obviously succeeding. On Friday the commanders of all the garrisons in the country met with the new occupant of the Quemado palace and expressed their concern over their host's "extremist ties."

General Torres informed them obsequiously that it was untrue that his "government" had extremist intentions and that its sole concern was the unity of the armed forces and the peace of the country as a whole. With such ease, without shedding a drop of blood, the right-wing commanders won the capitulation they wanted from Torres. So the next step was logical. A cabinet was named, made up of "reliable" officers, in which the followers of Miranda and Ovando happily consorted.

General David Lafuente, who had been Ovando's minister of defense, kept this portfolio in the new ministerial team. The ministries of finance, transport, and communications also remained in the same hands. The premier, José Ortiz Mercado, belonged to the Falange Socialista Boliviana [Bolivian Socialist Phalanx], a fascist party. The head of the ministry of labor, Abel Ayoroa, had an openly pro-Yankee tendency. The minister of communications, Paz Soldán, was of the same stripe. The decisive positions were in the hands of rightists.

At the same time it was known that no real changes in the military command had taken place between Wednesday and Friday. At the same time that he was issuing emphatically leftist statements and calls for popular struggle, General Torres had confirmed as the heads of his armed services General Fernando Sattori, of the air force, Rear Admiral Alberto Albarracín, of the navy, both ex-members of the triumvirate. The third mem-

ber of the ephemeral junta, General Efraín Guachalla, kept his position as head of the joint chiefs of staff. The other commanders who supported Miranda's rebellion retained their places at the head of their respective units.

A parallel retreat was already occurring in the civilian sectors. The case of Lechín was symptomatic. To the surprise of the unwary, he declared that "the threat of fascism is a permanent one but for the moment the pressure familiar to all has disappeared." For that reason, he said, the scheduled demonstrations had been called off.

"In the meantime," Lechín continued, "we give full support to General Torres, to whose government we have appealed to purge itself of pro-American elements and from which we will demand constitutional liberties and guarantees."

Bolivia

'Chato' Peredo Reported Captured

The Bolivian military authorities announced October 21 that Oswaldo "Chato" Peredo and several other members of the guerrilla force operating in the Alto Beni region had been captured, according to wire service reports published in the October 23 issue of *Le Monde*.

Chato had reportedly succeeded his older brother Inti as commander of the ELN [Ejército de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Army]. Inti was killed when the police raided an urban guerrilla headquarters in La Paz September 9, 1969. According to the ELN, he was executed on the spot, as Che Guevara, who led the ELN in 1967, had been in La Higuera. Chato's other older brother "Coco" died in the 1967 campaign, along with Che.

The latest guerrilla campaign began July 19 when the ELN raided the offices of South American Placers, an American mining company, in the town of Teoponte. In return for releasing two German technicians taken as hostages in the raid, the ELN forced the Ovando government to free ten political prisoners. On July 21 the La Paz government sealed off the area of Alto Beni where guerrilla ac-

Earlier deals between Torres and Miranda and between Torres and Ovando, deals which the popular sectors were previously unaware of, were already being discreetly discussed. A clamor arose against the massacre that occurred in Oruro October 7 when troops of the second army division attacked groups of demonstrators, killing seventeen persons, and wounding more than fifty. This furor got no response in the seats of government.

In the last hours the mood in the Bolivian capital has been one of stupor, confusion, and bitterness. But in Washington the real masters of the Altiplano [the high plateau of the Andes, which includes a large part of Bolivia] were regaining their composure. The *Washington Post* [of October 10] now discovered that General Juan José Torres "seems to be exactly the 'new type of military man' which

tivity had been reported and began large-scale antiguerrilla operations.

The resumption of guerrilla activity played a role in detonating the crisis that led to the fall of General Ovando October 6 and the current upheaval in Bolivia.

The Ovando government provoked violent demonstrations by students and workers in late September when it expelled five clerics who had demanded that the authorities turn over the bodies of guerrillas killed in Alto Beni to their relatives. The right wing of the armed forces staged an abortive coup October 4 in an attempt to suppress all agitation in the country. This attempt split the armed forces, opening up the way for a popular mobilization.

The few reports coming out of La Paz indicate that elements of popular power which arose during the October 4-9 crisis still persist and that General Juan José Torres has not yet consolidated his power. The new government's treatment of the third in the team of heroic Peredo brothers seems likely to be an important test of the new political situation in the country.

Nelson Rockefeller has fingered as Latin America's best social and economic hope."

In this political context it was logical for General Torres to reject the appeal from the exiled Antonio Arguedas, who was anxious to return to his country.

"Persecuted by the international repressive system of American imperialism," Arguedas wrote, appealing for a reentry permit, "I found it necessary to take refuge in the free territory of America. But I was firmly determined to take the first opportunity to rejoin the popular forces in our country struggling for national independence and for the establishment of a regime with a clear socialist inspiration."

The reply of the Torres government was a categorical warning that Arguedas would not be permitted to return home and that if he reentered the country clandestinely, energetic measures would be taken against him. Torres himself called the former minister a "traitor."

What could have been a vigorous political movement petered out in fleeting reports. One such item was the death, in an apparent traffic accident, of Lieutenant Eduardo Huerta Lorenzetti. This officer had commanded the force that took Comandante Ernesto Guevara prisoner in Quebrada de Yuro and had charge of his custody while he was in the little school at La Higuera.

From Bolivia itself came clear estimations of last week's tragicomedy. One came from the Confederación Universitaria Boliviana. It declared that General Juan José Torres, "while he could not be counted on to defend the interests of the working class, represented an alternative preferable to fascist 'gorilla' rule." However, the statement noted, "the option of forming a people's government with participation by the workers was blocked because of the risks it involved for interests foreign to the people of Bolivia."

The CUB statement concluded by saying: "The students are convinced that by its first steps the new government has not demonstrated in action the antifascist attitude that was the basis for its linkup with workers and students. Let the people judge what we have said and make their will known."

The communiqué on the recent

events issued by the Ejército de Liberación Nacional (ELN) [Army of National Liberation, the guerrilla force led by Che Guevara in 1967] was more categorical and precise. It pointed out the "negative manifestations" in the "Torres movement":

1. The resistance by the officers to any attempt to arm the people. "In analyzing this, we cannot forget a very old truth—he who has the arms has the power. Therefore, they are avoiding arming the people to prevent the workers, peasants, and miners from holding the real power and directing the destinies of the nation."

2. Insistence repeatedly on avoiding armed confrontation with the "gorillas" holed up in the armed forces general headquarters, "which indicates that in this group of officers [Torres's supporters] their caste mentality prevails over their populist intentions . . ."

3. The presence among Torres's supporters of antipopular and completely disreputable elements, like the leader of MANO [an anti-Communist terror organization], Colonel Villalpando, the man responsible for the Saint John's Day massacre, and the notorious "gorilla" counterinsurgency commander Roque Terán.

4. The selection of a cabinet without popular representation, which included no one with any strong anti-imperialist principles and which was infiltrated by reactionary elements.

5. The government's resistance to adopting the twenty-one-point program of the Comando de Fuerzas Populares, which outlined authentically anti-imperialist measures.

The communiqué concluded: "We must not expect some providential general to make the revolution. We refuse to harbor any hopes about the effect of a change of government produced by a coup d'etat, unless there is concrete evidence that it is doing something to combat imperialism and eliminate the neocolonial structure of our country. Since, for the reasons stated, we believe that a turn of this type is unlikely, our struggle will continue in the mountains and in the cities until the final victory."

As we went to press the situation in Bolivia had not changed substantially. But the statement that Colonel Samuel Gallardo made to several foreign correspondents was very significant.

Gallardo is a coup maker of the

traditional type. He participated in overthrowing President Paz Estenssoro in 1964 in association with generals Barrientos and Ovando. In 1969 he again played this role in the military coup that overthrew President Siles Salinas.

Now Gallardo is saying openly that one of the main objectives of the officers grouped around General Torres was to block a popular insurrection.

"This is a very unruly people," he told the journalists. "We have avoided an insurrection, because once this people gets involved in an insurrection, it destroys everything, it does not respect anything. For this reason when I visited the Quemado palace I told General Torres to act immediately. I told him: 'Come here immediately because if we don't get control of the population, the occupations of newspapers and offices will be nothing compared to what will happen. They could blow up as high as Illimani.'"

Czechoslovakia

Trial of Political Dissidents Postponed

Government officials in Prague have announced the indefinite postponement of the trial of eight intellectuals who gained prominence as supporters of the 1968 democratization, Eric Bourne reported in the October 16 *Christian Science Monitor*.

That a trial was scheduled had become public knowledge only three days earlier.

The official reason for the postponement was the illness of one defendant, but Bourne wrote that "informed sources" consider "the postponement . . . essentially a political action . . . and that it represents a signal victory for party leader Gustav Husak . . ."

Bourne was referring to the difference of opinion within the Stalinist bureaucracy over how far to proceed against leaders of the democratization movement.

The more pro-Moscow forces are demanding political show trials in the style of the 1950s in order to help the Kremlin justify the 1968 invasion to the Soviet public. Husák, while willing

After making this typical reference to the nearby Illimani volcano, Gallardo added: "Imagine. When I stood in the Plaza Murillo and told them that the situation was under control, what I wanted was to prevent them from going to the Colegio Militar, because if they went down to the armed forces general headquarters and the Colegio Militar, 10,000 of them would have died, gentlemen of the press, but another 20,000 would have joined in. And then we would really have had an insurrection in Bolivia."

Gallardo explained that the arms "were in the hands of General Miranda," (the gray eminence of the ultra-right wing of the military). This explains why they were never given to the people.

Gallardo noted, finally, that "the coming days will give us a clearer picture about the removal of some officers and, in general, of their position."

The picture in Bolivia is still uncertain and fluid.

to aid the Kremlin in this, is also said to fear the effect such trials would have on public opinion in Czechoslovakia and on his attempts to reconcile writers and intellectuals to post-1968 conditions.

It is not clear what effect the postponement will have on the status of the defendants. Bourne wrote October 13 that "most" of them were free while awaiting trial.

The eight defendants are said to include Ludvik Vaculik, the author of the "Two Thousands Words" manifesto; Rudolf Battek, one of the founders of a group of nonparty leftists who supported Dubcek; and chess master Ludek Pachman. Pachman is the defendant who was ill. He was recently transferred from the criminal wing of a psychiatric hospital, where he had been held since his arrest.

The charge against the eight is "slandering" the state, which they are alleged to have done by signing a petition protesting the loss of political liberties since the 1968 invasion.

Soviet Scientists Rally to Pimenov's Defense

By George Saunders

Oppositional Soviet scientists, spurred by their victory last June in winning freedom for geneticist Jaurès Medvedev from forced confinement in a "special" psychiatric hospital, have embarked on another campaign to defend one of their number. The victim of the bureaucratic hierarchy this time is Revolt I. Pimenov, a mathematical physicist and author of a study, *Kinematic Spaces*, which deals with general relativity, an extension of Albert Einstein's special theory of relativity.

Pimenov, who is forty, was arrested in late July, reportedly in Leningrad. He was charged with violation of the catchall witch-hunt law against "slandering the Soviet state and social system"—article 190-1 of the Russian Republic's criminal code.

Attention was brought to the case of Pimenov by a *samizdat* document attributed to Yevgeny Smirnov of Leningrad. This included an account of a secret-police search of Pimenov's Leningrad apartment last April, in which some 250 books, manuscripts, pictures, and tape recordings were seized by the KGB. The document also contained Pimenov's word-for-word reconstruction of a conversation between himself and a top party bureaucrat of Leningrad, who questioned Pimenov about the "bad literature" taken from him and warned there would be "no compromise on the ideological question."

With attention already attracted to the Pimenov case through Yevgeny Smirnov's efforts, further highlighting came when five dissident scientists sent a letter to the court where Pimenov was to be tried.

The scientists signing the letter, which also began to circulate in *samizdat*, were Andrei D. Sakharov, the nuclear physicists; V. F. Turchin, a physicist and mathematician; V. N. Chalidze, a physicist; N. N. Beloozerov, a physicist; and S. A. Kovalev, a student of biological sciences.

Sakharov and Turchin, together with historian-mathematician Roy A. Medvedev—twin brother of Jaurès—circulated an open letter to the Soviet

party leadership last spring, calling for free political discussion and the release of all political prisoners. Their document aspired to be a program for gradual democratization, something on the Dubcek model, and expressed a technocratic viewpoint on solving the mounting problems of the Soviet economy. *

Like Sakharov and Turchin, Chalidze is a frequent contributor to *samizdat*, his specialty being questions of "socialist legality." These three men, together with Solzhenitsyn and Aleksandr Tvardovsky, were leading figures in the successful campaign to free Jaurès Medvedev.

In the Pimenov case, the five dissidents expressed their concern about the arrest and indictment of their colleague, "all the more because of the well-known severity of sentences which has been the practice in recent years in such cases."

They demanded the right to observe the trial, voicing concern over the fact that the authorities have stacked trial audiences in political cases in recent years and prevented sympathizers with the accused from observing or publicizing the proceedings.

"We intend to be present in the court," the five stated. "We wish to see and hear how justice is carried out on such important questions as freedom of expression and exchange of information.

"However, we are not certain that the principle of open disclosure of the court proceedings will not in fact be violated. Therefore we petition you for the possibility of being present in court."

The Kremlin authorities apparently felt that the presence of such concerned observers would be too dangerous. The regional court in Kaluga, where the trial was being held, refused admittance to the courtroom for a number of Pimenov's supporters who had made the special trip to the provincial

city. They were unable even to find lodging in Kaluga hotels, according to the October 22 Paris daily *Le Monde*.

The trial presumably opened October 14, and was then recessed. No more news appeared in the press until October 23 when "reliable dissident sources" told Bernard Gwertzman, the Moscow correspondent of the *New York Times*, that Pimenov and two others had been sentenced the previous evening.

Pimenov was given five years in exile.

"Also sentenced to five years' exile was Boris B. Vail, a worker in a puppet theatre in Kiev, who was one of a group of students, including Mr. Pimenov, who were imprisoned for political activity in 1957 but set free in 1963.

"A third defendant, Valentina I. Zinov'yeva, who was reported to have testified against Mr. Pimenov and Mr. Vail, received a probationary sentence of a year."

According to the same sources, the trial lasted for only three days. "For at least part of the trial, the noted nuclear physicist Andrei D. Sakharov was an observer."

It was unclear why the Leningrad scientist was tried in Kaluga. That city may have been chosen because it is the capital of the region in which the "science city" of Obninsk is located.

The Soviet bureaucracy may have decided that this would be helpful in intimidating the Obninsk scientists, known for their dissident attitude and for the trouble they have caused the party bureaucrats before. There may even be a desire to counteract the impression made by the failure to hold Jaurès Medvedev, the prominent Obninsk dissident. It was in a Kaluga psychiatric hospital that Medvedev was confined for a time last June.

The fact, too, that Kaluga, located southwest of Moscow, is a provincial outpost rather than a sophisticated capital like Leningrad obviously made it more suitable for the bureaucrats' purposes in limiting publicity

* See *Intercontinental Press*, May 11, 1970, page 438. (Turchin's name is incorrectly given there as Turshin.)

and support for the defendants.

Pimenov himself is a rather interesting figure. Like Ivan Yakhimovich, he is of the generation that came to maturity in the post-Stalin period. He graduated from Leningrad University in 1954, the year after Stalin's death but before the Twentieth Congress. In 1957, the year of reaction in the wake

of Hungary, he was arrested and sentenced to a ten-year term, an index of how liberal the Khrushchev era of "de-Stalinization" was.

Whether the political activity for which he was imprisoned had to do with the protests among students and intellectuals in 1956 is not yet known to us.

At any rate his sentence was abrogated in 1963, in the wake of the Twenty-second Congress, with its renewed exposures of Stalin's crimes, and he was able to continue his scientific career. At the time of his second arrest, in June, he was working with the Leningrad Institute of Mathematics.

Great Britain

Founding Conference of Irish Solidarity Campaign

[The following article by Renagh Holohan on the founding conference of the Irish Solidarity Campaign appeared in the October 12 issue of the mass-circulation Dublin daily the *Irish Times*.]

* * *

A new Irish group, dedicated to "fighting British imperialism," was formed in Birmingham at a conference of Civil Rights organisations there at the weekend [October 10-11].

The Irish Solidarity Campaign, the new organisation, was formed during a meeting attended by 60 delegates from the Irish Civil Rights Solidarity Campaign and other groups throughout the country from Glasgow to Bristol. It should have about 800 members.

The initiative for the conference came from the Birmingham Civil Rights Group, and invitations went to Irish and workers' organisations throughout Britain. Apart from the I. C. R. S. C., which took part in the merger, representatives attended from Clann na h-Eireann, International Marxists [the International Marxist Group, the British section of the Fourth International] and International Socialism.

Although the new organisation will press for civil rights, it plans to hold a mass demonstration and moratorium shortly. The term "civil rights" was dropped from the title because, a spokesman said, "only a fight against British Imperialism will grant us civil rights." The new group elected Miss Bernadette Devlin, M.P., and James Anthony Roche, who is accused of throwing CS gas into the House of Commons, as joint presidents.

The conference passed motions sup-

porting the Irish people's right to self-determination; the fight, North and South, against "political and economic domination by British imperialism, recognising that the only forces in Ireland which can be relied on to consistently oppose imperialism are those committed to the achievement of an Irish workers' republic"; calling for an end to British intervention in Ireland and immediate withdrawal of British troops; opposing those fostering religious sectarianism and preventing working-class unity, and supporting Irish workers rights to arm and organise in self-defense.

At a public meeting, attended by about 150 people in Birmingham yesterday, Mr. Terence Rattigan of the Republican Movement, Belfast, called upon the Irish in Britain to interest the British working-class in Irish affairs. He urged them to join with the British working-class in their day-to-day problems. The British working-class, he said, would then "join in the final confrontation with British imperialism which will then be a victory for them too."

Mr. Rattigan attacked the newly formed Social Democratic and Labour Party of Northern Ireland. It had been formed, he said, as an alternative to Stormont [the Northern Irish parliament] and was thus a step backwards toward Unionism.

Mr. Bob Purdie of the I. C. R. S. C. said what was happening in Northern Ireland now, the use of CS gas, searches without warrants, inflated fines and prison sentences, was a forerunner of what British imperialism would use against anyone who would oppose her. The Irish had now begun to fight back and it was up to the Irish in England and the British working-

class to fight British imperialism together.

Mr. Kevin McCorry of the N. I. C. R. A., Belfast, said the situation in Northern Ireland was at present worse than that the press reported. "The problem is not that Catholics are fighting Protestants: It is the problem of ordinary people fighting repression. What seems to be senseless violence is simply the incoherent response of people to legislation, laws and a system which is pushing down on them."

A solution, said Mr. McCorry, would entail the ending of the Special Powers Act, the Criminal Justice Act and the implementing of reform legislation.

* * *

[Our London correspondent writes that "the greatest controversy at the conference came over the discussion on the programme. The International Socialists moved an addendum to the second point (support for popular movements North and South fighting political and economic domination by British imperialism). They proposed adding the words 'while recognizing that only those fighting for a Workers Republic will fight imperialism consistently.'

["In the discussion many delegates supporting this addendum implied doubts about the first point of the programme (support for self-determination for Ireland). For this reason, the Spartacus League, a youth organisation in solidarity with the Fourth International, moved a further addendum, 'our support is for the movement as a whole and not for any particular group or organisation.'

["Both addendums were passed with a large minority abstaining on the International Socialist addendum."]

In the Liberated Zone in Jordan

[The following has been excerpted from an interview with Dr. Marcel-Francis Kahn, a member of the Ligue Communiste, who returned recently from Jordan where he served as a member of a Secours Rouge (Red Help) team that provided medical aid for wounded Palestinian combatants and civilians.

[Dr. Kahn undertook similar trips to Algeria during the struggle for liberation there. He also visited North Vietnam under sponsorship of the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal.

[The interview appeared in the October 5 issue of *Rouge*, the weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste, the French section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

Rouge. Comrade Kahn, having just got back from your trip to the Middle East, can you give us an idea of how things shape up medically for the Palestinian resistance? What have the Arab regimes actually contributed? Is the aid provided by the revolutionary French organizations up to what it should be? Is enough aid getting through to the Palestinians?

Kahn. So far as the medical situation is concerned a few things have to be said right off. In the north of Jordan, in the area I was able to get to, there were relatively few wounded among the fedayeen. On the other hand, the medical facilities available to the Jordanians and Palestinians were absolutely minimum. The fedayeen and the others gave us a very warm welcome.

However, we could have accomplished a lot more if things had been organized better. This was not the fault of the resistance fighters at all. It was due to the suddenness of the attack on them.

From the medical point of view there is still a lot to be done for the victims, who are still badly in need. The Palestinians themselves are keenly aware of this, and they asked us to organize the aid efficiently along certain lines. They want militant aid,

medicine for the masses, and a political appreciation of this way of practicing medicine. The Palestinians don't want medical handouts, no charity, at least in the sense of pretending to take care of the wounded without going into what happened and why.

In this sense, so far as the resistance is concerned, aid from the International Red Cross is nonexistent. The Red Cross, behind a mask of universal humanitarianism and impartiality not only boycotts the Palestinian Red Crescent, but even gives aid in practice to King Hussein's army. When they arrive in Amman, volunteer doctors are directly employed by the army, kept away, or even expelled from the country if they are not trusted. . . .

In Amman itself it is still practically impossible to do anything for the resisters. The city is encircled by the Jordanian troops and the Palestinians are cut off from outside medical help. An Italian journalist I met in Beirut told me things he saw with his own eyes in the massacre carried out by the king's troops. He saw them using bulldozers to push bodies by the dozen into common graves. . . .

Q. What's the military situation like there?

A. I wasn't able to see much myself except in the northern zone where I crossed through. The Jordanian army is deployed in broad encircling movements. When I say army I mean tanks, because in this sector the royal army is not using infantry, except for a few snipers trying to infiltrate the fedayeen lines. I went through the Jordanian zone, an area fourteen kilometers by twenty. It was solidly held by the resistance forces. This is really a liberated zone, solidly held and controlled by the fedayeen, and not at all a no man's land.

The feeling of security is the same as in the zones liberated by the NLF in South Vietnam. The fedayeen in control of the north are not partisan bands. They constitute a genuine army, well-organized, very well-equipped, like a battalion of modern

infantry. Their arms are Russian and Chinese (Kalashnikov automatic rifles and the Chinese equivalents, rocket launchers, Chinese antitank weapons, and some Anglo-American armament taken from the royal troops).

The fedayeen have plenty of arms of this kind, but I did not see any tanks or antitank cannon, and very little radio equipment. Many fedayeen did, however, have transistor radios.

These troops were very disciplined. The soldiers didn't wear any special insignia. Besides that, you found armed civilians in the fields or on the roads throughout the region which is rather desert-like but scattered with big villages.

Q. What is the situation in Irbid? Did you hear anything about the soviets reported in the international press? *

A. I had to stop ten kilometers outside Irbid, which was surrounded by Hussein's army. We could hear intermittent shelling in the distance. The population suffered less from the bombardment than in Amman because they got used to the Israeli bombs and built shelters a long time ago. As for the soviets in Irbid, there's been nothing about that in the press in the Arab countries.

Q. What about the political situation in the liberated zones?

A. We talked a lot politically with the fighters, after they were taken care of medically, and in the school where we were housed. The central theme was: "We'll beat Hussein." The fedayeen are still enthusiastic and determined. They don't give the impression of a defeated army but of fighters certain of victory.

The fedayeen discussed the attitude of the big powers toward them without waiting for me to ask them about it. There's a very strong feeling that they were deserted by the USSR. China,

* See "How the Press Reported Events in Irbid," in the October 26, 1970, *Intercontinental Press*. — IP

on the other hand, rates high with the guerrillas, especially because Chinese arms are sent directly to the fedayeen, which is not the case with Soviet weapons. But everybody talks about Vietnam.

Members of all the different groups are mixed together in the military units. I ran into soldiers who belonged to Fateh, the Popular Front, and the Democratic Popular Front. They talk among themselves all the time. They've done a good deal of reading, too. One rank-and-file soldier asked me: "Have you read Fanon?"

Q. Did you talk about the problem of Israel and the Israeli community?

A. Not directly. We let it be known that some of our doctors were Jewish, including myself. A few of the fedayeen were surprised, but the general reaction was "So what?" One Popular Front member said that this was only normal once you reach the level of proletarian internationalism.

Q. Could you tell if Syria had intervened militarily?

A. You have to understand something about the zone held by the resistance. The real border is twenty kilometers farther inside Syrian territory than is shown on the map. The resistance controls this strip of Syrian land. I saw a few Syrian soldiers and police there and a few tank-carrying trucks, but not on Jordanian territory.

Still, a journalist I met in Damascus told me that the tanks he saw on the other side of the Jordanian border had Palestinian markings.

Q. What political and material help does the resistance need?

A. They need lots of material help. As soon as they get organized in a minimum way, a number of medical teams would be really useful. Dr. Fethi Arafat, Yasir Arafat's brother, stressed the need for a revolutionary expansion of medical aid to the masses. He wants radical activists to help organize this by sending volunteer doctors regularly.

Dr. Arafat asked me as a representative of Red Help to take part in organizing this kind of aid. And it's our job as members of revolutionary organizations to get moving on this.

In addition, Red Help has to get together all the medical supplies and things the resistance needs. This is not a job to be completed. It's a revolutionary action that's only beginning and has to be followed up.

Political support is even more important. We have to explain the aims of the resistance and arouse favorable popular sentiment as widely as possible. We need to tell people about the significance of the Palestinian struggle, the nature of a revolution that objectively is going beyond the limits of a mere national liberation struggle because it poses in actuality the question

of a socialist revolution in the Arab world.

We've also got to counteract the confusion over this question, no matter what its source. We've got to break through the wall of silence the bourgeoisie is trying to build around the Palestinian revolution. We can't wait on this. We must undertake these actions, which are revolutionary tasks, without delay. This is a revolutionary action taken by us as internationalists, because the struggle of the Palestinian fighters against Zionism and Arab reaction is part of our struggle against imperialism.

Whole Arab Towns Destroyed

Red Cross Condemns Israeli Repression

The International Committee of the Red Cross, in a report released early in October, has accused the Israeli government of violating the Geneva Conventions by blowing up Arab homes and entire villages in the occupied territories seized during the June war.

"The report is something of a landmark in Red Cross history," the *Sunday Times* of London commented October 11. "Until now the ICRC has declined to discuss publicly details of its protests in cases like this on the grounds that it does not want to be drawn into political controversy or do anything that might imperil its negotiations with the government concerned."

The *Sunday Times* quoted a Red Cross spokesman as saying, "We have not been able to obtain from the Israeli Government a satisfactory response on its attitude to the Fourth Convention."

This convention prohibits the destruction of property except in military operations and declares that no person may be punished for a crime he has not personally committed. The *Sunday Times* continued:

"The ICRC report says Israeli Forces have broken this Convention by using three kinds of destruction as measures of punishment: the blowing up of complete villages and towns; the blowing up of individual houses; and 'collective reprisals' (where neighbours of suspected terrorists lose their houses too).

"The report lists the following villages and camps which (according to the former inhabitants in interviews with ICRC delegates) have been destroyed: Yalou, Beit Nuba, and Imwas, in the Latroun area; Surif, Beit Awwa, Beit Mirsem, and Il Shuyoukh, in the Hebron area; and Jiflik, Agarich, and Nuseirat—Jordan Valley."

The report listed protests made privately by the Red Cross over the last two years and the replies by the Israeli government. The most recent reply by Tel Aviv was in December 1969. It defended the policy of reprisals against civilians, saying that the destruction by Israeli troops of Palestinian homes in Halhoul and Gaza "was in keeping with the Government's policy of destroying the houses of persons helping members of Al Fatah."

Don't Say the Nasty Word

"Portuguese law and Portuguese public opinion expressly reject the designation 'colony' for the overseas provinces. Whoever uses the expression 'colony' for the overseas provinces in conversation with Portuguese commits a serious, at times insulting, breach of etiquette.

"It is not appropriate to represent Portugal as a dictatorship, and using this expression when speaking to Portuguese is offensive. The Portuguese state structure is suited to the needs of the land and gives the individual citizen personal freedom and security in his rights."—From a "Memorandum for Visitors of the German Army in Portugal" prepared by the Central German Liaison Office in Portugal.

Leon Trotsky and the New Rise of World Revolution

By Joseph Hansen

The fifty-third anniversary of the Russian revolution on November 7 will be observed by tens of millions of persons throughout the world.

Among them, a small number will also observe the ninety-first birthday of Leon Trotsky. (The workers in czarist Russia, by coincidence, took power on the day that Trotsky was thirty-eight years old.)

It should be noted in addition that 1970 marks three decades since Stalin succeeded in murdering the great revolutionist who, together with Lenin, led the struggle that brought the first workers state into existence.

'It Won't Work'

Of the viability of that beginning in socialism there cannot be the least remaining doubt. The old argument thrown at advocates of socialist planning—"It won't work"—is never heard nowadays. The argument itself no longer works.

Despite the distortions and perversions suffered by the planned economy of the Soviet Union under the mismanagement of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the country that was the most backward of the Western powers a half century ago has now overtaken all the others in productive capacity except the United States.

On top of that, the old capitalist argument about the inferiority of everything Soviet, because of the "lack of Russian know-how," suddenly lost its punch when the Soviet scientists, technicians, and workers produced first the atom and then the hydrogen bomb. When the Soviet Union pioneered the opening of the space age, American capitalism turned its attention, not without some panic, to the problem of "catching up" with Soviet technology and know-how in this field.

As to defensive capacities, the power of the Soviet Union is so obvious that only a psychotic personality would think of repeating the gamble of military aggression taken by Hitler, for now it would mean the certain doom of the capitalist system if not all of the

higher forms of life on our planet.

The revolutionary party headed by Lenin and Trotsky, it can be seen with absolute clarity today, laid firm foundations to a most dynamic economy in the first workers state.

It must be added that the proof is all the stronger in face of the unparalleled destruction wrought by the German imperialist invasion.

Unfortunately the picture is quite different so far as human relations in the Soviet Union are concerned. In the first years after the October victory, it is true, the young workers state gave new hope to the poor and the oppressed throughout the world with its promise of a flowering of proletarian democracy and with the great achievements it nurtured in art, literature, and education, and the examples it set in the liberation of women and protection of the rights of children.

All of this was eroded away under the baneful rule of the bureaucratic caste that usurped power following the death of Lenin. The soviets were liquidated and replaced by a totalitarian form of rule that reached a bizarre extreme in the cult of the personality of Stalin.

The obstacle this represented for decades to the advance of the world revolution is not easily appreciated by the youth of today. The most attractive country in the world, the Soviet Union, was headed by the most consummate master of counterrevolution. Each new revolutionary upsurge in other countries was thus lured to its doom. To clear the way for the victorious advance of the world revolution seemed an almost impossible task.

This was where Leon Trotsky made perhaps his greatest contributions.

First of all, he set a personal example. He remained true to the principles of revolutionary socialism to which he had dedicated himself as a youth. He never succumbed to the blandishments of the usurping caste. He and a grouping of cadres like him really laid down their lives to keep alive the program of Marxism and of Leninism.

Secondly, he kept that program up

to date through analysis of current events and derivation of the corresponding theoretical and political generalizations. He thus provided the world with a scientific appreciation of the real nature of such phenomena as fascism and Stalinism and their origin in the symmetrical decay of capitalism and of the first workers state.

Through this the revolutionary socialist movement was armed with the correct slogans and methods of fighting on all the main fronts of the class struggle as it evolved in this period.

Thirdly, Trotsky utilized all his talents and everything he had learned in years of incomparably rich revolutionary experience to carry on the battle against Stalinism, against capitalism, and against the currents affected by them.

Fourthly, he set about to rebuild a team, an international grouping of cadres capable of carrying on the revolutionary-socialist program that Stalin had betrayed.

The Fourth International

At first this took the form of factions within the Communist parties that fought for a return to the program of Lenin. But as the Communist International declined and finally collapsed, the job became one of constructing a new international. A key date in this was the founding of the Fourth International, the World Party of Socialist Revolution, in the summer of 1938.

The death of Leon Trotsky barely two years later on August 21, 1940, was a blow that many persons judged would prove fatal to his movement.

Stalin, we can be sure, calculated that it would mean the finish of the "Trotskyite" threat to the power and privileges of the bureaucratic caste and to "peaceful coexistence" with capitalism.

Stalin and those who thought like him miscalculated. A brain can be

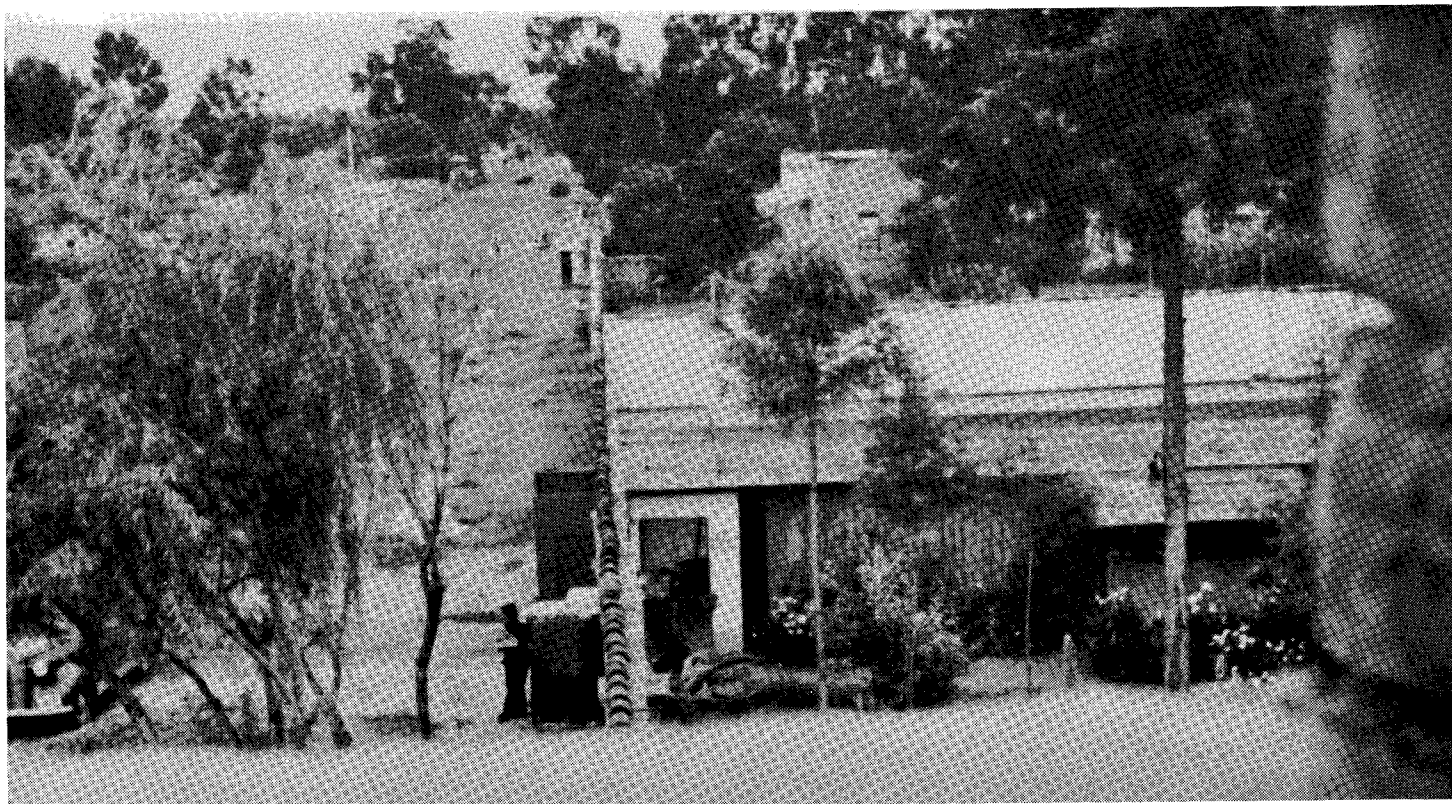


Photo by Joseph Hansen

VIEW FROM INSIDE WATCH TOWER on roof of home of Leon Trotsky and Natalia Sedova in 1940, looking west along Avenida Viena on the outskirts of Coyoacan, a suburb of Mexico City. The double doors of the entrance are open and a Mexican policeman, furnished by the Cardenas government, is standing by. A small booth, used as a sentry post, can be seen up the street.

The assassin came down Avenida Viena in the afternoon of August 20, 1940, turned his car in the direction opposite to that of the automobile shown in the photograph so as to make his planned getaway easier, parked, and got out.

He was admitted to the patio by a guard through a small door cut in one of the main doors. He was then taken through the second entrance, visible in the photograph, and along the path in the patio past the guard post (the shed at the right), meeting Trotsky and Natalia Sedova further inside the patio.

destroyed by a blow from a pickax. Ideas cannot. They are immune to assassination. Their existence hinges, in the long run, on how well they reflect reality. Trotsky's ideas still mirror the reality of our time very faithfully.

Moreover, Trotsky had succeeded in his aim of establishing a grouping of cadres of sufficient stature to maintain the continuity of revolutionary Marxism. To them the loss of Trotsky was immeasurable, as it was in a wider sense to mankind as a whole. Trotsky was one of the great intellects of all time, still at the height of his produc-

tive capacity. But although they could not make up for Trotsky, they could carry on in his example, and as he had taught them. These cadres became the living tie connecting Trotsky's generation with the succeeding generations of rebels.

The cadres of the Fourth International believed that World War II would end in new revolutionary upheavals of such scope and power as to overwhelm the obstacle of Stalinism and lead to early victories like the one in Russia at the end of World War I.

The historic pattern proved to be

All of these movements were seen by Joseph Hansen and Benito Melquiades from the watch tower, which was still under construction. None of the household suspected that "Jacson" was in actuality a member of the special detachment set up by Stalin to murder Trotsky.

After the blow piercing his skull, Trotsky struggled with the assassin. The guards caught "Jacson" in the doorway of Trotsky's study and brought him down. Trotsky died the following day.

"Jacson" was tried, convicted, and sentenced to twenty years in prison. He served all of his term but four months, being released May 6, 1960. He was met at the prison by two envoys of the Czech government. They provided the assassin with a diplomatic passport made out in the name of "Jacques Mornard Van Dendrischd," and flew him, via Havana, to Prague, where he disappeared.

The photograph was taken shortly after the assassin succeeded in his assignment.

much more complex than they had anticipated. The Soviet victory over imperialist Germany, made possible by the planned economy, marked a historic defeat for European and world capitalism. But it also strengthened Stalinism, for it refurbished the image of Soviet leadership in the eyes of the masses everywhere, partially blotting out such things as the great purges, the frame-up trials, the deportations of masses of human beings, the forced labor camps, the totalitarian form of rule, the many defeats of revolutions.

Thus it was that Stalinism was able

to betray the big revolutionary upheavals in western Europe that occurred in the aftermath of World War II, notably in Greece, Italy, and France.

Analyzing the new situation with the method taught by Trotsky, the Fourth International foresaw that the strengthening of Stalinism would prove to be relatively ephemeral. On a world scale the relationship of forces, primarily because of the victory of the Soviet Union, had shifted in favor of socialist revolution and this would ultimately undermine Stalinism.

Upsurge in the Colonial World

The forecast was confirmed by the immense upsurge in the colonial world that took China, North Korea, North Vietnam, and finally Cuba out of the capitalist orbit.

In this mighty process, reaching from Asia, through Africa to Latin America, there can hardly be any doubt which way the deep currents have been running, whatever the eddies, side currents, and even counter-currents. The direction is toward socialist revolution.

One of the most notable features has been the rise and increasing strength of revolutionary tendencies critical of Stalinism and inclined to stand on their own feet and to think for themselves. It is true that these tendencies have repeated errors long ago submitted to critical analysis by the Marxist movement. The inclination to begin afresh is nevertheless a most significant development. An outstanding instance was the Cuban leadership which outflanked the Communist party from the left, winning power on the very doorstep of the mightiest imperialist power on earth.

The revolutionary process over the past decades has, of course, not been continuous. It has suffered big ebbs. In Latin America in particular the guerrilla movement has met with repeated defeats. In Indonesia, the Communist party, primarily owing to the influence of the Maoist variety of Stalinism, led the masses into a debacle and a slaughter comparable to that suffered by the German workers in the early thirties.

Despite these and other grave defeats and setbacks, the primary trend toward socialist revolution has con-

tinued. The efforts of the statesmen of the capitalist system to halt it, whether through diplomatic intervention, economic reprisal, puppet regimes, or open armed aggression, can hardly be termed a conspicuous success.

Entire sectors of the world are obviously becoming more and more explosive. The increasing violence of the means used by the centers of world imperialism to contain things, ends only in building up the revolutionary pressures. Capitalist rule is becoming more and more unstable. The means of rule are being reduced more and more to nothing but the police club and B-52 bombers.

The consequences have now begun to show up in the imperialist centers themselves. In May and June, 1968, student demonstrations in Paris set off a chain reaction of revolutionary proportions. Had the French workers possessed a leadership worthy of the name, France within a few days would have gone socialist.

The French capitalists managed temporarily to retrieve the situation, but May-June now stands like a specter over all of Western Europe. Which country will be next? How long before it occurs again in France?

The Monolith Is Shattered

We should not fail to note the parallel crisis of Stalinism. The monolith was shattered by Khrushchev's revelations at the Twentieth Congress in 1956. The Communist parties around the world were shaken to the bottom. Then came the Sino-Soviet rift and the further splintering of the Stalinist movement.

Neither Moscow's subsequent efforts to rehabilitate Stalin, nor Peking's efforts to save Stalin by means of the cult of Mao have succeeded in surmounting the crisis of Stalinism. Nor will they succeed.

The upsurge of the Czechoslovak people in 1968 in search of socialist democracy showed—like the upsurges in East Germany in 1953 and in Poland and Hungary in 1956—the explosive political potential that exists among the masses in the Soviet sphere.

In China the "cultural revolution" showed in a different way how rotted the bureaucratic structures themselves have become.

Most heartening of all has been the appearance of a new political opposi-

tion in the Soviet Union. Its precise outlines are difficult to determine under Stalinist police rule, but its success in disseminating *samizdat* underground publications indicates its extensiveness, while the *samizdat* material itself shows how the dissidents are seeking to revive genuine Leninism.

Radicalization of the Youth

All these threads come together in something new—the worldwide radicalization of the youth that has been going on for the past few years. This is a striking new phenomenon visible in all the continents.

The internationalism of these dissident youth appeared not only in such an extraordinary feature as the universality of their rebellion around the globe but in the way they thought from the beginning. Among their first acts were appeals for international solidarity—and in the very advanced form of simultaneous actions and demonstrations against the war in Vietnam, often on a mass scale.

These appeals, most significantly, originated from within the United States in face of the fact that the United States constitutes the main powerhouse of world reaction.

The militancy of the radicalizing youth was likewise visible from the beginning, as well as their independence, their desire to know the truth and not to be taken in by lies, hypocrisy, and half-truths.

In the United States, the radicalization of the youth, coupled with the development of the liberation struggles of the Blacks, of women, the Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, the Indians, has confronted U.S. imperialism with a domestic problem of the first order. An upsurge of the working class in the United States in the near future could lead to a situation of immense revolutionary possibilities.

The time is obviously nearing when we can expect a great new renaissance of the revolutionary Marxist movement. The program defended by Leon Trotsky and his followers will become the heritage of millions.

Among the signs to be noted is the widening prestige of Trotskyism in many areas. The most solid evidence of all is the rise in recruitment to the Fourth International and to the parties sharing its views. The cadres now being formed and educated will constitute the key component in building the

mass revolutionary parties needed to win the revolutions being placed on the agenda.

Small wonder that "Trotskyism" has once again become a worrisome problem to the Kremlin. In the past few years it has felt forced to pay increasing attention to it. Hence the "new" analyses of Trotskyism, and Moscow's attempts to provide "fresh" material about it for the Stalinist propaganda mill. If "Jackson," Trotsky's assassin, is still alive, should not Brezhnev-Kosygin have him contribute his memoirs as a natural part of this campaign? Should not Stalin's heirs also make a pact on this battle-

front with J. Edgar Hoover, who is likewise alarmed at the growth of Trotskyism?

Thirty years after the martyrdom of Leon Trotsky, the Kremlin bureaucrats find his ideas springing up everywhere, even under their own feet.

No ax can destroy these ideas; no police club can beat them down. They represent the best in humanity. They represent the socialist society of the future. They outline what must be done to achieve that society. They belong to the new generation of youth in all countries, who will take them, make them their own, and convert them into a living reality.

movement of arms; of directives given to the Chief of Staff; of the activities of military intelligence; and of the training of private individuals in army establishments," the Dublin moderate biweekly *Hibernia* complained in its October 9 issue. "The most intimate and highly confidential activities of government in a highly sensitive area have been exposed to public scrutiny. It is manifest that this evidence is highly prejudicial to the interests of the State."

The shock of the "gun-plot" exposures was compounded by the behavior of the judiciary during the trial. Considerable light was focused on the fact that all the sitting judges in the Irish courts are Fianna Fáil political appointees and on the fact that some of them have family ties with leading Fianna Fáil politicians. Justice O Caoimh, who tried the case, showed considerable reluctance at presiding over the trial and dismissed one jury when the defense lawyer complained of "unfairness" by the prosecutor.

Ireland

'Gun Plot' Defendants Found Not Guilty

Charles Haughey, former minister of finance in the Dublin government, was acquitted October 23 of conspiring to import arms and ammunition illegally into Ireland. Former minister of agriculture Neil Blaney, the other cabinet officer dismissed when the "gun plot" scandal broke in May 1969, was previously acquitted.

Haughey's codefendants — James Kelly, an intelligence captain in the Irish army assigned to working with the right wing of the Northern Ireland civil-rights movement; John Kelly, a civil-rights organizer in Belfast; and Alfred Luykx, a Dublin businessman — were also released by the court.

After the verdict, the former defendants were carried from the courtroom on the shoulders of a crowd. Immediately after his acquittal, Haughey announced his intention to challenge the existing government:

"Mr. Haughey made clear last night that he would move at once to try to expel Mr. Lynch as leader of the governing party, the Fianna Fáil, and thus as Prime Minister," *New York Times* correspondent Anthony Lewis reported October 24. "The first test of strength in the party is likely to come at a meeting next Wednesday [October 28]."

Haughey and his codefendants contended that former Minister of Defense James Gibbons knew and approved of the plan to import small arms for shipment to selected elements of the



CHARLES HAUGHEY

Catholic community in Northern Ireland. At the time of the gun-plot exposures, Gibbons was shifted from his post as head of the defense ministry but was retained in the cabinet. Testimony at the trial indicated that the entire Lynch government was implicated in the project.

"The world, and in particular the Six Counties [of Northern Ireland], now has been told of orders given by the Minister for Defence relating to

Murder of Amman Prisoner

"AMMAN, Sept. 24— The wounded Palestinian guerrilla lay on a stretcher by the side of the road moaning in pain from a chest wound.

"A Bedouin soldier in King Hussein's army shouldered through the crowd, drew back his right foot and slammed his heavy army boot into the wound. The guerrilla screamed in pain.

"Two Jordanian troopers standing near the stretcher tried to restrain their fellow soldier from hitting the wounded man again. But after a brief argument the two men stood aside.

"The Bedouin, his red and white checkered headcloth flapping around his shoulders in the desert breeze, took a step back, cocked his rifle and shot the guerrilla dead."— Michel Laurent, Associated Press.

It May Lose in Translation

Hsinhua, the Chinese government news agency, reported October 17 that a Lebanese student had presented the following poem to the Chinese pavilion at an international fair in Damascus:

"China's great cultural revolution depends on Mao Tsetung Thought.

"Eliminate renegades, and overthrow revisionists.

"Implement the struggle-criticism-transformation campaign and pave the way for communism.

"Universally popularized Mao Tsetung Thought leads the world people to make revolution."

Yes, There Is Torture in Brazil



MEDICI: Torture in Brazil? Says who?

"Three men in plainclothes walked into my office and said, 'You're coming with us.' They had no warrant, no papers of any kind. When I asked if I could call my wife and tell my law partner, they said that if I did, 'they come (to jail), too.'"

The victim, a Brazilian lawyer, was held in a military prison for several weeks and tortured before his release. His wife was also arrested. Neither of them was ever told the reason.

Their experience was reported by William M. Carley in the October 12 *Wall Street Journal*. Carley details some of the methods of political repression used by Brazil's military rulers.

These include the *cassado* — stripping the victim of his political rights, particularly the right to hold office — and the *aposentado* — the arbitrary firing of university professors or others supported by public funds. There is no appeal against either action. Victims are never officially informed; they usually learn of their misfortune from newspapers or radio news broadcasts.

Censorship, Carley reports, is seldom "official" because editors are

afraid to publish anything that would displease the regime. In one case, "Caio Prado, a world-famous Marxist historian was tried by a Brazilian military court last year on the basis of a 1967 magazine article for which he was interviewed. He was charged with violating a decree issued a year after the article appeared." Prado was sentenced to four and a half years in prison.

Persons arrested have no protection against torture, Carley writes. The generals "have suspended the writ of habeas corpus in cases even remotely related to national security. Hence there is no way the arrest or mistreatment of an individual can be challenged in court."

Philippines

Huk Commander Pedro Taruc Killed

Pedro Taruc, commander of one of the factions of the Hukbalahap movement and general secretary of the Communist party of the Philippines, was slain in Barrio Tibagin, a village north of Angeles City, on October 16. He had been surrounded in his hideout by troops of the same army battalion that captured his second-in-command, Faustino del Mundo, on September 16. [See *Intercontinental Press*, October 19, 1970, page 883.]

There were conflicting reports on the manner of Taruc's death. According to the October 19 *New York Times*, an army spokesman "said he was shot when he grappled for the gun of a civilian informer during the raid."

The article went on to list two other accounts:

"A Philippine news service report from Angeles City, however, said Mr. Taruc had committed suicide when he saw that he would be captured. Another version, ascribed to Philippine constabulary sources, said he had been slain by his bodyguards, who sought the \$25,000 price on his head."

All accounts agreed that the army had been led to Taruc by two informers. United Press International gave

The use of torture is widespread:

"An impressive array of documentation exists to refute the Government's contention that torture isn't condoned . . . Among groups charging, and condemning, torture here are the International Affairs Committee of the U.S. Catholic Conference, the Latin America department of the National Council of Churches and the International Commission of Jurists. In August this last group declared: 'Torture (in Brazil) is today a systematic . . . practice of the government agencies. Practically no level of society escapes it, nor does the existence of the practice pass unknown to any government level.'"

Eight days after Carley's article appeared, Brazilian President Emílio Médici denounced persons who accuse his government of torture as "bad Brazilians, Communists and subversives."

"local residents" rather than the Philippine constabulary as the source of the report that the informers were Taruc's bodyguards.

Pedro Taruc was a member of the Huks from the time of their formation in 1942 as an anti-Japanese resistance group. After the war ended, the Huks were able to elect their candidates for office in many areas of Luzon, but the group was outlawed in 1948 and went underground.

Taruc became commander of the Huks in 1954 when his predecessor and uncle, Luis Taruc, surrendered to the government. Pedro Taruc became general secretary of the Communist party — which is also outlawed — in 1964.

Defeated by government forces aided by American imperialist "advisers" in the period leading up to 1954, the Huk movement never succeeded in rebuilding its organization to anything approaching its former size, although there has been some resurgence in recent years in response to the continued deterioration in the standard of living of the masses.

The movement is divided at present. "Military experts," quoted in the Oc-

tober 19 *New York Times*, believe that Taruc's death will mean the end of the group he led. Its present strength is estimated by the army at 256 armed men, 200 combat support troops, and 43,000 members.

The strongest faction is now con-

sidered to be the New People's Army led by Bernabe Buscayno, also known as Commander Dante. It is estimated to have a core of 400 men, 400 support troops, and 41,000 members.

A third faction is known as Par-

tido Komunistang Pilipinas. The army reports this group's strength at 100 armed men, 100 support troops, and 37,000 members. Its leaders, according to the *New York Times*, "are believed to include intellectuals from the universities."

Samizdat Appeal from the Soviet Union

Vladimir Bukovsky's Open Letter to Theodorakis

[The fourteenth issue of the Soviet *samizdat* publication *Chronicle of Current Events*, dated June 30, 1970, has become available to us. Its table of contents indicates not only the range of subjects this unique periodical is dealing with—now in its third year of regular, though officially unsanctioned, appearance—but also the emphasis given them by the editors.

[The contents are as follows: "The Arrest of Andrei Amalrik; On the Fate of Pyotr Grigorevich Grigorenko; Confinement of Jaurès Medvedev in a Psychiatric Hospital; Statements by Vladimir Bukovsky; the Soviet Press on the Persecution of Dissenters in the Country; Representations of Stalin Are Being Protected; Details of the Ryazan Trial; Persecution of Religious Believers; From the History of the Soviet Censorship; Extrajudicial Acts of Repression; Brief Reports; New Works of Samizdat; Additions and Corrections."

[Many of the events indicated by this list have already been publicized, although the *Chronicle* carries details not previously known. But there is also much in this issue that has not been heard of before. An example is the open letter by Vladimir Bukovsky to the Greek composer Mikis Theodorakis, which the *Chronicle* reprints with certain omissions for reasons of space. Other statements by Bukovsky are also quoted or summarized.

[Bukovsky is an attractive figure, a Soviet counterpart of the youth radicalizing on a worldwide scale in the sixties and seventies. He first became widely known when Pavel Litvinov publicized his trial of September 1967.

[Bukovsky had been arrested for organizing a demonstration for free speech in Moscow in January 1967. He was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for "disturbing the peace." In his final statement to the court, as reported by Litvinov, Bukovsky insisted on his rights, supposedly guaranteed by the Soviet constitution.

"I absolutely do not repent," declared the young rebel, "for organizing this demonstration. I find that it accomplished what it had to accomplish, and when I am free again, I shall again organize demonstrations, of course, with complete observation of the law, as before."

[He has been true to his word. According to the *Chronicle* he was freed early in 1970, his pretrial detention since January 1967 apparently counting against the three-year sentence. He immediately re-embarked on oppositional activities, primarily aimed at publicizing the struggle of the opposition movement internationally.

[One of his efforts was to have a CBS newsman interview him. He arranged to have the journalist meet him

at a spot in the woods near Moscow to avoid interference by the political police. On the television program that resulted it was stressed that the dissidents wanted the information about their movement to get out to the world, even though the newsman was reluctant to endanger them, and his own permission to work in the USSR, by so doing.

[According to the *Chronicle*, Bukovsky was warned on June 9 by an agent named Vankovich, of the Moscow prosecutor's office, that unless he ceased his activities, he would be subject to prosecution for "anti-Soviet slander."

[The open letter to Theodorakis is of interest for a number of reasons. First, it is an appeal not just to world opinion in general, via capitalist-controlled media, but to a well-known Communist. A similar open letter to Western Communists by the imprisoned young poet Yuri Galanskov has also been reported. Second, it suggests Bukovsky may be aware that Theodorakis has publicly declared his alignment with the faction of the Greek CP that the Kremlin opposes and that condemned the Kremlin's invasion of Czechoslovakia. By appealing to critics of Moscow within the world Communist movement, the Soviet oppositionists may hope to build a serious base of support for their struggle for democratic rights.

[Theodorakis has since visited the Soviet Union. Whether he received Bukovsky's appeal or was willing or able to act on it, remains to be seen.

[At any rate, the courage and determination of the Soviet rebel youth shines out from this appeal. All the more criminal is the bureaucratic hounding of these young people whom Ivan Yakhimovich characterized so well:

"It is not toadies, not a public of yes-men (O Lord, how they have multiplied!), not mama's boys, who will determine the future, but rather those very rebels, as the most energetic, brave, and high-principled members of our young generation."

[The translation of Bukovsky's letter, reprinted below, is by *Intercontinental Press*. Ellipses marking omissions to save space are given as they appeared in the *Chronicle*.]

Dear Mr. Theodorakis, I do not know you personally and can estimate you only from material in the Soviet press. . . .

Surely you more than anyone understand what persecution of dissenters is and what the struggle against injustice is under such conditions. As a creative person you cannot be indifferent to the fate of people deprived of free-

dom because of their creative work; as a former political prisoner, you cannot be indifferent to the conditions in which political prisoners are held in other countries of the world; as a fighter for democracy you cannot be indifferent to the fate of people who openly take a stand in defense of civil rights.

In these times such problems have ceased to be the problems of a single nation. They have become humanity-wide. . . .

The facts about the persecution of dissidents in our country, the facts about the confinement of some of them in psychiatric hospital-prisons . . . the facts about the persecution of writers for what they write, and of religious believers for their convictions—these facts should receive authoritative and objective confirmation in the eyes of public opinion. Otherwise they can be declared "falsification" or "slander."

You are a person whose objectivity and honesty neither the Soviet government nor world public opinion has any reason to doubt. Moreover in our country you have won unusual respect and popularity. There would be no reason to refuse to let you visit Soviet prisons, labor camps, and psychiatric hospital-prisons—unless there were a desire to conceal facts about injustice and arbitrariness.

Several years ago the leaders of our country publicly declared that we have no political prisoners. Now they cannot say that, since the world knows the names of many people arrested here in recent years for political reasons. The addresses of the prisons, camps, and hospital-prisons in which they are being held are also known. You could visit the writers Sinyavsky, Ginzburg, and others in their

camps, see the writer Daniel in his cell at Vladimir prison,* or, for instance, General Grigorenko and the poetess Natalya Gorbanevskaya in the company of degenerates and maniacs.

You could go see the writers Amalrik and Marchenko, the religious writer Levitin-Krasnov, the poets Delaunais and Gabai, being held in confinement along with actual criminals; you could see under what conditions they are held, and try the food they are given day after day. You could ask the poet Galanskov what kind of medical treatment he is provided. And you could compare the conditions in which political prisoners are held in Greece and the USSR.

It would be necessary to make all this exceptionally important information public and thereby to contribute further to the struggle for civil rights and democracy and, more important, to help innocent people who are suffering.

The Soviet government might refuse to let you visit places where people are being held, but it can hardly refuse you a visa. In that case I am ready to introduce to you a number of former political prisoners, who have spent long years in the above-mentioned places and who are willing to give accurate testimony. . . .

I appeal to you, as one former political prisoner to another, to help our comrades—the political prisoners of the USSR. . . .

* Yuli Daniel was freed from prison in September 1970, several months after this letter was written. He had completed the full five years of his sentence. — *IP*

REVIEWS

Back to Dynamite or Forward to Mass Action?

By Allen Myers

Marxism Versus Neo-Anarchist Terrorism by George Novack. Pathfinder Press, New York, N. Y. 15 pp. \$.25. 1970.

Liberalism, Ultraleftism or Mass Action by Peter Camejo. Pathfinder Press, New York, N. Y. 15 pp. \$.25. 1970.

The recent bombing of several banks, university buildings, and other property—in some of which lives have been lost—has faced the radical movement once again with a problem going back to the first period of revolutionary struggle in czarist Russia. Today's Marxists are compelled to repeat in modern terms how futile and costly ultraleftism and individual terrorism are. Both of these pamphlets carry out this task clearly, concisely, and in a highly readable manner.

Marxism is distinguished, among other things, by its attitude toward the masses.

"Individual terror," Novack writes, "scorns the masses and disqualifies their capacities by substituting the deeds of a 'chosen few' for mass action and organization."

Camejo points out: "The actions they [ultraleftists] propose are not aimed at the American people; they're aimed at those who have already radicalized. They know beforehand that masses of people won't respond to the tactics they propose."

Of particular interest is the analysis of the sources of ultraleftism. Novack considers this primarily from a social, Camejo from a political, standpoint.

"In social terms," Novack writes, "individual terrorism is not a proletarian but a petty-bourgeois, individualist

and elitist mode of action. It is based upon the exaltation of personal heroism and readiness for individual self-sacrifice rather than the collective disciplined action involved in the working class movement for emancipation."

Camejo describes the process by which a petty-bourgeois liberal becomes an ultraleftist:

"Now basically an ultraleft is a liberal that has gone through an evolution . . . They start out as liberals, and suddenly the war in Vietnam comes along. Now, what does a liberal believe? He believes that the ruling class is basically responsive to his needs. So he demonstrates. . . .

"But after they called a few demonstrations against the war, they noticed something was wrong. The ruling class was not being responsive. . . .

"Now, since they had no confidence

in the masses as an independent force that could stop the ruling class, . . . they said, "Wait a minute. If the government is being run by wild maniacs and butchers, what is stopping them from killing me tomorrow?"

It is this political evolution, Camejo says, that led logically to the view that fascism is imminent in the United States and that this threat must be met by underground struggle and terrorism. He also describes another form of ultraleftism:

"Sometimes a liberal becomes frus-

trated not getting the ear of the ruling class, and he concludes that he's been using the wrong tactics. So he adopts a lot of radical rhetoric. He says this ruling class is apparently so thick-headed that what we've got to do is really let loose a temper tantrum to get its attention."

Both authors also provide a clear exposition of the Marxist position which firmly relies on the conscious action of the masses. This contrast is summed up by Novack in the final paragraph of his pamphlet:

"U. S. imperialism has to go; its crimes must be avenged. But this cannot and will not be done by lone avengers. It will require intervention by the masses conscious of the necessity of abolishing capitalist power and property and organized to carry through that colossal task. The function of genuine revolutionists today is not to study the uses of dynamite, but to learn how to release the creative energy and revolutionary potential of the masses in order to speed the day of that historical reckoning."

Documents

Psaradelles's Speech to Athens Military Court

[The following speech has been translated by *Intercontinental Press* from the August issue of *Ergatike Pale*, the official organ of the KDKE, Greek section of the Fourth International. The speech was made by Theologos Psaradelles before an Athens military court in the first part of July. He was charged with breaking into a military depot and stealing explosives.

[Arrested in April 1969, the twenty-eight-year-old worker managed to escape and make his way to Bulgaria. There the Stalinist officials refused to grant him asylum, turning him back to be taken by the Greek political police.

[The Athens military court sentenced Psaradelles to twelve years and three months in prison.]

* * *

Judges of the military court:

Having defended myself from the dock, I address myself to the workers of Greece and the entire world. I consider them the judges of the struggle I am waging shoulder to shoulder with all the oppressed of the earth.

I am a worker and a member of the Fourth International. This precise class and political position has led me onto the road of struggle against oppression and into attempting to give a correct orientation to the Greek and world workers movement.

On April 21, 1967, by bayonets and cannons, the barbaric and oppressive

state apparatus, which represents the interests of the native and foreign monopolies, imposed the most sinister form of its rule. It imposed the dictatorship that has abolished all individual and political freedom and dissolved the political and trade-union organizations of the working class and all the popular masses.

A climate of terror prevails throughout the country, with mass arrests, torture, and murder of working-class activists. (The Red Cross report to the American Congress mentions 100,000 arrests.) All of these terroristic and barbaric actions by the subhuman members of the junta are aimed at breaking the anticapitalist will of the people and maintaining the rotten bourgeois state. The victims of the junta's bestiality, who fill the prisons and crowd the desert islands, are the most unassailable proof of my accusation.

I am accused of attempting to overthrow the state by force and violence. I do not deny it. The class division of society produces violence, and the working class has the historical right to answer bourgeois terror with its own revolutionary violence.

My struggle is the continuation of the struggle I waged before April 21. Its objective aim is to abolish the exploitation of man by man and to establish a republic of workers and peasants councils.

These are my aims and they are the aims of the Fourth Communist International to which I belong. This pre-

cisely is what I am being persecuted for. You accuse me of being the "leader" of two parties. I disdain to reply to the products of my persecutors' demented imagination. I must, however, stress one thing. Juntas and gangs have leaders; the revolutionary organizations of the working class, never.

Your trials do not frighten us; they are only the spasms of a dying system. No matter how many cops like Lagkaphosis it recruits, the junta will never be able to break the militant strength of the proletariat. In the end the workers will win because they have their own law on their side. Capitalism is the culmination of the prehistory of mankind; socialism is the beginning of real history.

In the end, the working class and the oppressed masses will destroy the barbaric capitalist system, which brings only misfortunes, hunger, and wars. On the ruins of capitalism they will build the United Socialist Republics of the World.

Try us, but wait. A fire is consuming everything. It is burning under your feet, above you, around you. You and your masters will not escape it.

Long live the world working class!

Long live the Fourth International!

Long live the World Socialist Revolution!

And Volkswagens Can't Be Hijacked

Each takeoff of a Boeing 707 jetliner causes air pollution equal to that which would be produced by 6,850 Volkswagens during the same time period.

Looking Back Over My Years with Peng Shu-tse

By Peng Pi-lan

[On November 24 the world Trotskyist movement will celebrate the seventy-fifth birthday of Peng Shu-tse, one of the founders of the Chinese Communist party and of the International Left Opposition that eventually developed into the Fourth International of today.

[As part of the celebration, we are publishing an account of his life and political contributions written by his companion Peng Pi-lan five years ago, in November 1965. The first installment appears below.

[We will be glad to forward any greetings our readers may wish to send to the birthday celebration.]

* * *

I

It is not my intention in this brief account to write a biography of Peng Shu-tse, but I shall attempt to sketch his thinking, his political positions, and his activities in the Chinese Communist party from the time I first met him forty years ago. I shall also try to indicate his arduous struggle over the past thirty-six years for the Trotskyist movement.

I first met Peng Shu-tse in the autumn of 1925, but I had already become familiar with his outlook by the end of 1924. At that time I was attending the Communist University of the Toilers of the East in Moscow. I read articles by him that appeared in *Hsiang Tao* [The Guide], the official organ of the CCP, and in the theoretical magazine *Hsin Ch'ing Nien* [New Youth].

In his first article, "Imperialism and the Boxer Movement" (published in *Hsiang Tao*, September 3, 1924), he analyzed the decline of China to semicolonial status, a process that began with the Opium War (1840-41), citing facts on the military, political, economic, and cultural penetration of China by the imperialist powers. He characterized the Boxer Movement of 1900 as an "anti-imperialistic movement of national revolution, undertaken by the peasant masses under the excessive pressure of the imperialists." He thus took exception to the invidious terms used by many historians in referring to the "Boxer Rebellion," which they generally characterized as "barbarous" and "antiforeign." Peng correctly defined the Boxer Movement, not only for the CCP but also for the Chinese intellectuals who were arguing the question. The bourgeois historians, of whom Professor Hu Shih of Peking University was typical, maintained that this view flew in the face of the traditional interpretation of Chinese history.

Peng's next article, which impressed me deeply, was entitled "Who Is the Leader of the National Revolution?" (published in *Hsin Ch'ing Nien*, December ~~1925~~ 1924).

Early in 1923 the Communist International, claiming that the Chinese revolution was a national democratic revolution involving all the classes, had ordered members of the CCP to join the Kuomintang and to follow

a policy of collaborating with it. The question arose—what class is the leader of the revolution? The order of the Comintern implied that the CCP, representing the proletariat, could not carry full responsibility for leading the national revolution alone, since it had to join the Kuomintang and collaborate with it.

Having accepted the order, the leaders of the party changed their previous views and shifted toward the right. Mao Tse-tung, for instance, in an article "Peking Coup d'Etat and the Merchants" (published in *Hsiang Tao*, July 11, 1923), openly urged that the merchants, i.e., the bourgeoisie of Tientsin and Peking, "rise and collaborate with those of Shanghai to advance the revolution. The greater the unity of the merchants, the more powerful their leadership of the masses throughout the country, and the shorter the time necessary to bring the revolution to success." (Emphasis in original.) Obviously the author here recognized the bourgeoisie as the leader of the national revolution.

Later on Ch'en Tu-hsiu wrote an article entitled "The National Revolution and All Classes" (published in the monthly *Ch'ien Feng* [The Vanguard], Vol. 2, December 1923). In this article, after analyzing all the social classes in China and their relationship of forces, he came to the conclusion: Only the bourgeoisie can lead the national revolution, since on the one hand the character of the revolution is inherently bourgeois, and on the other the proletariat is insufficient in numbers and lacks the knowledge needed to lead a revolution. Such concepts caused considerable confusion and bewilderment among the rank and file of the party. Although Peng did not mention Ch'en by name, his article was in fact a criticism of Ch'en's view.¹ 1924

In his ~~1926~~ article, after analyzing in detail the economic basis and interests of all the social classes, from the bourgeoisie (i.e., the bank capitalists, merchants, and industrial capitalists) through the petty bourgeoisie, the artisans, the peasantry, and the proletariat, Peng pointed out that the Chinese bourgeoisie, including the industrial capitalists, depended either directly or indirectly on the imperialists and Chinese warlords and therefore could not mount the determined struggle against them necessary for success in the national revolution. Furthermore, owing to its fear of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie would inevitably prove reactionary. Peng drew the following conclusion:

"After analyzing all the classes . . . we may now affirm

1. Shu-tse told me later that he gave the draft of his article to Ch'en Tu-hsiu with the hope of winning him over to his view. Ch'en published an article entitled "Lessons of the National Movement Over the Past 27 Years" in the same issue of *Hsin Ch'ing Nien* in which Peng's article appeared. Ch'en, in his article, dropped his former point of view and advanced that of the proletarian leadership of the national revolution.

that from the standpoint of their material basis, revolutionary consciousness, and the conditions of the international revolution . . . only the working class can become the leader of the national revolution."

* * *

Peng joined the CCP in the autumn of 1920. The following year he attended the Communist University of the Toilers of the East in Moscow. He was elected to serve as secretary of the Moscow branch of the CCP, holding this post until 1924 when he returned to China after attending the Fifth Congress of the Communist International.

In the Moscow branch, I was told, he gave many reports on Marxism and discussed all kinds of problems with the comrades. Small wonder that they regarded him highly.

When I was there, his successor as secretary of the branch was Lo I-neng. (He returned to China in the spring of 1925, soon being assigned to serve as secretary of the Shanghai Regional Committee. After the failure of the revolution in 1927, he was executed by Chiang Kai-shek.) At that time there were about 100 comrades in Moscow. Some of them had come from France and Germany, but most of them were sent from China. In addition to our regular classes, we often held discussions in the evening. When we took up Peng's long articles ("Imperialism and the Boxer Movement" and "Who Is the Leader of the National Revolution?"), everyone agreed with the viewpoint expressed.

Among the students was Li Tao-chao, one of the founders of the CCP. After attending the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, he stayed in Moscow to do research work. After he returned to China, he was hanged in April 1927 by Chang Tso-lin, the warlord in Northern China.

Another student was Liu Pai-chen, who later became the head of the Political Commission of Feng Yu-hsiang. He was shot by Chiang Kai-shek.

I recall that at the farewell party for Li Ta-chao when he returned to China, the chairman was Liu Pai-chen. In his remarks, the smiling Liu said proudly: "One pen has already gone home. That pen is our comrade Peng Shu-tse. Now Comrade Li Ta-chao is going home, too. We believe that he will certainly make a great contribution to our party."

The word "pen" struck a chord because that was where my interests lay. That is why I began by saying that I already knew Peng's outlook before I came to know him personally.

* * *

After returning home in the summer of 1924, Peng, besides writing articles for *Hsiang Tao* and *Hsin Ch'ing Nien*, participated in the daily work of the Shanghai Regional Committee. In January 1925, when the Fourth Congress of the CCP was held, he was elected to the Central Committee and to the Central Standing Committee (Political Bureau), and was assigned to be chief editor of both *Hsiang Tao* and *Hsin Ch'ing Nien*.

In the autumn of 1925 I came back to Shanghai to participate in a meeting for all women comrades in Shanghai. The man who gave the political report at the meet-

ing, I learned from the brief introduction by Hsiang Ching-yu, who was in charge of the Central Board for Women, was none other than the author of the many articles I had read in Moscow. My first impression of him was his quiet and dignified manner and the warmth he displayed toward comrades.

* * *

The Central Standing Committee was composed of five members: Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Peng Shu-tse, Chu Ch'iu-pai, Ts'ai He-sheng, and Chang Kuo-tao. But in fact there were only three, because Ts'ai went to Moscow and Chang was often absent from Shanghai.

Ch'en always stayed in the central office to meet comrades coming in from all over the country. Peng also often assisted Ch'en in this. Chu, owing to his better facility with the Russian language, was in charge of contacts with representatives from the Comintern. He did not like to participate in the Shanghai Regional Committee, which included three provinces (Chekiang, Kiangsu, Anhwei), nor did he like to meet comrades. Consequently, Peng was the only member of the Central Standing Committee to attend the Shanghai Regional Committee meetings. He also regularly attended the meetings of the Central Standing Committee of the Chinese Communist Youth Corps.

Since Peng often participated in the meetings of the Shanghai Regional Committee (of which I was a member) as well as in other meetings of cadres, I had occasion to see him frequently. When literary work was involved, I used to go where he was staying, as he was the director of the Central Department of Propaganda and I was the editor-in-chief of the monthly magazine *Chung Kuo Fu Nu* [Chinese Women]. Some of the important articles involving politics and theory had to be taken up with him for approval or correction. Thus I saw him often, and after a certain time, understanding each other perfectly, we decided to live together.

* * *

In 1925 the May 30 Movement stirred up resistance against imperialism and the warlords. Throughout the whole country in 1925 and 1926, workers, peasants, students, women, and various elements of the petty bourgeoisie all took part in the revolutionary upsurge. For instance, whenever they were aroused by events, such as the struggle against the warlord Feng, the invasion of Manchuria by the Japanese, the March 18, 1926, slaughter in Peking, hundreds of thousands of persons demonstrated in the streets of Shanghai.

Immediately after the emotionally charged demonstration protesting the March 18 slaughter, the news reached Shanghai of the March 20 coup d'etat in Canton. Chiang Kai-shek, the representative of the bourgeoisie with whom the CCP had collaborated in the Kuomintang, had signaled his intentions. The event, which came like a bolt from the blue, paralyzed the whole party. Caught by surprise, every member of the CCP in the Shanghai region was anguished and bewildered.

On the following day, after the Shanghai Regional Committee had weighed the meaning of the coup, the activists

were called together in a meeting. More than 100, sitting on the floor, listened to Peng's report on the Canton coup and the opinion of the Central Committee of the CCP. By the end of the meeting they were seething with indignation over the coup. They were in complete agreement that it was a clear indication of the reactionary nature of the bourgeoisie, and that we Communists, standing firmly with the proletariat, had to reconsider the question of the CCP's collaborating with the Kuomintang, and take up the problem of what policy the party should adopt toward that formation. Everyone wanted the Central Committee to speedily work out ways and means of coping with Chiang Kai-shek.

After critical consideration, the Central Committee decided on a counterattack. This included an alliance with the armed forces of the Left Wing Kuomintang, expansion of the army under the command of the Communist Yeh T'ing, and the arming of detachments of the proletariat and the peasantry.

At the end of April 1926, the Central Committee sent Peng to Canton delegated to set up a special committee to discuss with Borodin, the representative of the Comintern, on what should be done concretely with relation to Chiang and to express the views of the Central Committee.

The Third Congress of the National Trade Unions was being held at the same time in Canton. The Shanghai Regional Committee designated me to help the delegation of the Shanghai Federated Trade Union in its participation, and so I went with Peng on this trip.

* * *

Peng, as the representative of the Central Committee, proposed taking a stand against Chiang. He also proposed, on his own, that the CCP withdraw its members from the Kuomintang, end the tactic of working from within, and conduct subsequent collaboration party to party.

Borodin, as the representative of the Comintern, continued to support Chiang and collaboration between the CCP and the Kuomintang. He was therefore opposed to these proposals.

Thus Peng and Borodin were in sharp conflict. The outcome of this was that Peng became isolated.

Borodin was a sophisticated bureaucrat, skilled at maneuvering. He was armed with the prestige of the Soviet Union and the Comintern, and had abundant material resources at his command (arms and money), which added to his authority and power.

The members of the provincial committee in Kwantung (Chou En-lai was one of them), and the other members of the Central Committee such as T'an P'ing-shan, Chang Kuo-t'ao, etc., thus adjusted their views to fit those of Borodin.

Borodin turned the Central Committee's anti-Chiang policy around into a policy of supporting Chiang. Peng's proposal to withdraw from the Kuomintang was converted into acceptance of Chiang's "party-adjusted program." As a result, the CCP became an appendage of the Kuomintang.

The "party-adjusted program" specified that criticism by Communists of Sun Yat-sen's San Min Chu I [The

Three Principles of the People] be prohibited; that no member of the CCP could hold the post of chief of the Central Headquarters of the Kuomintang; that not more than one-third of those sitting on the regional committees of the Kuomintang could be members of the CCP; and that the CCP must turn over to the Central Committee of the Kuomintang a complete list of CCP members in the Kuomintang.

Borodin agreed to this "party-adjusted program." Of course, Borodin's policy of surrendering to Chiang was put into effect under orders from the Comintern.

In order to successfully carry out the Comintern's, or, better put, Stalin's policy, Borodin told Ch'en Yen-nien, the secretary of the provincial committee in Kwantung: "Unless Peng Shu-tse leaves Canton, I can't start doing anything."

It was on Borodin's suggestion that Ch'en Yen-nien immediately wrote to his father, Ch'en Tu-hsiu, asking him to transfer Peng Shu-tse back to Shanghai. This was the first harsh experience suffered by Peng at the hands of the representative of the Comintern.

* * *

After Peng left Canton and returned to Shanghai in early June 1926, the Central Committee of the CCP was forced to accept the Comintern's policy of surrendering to Chiang Kai-shek. With the support of Borodin, Chiang consolidated his military dictatorship without hindrance, manipulating the apparatus of the Kuomintang, the administration, and the army to his own ends, and assigning himself the post of commander-in-chief to undertake the Northern Expedition.

In face of the mounting threat, the Central Committee of the CCP felt it necessary to correct the policy of surrender.

In July 1926 a plenary meeting of the Central Committee took place. Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Peng Shu-tse submitted a proposal to end collaboration with the Kuomintang from within, substituting collaboration party to party, and thus freeing the CCP from the yoke of the Kuomintang. They also proposed putting into practice the CCP's stated policy of leading the workers and peasants in the revolution. Although the suggested course was not adopted, most of the members agreed to submit it to the Comintern for consideration.

The Comintern criticized it severely and turned it down. The CCP had no alternative but to obey the orders of the Comintern and continue the opportunist policy. This meant that the CCP had to mobilize the workers and peasants as a whole in support of the Northern Expedition headed by Chiang Kai-shek. From then on the workers had to restrain themselves from violating bourgeois property rights; the peasants were denied early possession of land held by the landlords; the CCP could not carry on propaganda work among the Kuomintang troops or organize anything within their ranks. In particular, the CCP was not to set up its own regime based on soviets of the workers, peasants, and soldiers, since this would be likely to injure collaboration between the Kuomintang and the CCP, and would constitute a "rash adventure" overstepping "the stage of the national revolution." The Chinese revolution was thus taken, step

by step, down a blind alley ending in destruction.

Nevertheless, Peng Shu-tse felt, as he still does, that limiting the Chinese revolution to "the stage of the national revolution" and confining it within "the bondage of Kuomintang-CCP collaboration," did not conform to the historical experience of the October revolution in Russia.

Early in 1927 he wrote an article entitled "Is Leninism Applicable to the National Peculiarities of China?" (published in *Hsiang Tao*, January 21, 1927). In this article he criticized the fallacious reasoning according to which the national peculiarities of China differ so much from those of Russia as to make Leninism inapplicable to China. After analyzing in detail the social and economic conditions in China, the relationship of forces among the classes, and the international position of China, he pointed out that these, in general, resembled those of Russia before the October revolution. Consequently, he concluded, the Chinese revolution could be expected to follow the Russian pattern, and Leninism was entirely applicable to the situation in China.

He acknowledged that "the Chinese revolution is a national democratic revolution at present, *but this revolution is absolutely not limited to the ideas of nationality and democracy; it will certainly turn gradually in the direction of socialist revolution.*" (My emphasis.)

Accordingly, he suggested the label "permanent revolution" and the following:

"It should be finally understood that the national revolution is not the last stage of the revolution; *it is only a road leading to the socialist revolution.* The final and genuine emancipation of humanity depends solely on the socialist revolution being carried out by the proletariat as a foundation for the building of communist society. The ultimate objective of Leninism is to lead mankind as a whole from the oppression of various societies to the freedom of communism. *Thus 'permanent revolution' should be understood to mean the process leading directly from the national revolution into the proletarian revolution.*" (Emphasis in the original.)

In the early part of 1927, when the revolution had reached a very critical stage, Peng Shu-tse wrote another article entitled "The Present Revolutionary Crisis of the Rightward Tendency" (published in *Hsiang Tao*, March 6, 1927).

"*The whole situation of the Chinese revolution is already clearly apparent,*" Peng pointed out. "*On the one hand, the power of the revolution, especially the power of the national revolutionary army, the workers, and the peasants, is developing with exceptional rapidity. The tide of revolution is still swelling and deepening. . . . On the other hand . . . A compromising and reactionary tendency among the leaders of the national revolutionary army has become apparent. . . . They have attempted, publicly, or secretly, to make a compromise with the enemy against the masses they confront. This is the most dangerous phenomenon in the revolution at present, and it may well destroy the whole revolution.*" (Emphasis in the original.)

This compromising and reactionary tendency to which Peng drew attention was the bourgeois counterrevolutionary tendency represented by Chiang Kai-shek. Peng continued:

"The so-called moderate group in the Kuomintang has

fully disclosed its bourgeois tendency; *they . . . have seen the workers and peasants rising to fight not only for general revolutionary interests but in the interest of the workers and peasants themselves. They have also noted the concessions granted by the imperialists and the warlords. Hence this group aims at stopping the revolutionary process . . . in order to unify all the compradors, bureaucrats and landlords, the rotten gentry and those enemies of the revolution, the imperialists and the warlords, for the purpose of striking back at the worker and peasant masses.*" (Emphasis in original.)

In view of all this, Peng drew the emphatic conclusion:

"*The Chinese revolution should create a regime of revolutionary democracy, and, above all, should not create a personal military dictatorship* (Chiang Kai-shek) . . . The present revolution is urgently in need of a revolutionary regime of democratic dictatorship. That means a regime for the masses in their majority, composed of workers, peasants, and petty-bourgeois, in which they participate directly, thus controlling the government in order to carry out their interest in *striking down all the elements of the counterrevolution and in enforcing a revolutionary dictatorship over them.*" (Emphasis in original.)

Peng's conclusions were advanced two weeks before the workers in Shanghai were victorious in their armed insurrection of March 21, 1927. His views were thus put forward five weeks before Chiang Kai-shek's next coup on April 12 when he butchered the revolutionary masses in the same city.

Although Peng's formula of a "revolutionary regime of democratic dictatorship" cannot be equated with a dictatorship of the proletariat in alliance with the poor peasants, it obviously excludes the bourgeoisie from the revolutionary regime, and can therefore be considered to be a formula calling for a workers' and peasants' government.

It is completely different from the policy of a "bloc of four classes"—the workers, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, and the bourgeoisie—insisted upon by the Comintern in preparing for the establishment of a coalition government composed of representatives of the workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, and bourgeoisie.

Furthermore, in an article entitled "After Reading Chiang Kai-shek's Speech of February 21" (published in *Hsiang Tao*, March 18, 1927), Peng with the greatest precision exposed Chiang's calculations and his antilabor, anti-peasant, anti-Communist, and anti-Soviet course. Peng uttered a grave warning: "*The coming struggle in China is a life and death struggle between the forces of the revolution and the antirevolutionary forces represented by Chiang Kai-shek.*" (Emphasis in original.)

But the Comintern took a different attitude toward Chiang Kai-shek, since it still urged the CCP to continue its policy of collaborating with him.

Special attention should be paid to an article written by Peng two years earlier entitled "The Banning of the Confederation of Trade Unions in Shanghai and the Enjoining Responsibilities of the Workers in the City" (published in *Hsiang Tao*, October 5, 1925). In this article, Peng observed:

"The success of the Chinese national revolution is possible only on condition that the Chinese workers arise and fight. Shanghai . . . is the equivalent of Russia's Petrograd—the February revolution and the October rev-

olution in Russia were under the leadership of the workers in Petrograd."

He ended his article by forecasting:

"The hundreds of thousands of workers in Shanghai have gained much experience in the May 30 Movement under the leadership of the General Trade Union, and have become familiar with a number of the elementary methods of carrying out a revolution. *In the future they will advance further along the road of armed insurrection . . . following the examples set by the workers of Petrograd from the February revolution to the October revolution.*" (Emphasis in the original.)

Peng's prediction had proved to be accurate. The workers in Shanghai organized an armed insurrection on March 21, 1927, in response to the advance of the Northern Expedition. The following day, they occupied the entire city except for the foreign concessions. More than 2,000 armed pickets were organized to maintain peace and order. Workers flooded into the trade unions and the CCP, opening up the possibility of establishing a proletarian regime.

If, at that time, the CCP had not been controlled by the Comintern; if it had been permitted to follow its own assessments (such as those expressed by Peng) based on the lessons drawn from the October revolution in Russia and its own experiences; if it had led the Shanghai workers in a determined way and drawn in those soldiers in sympathy with the workers;² if it had organized councils

2. The great majority of the Shanghai contingent of soldiers in the Northern Expedition were, at that juncture, sympathetically disposed towards the workers.

(soviets) of delegates representing the workers, soldiers, and peasants; if it had aimed a decisive strike against Chiang Kai-shek and had set up a proletarian dictatorship against the bourgeoisie; then the workers of Shanghai could have fulfilled their historical mission, as did the Petrograd workers before them.

Unfortunately the CCP had to obey the Comintern and, in accordance with its opportunistic policy, collaborate with Chiang Kai-shek. After having led the workers to victory in an armed insurrection in Shanghai, the CCP was soon disarmed politically. The CCP had to do what the Comintern wanted it to do—organize a "provisional government" in Shanghai in collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeois elements participating in the provisional government did everything possible to paralyze it through sabotage and boycotts while waiting for Chiang's next move. The Comintern's policy tied the hands of the Communists and workers. Under these circumstances, the CCP was useless to the workers.

Early in the morning of April 12, 1927, Chiang, having been granted the time needed to work out another plot, gave the signal to start the slaughter of his second coup. Many Communists and workers in Shanghai fell at the hands of the executioners, and Chiang took over the gains made by the revolution. This was the inevitable outcome of Stalin's insistence on the CCP following a policy of collaborating with the Kuomintang and helping Chiang's Northern Expedition.

[To be continued.]

Revolt on the Campus

The Role of the Universities in the West

By Ernest Mandel

[The following speech by Ernest Mandel, editor of the Belgian revolutionary socialist weekly *La Gauche* and a contributing editor of *Intercontinental Press*, was given at the Science and Welfare Seminar held on the occasion of the seventy-ninth anniversary of the Rijks Universiteit Leiden. We have translated the text from the version printed in the July 25 issue of the Amsterdam weekly *Vrij Nederland*.]

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Over the past twenty-five years the function of the university in the West has gradually altered. In this process the university has been in large measure the subject and not the object of a programmed social change which can be summed up in the formula "*transition from the second to the third phase in the history of the capitalist mode of production*," or, in fewer words, "*the rise of neocapitalism*."

The function of the university during the two preceding phases of capitalism was primarily to give the brightest sons—and, to a lesser extent, also the daughters—of the

ruling class the required classical education and to equip them to administer industry, the nation, the colonies, and the army efficiently.

Training in orderly thinking, fostering methods for independent scholarship, laying down a common cultural background and the informal ties based on this background between "elites" in all areas of social life (the "old school tie" system)—that was the primary role of the university education for the great majority of students.

Specialized professional training was only a by-product. Even in the natural sciences the stress was generally put on pure theory. The way in which higher education was financed in practice gave the ruling class a "monopoly of knowledge." Most university graduates were in fact professionally independent—members of the liberal professions and businessmen—or directly associated with people in an independent position.

Neocapitalism has changed all that fundamentally. Two features of neocapitalism alike have produced the change: (1) the demand for technically specialized labor in in-

dustry and in the swelling state apparatus; (2) the need to respond to the increasing quest for higher education, which, in consequence of the rising standard of living, the middle class, government functionaries, white-collar workers, and—to a lesser extent—even skilled blue-collar workers, began to seek as a means of social advancement.

The university explosion which we are still experiencing has thus reflected a strongly increased demand for, and a no less strongly increased supply of, intellectual labor.

The university was not prepared for this, neither in the content itself of higher education nor in its material infrastructure and its administrative organization. This failure of the university to adjust to the demands of neocapitalism has been regarded not incorrectly as one of the causes of the worldwide student revolt. But it is in the nature of our society that it can force the universities to adapt to these needs of the ruling class.

In the context of neocapitalism, technocratic reform of the university—transformation from the classical to the technocratic university—is inevitable.

The student revolt is not only a reaction to the failure of today's universities to adapt; it is at the same time a reaction against the so far too successful attempt to make this adaptation on the basis of almost total subordination to the demands and the interests of neocapitalism.

The connection between this third industrial revolution—often called the "technical-scientific revolution"—the growing demand for intellectual labor, and technocratic university reform is obvious. The third industrial revolution is to a certain extent distinguished by a massive reintegration of intellectual labor into industry, production, and even the work process, symbolized by the electronics specialist who runs and watches over automated production operations.

Thus a real "labor market" for university graduates is developing. Talent scouts pick through every new class graduating from the important universities in the United States, Great Britain, and Japan, and the same procedure is increasingly being introduced into the West European countries. The law of supply and demand determines the wages of intellectual workers as it has those of manual workers for 200 years.

Thus a process is underway of proletarianization of intellectual labor. Proletarianization does not mean primarily (or in some circumstances at all) limited consumption or a low standard of living, but increasing alienation, increasing subordination of labor to demands that no longer have any correspondence to the special talents or fulfillment of the inner needs of men.

If the university is to fulfill the function of training the specialists wanted by the big corporations, higher education must be reformed in a functional direction. Specialists on economic growth have "discovered" that one of the reasons for the slow growth of the gross national product in Great Britain has been the over stressing of theoretical science in the universities at the expense of applied science.

The drive to adapt higher education to meeting practical needs is being promoted by every means—at the same time that the most intelligent masters of the big monopolies concede that in the long run pure theoretical research is more fruitful than research along predetermined lines, even in the "purely economic" realm.

Functionalization of the university is pushed to the extreme when education and academic research are subordinated to specific projects of private companies or government departments (the tying of certain British and American schools into research on biological weapons comes to mind, as well as the *war games* of some American schools dealing with civil conflicts in one or another colonial country).

But these ultimate cases must be seen for what they are—extreme examples and by no means the quintessence of functionalization, which is the substance of the technocratically reformed university.

Overspecialization, functionalization, and proletarianization of intellectual labor are the objective manifestation of the growing alienation of labor and they lead inevitably to a growing subjective awareness of alienation. The feeling of losing control over the content and development of your own work is as widespread today among so-called specialists, including university graduates, as among manual workers.

The anticipation of this alienation among the students themselves, in conjunction with unrest over the authoritarian structure of the university, plays an important role as a driving force of the student revolt.

Sixty years ago the conservative or liberal apologies for the existing social order were all the more convincing because the stability of the system was hardly questioned, even by its most radical critics. At best, social revolution was on the agenda only for the underdeveloped countries. For the West itself it was a vague future goal.

Two world wars, innumerable social and economic crises, and various revolutions have since greatly altered this view. Precisely because the existing social order is much less stable than before the first world war, the function of bourgeois scholarship is no longer primarily theoretical apology but practical reform and intervention in order to overcome certain crises.

But for these very reasons, it has become much easier to challenge the capitalist system from both the theoretical and practical standpoints in the universities than it was in the past. This system is seen as only one of several possible variants and not as a self-evident reality.

And so we have the peculiar three-pronged situation which gave rise to the student movement. From one angle, there is a growing dissatisfaction with the existing society, which virtually no one can deny is in crisis. Neocapitalist reform of the university carried out in an authoritarian way, and in large measure forced on the students, can only increase this malaise.

From another angle, the traditional critical structures, that is, the left political parties and, above all, the workers movement have stopped playing their role of radical opposition to the existing society, for reasons I cannot dwell on here.

Since the critical students find no possibility for radical opposition and confrontation within these structures, they try to achieve this *outside* the parties, the parliament, and the manipulated mass media. But because they do not have the mass or the social weight to transform society themselves, their activity is limited to imitating such a social revolution in order to set an example that is limited to a kind of show.

For some student radicals this show is transformed

from a means to an end in itself. In this way, despite their radical verbiage, they become victims of one of the most typical phenomena of a society based on an extreme division of labor, the phenomenon of partial and therefore false consciousness.

Other student radicals make an attempt to operate rationally, that is, they attempt to function as an example in a different way for the working class, as a detonator that can set off an explosion among these broader masses. The events of May 1968 in France have proved that this is not unrealistic.

But these events also showed that a student revolt as such cannot substitute for a politically educated and organizationally consolidated revolutionary vanguard of the working class.

Thus it seems that today's universities are caught between two conflicting pressures. On the one hand, technocratic reform is being driven through from the outside in the interest of the ruling class. On the other, a radical challenge is emerging from within the universities but, in the absence of support in other sectors of society, it gets bogged down in utopianism and impotence.

Is there any way out of this dilemma? Are students—and "intellectuals" in general—condemned to the choice of integrating themselves into the existing irrational and inhuman social order—disorder it might better be called!—or engaging in hopeless gestures of revolt by individuals or small groups?

An answer to this question presupposes an opinion on the capacity of neocapitalist society to overcome its most important inner contradictions. In opposition to Marcuse and others, we start from the position that the most important contradiction in capitalist society—in its neocapitalist as well as its preceding stages—is the contradiction between capital and labor in the production process.

We are convinced, therefore, that in the long run the workers cannot be co-opted into neocapitalism, because the fundamental contradiction between capital and labor will always reappear, whether or not this occurs in the realm of consumption.

Furthermore, many signs indicate that in the industrialized Western countries the center of gravity of the class

struggle is slowly but surely shifting from questions of dividing the national income between wages and profits to the question of who determines what is produced, how it should be produced, and how labor should be organized to produce it.

If our position is confirmed by events—and much of what has been happening in the recent two or three years in the plants of three major Western countries (France, Italy, and Great Britain) seems in fact to confirm it—then the dilemma referred to does not say all that can be said on the question of the role of the university in programmed social change.

There is a way out of this dilemma because a force still exists which has the potential to bring about a radical transformation of society. When it does not let itself be trapped by neocapitalist functionalization, the contemporary university can also escape the other side of the dilemma—quixotic rebellion. *The university can be the cradle of a real revolution.*

We must immediately include a warning in the argument. Whenever we speak of "the university," we mean the people of the university collectively, that is, the teachers and the students. We do not mean the university as an institution.

As an institution, the university is incorporated in the existing social structure. Students, professors, and workers cannot finance and maintain any universities in the final analysis as long as the social surplus value is not collectivized, that is, as long as we live in a capitalist society.

In the long run the university as an institution remains bound with golden chains to the power of the ruling class. Without a radical transformation of society itself the university cannot undergo any *lasting* radical transformation.

But what is impossible for the university as an institution is possible for students as individuals and in groups. And what is possible for students as individuals and groups can, on the collective level, temporarily emerge as a possibility for the university as a whole.

The role of students as a driving and initiating force for the renewal of society is not new. Marx, Lenin, and Fidel Castro after all must be rated as intellectual and not manual workers.

To begin once more like the pioneers of the modern workers movement, spreading anticapitalist revolutionary socialist consciousness in the working class, is as possible today for students and intellectuals as it was three quarters of a century ago. The task is more difficult because this is not the first time it has been attempted and because a mountain of failures and disappointments weighs on the consciousness of the broad masses.

There are, however, many indications that the young generation of blue- and white-collar workers suffers less from this skepticism than the older generation. Moreover, ties can be developed between the students and young workers, as they have been in several Western countries. Once the initial difficulty is surmounted, the task automatically becomes easier than in the nineteenth century, because the objective conditions are much riper.

What the university must offer the young workers is first of all the product of theoretical production, that is, scientific knowledge, nothing so sterile as the masochistic populism of some students who want to go "to the workers" with empty hands and empty heads to offer them their muscles and vocal cords. What the workers need most of

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all is knowledge, a radical critique of the existing society, systematic exposure of all the lies and half-truths projected by the mass media.

It is not easy to put this knowledge into words that can be understood by the masses. Rhetoric and academic jargon are as sterile as populism. But the job of popularization comes after that of assimilating real knowledge. And it is in this latter realm that a really critical university can make its prime contribution today to transforming society. It can offer a critique of the existing society as a whole and of its parts that is all the more radical and relevant for being serious, scholarly, and incorporating a large amount of factual material.

The basic data for such a task are a thousand times more easily accessible to students and academics than to those who are faced with making a living in the day-to-day professional world. Collecting and processing the basic data is a practical step toward self-criticism and social change on the part of the contemporary university.

We have all said that the most important contribution, at least as a starting point, that the university can make toward the radical transformation of society lies in the area of theoretical production. But it need not limit itself to pure theoretical production. It can serve as a bridge to practical experimental application, or experimental practical research.

The larger the number of students, and the broader the student challenge, the more extensive become the possibilities for uniting theory and practice. We have a rich storehouse of literature on the problem of alienated labor—90 percent of it written by learned philosophers, sociologists, or economists; 10 percent by self-educated workers themselves. A few priests and ministers have tried to supplement previous theoretical knowledge of this problem with practical experience in the factories.

Why shouldn't working students in medicine, physiology, and psychology begin to apply such experiments on a large scale to their own experiences in a modern enterprise, above all to description and analysis of the experiences of their fellow workers? Critical medical students will be able to analyze the problem of fatigue, of frustration caused by alienated mechanical labor, by a steadily rising intensity of labor, better than positivist doctors—if they combine real professional expertise with a grasp of social phenomena in their full context, and enrich this with personal experience.

But this is only one example out of many. Converting the mass media from instruments for producing conformity to instruments for criticizing the society can be tested out with precision and can prove very effective. The police use films of demonstrations to facilitate repression. Amateur radical films—which tens of thousands of people have the potential for producing—can be used just as well to train demonstrators in self-defense against repression.

Today's technology can be used at innumerable different points as a means for exposing the existing repressive structures and as a means for speeding the self-emancipation of the masses. Here is an unexploited, challenging area of work for students and academics of all scholarly disciplines, in which the first requisite is: *Begin yourself to overcome the contradiction between theory and practice.*

Here emerges another important contribution that the university can make to the radical transformation of soci-

ety. As a permanent institution, the university remains subject to the control of the ruling class. But wherever the struggle of the university collective for self-management assumes such scope that a temporary breakthrough in this area occurs, then for a short period the university becomes a "school of self-management" for the entire people. This was what happened in the Sorbonne in Paris in May 1968; this is what happened, among other places, in Chicago in May 1970. These examples were extremely limited in scope and duration. But under favorable circumstances the attraction of such examples for the broad masses can be very promising.

In a certain sense this is the central problem of "programmed social change." Programming for whom and by whom? That is the question. The argument advanced by the opponents of democratic self-management in the universities as well as in the plants deals with competence. Society is divided into "competent" bosses and "incompetent" workers, as they see it. Let us leave aside the question of whether the "competence" of the bosses is such as to justify their retaining the function of decision-making. Whenever we compare this proclaimed competence with the results, at least insofar as society is concerned, then there are at least a few reasons for doubt.

The decisive argument against this concept, however, is not affected by such a value judgment. With the development of computers and the functionalized university, a system is emerging in which the control of levers of economic power, the concentration of economic power goes hand in hand with a growing monopolization of access to a no less horrible concentration of information.

Because the same social minority keeps a tight grip on power and information while scientific knowledge becomes more and more specialized and fragmented, a growing hiatus is developing between detailed professional competence and the concentration of information that makes it possible to make centralized strategic decisions.

The members of the board of directors of a multinational corporation can leave thousands of small decisions to "competent professionals." But since the directors alone have the final outcome of the information-gathering process at their disposal, they alone are "competent" to make the central strategic decisions.

Self-management overcomes this hiatus by giving the masses the necessary information to equip them to understand what is involved in the strategic central decisions. Any member of the mass who is "competent" in this or that detail plays a participating role in making these decisions whenever cooperation and not competition among individuals is the social norm.

If the capitalist system survives, despite the tremendous crisis of capitalist production relations caused by technological progress, the growing alienation of "competent professionals" from "incompetent masses" is inevitable. If, however, the system of private ownership of the means of production, independent investment decisions by firms, and generalized commodity production, is replaced by democratically centralized, planned self-management of all the producers and workers, a universal social interest arises in eliminating "incompetence" in general. And this social interest will be reflected in a tendency toward universalized higher education.

The increasing exclusion of unskilled labor from the productive process—its exclusion from the tertiary sector

as well is only a question of time—makes such universal higher education in fact an absolute necessity, since a growing sector of the population will be condemned to the status of unemployable drop-outs in the midst of great social wealth.

Furthermore, technocratic university reform, functionalization of the university—debasement of higher education to fragmented, overspecialized, and unintegrated professionalism—what the radical German students call "*Fachidiotismus*" ["Professional Cretinism"]—has developed increasingly into organized incompetence.

One of the sharpest accusations that can be lodged against the existing social disorder is that in a period when scientific knowledge is expanding at explosive speed the level of university education is steadily declining instead of rising. Higher education is thus incapable of fully exploiting the rich potential of scientific productive power. Moreover, it is producing incompetent labor power, not in the absolute sense, of course, but in comparison to the possibilities created by science.

Some neocapitalist spokesmen say openly what they want, like the authors of the West German university reform program. It is in the order of things therefore for them to cynically assail the too liberal character of the old Humboldtian university. They admit that from their point of view, that is, from the standpoint of neocapitalism, the freedom of students to read, to study, and to attend lectures as they choose must be curtailed.

Subordinating—not production to human needs but human needs to production—that is the very essence of capitalism.

Self-management, therefore, is the key to full development of both scientific competence and the potential productive power of science. The future of the university and of society intersect here and finally converge. When it is said that many people are not suited to a university education, that is doubtless a truism . . . in the context of our present society. But this is not a matter of physiologically or genetically determined unsuitability but of a long process of preselection by the home and social environment.

When, however, we consider that a society that subordinates the development of men to the production of things stands the real hierarchy of values on its head, we can assume that, with the exception of marginal cases, there is nothing inevitable about this unsuitability.

When society is reorganized in such a way that it puts the education of people before the accumulation of things and pushes in the opposite direction from today's preselection and competition—that is, surrounds every less gifted child with so much care that he can overcome his "natural handicap"—then the achievement of universal higher education does not seem impossible.

Thus, universal higher education, cutting the workday in half, and all-embracing self-management of the economy and society based on an abundance of consumer goods is the answer to the problem of the twentieth century—what shall the teachers teach? "Who will watch the police?" Then social development would become a fundamental process of self-education for everyone. Then the word "progress" will have real meaning—when humanity has the competence to determine its own social fate consciously and relying only on itself.

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